



'Kwaitofabulous':¹ The study of a South African urban genre

Thokozani Mhlambi²

Abstract

This essay explores the concept of the authenticity of *kwaito* and traces the origin and the development of the genre within the context of South Africa's political and social changes in the post-apartheid era. Special attention is given to *kwaito* solo artists Arthur, Zola and the group Bongomaffin, as representatives of the pre-1998 and post-1998 styles of *kwaito*.

Introduction

The early 1990s saw many changes in South Africa; these include the release of Nelson Mandela, the lifting of political, economic, cultural and sports sanctions, an agreement on a new constitution and the country's first democratic election in 1994. These changes inevitably dramatically affected the South African music performance structures and industry. The lifting of sanctions provided South African musicians with easier access to international music tracks and a radical revision of censorship, while the easing political situation allowed for greater freedom of expression. Freedom of expression meant that for the first time the youth of South Africa could make their voices heard. The music genre *kwaito* emerged during this period and represents a culmination of all these changes; it is a practical manifestation³ of that freedom of expression for which the youth had longed.

Can *kwaito* – a genre that is largely influenced by certain kinds of music from the United States of America – be considered a distinctively South African music genre, or is it just part of a mass expansion of a world youth music genre, clothed in South African forms? Can *kwaito* be deemed an authentic South African phenomenon? This question will be answered through an exploration of the origins of the genre within the context of South Africa's political and social changes in the post-apartheid era. Special attention is given

1 The word is a derivation of 'Ghetto Fabulous', the title of one of *kwaito* artist Zola's songs.

2 I would like to thank the following people for their invaluable support in the writing of this research essay: Ms Sylvia Bruinders, Dr Anri Herbst, Mr Michael Nixon, my family and my *skeem* ('friends' in *iscamtho*), and finally the Lord Almighty.

3 As seen in the way *kwaito* artists (such as Arthur and Zola) freely give their opinions in politics, current affairs and social issues, without fear of being arrested or banned. Arthur and Zola will be discussed later.

to *kwaito* solo artists Arthur, Zola and the group Bongomaffin, as they represent the 'old' school of *kwaito*, the 'new' school and the *kwaito* group respectively.⁴

The subject of *kwaito* remains a relatively unexplored topic within the academic environment because up until recently the focuses of musicological and ethnomusicological studies in Africa have been restricted to indigenous music, as opposed to urban music. In international reviews of South African music, such as the 'BBC radio 3 guide to world music: South Africa', the older generation of pre-apartheid artists, such as Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens, Mzwakhe Mbuli and the Soul Brothers that are mentioned in <Kershaw, 30 May 2003>. This serves as a clear indication that the world's perceptions of South African music are still limited to styles such as *isicathamiya*, *umbaqanga* and *maskanda*, to mention just a few (Ballantine 1993; Coplan 1985).

The few papers that have been published on the subject tend to be oriented towards cultural studies rather than [ethno-]musicology. One of the problems related to these papers is the fact that, whilst authors such as Simon Stephens (2000) offer some valid insights, most of them have a very Eurocentric⁵ view on the study of *kwaito* – a view which, according to musicologist Annemette Kirkegaard, can be called 'comparative musicology' (Kirkegaard 2002:8). This view is coupled with little or no understanding of the ghetto culture in which *kwaito* is based, thus giving 'ethnographic insight' with Eurocentric judgement (Wylie 2003:137). The possible misrepresentation of this kind of juxtaposition of the 'emic and etic'⁶ qualities have been well documented by Gregory Barz (Barz & Cooley 1997:109):

Its [cognitive anthropology] positing of a contrast between 'etic' (from phonetic) and 'emic' (from phonemic) analyses seem particularly attractive to ... ethnomusicologists, who feared that Western-style (etic) analyses might ignore, misunderstand, or even violate important (emic) principles operating within a culture.

The biggest challenge in the study of African musics is the fact that music is always situated within a greater communal and cultural context, hence the music is always coupled with extra-musical meanings and messages, which cannot be ignored. Musical anthropologist Alan P Merriam reflected the importance of cultural context by coining the term 'study of music in culture' (Merriam 1964:6).

4 The researcher noticed a change in the *kwaito* genre around the time of the Soccer World Cup hosted in France in 1998 with the advent of groups such as Tkzee. As will be discussed later in the essay, the origins of *kwaito* date back to approximately 1993/4. This period would constitute the 'old' school, with the new school starting at approximately 1998.

5 According to the Oxford English Online Dictionary, the term 'Eurocentric' [correct spelling] means: 'Having or regarding Europe as its centre; presupposing the supremacy of Europe and Europeans in world culture, etc.' (Accessed 16 August 2004)

6 According to the entry 'emic and etic' in Barfield (1997:148) these two terms 'distinguish the understanding of cultural representations from the point of view of a native of the culture (emic) from the understanding of cultural representations from the point of view an outside observer of the culture (etic).'

As a young African researcher, I have witnessed the genre's development first hand, while being educated in the European system of music theory and performance practice. This background coupled with a deep understanding of the language of *kwaito* and its socio-cultural implications enables me to discuss this genre from an emic perspective coloured with etic influences. Various sources, such as websites, magazines, informal interviews, printed and electronic journals and books are used in the research methodology.

Defining kwaito

The origin of the word *kwaito* has been a subject of great contention, with many artists advancing conflicting views. Although *kwaito* artists such as Bongo Maffin and Tkzee have tried calling their music by different names, such as *d'gong* and *guz*, the name that has remained in public parlance is *kwaito*. The term is taken from the *isicamtho*⁷ word *amakwaitosi* (which means 'gangster'). *Amakwaitosi* derives from the Afrikaans 'kwaai', which means strict or angry. Afrikaans is a language that is strongly associated with oppression as it was imposed as the medium of instruction in the apartheid era.⁸ When an Afrikaans word is transferred or intertextualised⁹ into *Isicamtho* it is often placed into a new context where it forms a dissonance with the original. The association of *kwaito* with gangsters is because *kwaito* in itself, according to Arthur Mafokate (one of the pioneers of *kwaito*), is 'all about ghetto music'. The relationship also comes from older people who, in *kwaito*'s early days, dismissed this kind of music, claiming that it was the music of gangsters. Nevertheless, to *kwaito* musicians themselves the term simply implies that the tracks are 'hot and kicking' <McCloy, 24 April 2004>.

Historical background

South African political history has strongly shaped music's development. The discovery of gold in Johannesburg in the late 1800s created a large influx of migrant labourers from different parts of the country who came to work for the whites in the mines. This resulted in Johannesburg growing into a 'melting pot' for many indigenous ethnic groups – including the Zulus, Sothos and Xhosas. *Shebeens* (beer halls or taverns) sprang up in the townships and compounds where the labourers lived. As a form of entertainment, musicians often

7 South African township slang, consisting of various indigenous languages fused with Afrikaans and English. There is confusion in the use of the word *Isicamtho* versus *Tsotsitaal*; they are both township slangs but, according to the linguist Dumisane Ntshangase (1995:291), the main difference is that *Tsotsitaal* is derived from Afrikaans whilst *Isicamtho* is derived from English. For the purpose of this essay, the term *Isicamtho* will be used.

8 Although there are some sections of the previously oppressed groups, such as the coloured people, who speak Afrikaans.

9 A term coined by Julia Kristeva to designate the various relationships that a given text may have with other texts. These *intertextual* relationships include anagram, allusion, adaptation, translation, parody, pastiche, imitation, and other kinds of transformation. (Accessed 16 August 2004)

played their own traditional music in the *shebeens*, using European instruments at their disposal, such as the accordion, the guitar and the banjo. This created an amalgamation of African and European sound. Yet musicians gained popularity only within their ethnic groups (Boloka 2003:257), because of laws, such as the Land Act of 1913, Pass laws, the Group Areas Act in the 1950s and the Separate Development Act (1958) that prevented black people from moving freely outside their designated 'tribal homelands' (Graham 1989:257) and the migrant workers from integrating with other black people. The ideology of Separate Development, created by the apartheid government, propagated the belief that black people lived in various 'native tribes' before Europeans arrived, each tribe having its own unique culture and language, and that geographical boundaries should be made in order to retain this system (Hamm 1991:152). This was further fuelled by the fact that (from 1960) the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) had separate radio stations broadcasting regionally for the various ethnic groups. The music broadcast by these radio stations was heavily censored. One of the music genres that developed during this time (from the 1960s) was *mbaqanga*¹⁰ music. *Mbaqanga* continued to dominate the local music industry right up until the 1980s, when its dominance was finally displaced by 'bubblegum'.

This new urban genre developed in the 1980s, an Afro-dance pop, mainly influenced by *mbaqanga* and African-American popular styles <Swinke, 24 April 2004>. Bubblegum 'marked a shift or a cultural turn in the content and form of South African music' (Boloka 2003:99). This genre developed because of promising developments in the fight against apartheid as well as the introduction of television in 1976, which allowed for the promotion of music across all ethnic groups. It represented a move towards music that was more urban than traditional.¹¹ The most successful musicians of this genre include Chicco Twala, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and the late Brenda Fassie (Boloka 2003:99). All these factors made an enormous contribution towards the development of *kwaito*, which began at the pinnacle of bubblegum music and when the apartheid era was drawing to an end.

First kwaito hit

Arthur Mafokate's 1995 song *Kaffir* is considered the first *kwaito* hit. This song is significant, not only as a musical milestone, but also in terms of the lyrics. The lyrics are a perfect illustration of the freedom of expression that developed as a result of the political change. In this song Mafokate says:

10 According Christopher Ballantine (1993:61), '[t]he term *mbaqanga* – commonly the Zulu word for a stiff, mielie-based porridge – has designated different kinds of music during the course of the last 40-odd years; but its first musical usage was as a synonym for African Jazz'.

11 This move had begun earlier, but had not been of this magnitude.

Boss, No.
Boss, don't call me a *kaffir*.
Can't you see I am trying my best.
Can't you see I am moving around.

I don't come from hell.
You would not like it if I called you a baboon.
Even when I try washing up, you still call me a *kaffir*.
Boss, don't call me a *kaffir*.

In this song, Mafokate is protesting against the white people's use of the word *kaffir* to address black people. The subject is treated in a burlesque manner, but this only heightens the discontent against the atrocities of the past. The song repeats these words right up until the end. A female singer comes in at regular intervals between Arthur's rhythmic speech and she sings the words that Mafokate has just recited.

The nature of kwaito and its common features

A dialogue between a man and a woman is a very common feature in *kwaito*. The man usually does the rhythmic speech, which often forms the central part of the song and has more words than the woman's lyrics. This is a representation of the sexual subtexts present in *kwaito* music, where the woman's role is made subservient by merely reiterating what the man has said.

In his paper on *kwaito* music, musicologist Simon Stephens takes features present in many other urban genres, such as sexual semiotics, and makes them unique to *kwaito* (and other genres of the African Diaspora) – thus implying that *kwaito* (and Africans in general) is prejudicial and condescending to women. He questions the effect that the 'representation of the African female body and sexuality have upon ... women' (Stephens 2000:269). He fails to mention that this representation of the female body is a common trend in most pop music in the world, not only in Africa. In this, he turns the African into the 'other', that is the antithesis to the European, a view that has long dominated the discipline of ethnomusicology (Kirkegaard 2002:8).

Much of *kwaito* is composed essentially as dance music; hence its repetitive nature. This music develops from simple bass beats at the beginning and it builds towards a climax, which occurs at the chorus. The subject matter is often light – sometimes very humorous – and requires very little thought. 'This trait is ... found in the so-called popular music because of its "recreational" nature' (Kofie 1994:56). A classic example of this is the series of songs by Arthur Mafokate, namely *Twalatsa*, *Mnike* and *Kwasa-kwasa*, which have been about the latest dance routines in South African townships at various times. The lyrics' phrases are repeated sequentially at various pitches; this sequential repetition is one of the most common forms of repetition found in African musics (Kofie 1994:63).

In *kwaito* music the emphasis lies not in the poetic essence of the lyrics but rather in the instrumental arrangement and the 'danceability' of the composition. Therefore I disagree with writers such as Maria McCloy, the author of 'Kwaito: Its history and where it's at now', who criticise *kwaito*, claiming that very little time and effort is put into *kwaito* production, simply because the lyrical content is very low <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. This criticism overlooks the music's multiple social contexts such as parties, street bashes and clubs. These are social venues where people are more in pursuit of leisure than engaging in intellectual discourse.

Furthermore, it also does not mean that there are no *kwaito* tracks that have lyrics that are thoroughly contemplated and which attempt to convey an important message to the listener. Zola's song, for instance, *Mdlwembe* (literally meaning 'problem child' in Zulu) from his first album, clearly elucidates this point. This song describes the life of crime in the township, from the viewpoint of the criminal. The lyrics of the song can be loosely translated as:

In these hell-like slums, bewail *Mdlwembe*.
My brother, you know that, what you do unto others will be done unto you.
Beware of the Zola boys,
We do crime for money.
When men die, widows will be left behind.
When we gangsters die, beers will be left behind.
All the people of this world will be left to the graveyard.

The music sets a mood of anguish and melancholy, through the continuous use of the minor mode, with synthesised strings playing a countermelody. In the opening lines of the song, Zola¹² likens township life to living in hell, which is a sign of despair and absence of hope, existing in ghetto life. The song appears to support the perpetuation of crime in the township, but as it goes on it is disposed to the opposite view. The song builds to an anti-climax, at the end, when the singer laments the death of the good people of the world, which will be the end result of crime.

However, the majority of young people do not associate *kwaito* with heavy lyricism and as a result do not bother to listen to even the most poignant of *kwaito* lyrics, like the latter, as these do not suit the social context in which the music is normally played.

Kwaito instrumentals are usually made entirely of synthesised sound. The tracks are constructed using a fusion of slowed down house music tracks (normally between 100 and 120 beats per minute) and African percussion, which forms the core of the rhythmic

12 Zola is a particularly important figure in the music industry in South Africa. Having served time in prison for car theft as a juvenile, Zola has managed to turn his life around, from a teenager living in one of 'Soweto's toughest hoods' to becoming one of the most prominent role players in *kwaito* music. Zola hosts his own television show – called *Zola 7* broadcast on SABC, Channel 1 on Thursday s at 21:00 – and owns an entertainment company. Besides these, he runs numerous humanitarian projects on the side, such as a youth soccer team, a bursary foundation and he is motivational speaker. These are just some of the factors that make Zola a true role model in the industry and an inspiration to many children who dream of becoming *kwaito* stars some day (Shota 2004:11).

pattern <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. The lyrics in *kwaito* are normally not sung, but recited in rhythmic speech, usually in *Isicamtho* or any of the South African official languages. This rhythmic speech follows that of the speech-tone patterns of African narrative song (Rycroft 1969:7) and *izibongo*, the ‘praise-poetry of the Zulu and several related south-east African peoples’ (Kresse 1998:173), where the sense of rhythm and phrasing is created by repetition, as opposed to rhyme, which is normally used in rap and hip-hop <*Kwaito*, 24 April 2004>. ¹³ The most striking features of *izibongo* are the ‘various repetitive structures, such as alliterations and diverse forms of parallelisms’ as well as assonances, which all acoustically create ‘ear-rhymes’ and are present in *kwaito* (Kresse 1998:175–176). Some artists tend to nasalise their words when chanting – adding to the intensity of the music. At times, the lyrics are rapped in the hip-hop fashion of the United States or the ragga style of the Caribbean, which exhibits the influence which *kwaito* draws from other music of the African Diaspora.

Similar urban youth music genres have developed in other parts of Africa, such as *Zouk* (from Central and West Africa), *Zougolu* (from the Ivory Coast) and Taarab (from East Africa). These are also influenced by United States hip-hop, but each region fuses it with its own music, like West African *Mbalax*, which is used by Senegalese artists like M C Lida and M C Solaar <‘African hip hop’, 01 June 2004>. *Kwaito* also contains the transparent use of European dance anthem hooks like ‘The Final Countdown’, which was used by Tkzee in their hit single *Shibobo*, released in the light of the 1998 Football World Cup (which saw South Africa’s first participation in the tournament) (Banda 1999:37).

The synthesised marimba/xylophone features quite prominently in early *kwaito* tracks (Stephens 2000:249). The use of the marimba is an aesthetic choice that is strongly rooted in African traditional music. Although it is put into a totally new context, where it is combined with electronic sounds and is barely recognisable, it still maintains a very prominent role as it gives the music an Afrocentric feel.

Kwaito performances require the audience to interact, through verbal response, which is done in an antiphonal (call-and-answer) manner. The music exists within a communal life. The role of the artist (the leader) ‘is creatively demanding’, whilst the role of the listener (the participant) is to listen attentively and to respond when required to (Warren 1970: 45); this is an African attribute present in other genres and illustrates the strong African influence present in *kwaito*.

Problems associated with kwaito

Many problems have arisen in *kwaito*. *Kwaito* has not been triumphant in providing gender representation; except for a few successful female artists – such as Lebo Mathosa and Iyaya – *kwaito* remains extremely male dominated, especially at the management level. Sociologists Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie in their study of rock music note

13 Refer to Russell Kaschula’s publication on Xhosa praise poetry (2002).

a similar trend; 'Female roles are limited through male notions of female ability' (Firth & McRobbie 2000:65).

The new *kwaito* labels, such as Kalawa Jazzme, Mdu Music and Triple Nine, practise exploitative behaviour towards young artists, new to the industry, in the same way as used to be practised by the major labels in the days of apartheid <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. *Kwaito* artists have been criticised for relying too heavily on pre-recorded backup tracks during their live stage performances, which has a very dehumanising effect and thus weakens the performance. In addition, *kwaito* has been criticised for its apparent lack of 'freshness and innovation' <McCloy, 24 April 2004> and of providing a proper breeding ground for up-and-coming artists, with a consequent high turnover rate, with most *kwaito* acts being one-hit wonders. *Kwaito* concerts and bashes are generally associated with violence, such as rape and assault. This has instilled fear amongst many *kwaito* fans, who have stopped going to *kwaito* concerts out of a sense of insecurity.

The positive outcomes of kwaito

A lot has changed since the early days of *kwaito*, not only in the music scene, but also in all South African urban cultural aspects. *Kwaito*'s popularity has boosted other parts of urban culture such as the fashion industry. Young designers, such as Stoned Cherrie, *Loxion Kulca* and Sun Godd'ess have boomed all over the country; their designs are based on the images/trends set by the *kwaito* singers; such as retro-sixties, afro-chic and *pantsula* styles. YFM, a youth radio station launched in Gauteng in 1997, follows the principle of 'giving the youth the licence to create its own identity', and has since grown to become the biggest urban youth radio station <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. Leo Manne, the music programme manager of YFM, says *kwaito* 'has been the core of YFM's success' (Coetzer 1999:43). The station's foundation stems almost directly from the doctrine formed by *kwaito* of allowing the youth the freedom of expression, in whatever language they prefer.¹⁴

There have been a lot of crossover collaborations between *kwaito* artists and artists of more traditional genres, for example, the *kwaito* group 'Brothers Of Peace' (BOP) did a remix of Mahlathini and the Mahotella queens where they fused the two genres to form a synthesis of sound.

During the apartheid era major record labels refused to sign up *kwaito* acts, claiming that the music 'had a few chanted lines' <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. The positive result of this is that *kwaito* producers decided to start their own independent labels, which have since become very successful. The outcome has completely changed the lives of producers such as Mdu, who started selling his *kwaito* tapes from his car boot. The *kwaito* recording labels, such as Kalawa, Triple 9 and Mdu Music, have gone on to become some of the country's biggest independent labels, with major *kwaito* artists selling well above platinum

14 It was originally conceived as a way to incorporate Radio Freedom broadcasters into the South African broadcasting scene.

status locally <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. These *kwaito* labels 'represent a new form of ownership' (Boloka 2003:105) and have created employment opportunities for young black producers, engineers and legal practitioners in the music industry. It has given regular black individuals a sense of dignity and financial gain.

Kwaito has contributed to the promotion of the country internationally. Bongo Maffin's debut concert in New York in 2002 was such a success that Jon Pareles, the New York Times African music reviewer, lauded the group as an 'international ambassador of *kwaito*, South Africa's reigning pop style' in his article on 22 August 2002. Several other *kwaito* artists, like Tkzee and Boomshaka, also attained overwhelming success in their overseas tours.

This music genre has 'transformed society by strengthening social integration' (Boloka 2003:103); it has a diverse listenership of people from various racial and age groups. 'Many black South Africans over 30, who grew up on protest songs' (*Economist* April 3, 2000:85), were appalled at the seemingly apolitical materialism of *kwaito*. This view has subsequently changed with time, as they realise that protest songs are no longer necessary in the new South Africa. At the 2003 Freedom Day celebrations, President Thabo Mbeki joined Mzekezeke on stage; while he was singing his song *S'guqa ngamadolo* (literally: 'Bend down on your knees' in Zulu) the President started doing the *S'guqa* dance with him <McCloy, 24 April 2004>. This was a significant move marking a shift in the notion that *kwaito* is simply a youth genre. National sporting events, including still predominantly white sports like cricket and rugby, have become synonymous with *kwaito* hits such as Mandoza's *Nkalakatha* and Mzekezeke's *S'guqa ngamadolo* (Boloka 2003:103), which are often played during the matches.

Times are changing for *kwaito* and the artists constantly pursue new sounds. Artists are spending more time on their albums than before and have broadened their frontiers of influence. Zola recently featured an opera singer as backing vocalist in a song called 'Don't cry' in his latest album titled *Bhambatha* (released in 2004). The music is becoming more developed and complex, with artists constantly seeking new idioms and mediums of expression. Live instruments are now given elevated status in *kwaito* as seen in Mafikizolo's *Udakwa Njalo* (2003), where the violin plays a variation on the main melody/theme of the song.

Kwaito versus hip-hop

There is a tendency to refer to *kwaito* as African hip-hop or an imitator

of European or American culture which, not only undermines ... [its] validity as ... [a] cultural expression, but also an outmoded notion of an imperial centre dominating colonial periphery. (Donne 2003:20)

Yes, *kwaito* does draw a lot of its traits from American hip-hop and there are some other similarities, which are not necessarily the result of the influence of hip-hop on *kwaito*. *Kwaito* and hip-hop are both genres of the African Diaspora. African-Americans (the pioneers of hip-hop) and black South Africans both have a similar history of oppression by the whites. According to ethnomusicologist Portia Maultsby, African-derived music is interrelated in its style of delivery; the performers are expected to dress in a certain way (in the latest fashions) and tend to use their entire bodies in expression. The music-making process is conceptualised as a participatory group activity and the audience is encouraged to participate in antiphony (Maultsby 2000:93). There is also a tendency, in black music, 'to romanticise Africa or convey an essentialist notion of Afrocentricism' (Maultsby 2000: 12). Thus, there are similarities present between hip-hop and *kwaito*, but that does not make *kwaito* a direct descendant of hip-hop.

Conclusion

Kwaito draws its musical influence from various sectors of the music world, including American and European music, but also from various South African music genres. What makes it unique and truly South African is the fact that it 'developed out of these musical roots but also in response to the political, social and economic transition South Africa undertook since 1990' (Boloka 2003:99). *Kwaito* does not only use elements from international genres but also makes extensive use of local African signifiers, such as the instruments (for example, the marimba and xylophone), *Izibongo* praise poetry and, most importantly, lyrics that use indigenous South African languages. For these reasons, I believe, *kwaito* can be considered an authentic South African phenomenon.

References

- 'African hip hop'. <http://www.fact-index.com/a/af/african_hip_hop.html> accessed 01 June 2004.
- Baldick, Christopher (ed.) (1996). *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ballantine, Christopher (1993). *Marabi nights: early South African jazz and vaudeville*. Johannesburg: Ravan press.
- Banda, Manda (1999). 'Tkzee erasing cultural barriers.' *Tribute*, 36–39.
- Barfield, Thomas (ed.) (1997). *The Dictionary of Anthropology*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Barz, Gregory & Cooley, Timothy J (eds) (1997). *Shadows in the field: new perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Boloka, Gibson (2003). 'Cultural studies and the transformation of the music industry: some reflections on *kwaito*.' *Shifting Selves*, 97–107.
- Coetzer, Diane (1999). 'South Africa's *kwaito* gets int'l push.' *Billboard*, 3(22), 43–44.
- Coplan, David B (1985). *In township tonight! South Africa's black city music and theatre*. London: Longmans.
- Donne, Raffaella D (2003). Mapping the beat, beating the map: the religious work of hip-hop, reggae and *kwaito* in South Africa. Unpublished Master's dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Economist* April 3, 2000. 'One way to get rich in Soweto.' 85–86.
- 'Fair Lady/L'Oreal South African Fashion Awards; Stoned Cherrie takes 2003 Catherine Award.' <<http://www.iafrica.com/pls/pracs/SEARCH.ARCHIVE?>> accessed 5 August 2004.
- Firth, Simon & McRobbie, Angela (2000). 'On the expression of sexuality', in Derek B Scott (ed.), *Music, culture, and society*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Graham, Ronnie (1989). *Stem's guide to contemporary African music*, second edition. London: Pluto Press.
- Hamm, Charles (1991). 'The constant companion of man: separate development, radio Bantu and music.' *Popular music*, 10(2), 147–173.
- Kaschula, Russell (2002). *The bones of the ancestors are shaking: Xhosa oral poetry in context*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Kershaw, Andy. 'Radio 3 guide to world music: South Africa.' <<http://www.bbc.co.uk./radio3/world/guidesafrica.shtml>> accessed 30 May 2004.
- Kirkegaard, Annemette (2002). *Playing with identities in contemporary music in Africa*. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikanstutetet.
- Kofie, N N (1994). *Contemporary African music in world perspectives*. Accra: Ghana University Press.
- Kresse, Kai (1998), 'Izibongo – the political art of praising: poetical socio-regulative discourse in Zulu society.' *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 11(2), 171–196.
- Kwaito*. <http://www.unesco.org/courier/2000_07/uk/> accessed 24 April 2004.
- Maultsby, Portia (2000). 'On Africanisms.' In Derek B Scott (ed.), *Music, culture and society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 92–96.
- McCloy, Maria. '*Kwaito*: its history and where it's at now.' <<http://www.rage.co.za/kwaito2.html>> accessed 24 April 2004.

- 'Kwaito Story.' <<http://www.rage.co.za/issue43>> accessed 23 April 2004.
- Merriam, Alan P (1964). *The anthropology of music*. Illinois, Evanston: North-western University Press.
- Ntshangase, Dumisani K (1995). 'Indaba yami i-straight: language and language practices in Soweto.' In Rajend Mesthrie (ed.), *Language and social history*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.
- Oxford English Dictionary Online*. <http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/00078854?single=1&query_type=word&queryword=europocentric&edition=2e&first=1&max_to_show=10> accessed 16 August 2004, Oxford University Press
- Oxford reference online*. <<http://www.oxfordreference.com/views/ENTRY.html?subview=Main&entry=t56.e506>> accessed 16 August 2004, Oxford University Press.
- Pareles, Jon. 'South Africa's reigning pop and its upbeat ambassador.' <<http://www.query.nytimes.com>> accessed 24 April 2004.
- Rycroft, David (1969). Notes for *belgische radio en televisie recording of Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa instrumentale en vocale muziek*. LP vinyl record, DL 111 638.
- Shota, Babalwa (2004). 'Dare to dream.' *Sunday Times Magazine*, May 9, 10–12.
- Stephens, Simon (2000). 'Kwaito.' In Sarah Nuttall (ed.) *Senses of culture*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 256–273.
- Swinke, Simone. 'Kwaito: much more than music'. <<http://www.southafrica.info/what.happening/arts.entertainment/kwaitomental.htm>> accessed 23 April 2004.
- Warren, Fred and Warren, Lee (1970). *The music of Africa: an introduction*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Wylie, Dan (2003). 'Reading the signs.' Peter Anderson (ed.), *Text in context – course reader*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town, 129–146.

Discography

- Arthur (Mafokate) (1993). *Kaffir*, CCP Records/ EMI, CDCCP1098.
- Mafikizolo (2003). *Kwela*, DCC Productions/ Sony, CDCOL8243.
- Tkzee (1998). *Shibobo*, BMG, CDBENNI17.
- Zola (2004). *Bhambatha*, Ghetto Ruff CDRUF040.
- (2001). *Mdlwembe*, Ghetto Ruff CDRUF019.