The use of revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall movement:

A Discourse Analysis

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Declaration

I, Mokgabisi Phajane, declare that this thesis titled: *The use of revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall movement*: *A Discourse Analysis* is my work. It has not been submitted in any form for another qualification or at another institution. The sources used and quoted are acknowledged in the form of complete referencing.

---------- 30 September 2020 ----------

Student's signature Date

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Abstract

This study employed a discourse and thematic analysis to explore the use of revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement. This was achieved through three main objectives namely: to identify the role(s) of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement; to explore the purpose of amending pre-1994 revolutionary songs during the activities of the #FMF movement; and to investigate the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs sung by the #FMF members. A qualitative methodology was employed, and the theoretical framework used was social constructionism. The sample size consisted of six participants and data was collected using semi-structured interviews.

The results of the study suggest that the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement were understood by their functionality. Three primary themes identified as playing roles by revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement were, namely: communicating, mobilising, and expressing collective identity. The participants understood emotional, spiritual, and nostalgic expressions as subthemes for the communicative role. The participants were in consensus that the songs ought to accurately reflect the context in which they occur, although there were contradictions regarding the seemingly opposing positions *vis-à-vis* the need versus no need to amend revolutionary songs. This elicited a discussion regarding the relevance of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. The discussion produced the fourth theme of the findings titled: the more things change, the more they remain the same.

The revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement conveyed message(s) perceived to be important to the members of the wider #FMF movement. The fifth theme regarding the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs is titled: messages that ego the past. The increase in tuition fees served as a catalyst for unearthing deeper issues that were present in South African higher education. Certain revolutionary songs focused on challenging the barriers of inequality, widespread discontent regarding the conditions of colonialism, transformation, and institutional racism, while other revolutionary songs conveyed the constructive roles of self-persuasion, reaffirmation of identity, and mobilisation. The participants demonstrated that the intended message(s) may change based on the directed audience and the audience itself may change based on the context.

Keywords: Revolutionary songs, Student politics, #FeesMustFall, Music and Identity

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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CFC	Child and Family Centre
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
EFFSC	Economic Freedom Fighter Student Command
FMF	Fees Must Fall
HSSREC	Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
IPF	Interview Protocol Refinement
MK	uMkhonto weSizwe
NSFAS	National Students Financial Aid Scheme
PMB	Pietermaritzburg
RMF	Rhodes Must Fall
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SANNC	South African Native National Congress
SIT	Social Identity Theory
SRC	Student Representative Council
SSREC	Sciences Research Ethics Committee
SU	Stellenbosch University
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
UCT	University of Cape Town
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WITS	University of Witwatersrand

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the background to the study is provided. This is then followed by a discussion of the problem statement, objectives, questions, and the importance of research. A brief description of the methodology is outlined, followed by the delimitation of the study, and the chapter concludes with a structure of the dissertation.

1.2 Background

The #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement is a movement that took South Africa by storm in October 2015 calling for an end of outsourcing university staff members, free, quality, and decolonised education (Naicker, 2016). The #FMF movement was characterised as being one of the most significant student movements in democratic South Africa (Naicker, 2016). The #FMF movement criticised the slow pace of transformation in higher education, institutional racism, and the persistence of covert oppressive systems despite the advent of democracy in South Africa (Naidoo, 2016). Pillay (2016) urged the discipline of psychology to rise during the #FMF movement by speaking about the following issues: the narratives of transformation, problematising the status quo, normalising activism as a form of expression, challenging the injustices that exist after colonialism, and understanding the historical and racial factors that served as a springboard for the #FMF movement.

The #FMF movement was a movement fundamentally orchestrated to challenge the price tag of higher education. Following the announcement of a tuition fee increase for the 2016 academic year, the movement was a response against financial exclusion for economically disadvantaged students (Naidoo, 2016). This fee increase was understood as being a mechanism to perpetuate economic exclusion which is rooted in the discourse of apartheid because, in South Africa, black is equated to poor (Naicker, 2016). It became evident that the #FMF movement initiated pertinent conversations about various social issues. The legacy of the apartheid ideology served as a political and cultural context for the #FMF movement while the decolonisation ideology was also adopted as a foundational framework for the #FMF movement (Kgatle, 2018). Much like the #FMF movement, the South African liberation struggle was marked by cumulative events in history which birthed the extensive use of revolutionary songs. Revolutionary songs were therefore

created in response to longstanding racial segregation, which was adopted in 1948 through the implementation of the apartheid[1] system (Vershbow, 2010).

Gray (2004) proposed that revolutionary songs during the apartheid era were essential components in mobilising South African society for change. Revolutionary songs spoke to the circumstances of black South Africans, and people's realities were mirrored through song. Shepherd and Wicke (as cited in Gray, 2004) understood music as a foundational building block for cultural understanding and history, which provides information and connects past, present and future generations with each other. They were viewed as tools that teach people about their South African cultural history. Groenewald (2005) also emphasised the vital role revolutionary songs played in the realisation of democracy in South Africa. This was achieved through the performance of songs that transcends barriers of gender, race, age, and ethnicity. Desmond Tutu expressed that 'without those freedom songs, the struggle would be a great deal longer, a great deal bloodier and perhaps not even successful' (Groenewald, 2005, p. 127). le Roux-Kemp (2014) also suggested that music played a role in the liberation struggle against white domination. She emphasises the ability of music to express emotions and assert identity formation, and as a motivating factor for members not to grow weary and use weapons for confrontation and intimidation.

Against this background, the #FMF movement was also characterised by the singing of revolutionary songs, some of which were older than the members themselves. Historically, protests were synonymous with music; without music there was simply no protest (Mbhele, 2017). This notion was adopted by the members of the #FMF movement. However, the use of music in the #FMF movement has not received enough attention given what has been reported concerning the value of revolutionary songs during the resistance to apartheid and other forms of exclusion. There is scant literature and knowledge about the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement. The Black Thought Symposium[2] established the Ingoma Yomzabalazo project during the height of the student movement. The Ingoma Yomzabalazo project was aimed at initiating discussions about revolutionary songs and the meanings attributed to them. They asked what the significance was

[1] Apartheid: translated meaning apartness, was a racial segregation policy institutionalised in South Africa in 1948. The rights and movements of the black majority were oppressed to serve the interests of the white minority (Vershbow, 2010).

[2] The Black Thought Symposium was a platform created by a collective of students, lecturers, and artists at the University of Witwatersrand, aimed at discussing issues of 'the black conditions' (Mpemnyama, 2015).

for students singing these revolutionary songs. Unfortunately, answers to many of the questions asked about revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement are further frustrated by limited scholarly work within this area of interest.

1.3 Problem Statement

Literature investigating the #FMF movement to date is mainly focused on the digital strategy, and political and societal dynamics of the movement (Badat, 2016; Hodes, 2017; Levy, 2017), while Mbhele (2017) discusses the use of revolutionary songs within the #FMF movement as intertwined with the wider use of revolutionary songs. This is indicative of how historic revolutionary songs are still foundational for contemporary revolutionary songs. However, historic revolutionary songs performed in the liberation struggle cannot be standardised in their entirety to the #FMF movement's context, because historic revolutionary songs spoke about the conditions of the liberation struggle. Although the conditions are similar to those expressed in the #FMF movement, they are still not identical conditions. Revolutionary songs cannot be viewed as serving universal purposes for similar, yet not identical, contexts. Understanding revolutionary songs of the liberation struggle as identically reflecting the conditions of the #FMF movement fails to acknowledge the uniqueness of the #FMF movement and the generation in which it occurred. Thus, the study aims to gain a deeper understanding of the revolutionary songs sung during the #FMF movement.

The Ingoma Yomzabalaza project urged us to critically reflect on revolutionary songs and the meanings attributed to them, specifically in the #FMF movement. The project highlighted how there is still a need for scholarly research to be done on revolutionary songs and their meanings in the #FMF movement. Given the background regarding the significant role revolutionary songs played in the apartheid era, the roles of those revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement are equally noteworthy. There is relatively substantial literature exploring the role played by revolutionary songs in the liberation struggle, however scant literature exists addressing revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement. More research is thus required to explore the use of revolutionary songs, specifically contextualised in the #FMF movement.

1.4 Research Objectives and Questions

The objectives of the study were to:

1. Identify the role played by the revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement,
2. Explore the purpose of amending the revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994; and to
3. Investigate the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs sung by the members of the #FMF movement.

The research questions for the study were as follows:

1. What role do/did the revolutionary songs play in the #FMF movement?
2. What was the purpose of amending revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994?
3. What was the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs sung by the members of the #FMF movement?

1.5 Importance of research

The significance of revolutionary songs during the apartheid era has been studied in detail by various authors, focusing on different aspects of these songs (Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; Nkoala, 2013; le Roux-Kemp, 2014). Gray (2004) understood revolutionary songs to be an essential component in catalysing change in South African society, and revolutionary songs contributed significantly to changing the socio-political conditions in South Africa. Groenewald (2005) held the same viewpoint on how revolutionary songs played a vital role in the realisation of democracy in South Africa, while le Roux-Kemp (2014) emphasised the ability of revolutionary songs to express emotions, assert identity formation, and serve as a motivating factor. The common thread running through literature about revolutionary songs in South Africa is their ability to facilitate socio-political change.

This power of revolutionary songs seems to have been adopted in the context of the #FMF movement whose members used them extensively throughout their activities. The study explores the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement to contextualise the described power of songs to the #FMF movement's context. Thus, this study contextualises the historic revolutionary songs of the liberation struggle, specifically to the #FMF movement. In exploring the use of revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement, there is an appreciation for the unique conditions of

the #FMF movement. Thus, it was imperative to acknowledge the unique characteristics of the contemporary revolutionary songs sampled, re-interpreted, and composed for the #FMF movement. This generates a new body of knowledge about the contemporary revolutionary songs of the 21st century, more specifically in the context of the #FMF movement. This study further intends to explore the use of these songs in the #FMF movement to better understand their value for this movement and its members.

1.6 Brief description of the methodology

To explore the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, an interpretative paradigm was employed, which focussed on how the members of the #FMF movement made use of revolutionary songs to achieve their goals. A qualitative method was used because it allowed for an interpretative approach (Mertens, 1998). The research design was exploratory, as it aligned with the objective of gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of interest given the limited availability of scholarly literature (Cooper, 2015; Polonsky & Waller, 2005).

The snowball sampling method was used to sample six participants between the ages of 20 to 28 years who were actively part of the #FMF movement. It was a suitable sampling method for this study because of the perceived sensitivity of this topic. Data was collected using semi-structured interviews and analysed using discourse and thematic analysis.

1.7 Delimitation of the study

This study explored the use of revolutionary songs by members of the #FMF movement at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg campus). The results of this study are limited to this sample and this location. The results are not intended to be generalised to other settings or other members of the #FMF movement at other universities.

1.8 Structure of the dissertation

This study has five chapters and they are structured as follows:

Chapter 1 was the introductory chapter. In this chapter the background of the study was discussed, followed by the problem statement, objectives, and research questions. The importance of the

research or this study was also discussed. This chapter concluded with a brief outline of the methodology and delimitation of the study.

Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature that speaks to the use of revolutionary songs in the history of South Africa and during the activities of the #FMF movement. The theoretical framework that was chosen in this study is also discussed.

Chapter 3 is a discussion of the methodological decisions made in this study and includes the research paradigm and design, sampling method, data collection, research instruments, data analysis, reliability, validity, rigor, and the ethical aspects that were taken into consideration.

Chapter 4 presents the findings and discussion of the study.

Chapter 5 provides a summary of the main findings, together with an outline of the limitations and the recommendations for future research.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the background of the study, the problem statement, research objectives, and research questions. The importance of the study was also discussed. It also outlined a brief description of the research methodology and the delimitation of the study. The chapter concluded with a description of what is covered in the various chapters of the dissertation. The ensuing chapter is a discussion of the relevant literature in this study.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a discussion of the relevant literature is presented. The chapter begins with defining revolutionary songs. This is followed by a discussion of the history and evolution of revolutionary songs, and their use in the South African liberation struggle. It further discusses the relationship between music and identity, student activism in pre- and post-1994, and the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. This chapter will conclude by discussing the theoretical framework that was used in the study.

2.2 Defining revolutionary songs

Revolutionary songs were introduced during resistance movements and communicate socio-political viewpoints (Pring-Mill, 1987). However, Pring-Mill (1987) suggested that not all revolutionary songs were produced to serve an antagonistic role. Instead, revolutionary songs were also produced to serve constructive roles, such as promoting positivity and eliciting hope (Nwoye, 2018). The term 'revolutionary' is defined as something or someone causing change and having a significant effect (Johnson, 1982). From this given definition, revolutionary songs can also be viewed as songs causing great effect and catalysing change. Revolutionary songs also served to resist, and thus their effectiveness lies in their ability to persuade (le Roux-Kemp, 2014; Nwoye, 2018). This is a unique characteristic that differentiates revolutionary songs from other politically-motivated songs.

2.3 History and evolution of revolutionary songs in South Africa

The history and evolution of revolutionary songs in South Africa were imperative for this study because it provided historical context for the contemporary revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement. As suggested by Fischlin and Heble (2003), revolutionary songs are inseparable from the social and political context in which they occur. A review of the history and evolution of revolutionary songs was necessary because revolutionary songs of the liberation struggle were foundational for the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement. Some of the contemporary revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement were sampled from revolutionary songs performed in

the liberation struggle. Thus, it is not merely a history of music, but also a reflection of the various forces of apartheid that informed and helped shape revolutionary songs as we knew and understood them in the #FMF movement.

2.3.1 iMusic

iMusic was a category of revolutionary songs defined by Caluza[3] as emerging from the origins of choral music (Gray, 2004). The early revolutionary songs were non-confrontational and resembled church hymns (Erlmann, 1991). This was because many political leaders were educated and educators in missionary schools training in choral music. Consequently, political agendas were communicated using choral music (Okigbo, 2010).

The president of the first black political organisation, the South African Native National Congress (SANNC), which later changed to the African National Congress (ANC), was Reverend John Dube, who was an ordained minister (Gray, 1999). Enoch Sontonga was an educator at a Methodist missionary school and was the composer of the well-acclaimed *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica* in 1897, which was later adapted by Samuel Mqhayi (Okigbo, 2010). This church hymn was sung as a prayer signifying unity in an unthreatening context. It was therefore not surprising that social injustices at that time were evidenced and approached in a spiritual manner. Political struggles were therefore intertwined with the church and political songs gained significant spiritual meaning as they were paralleled to church hymns (Okigbo, 2010).

Caluza argued that this category of music failed to reflect the deteriorating social conditions and therefore, the intensifying resistance of the nation (Caluza as cited in Gray, 2004). Revolutionary songs adopted new meanings as the liberation struggle intensified.

2.3.2 iRagime

As the level of repression intensified, the nature of revolutionary songs shifted from being purely church hymns to an 'Afro-American Folkstyle' (Gray, 1999). This category of revolutionary songs understood the multifaceted role of music beyond merely the entertainment sphere. This

[3] Reuben Tholakele Caluza (1895–1969) was an acclaimed South African composer during the apartheid era. His collection of songs reflected the South African history and addressed the social and economic experiences of people during the apartheid era (Okigbo, 2016).

introduced the ushering of music characterised as being politically orientated, expressive, and defiant in nature (Erlmann, 1991). It was a genre of revolutionary songs that was contextualised and culturally representative of the South African context.

The founding of the ANC in 1912, and shortly thereafter the passing of the Land Act of 1913, introduced an era of overtly critical and resistant songs that reflected the increased adversities of black[4] people's social circumstances (Gray, 1999). The *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica* hymn song was then entrenched in political discourse and resonated with many Africans because of its sentimental value (Rhodes, 1962).

2.3.3 1950s

According to Molefe Pheto (as cited in Ewens, 1991, p. 199), 'there was a political awaking […], things were beginning to take shape' as the resistance increased. Sibusiso Nxumalo notes how 'the songs started to take a new overtone, changing a word here, changing a word there, putting an AK 47 here, taking out the Bible there' (Hirsch, 2002). The change in song was also accompanied by the toyi-toyi[5] dance which is the intense stomping of the feet to facilitate mobilisation, and a tool used in war to increase threat (Gray, 2004).

2.3.4 1960s–1970s

The Sharpeville Massacre[6] which resulted in the brutal killing of people, the 1976 Student Uprising[7] movement, and the imprisonment of Steve Biko,[8] further dampened the atmosphere (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008), and revolutionary songs adopted a mournful undertone following these events.

[4] The term *black* is used to refer collectively to historically disadvantaged and oppressed people during the apartheid era in South Africa. This collective term includes Africans, Indians, and Coloured people (Cooper, 2015). This term is used in this way throughout the thesis.

[5] *Toyi-toyi* is a South African rhythmic dance characterised by high stepping movements commonly performed in political settings (Twala & Koetaan, 2006).

[6] The Sharpeville Massacre occurred on 21 March 1960 in a township called Sharpeville, South Africa. It was a protest that gathered thousands of people to resist the restrictive pass laws which required black South Africans to carry passes wherever they went (Evans, 2009).

[7] A movement initiated by students to fight against the apartheid language policy for Afrikaans to become the medium of instruction (Ndlovu, 2006).

[8] Stephen (Steve) Biko was a South African activist during the apartheid era. He was at the forefront of anti-apartheid campaigns, one of which was the Black Consciousness Movement (SouthAfricanOnlineHistory, n.d).

The heartfelt *Senzeni Na*? *Thina Sizwe* and *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* were revolutionary songs that encapsulated the lamenting tone of this period (Gray, 2004; Schumann, 2008). The *Senzeni Na*? revolutionary song urged the audience (namely, the apartheid government and its supporters) to rethink their actions and tried to elicit feelings of guilt in its subtle accusatory tone (Nwoye, 2018). The spirit of the people was shattered, and their emotions were anguished.

2.3.5 The 1990s into democracy

Revolutionary songs of the 1990s projected a mood of hope for profound changes as this period was marked by political negotiations and the release of Nelson Mandela and other incarcerated political leaders (Tönsing, 2017). Revolutionary songs were underlined by a celebratory spirit when laws unbanning political organisations were passed and Nelson Mandela was announced as the first black president (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). Songs such as *Usiletha uxolo* were vibrating throughout the whole South Africa and throughout the world in solidarity (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014).

After the demise of the apartheid regime in 1994, the collective message that was communicated was about socio-political integration and unity. This was symbolically reflected through the amending of *Nkosi Sikielel*' *iAfrica*, which was adopted as the official South African national anthem (Thompson, 2001). The song encompassed five of the 11 official languages: Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Afrikaans, and English. The national anthem, although rooted in historical and racial discourse, was nevertheless foundational in the democratic South Africa.

2.4 Use of revolutionary songs in the liberation struggle in South Africa

2.4.1 Communication

Biko (1978) argued that music is not a luxury art because it is encapsulated in communication in the African culture. During the liberation struggle, revolutionary songs were used as subtly-censored channels to convey messages of frustration and discontent, more so when words failed people (Jolaosho, 2014b). They were used as voices for black South Africans because no alternative and appropriate channels were available to convey their messages (Gray, 1999). The performance of revolutionary songs, therefore, offered people an outlet for expressions about issues that were deemed sensitive. Outside of music, black people were continuously silenced and

confronted with discrimination; however, singing of revolutionary songs was a form of disregard for the rules and regulations imposed on them. Revolutionary songs, therefore, gave a voice to, and created a space for, self-liberation (McClendon, 1976). This self-liberation is what Kunene (1986, p. 46) described as 'an act of self-emancipation to be able to confront your oppressor face to face and tell him in uncensored language what you think of him'. In this regard, the communicative role of revolutionary songs facilitates a resistance mechanism that enables people to have spontaneous responses to the social and political circumstances. According to Nkoala (2013), the power of revolutionary songs lies in its fluidity and flexibility to capture people's emotions and articulate the conditions of the time, and acknowledges the communicative role of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement.

In his discussion, Mati (2016) illustrated how revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement were also sung to communicate their dissatisfaction, discontent, and reflect the conditions of the #FMF movement. This was observed from the translations and interpretations provided by Mati (2016) in assisting the audience to gain a better understanding of the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement. Mati (2016) also noted that the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement communicated specific messages that consequently enabled the members of the movement to be heard. Thus, the communicative role of revolutionary songs was maintained in the #FMF movement.

2.4.2 Emotional expression

Sanger (1997) discussed the role of revolutionary songs in the civil rights movement (in the United States of America), with emotional expression playing a prominent role. An analysis of the interviews from civil rights activists revealed how revolutionary songs facilitated access to a deeper level of emotionalism. They considered this level of emotional expression a vital part of their success in conquering the struggle. They viewed revolutionary songs as essential in facilitating a process of emotional expression that would ultimately lead to their success. Mondak (1988) suggested that revolutionary songs were designed to elicit emotional responses and not to be understood cognitively, as they are mechanisms that appeal to the emotions. In other words, revolutionary songs allow people to freely express their emotions without the need to disclose their thoughts. This statement seems to have been supported by Gray (1999), reflecting on revolutionary songs in South Africa, who stated that revolutionary songs had/have the power to steer an

audience's emotions and shape their behaviour. Tönsing (2017) noted that revolutionary songs were effective tools in expressing emotions such as anger and frustration, and thereby relieving tension, suggesting that revolutionary songs themselves were filled with intense emotions because they were used to express the emotions experienced by those singing them. However, revolutionary songs were not merely used for emotional expression, but also for regulating people's internal states. Nwoye (2018) suggested that during the apartheid era revolutionary songs (similar to African music) were utilised as therapeutic tools for regulating mood, stress, anxiety, and improving negative emotions.

Activists of civil rights movements described the singing of revolutionary songs as an experience of change and emotional management in which negative emotions were transformed into positive emotions (Sanger, 1997). They did so, not by effacing the negative emotions, but rather by providing them with a mechanism to manage and channel their emotions. This acknowledged the cathartic feature present in revolutionary songs. Revolutionary songs are the appropriate conduit people used to articulate and express the complex emotions brought about by their involvement in the anti-war movement.

In an interview, a student activist reflected on a moment when students were gathered at the University of Cape Town (UCT) singing revolutionary songs, sweating, and crying. She stated 'some of us were crying because it became such an emotional space' (Ahmed, 2019, p. 28), suggesting that revolutionary songs contributed to eliciting and expressing the complex emotions experienced by the members of the #FMF movement. Thus, the psychological significance of revolutionary songs lies in their attempt to deal with the inescapable reality of pain and suffering, and their ability to express it.

Xulu (2018) was interested in the significance of revolutionary songs in political and social movements. His study focused specifically on the revolutionary song *Senzeni Na*? in the #FMF and #RapeCulture movements. The study demonstrated how this revolutionary song served to express the internal states of the members of both the #FMF and #RapeCulture movements. It also indicated how this song was performed to elicit emotions from the audience.

2.4.3 Shared culture

In a documentary on South African revolutionary songs titled *Amandla*! *A revolution in four-part harmony* (Hirsch, 2002), Duma ka Ndlovu states how revolutionary songs permeated people's everyday activities: 'We were raised in families and homes where our parents would break into a song at the slightest provocation. When your mother could not figure out what to feed you for that night because she did not have any money.' The singing of revolutionary songs was thus linked with many daily activities. Stefani (2015) and Jolaosho (2014b) noted that revolutionary songs were not only appropriate to be performed in contexts such as social movement, but also everyday routine spaces. Revolutionary songs were also performed at important life events, such as celebrations, weddings, milestones, deaths, and rituals (Tönsing, 2017). Music was intertwined with every aspect of living (Tönsing, 2017). This was a shared culture observed in the performance of revolutionary songs.

Similarly, revolutionary songs permeated all activities of the #FMF movement. Regardless of the timing or location of gatherings that occurred, the actions of the #FMF movement were accompanied by the singing of revolutionary songs. This was observed in the analysis of the #FMF movement in South African universities, provided by Langa, Ndelu, Edwin and Vilakazi (2017). Their literature indicated how revolutionary songs were sung in multiple universities across South Africa, but most importantly how revolutionary songs accompanied many events of the #FMF movement. For revolutionary songs to permeate all activities of the #FMF movement is truly testimony to the use of music in daily activities.

2.4.4 Spiritual

Duma ka Ndlovu speaks about the central role revolutionary songs play in African spirituality and associates them with African culture (Hirsch, 2002). 'One of the ways in which Africans feel closer to his or her creator is through song' (Hirsch, 2002). Revolutionary songs were therefore viewed as a mechanism that facilitated the expression of spirituality and bridged the gap between people and their God. Stefani (2015) echoed the same sentiments, stating that revolutionary songs in the 1960s were synonymous with African religions, traditions and gospel music, all functioning as a source of inspiration, comfort, and a means to alleviate sorrow. Therefore, Stefani (2015) equated social movements to a religious awakening, suggesting that just as gospel music was used as a

channel to call upon ancestral spirits and God for relief from their sorrow, so too were revolutionary songs sung to achieve similar outcomes.

Revolutionary songs are spiritually anchored and cannot exist outside of the church and spiritual contexts (Saliers, 2010). This was also demonstrated in the history of South African revolutionary songs discussed earlier in this chapter. This spiritual role of revolutionary songs is anchored in its ability to express what is not heard, whilst carrying the listener to places of joy and sorrow (Saliers, 2005). It functions as a 'language of the soul made audible' to the audience (Saliers, 2010, p. 10).

In South African history *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica* was a revolutionary song used to express spirituality and deep faith in God (Lebaka, 2018). Although this revolutionary song was highly politicised, it is still a plea to God's goodness and resonates a deep tone of confidence in Him. This revolutionary song also acknowledges God as the ultimate comforter from hardship (Lebaka, 2018).

In the context of the #FMF movement, the song *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica* was adopted as the Decolonised National Anthem[9] of the #FMF movement. The song was amended to resemble the struggles and hardships experienced by members of the #FMF movement. This version maintained its moral grounding and still pleads to God's strength to overcome their current hardships (TheMail&Gaudian, 2016). This revolutionary song is considered to be a modern spiritual song rooted in historical discourse. Thus, the spiritual role of revolutionary songs was also observed in the #FMF movement.

2.4.5 Collective identity

Revolutionary songs possess a spirt of comradery that is perceived to be unattainable outside of the group context (Nkoala, 2013). Due to this characteristic, revolutionary songs are classified as communal art. In this regard, the ability of revolutionary songs to bring unity among people is discussed by Biko (1978), who stated that singing evoked a sense of togetherness among the performers.

Pring-Mill (1987) stated that revolutionary songs are not a reflection of an individual's interpretation but rather a collective interpretation of events, acknowledging the significance of

[9] A detailed account of this song is provided later in the chapter. It is discussed under the heading **'**the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement**'.**

the collective in revolutionary songs. Thus, the collective identity in revolutionary songs is demonstrated in a shared 'we' of reality. The collective interpretations connect all the people involved in the composition and performance of revolutionary songs. It provides a sense of communal understanding because of the collective statements used. This view was supported by Rawick's statement (as cited in Sheldrake, 2005) that 'people do not individually resist in any significant degree without some sort of support and social confirmation from the community'. In this regard, the effectiveness of revolutionary songs lies in the mutual commitment and determination of the collective (Groenewald, 2005). This role of revolutionary songs therefore aided in maintaining morale, strengthening social bonds, and bringing about solidarity within the group.

Similarly, this role was observed in the #FMF movement. One of the essential methodologies of the #FMF movement was the singing of historic and contemporary revolutionary songs, all of which were centred around the 'we' interpretations. In their analysis of the #FMF movement across South African universities, Langa et al. (2017) demonstrated that the performance of revolutionary songs created collective identity. Through the singing of the same revolutionary songs, the members of the #FMF movement across multiple South African universities created a singular collective identity.

2.4.6 Mobilisation

According to Nkoala (2013), the effectiveness of revolutionary songs is largely based on their ability to persuade. Mondak (1988, p. 25) previously suggested that for revolutionary songs to fulfil their persuasive property, they ought to 'induce sympathetic responses from the listeners', such as increased heart rate, raised blood pressure, goosebumps, and sweating (Ellis & Thayer, 2010). This consequently puts the audience in a certain frame of mind.

Mobilisation was experienced on two levels in revolutionary songs. Firstly by persuading others to become involved in future movements about the same assertion (Sanger, 1997), which explains why Denisoff (1966) referred to revolutionary songs as 'magnetic songs of persuasion'. This form of mobilisation is also directed inward to the members of the in-group, to unify and increase group cohesion. Secondly, by using intriguing dynamics, as presented by Nkoala (2013), in which the performer simultaneously plays the role of the audience, which serves the purpose of self-

persuasion directed inwardly. In this way, the power of revolutionary songs provides psychological affirmation, self-assertion, whilst simultaneously soothing the members of the movement.

Jolaosho (2014a) posited that the role of revolutionary songs in mobilising people and ultimately liberating them from the liberation struggle is the reason they still thrive in post-apartheid South Africa. The two forms of mobilisation and persuasion discussed were observed in the #FMF movement. At WITS University, when students were gathered on the staircase having a meeting with Vice-Chancellor Adam Habib, they sang revolutionary songs until the break of dawn, as a way of asserting themselves and their roles, and persuading members to continue persevering (Liphosa & Dennis, 2017). Mobilisation was also achieved through emphasising the significance of struggle heroes. UNISA Political Science Lecturer, Dr. Dirk Kotza,[10] stated that by referring to struggle heroes, the members of the #FMF movement were filled with motivation, perseverance, and a sense that they contributed significantly to a wider struggle. This was a form of persuasion that was directed inwards to self (members of the #FMF movement).

Through dance, the performers are put in a certain frame of mind. Toyi-toying, together with the revolutionary songs, played a vital role in mobilising the members and was ultimately instrumental in the demise of the apartheid government. Tambo (as cited in Gray, 1999) explains how the toyi-toyi forms an integral part of black South African traditions. Although it has become synonymous with politicised activity, it is still very cultural in its roots. This physical motion brings people together, builds unity among the members (Twala & Koetaan, 2006), and elicits courage in the performers. Kasrils (as cited in Groenewald, 2005) also found that the singing of revolutionary songs and the toyi-toyi featured as a concrete weapon to convey messages in an uncensored language, an intimidation tool to compel members of the in-group to embark on the toyi-toyi (Twala & Koetaan, 2006), which in itself was designed to mobilise people during protests.

2.5 Music and identity

Social Identity Theory (SIT) appears to underpin majority of research investigating the relationship between music and identity from a social psychology perspective (Tarrant, North & Hargreaves, 2001). SIT is based on two aspects of group membership and the resulting behaviour based on that membership. Identity is therefore constructed and maintained through group identification and

[10] Dr Dirk Kotze was cited on SABC News Online (SABCNewsOnline, 2016).

differentiation (Hogg et al., 1995). Thus, identifying with an in-group simultaneously emphasises the out-group. The process of identification and differentiation between the self and perceived others is a concept that various theorists consider central to the process of identity construction (Abrams & Hogg, 1988).

This process of differentiation is also observed in revolutionary songs, in which they foster separation between the performers and the audience, consisting mostly of members of an oppressive white dominating system. Revolutionary songs were used as tools to create a positive representation of the in-group and a negative representation of the out-group. In this regard, Sanger (1997) argued that revolutionary songs of the black civil rights movement epitomised purposeful communication that enabled performers to relay a definition of themselves. Both the performance and lyrical content of the revolutionary songs contributed to the positive redefinition of being capable of improving their socio-political conditions. These songs became an important component of the performers in constructing a new sense of self beyond the oppression of white domination (Steinfeld, 2016). Without the expression through revolutionary songs, the performers would not have found the identity that enabled them to resist the oppressive system. As suggested by le Roux-Kemp (2014), revolutionary songs were often used as an avenue for people to re-affirm their identity.

L. Allen (2004), stated that after the advent of a democratic South Africa, the reconstruction of a new national identity became a highly prioritised project. The two proposed national identities were firstly collectively constructed and communicated to people through music. The bestowed new national identity of democratic South Africa was the Rainbow Nation, which was a merger of multiple ethnic groups into one singular identity (Brunsdon, 2017). This process of social and political integration was manifested in the composition of the national anthem, *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica*. The national anthem is a composition of five of the 11 official languages in South Africa. This was, therefore, a musical manifestation of the social integration that took place after 1994 in South Africa.

For many South Africans, the song *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica* was a musical nostalgia of the apartheid era (Rhodes, 1962). Likewise, *Die Stem Van Suid-Afrika* was a song sung at parliamentary gatherings during apartheid (S. Allen, 2015). These two songs are deep-seated in historical, social,

and racial discourse. However, the integrated use of them in one song sent out a strong message of the unity that was to be represented and reflected in democratic South Africa.

During the #FMF movement, the decolonised national anthem was the amended South African national anthem to fit the context of the #FMF movement. The song substituted all Afrikaans and English lyrics with isiZulu and Shona lyrics, and contained only isiXhosa, isiZulu, and Shona lyrics. This was a strong indication of the members of the #FMF movement detaching themselves from what they called colonial languages (Mulaudzi, 2016). The decolonised national Anthem was aligned to the assertions of the #FMF movement of decolonization. The decolonised national anthem was a musical manifestation of the identity the #FMF movement's members embodied and identified with: a decolonised identity.

Many revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement were sampled from revolutionary songs in history. Although they were amended to fit the conditions of the #FMF movement, they still maintained the messages and meanings from the time they were first composed (Mbhele, 2017). Thus, through revolutionary songs, members of the #FMF movement were creating a collective identity with the struggle members of the past, when revolutionary songs were first composed. Additionally, by referencing struggle heroes in the #FMF movement, revolutionary songs also place the #FMF movement in the trajectory to the wider struggle (SABCNewsOnline, 2016), thereby creating a generational collective identity that is not limited to the immediate context of the #FMF movement. This generational collective identity is similar to what Assmann (2013) speaks about as a diachronic identity, which is understood as the identity that allows people to individually and collectively locate themselves in the past, present, or future. In the #FMF movement, this form of identity was also achieved by referencing struggle heroes in contemporary revolutionary songs.

2.6 Student politics in South Africa: Pre-1994

Student activism during apartheid emanated from an education system that perpetuated segregation and subsequently, different education services were provided to black and white universities (Badat, 1999; Muswede, 2017). The central feature of the education system was based on inequalities that were already prevalent in the wider society. Thus, differentiated education meant that education for black people, called Bantu Education, was tailored to provide minuscule skills

to occupy subordinate positions, while white people were provided with superior education (Badat, 1999; Muswede, 2017). Universities, therefore, became ideal platforms for resistance.

The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) was an exclusively white student's organisation from 1924, which later adopted a non-racial approach to opposing the apartheid ideology (Hirson, 1979; Reddy, 2004). In the early 1960s, white students from the NUSAS engaged in public protests which continued until the late 1960s. Their actions repudiated the notion that South Africa's white population supported apartheid. NUSAS opposed the Bantu Education and Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959, which further separated education based on ethnicity (Reddy, 2004). It was, therefore, this atmosphere that inspired the emergence of student activism as a form of resistance against the policies of apartheid.

Black students, including Steve Biko, believed that their affiliation with NUSAS hindered the overarching black struggle (Hirson, 1979; Reddy, 2004). Student leaders believed NUSAS could not truly relate to the real struggles of black people, let alone represent them (Reddy, 2004). They subsequently established the South African Student's Organisation (SASO). The dissemination of anti-colonial ideas such as Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness (BC) changed the vocabulary of students (Reddy, 2004). The emergence of these black liberation ideas through empowerment invigorated student activism in communities (Reddy, 2004). Bundy (1987) notes that during this period institutions were infiltrated by political education and there was an awakening. Historical student movements, such as the South African Student Movement (SAM), Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO), the Congress of South Africa Students (COSAS), and the establishment of SASO, played fundamental roles in providing political awareness and mobilising students (Hirson, 1979; Nkomo, 1984; Reddy, 2004). The establishment of the black-led movement was also foundational for the #FMF movement. The #FMF movement drew heavily from the previously established anti-colonial ideas, such as Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness (Naidoo, 2016). The philosophy of BC significantly informed the #FMF movement because, at inception, it opposed the structure of the education system and demanded an improvement of higher education for historically black universities[11] (Naidoo, 2016).

[11] Historically black institutions were institutions exclusively attended by black people during apartheid. The binary polar of historically black institutions are historically white institutions which were advantageously resourced (Reddy, 2004).

In 1974, the South African government passed a law declaring Afrikaans as the language of instruction, which effectively meant that all black students would be taught predominantly in Afrikaans (Reddy, 2004). Opposition to this decree resulted in the protesting of students on 16 June 1976, now known as the 1976 Soweto Uprising (Reddy, 2004). Although the protest was initially orchestrated as a response to the language policy, this reaction was a bold statement against the holistic apartheid regime and the policies that perpetuated oppression (Muswede, 2017). The #FMF movement drew from the same contrast of the 1976 Soweto Uprising. Although the Soweto Uprising was not an opposition against higher education *per se*, both oppositions were against the education system as a whole. Hence the #FMF movement bears a striking resemblance to the June 1976 Soweto Uprising (Naidoo, 2016).

2.7 Student politics in South Africa: Post-Apartheid

In post-apartheid South Africa, restructuring higher education was a major priority (Reddy, 2004). The National Commission of Higher Education was employed in 1995 as an advisory to the Minister of Education, to undertake the project of transformation in higher education. The goal of the Commission was to reflect the mandate of democratic South Africa, such as reparation, equity, and social justice (Reddy, 2004). In 1996 the Higher Education White Paper was released which proposed the restructuring of higher education into a single unified system to facilitate transformation and the equal distribution of resources (Reddy, 2004). The unified education system was achieved through the merger of historically white and historically black institutions. However, four historically white institutions were exempted from the merger, namely, Stellenbosch University (SU), University of Pretoria (UP), University of the Witwatersrand (WITS), and UCT (Reddy, 2004). Cooper (2015) argued that this exception for historically white and advantaged institutions was a springboard for inequality in post-apartheid universities.

F. B. Nyamnjoh (2015) understood black pain to be a result of white privilege, in the sense that the discontent and discomfort of black people occurs as a result of the privilege of white people. Therefore, to speak about the fallacy of freedom and equality is to disregard the reality that hierarchies informed by race, class, culture, and economic standing do not exist in democratic South Africa, over 20 years since the demise of the apartheid regime (F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015). Thus, the impact of institutional racism has created hostile environments in universities for black

students in which they, like foreigners, are alienated (A. Nyamnjoh, 2017). In this regard, the higher education system is perceived as a hostile environment for black students.

Institutional racism in post-apartheid universities also manifested itself at a financial level. The National Students Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) contributed significantly in providing financial assistance to students who were eligible to attend university (Badat, 2016). Unfortunately, the contribution from NSFAS alone was insufficient to fund all students who were academically deserving but economically disadvantaged (Badat, 2016). This meant that students who were eligible for university and students with historical debt could not register. This was interpreted as a form of exclusion, thus perpetuating the dynamics of inequality regarding access to university. These financial conditions consequently resulted in routine protests at some historically black intuitions each year (Müller, 2017). It became evident that higher education inherited the legacy of apartheid that, even in the face of democracy, black was equated to poor. Thus, student politics in the post-apartheid era was an expression of the dissatisfaction of daily exclusion based on race, class, culture, and economic status.

In 2015, the face of student activism took on a different form and all universities throughout South Africa became united in one purpose. On Monday 9th March 2015, a student at UCT threw excrement on the statue of Sir Cecil Rhodes, symbolic of disgust (F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015). His actions were understood widely as vaulting a new threshold in student activism. The statue was symbolic of the ultimate fall of white supremacy and structural racism that continued to exist on campus more than 20 years after the advent of democracy (F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015). This event was the starting point for the #FMF movement, which is considered the trajectory of a wider movement, pursuing new lines while echoing older ones.

The actions of that student gave rise to the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) movement. The #RMF movement was overarched by the struggle for black liberation in a colonial space, not merely for the students, but also the black staff on campus (Satgar, 2016). The events of the #RMF movement birthed the hashtag (#) culture that was used countrywide for subsequent student movements with similar assertions to the #RMF movement (Levy, 2017; Naicker, 2016; Pillay, 2016). Students at Rhodes University (RU) were calling for transformation through the #RhodesSoWhite movement, University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) through the #TransformWits movement, North-West

University (NWU) through the #TransformPukke movement, while students from SU called for change through the #OpenStellenbosch campaign.

2.7.1 #FMF

The number of students enrolled in Higher Education increased significantly from 495 365 students in 1994 to 938 201 students in 2011.[12] However, State funding for the increasing demand to access University decreased from 49% in 2000 to 40% in 2012 (Student fees: facts, 2015) and universities had to make up for this gap by raising funds, while tuition fees increased from 24% to 31%. This meant that higher education was too expensive for some students. The #FMF movement was a collective frustration against the financial exclusion and debt for financially disadvantaged students (Hodes, 2017).

It was not until the week of 12th–19th October 2015 when students from WITS started protesting again in response to the proposed increase of 10,5% in tuition fees for 2016 (Naicker, 2016). These student protests brought all universities across the country to a standstill by the singing of revolutionary songs, some of which were older than the students themselves (Naicker, 2016). The #FMF movement was a tagline used for this movement, which was characterised as a collective of both student and workers mobilising for visible transformation. This transformation focused on the decolonisation of the university curriculum, the social composition of academic staff, institutional culture, inadequate funding, and the rising tuition fees which were too expensive for students (Badat, 2016; Naicker, 2016).

The WITS Student Representative Council (SRC) argued that the #FMF movement was the most impactful student revolution since the advent of democracy (Badat, 2016). The members of the #FMF movement changed the nature of student activism in the broader discourse of student movements (Badat, 2016). This was further demonstrated using digital platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and instant messaging, which facilitated swift communication between the members of the #FMF movement. This use of social media for mobilisation makes the 2015–2016 student movement quite different from the others (Badat, 2016). They understood the power of unity towards attaining a collective goal. However, this unity among the #FMF movement's

[12] Ministerial Committee report for Universities and Higher Education Funding. Pretoria, South Africa, February 2014.

members across all South African universities was questioned. It originated because students at historically white institutions, such as UCT, WITS and SU, were able to write their final exams while students from historically black universities, such as UWC and Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), only wrote their exams at the beginning of 2016 due to the damage done on their campuses (Badat, 2016). The student and workers' alliance movement exposed the fallacy of the 'Rainbow Nation' (Sachane, 2016). While students in 2015/2016 were singing *Asinamali* (*we don't have money*), students from historically black universities, were already singing these songs during protests that took place at the beginning of each financial year (Müller, 2017). This perpetuated the differential treatment that continued to covertly exist in South African institutions.

Superficially, although the tagline #FMF appears to be addressing only the issue of tuition fees, the movement had a greater magnitude (Badat, 2016). It was and is fundamentally about the right to access education and the additional resources that enable students to flourish in institutions of higher education (Badat, 2016). Levy (2017) also formulated a harsh reality in today's context that any chance of being employed in not just a middle-class job, but any job, was/is dependent on obtaining a post-secondary qualification. It was therefore not surprising that students were desperate for access to education. This movement gave the government much to think about regarding funding, tuition fees, transformation, and a host of other issues regarding social injustice. However, Badat (2016) argued that these demands presented by the #FMF movement's members required more investigation and analysis as they are not comprehensive enough.

2.8 The use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF

For many South Africans, protests cannot exist in the absence of revolutionary songs and this notion was also adopted by the members of the #FMF movement. This was demonstrated by commentators such as Sive Mqikela, who posits that 'if anyone could ask what transpired out of the Fees Must Fall, we would have to listen to revolutionary songs that came out of it, to really know what happened' (Zwane, 2017). Mqikela thus speaks about the ability of contemporary revolutionary songs to reflect the circumstances and convey the narratives of the #FMF movement. The #FMF movement was fundamentally about the lingering anger and the perceived 'unfinished business' many South Africans experience daily. Despite the transition from the apartheid era into a democratic South Africa, many people still struggle for economic and political freedom (Levy, 2017; F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015), and the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement reflected these

realities. Mbhele (2017) argued that the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement showed how the inequalities and hierarchies of the apartheid era continue to exist today, even in South African universities. It may seem that this movement was therefore anchored in trajectory with various societal issues present in democratic South Africa. This further sparked discussion regarding the relevance of revolutionary songs in democratic South Africa.

Muswede (2017), however, argues that, unfortunately, the current grievances expressed by the people of South Africa bear a striking resemblance to those of the liberation struggle, while Mtshiselwa (2014) questions whether democratic South Africa can be considered a free nation when holistic freedom has not yet been attained. The legacies of colonialism and apartheid, in the form of socio-economic injustices, are perpetuated in the post-apartheid South Africa. He further asserted that oppression comes in different forms and South Africa still needs to be liberated other forms of oppression that extend beyond the apartheid regime. Thus, drawing from Muswede's (2017) and Mtshiselwa's (2014) perspectives, it seems that some revolutionary songs remain relevant even in the context of the #FMF movement because they speak to the same conditions, criticising the notion of transformation and the so-called equal society.

While Mati (2016) also expressed that contemporary songs sung in the #FMF movement were modified to reflect the circumstances of the present context, those songs that speak to the current realities continue to be relevant. Despite modification of the lyrics, the message is the same, which makes revolutionary songs just as relevant in the present context as in the past. Therefore, the singing of the same revolutionary songs with minor differences between the anti-apartheid struggle and the #FMF movement, created an alliance between the events by traveling the ‘same musical path as the composers' (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014, p. 513).

Mbhele (2017) further suggested that revolutionary songs can create struggle nostalgia and much more, suggesting that, in the context of the #FMF movement, the singing of revolutionary songs elicited reminders and memories of the original context in which revolutionary songs were created, the apartheid era. Hence, many contemporary revolutionary songs are reconceptualised songs from the apartheid era. It appears that revolutionary songs were therefore used as a mechanism to connect the members of the #FMF movement with their past, creating a generational collective identity beyond their immediate context. This is what Mbhele (2017) expressed, by stating that revolutionary songs were used at tools to connect people with the wider society and to relate to

each other. The ability of revolutionary songs to contribute to identity formation is therefore acknowledged.

Numerous revolutionary songs were sung during the #FMF movement, however, for the scope of this thesis, only three of them will be discussed. These three revolutionary songs gained momentum at the height of the movement. Mati (2016) and TheMail&Gaudian (2016) extrapolated on these three revolutionary songs to deepen the understanding of the audience. Unfortunately, other revolutionary songs have not received enough scholarly attention. The academic interpretations and analyses of other revolutionary songs have not been documented in depth beyond mere translations within the #FMF movement, hence they have not been included. The revolutionary songs are discussed below:

2.8.1 Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica

Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika	(*God Bless Africa*)
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo	(*May her spirit rise high up*)
Yizwa imithandazo yethu	(*Hear thou our prayers*)
Sibe moya munye	(*To be united in one spirit*)
Noma senkunzima emhlabeni	(*Even through hard times in this world*)
Sihlukunyezwa kabuhlungu	(*When we are painfully abused*)
Nksoi siph' Amandla okunqoba	(*Lord give us strength for victory*)
Silwe nosathane	(*To fight the devil*)

Context:

This is a revolutionary song rich in history regarding its origin, meaning, and significance as it was a historical sample of an original church hymn (Okigbo, 2010). However, during the #FMF movement, Koketso Poho[13] believed that the hymn resonated with the struggles experienced by collective black students (TheMail&Gaudian, 2016). The dominant narratives overarching the

[13] Koketso Poho: Chairperson of the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) at WITS (Mulaudzi, 2016). He led the singing of the Decolonised National Anthem of the #FMF movement.

#FMF movement were true regarding the exclusion of the 'black child' as a result of 'structural economic oppression' which emanates from the discourse of the apartheid regime (Levy, 2017).

There are no English or Afrikaans lyrics included in the song. These two historically white languages were substituted with isiZulu and Shona lyrics. As a result, this version of the song was widely referred to as the 'Decolonised National Anthem' of the #FMF movement. Just as the original song was composed of a moral viewpoint, so is the current one. Subliminal political messages underline it, however, it still appeals to God to give the people psychological strength to fight the 'devils' of today (TheMail&Gaudian, 2016). This revolutionary song, therefore, appeared to serve a spiritual role in the #FMF movement.

2.8.2 Shiwelele

Shiwelele (×*2*)	(*Harmonizing*)
Ohha, ohha	(*Harmonizing*)
Shiwelele (×*2*)	(*Harmonizing*)
Ohha, ohha	(*Harmonizing*)
Sizo funda Ngenkani	(*We are going to learn by force*)
Shiwelele (×*2*)	(*Harmonizing*)
Bafundi Hlanganani	(*Students lets come together*)
Shiwelele (×*2*)	(*Harmonizing*)

Context:

The direct translation of this song is 'we are going to study by force'. It asserts the stance taken by the #FMF movement's members regarding access to education and unity. According to Mati (2016), the song calls for students to believe that free education can be a reality in this lifetime, an education system that is free from colonial strings and to finally become representative of Africa (Mati, 2016). This song was recited at a time when NSFAS was experiencing difficulties providing funding to students who qualified for financial assistance. This meant that many students were not permitted to register for their studies due to lack of financial resources (Mbhele, 2016).

During the #FMF movement, this revolutionary song was further amended to accommodate the staff workers who played a pivotal role in the movement, demonstrating the adaptability of revolutionary songs. *Sizo funda ngekani* was modified to *Sizo gola ngekani*, which translates to 'we will earn by force' from isiZulu (Mati, 2016).

The role of collective identity was demonstrated through the *Shiwelele* revolutionary, which asserts the coming together of people to establish a common goal. The song was also amended to accommodate the staff workers. During the #FMF movement, the role of mobilisation was also achieved through *Iyoh Solomon* revolutionary songs. They were used to perpetuate perseverance and to motivate the members to continue with their collective goal (Mati, 2016).

2.8.3 Iyoh Solomon

Solomon, Iyoh Solomon (×*2*)	(*Oh Solomon*)
Wayeyisoja loMkhonto WeSizwe	(*The Umkhonto we Sizwe soldier*)
Wayebulala amaBhunu eAfrika	(*He killed Boers in Africa*)
Solomon, Iyoh Solomon (×*2*)	(*Oh Solomon*)

Context:

This revolutionary song celebrates and acknowledges a young political martyr who was hailed as the hero of the liberation struggle, Solomon Mahlangu. Lyrically, the revolutionary song succinctly narrates Solomon Mahlangu's life history for the audience. He joined the ANC in 1976 and left South Africa for Mozambique and Angola to enlist in the Mkhonto weSizwe (MK) military training (SouthAfricanOnlineHistory, 2012). He returned to South Africa in 1977 through Swaziland, intending to assist with the student protests using the skills he gained through his MK training (SouthAfricanOnlineHistory, 2012). He was arrested, sentenced to death by hanging in 1978, and died on 6 April 1979 at the age of 22 years. His last words to the nation were 'tell my people that I love them, and they must continue the fight, my blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom'. He was awarded 'The Order of Mendi for Bravery in Gold for sacrificing his life for freedom and democracy in South Africa' posthumously in 2005 (SouthAfricanOnlineHistory, 2012).

This revolutionary song was vibrating across all South African universities during the height of the #FMF movement. A communicated message was directed to the members of the #FMF movement to access the same spirit of perseverance that Solomon Mahlangu possessed (Mati, 2016), which also elicits struggle nostalgia. The message conveyed by this contemporary revolutionary song is to internalise the character of Solomon Mahlangu for psychological affirmation. As a result, Solomon Mahlangu became the symbol that represented the #FMF movement and a source of inspiration for its members. This was demonstrated by the students at WITS who referred to the Senate House as the Solomon Mahlangu building before the name was officially changed in 2017 as a form of self-assertion (Liphosa & Dennis, 2017).

2.9 Theoretical framework

2.9.1 Social constructionism

In their book titled *The Social Constructionism of Reality*, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckerman introduced the theory of social constructionism. Berger and Luckerman's ideas about this theory were informed by various scholars, including Karl Marx, Emile Durkheim and George Herbert Mead (Luckmann & Berger, 1966). Social constructionism is, therefore, a synthesis of the various overlapping perspectives of the scholars making it quite multidisciplinary. It was informed by many scholarly approaches in anthropology, sociology, political science, and cultural studies.

Social constructionism emerged in response to the empiric philosophical framework which emphasises science as having a central role in accessing accurate knowledge of the world (Durrheim, 1997). Social constructionism of reality is defined by Luckmann and Berger (1966) as a social process that occurs through interactions, in which people create a reality that is owned and experienced intersubjectively, a reality that is created through social interactions among people. This co-created society exists as both subjective and objective reality through three on-going processes of objectivation, externalisation and internalisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). These processes will be discussed as the three basic premises of social constructionism.

2.9.1.1 Objectivation

Objectivation is understood as the process of forming truths about reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). It occurs when an event or an object is given meaning by society, the meanings are then

consequently adopted as valid and objective truths. This process is achieved through the use of language which predates how people experience the world (Andrew, 2012; Berger & Luckmann, 1991; Durrheim, 1997). This means that the name, function, significance, and reactions towards a phenomenon are all socially constructed through objectivation.

The objective reality is constructed through social interactions amongst people, with the social environment influencing them through prolonged exposure, resulting in habitualisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). That is, behaviours, knowledge, norms/values that are adopted from the environment are frequently repeated and then reproduced without much effort because they are ingrained as habits (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). This suggests that shared meaning and understanding are constructed through these social interactions, to the extent that it is unnecessary to redefine such concepts whenever they are used in conversation. These habits become regularised into routines and adopted by society as objective knowledge and valid truths.

Two research questions were understood from this first premise of objectivation: The role of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement; and the intended message(s) of the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement. This premise indicates how the language used to describe and understand revolutionary songs objectified a certain body of knowledge about them. That is, the language used to understand revolutionary songs predated the shared roles and intended message(s) attributed to them. Through the process of objectivation, revolutionary songs are given meaning and interpretation. These functionalities and intended message(s) of revolutionary songs from the liberation struggle became habitualised knowledge that was adopted by the #FMF movement. It was demonstrated through some of the contemporary revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement being sampled from historic contexts.

2.9.1.2 Externalisation

The second premise is externalisation, which occurs when people ‘project their own meaning on reality’ (Berger & Luckmann, 1967, p. 104). This is the process in which people with different viewpoints interact with each other, exchange knowledge, and make their own subjective experience known to others (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Through externalisation people make their own experiences known to others. In this regard, society is understood as a subjective reality. This second premise assists in understanding the second research question: What was the purpose

of amending revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994? The revolutionary songs created before 1994 reflected the subjective experience of the people pre-1994. Thus, amending some of the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement was a process of externalising their (the #FMF movement's members') own subjective realities. Through the #FMF movement's members' amended versions of revolutionary songs, their subjective realities were made known.

2.9.1.3 Internalisation

Internalisation is understood as the interpretation of an event as an expression of something significant which consequently becomes internalised (Berger & Luckmann, 1967). It explains how people absorb knowledge into their consciousness and this knowledge, in turn, influences their thoughts and behaviours. Internalisation represents a process of negotiation, through which a person's subjective reality is received, integrated with another person's reality, and finally internalised in the consciousness (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). It is the point of integration and exchange of knowledge through social interactions. Through these interactions, multiple meanings and interpretations are created (Luckmann & Berger, 1966). This third basic premise underpinned the research question: What was the purpose of amending revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994? The amending and modifying of some revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement could be understood as a point of integration and exchange of knowledge about the revolutionary song; integration of knowledge not only from an historical context but also from the context of the #FMF movement. This was demonstrated in the amendment of some of the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement to fit the present context albeit sampled from an historical context.

Thus, this study, when viewed from Berger and Lukermann's theory of social constructionism of reality, provides an understanding of the roles played by the revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, the purpose of amending the revolutionary songs composed prior 1994, and the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement.

Much like language, music is also viewed as a social mechanism that articulates people's thoughts and is an active ingredient in conveying people's lived experiences. Thus, revolutionary songs also possess this quality of language to communicate and convey people's internal states and circumstances. Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) explained how these revolutionary songs did not have a single author but were the result of collective actions: while one person may have composed

the song, others would have amended it based on the circumstances. This is also aligned to the nature of revolutionary songs as being open to multiple interpretations as some revolutionary songs themselves were re-interpretations of religious songs. This is, therefore, how shared meaning and understanding were generated among the performers (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). The revolutionary songs themselves were merely people's narratives of their struggles; they were not considered to be reflective of objective truth, but rather their truth. For example, South African's may hear revolutionary songs and be reminded of a certain time during the liberation struggle, while another may be reminded of an event during the post-apartheid era when that revolutionary song was sung at a rally. Thus, revolutionary songs may hold very different types of significance to those performing and hearing them, even in the #FMF movement. Additionally, the social and political dynamics of the #FMF movement in itself were socially constructed. Given this extent of social interaction, in evaluating and understanding revolutionary songs, social constructionism was a suitable framework because the basic premises are aligned with the characteristics of revolutionary songs.

2.10 Conclusion

This chapter defined revolutionary songs. It further outlined the history and evolution of revolutionary songs, the use of revolutionary songs in the South African liberation struggle, the relationship between music and identity, student politics in pre-1994 and post-apartheid South Africa, and the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. The study was finally understood from a social constructionism theoretical framework. The following chapter discusses the methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the research methodology employed in this study is discussed. Firstly, the research paradigm of this study will be discussed. This will be followed by the research design, sampling method, data collection, research instrument used, discourse analysis, thematic analysis, reliability, validity, transferability, and all the ethical principles that were taken into consideration.

3.2 Research paradigm

A research paradigm is described by Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) as an all-inclusive framework that informs how a research study is approached in all its dimensions. Kuhn (1977) also understood it to be a set of beliefs and methodological approaches that is common and determines how the study will be conducted. In this study, an interpretative paradigm was employed. The premise of the interpretative paradigm is that there is no single route to true reality; rather, the reality is subjective and socially constructed through language and shared meaning (Myers, 2009). Researchers who use the interpretative paradigm are interested in investigating how people make sense of the world they live in and thus use meaning-orientated methodologies to understand how people perceive their world. A small sample is required for this approach because it is appropriate for a qualitative research study (Gentles, Charles, Ploeg & Mckibbon, 2015). The objective of the study is not to generalise the obtained results but rather to explore the participant's views, specifically regarding the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. The sample size used for this study is six, thus making the interpretative paradigm suitable. The strength of this paradigm comes from its naturalistic approach, relying on human interaction and communication (Phothongsunan, 2010). It understands that the world is quite dynamic and complex and thus the production of knowledge from this paradigm is in-depth and reflective of the participants' experiences as they lived them.

3.3 Research method

A qualitative study is a multi-method which involves studying the subject matter using an interpretative and naturalistic approach (Mertens, 1998). The focus of a qualitative study is to

identify and understand the meanings that people ascribe to a phenomenon (Creswell, 2013), meaning that the researcher seeks to understand and not manipulate the phenomenon of interest (Patton, 2001). The purpose of the qualitative study is to further understand the various social, political, cultural, linguistic, psychological, and economic contexts within which the research question(s) are rooted (Ulin, Robinson, Tolley & McNiell, 2002). Qualitative research informed by social structures, history, and context was a suitable method because the study was interested in answering research questions that drew on the participants' experiences, beliefs, and meanings. It aimed to gain a better understanding from the participants' perspective. A qualitative study was therefore an appropriate method to gain in-depth understanding about the use of revolutionary songs within the context of the #FMF movement, the purpose for amending the revolutionary songs, and finally the intended message(s) of the songs.

3.4 Research design

An exploratory research design is explained by Polonsky and Waller (2005) as a design that aims to gain a deeper understanding of a phenomenon. It provides a groundwork for further rigorous studies to occur in that area of interest given limited available literature. It can also generate new information for a new hypothesis to be developed (Durrheim, 2006). The decision to employ an exploratory design was informed by the objectives of the study, which were as follows: to identify the roles played by contemporary revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, to explore the purpose of reconstructing revolutionary songs created prior to 1994, and finally, to investigate the intended message(s) being communicated by contemporary revolutionary songs sung by members of the #FMF movement. An exploratory design was appropriate for this study, firstly, because there is limited availability of scholarly literature about revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, and secondly, this movement first occurred in October 2015, making it a relatively new area of interest, with research in this field still emerging but not yet abundant. Finally, it was appropriate to add to the small body of knowledge and allow for an in-depth exploration of the topic of interest.

3.5 Sampling

According to Mouton (1996), a sample possesses elements of a population of interest to the researcher. The sample for this study consisted student activists of the University of KwaZulu-

Natal's Pietermaritzburg campus (UKZN PMB campus), who were previously active participants in the #FMF movement. Six participants were recruited between the ages of 18–28 years. This small sample size is appropriate in qualitative research (Gentles et al., 2015). No gender quota was employed, however both genders were represented in the sample.

Snowball sampling was used to recruit the relevant participants for this study. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling method that is outlined by Berg (2001) as a method in which several people with certain characteristics are identified, go through the research interview process, and are asked to refer people who possess the same attributes as they do. This method of sampling is also referred to as non-random sampling and it is informed by the objectives of a specific study. The snowball method is often used when it is difficult to access participants with target characteristics (Faugier & Sargeant, 1997). Thus, it was a suitable method for this study because of the perceived sensitivity of this topic. To a certain extent, the #FMF movement can be a sensitive topic to engage in because of the impact it had in October 2015 and the echo effect it still has today.

3.5.1 Sampling procedure

A letter requesting permission to conduct a research study on UKZN premises with UKZN students was sent to the UKZN Registrar. After receiving full ethical clearance from the Humanities and Social Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) (see Appendix A) and receipt of gatekeeper's approval from the UKZN Registrar (see Appendix B), an initial participant (a student activist who participated in the activities of the #FMF movement) was identified and further contacted telephonically to make necessary arrangements regarding his/her availability. The initial participant gave the researcher contacts for more potential participants who possessed the same characteristics. Each potential participant was informed about what the study entails, limits of confidentiality, and was invited to ask questions. Only willing participants formed part of the cohort.

3.6 Description of participants

There were six participants in this study. Both genders were represented, with five males and one female. Their ages ranged between 20–28 years. A more thorough description of the participants is provided below.

The participants were students studying at the UKZN PMB campus and they were recruited using snowball sampling. *Participant one*: a 23-year-old black male doing 3rd year in B. Com Accounting. *Participant two*: a 20-year-old black male doing 3rd year in B. Social Sciences. *Participant three*: a 24-year-old black female doing 3rd year BA International Relations. *Participant four*: a 25-year-old black male completing his Master's in Education. *Participant five: a*; 23-year-old black male doing 3rd year in BA Philosophy, Politics and Law. *Participant six*: a 28-year-old black male completing his Master's in Psychology.

3.7 Instruments

The instruments used in this study were the audio recorder and the interview schedule. According to Kvale (1996), an interview schedule can consist of carefully detailed questions or an outline that contains topics with brief suggestive questions. The latter schedule consisting of 13 questions was used for this study because it accommodated unscheduled probing questions which contributed to the richness of information gathered (see Appendix C). Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) state that developing an interview schedule allows for in-depth interaction between the participants and the researcher. This further provides participants with a comfortable environment to express their views and give an account of their experiences. Castillo-Montoya's (2016) four-phased interview protocol refinement (IPR) framework was also used in designing the interview schedule in this study.

3.7.1 Phase 1: Interview questions are aligned with research questions

The interview questions provide participants with the opportunity to narrate their experiences but ought also to be aligned to the purpose of the study (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). This was achieved by constructing a matrix as suggested by Castillo-Montoya (2016), which had interview questions written in rows while research questions were written down in columns. A tick was made on the appropriate cell to indicate which interview question was expected to provide information for

which research question. In this way the researcher was able to identify possible limitations of the interview questions to elicit information that was aligned to the purpose of this study.

3.7.2 Phase 2: Developing an inquiry-based conversation

Castillo-Montoya (2016) described an inquiry-based conversation to be a balance between asking questions and creating conversations to obtain information about a particular phenomenon. Thus, it is the process of asking questions and conversing to get information pertaining to the purpose of a study. In this study, inquiry-based conversations were achieved in the following manner:

3.7.2.1 Developing interview questions that are written differently from research questions

Castillo-Montoya (2016) described the fundamental differences about research questions and interview questions. Research questions are what the researcher desires to understand and articulate to the reader, while interview questions are what the researcher asks participants in order to obtain understanding about a phenomenon. The language used to articulate research questions is academic, while interview questions use everyday language that is accessible to and understood by all the participants. For this study, these functional differences between questions were considered in developing the interview questions.

3.7.2.2 Using social values of everyday conversations

This subphase included asking participants about events and incidents which are accessible to them and which they are able to recall (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). Questions were asked sequentially one at a time without interrupting the participants. The researcher nodded to encourage the participants to share more of their experiences and asked clarifying questions when necessary. The researcher also expressed continuous gratitude to the participants for their participation and indicated that further communication would be made with them regarding the findings of the study.

3.7.2.3 Asking different types of questions

Castillo-Montoya (2016) expressed that it was important for an interview schedule to consist of a variety of questions because they all serve different functional roles. Introductory questions ask the participants to provide a description of their experiences. They are intended to be non-

threatening and easy for the participants to answer. Transition questions advance the interview towards key questions in a conversational manner. Key questions are those questions that are aligned to the research questions and the purpose of the study. Finally, closing questions are posed to bring closure to the interview by asking easy questions for the participants to answer. A variety of questions were employed this research study in order to create inquiry-based conversations.

3.7.2.4 Creating a script

A script guides the researcher throughout the interview (Castillo-Montoya, 2016). However, the researcher did not follow the script verbatim as it is intended to serve as merely a guide. The script also included prompts and possible follow-up questions that could solicit relevant information from the participants (Castillo-Montoya, 2016).

3.7.3 Phase 3: Feedback on interview protocol

Castillo-Montoya (2016) suggests that receiving feedback on the developed interview protocol is an essential step because it enhances the reliability of the research instrument. It provides information on how the interview questions may be understood by the participants. In this study the researcher sought feedback from the research supervisor who reviewed the interview schedule and provided valuable feedback.

3.7.4 Phase 4: Piloting interview protocol

This step included piloting the interview questions with fellow research colleagues who had moderate participation in the #FMF movement. This step was intended to provide the researcher with a clear sense of how participants may respond to the interview questions and also the duration of each interview (Castillo-Montoya, 2016)

3.8 Data collection

The widely used data collection technique in a qualitative research study is semi-structured interviews (Holloway & Wheeler, 2010). This technique involves the use of predetermined questions that aid in answering the relevant research question(s), whilst simultaneously allowing the researcher to explore new themes that emerge during the interview process (Hand, 2003). Data

for this study was collected using semi-structured interviews because it allowed the researcher to probe and ask for clarification regarding ambiguous and vague statements (Willig, 2013). This interview approach took place using naturalistic and informal conversations, thus providing space for participants to express their thoughts, views and ideas in their own words, whilst retaining the target purpose in mind and ensuring the structure was implemented (Babbie & Mouton, 2001; Kvale, 1996).

One individual interview took on average 30 minutes while there were variations between the other participants. They were conducted in a controlled environment in the Psychology Building (PMB campus) where there were minimal external distractions and participants felt comfortable. However, during the data collection period, construction was done in the Psychology Department's parking area. This resulted in occasional noise; fortunately, the participants were not distracted for very long. An extraneous variable that had an impact on the sample, was the student protest that was taking place at UKZN's PMB campus regarding financial assistance, which coincided with the data collection period of this study. Students were more focused on the goal of the protest and did not want to be derailed by being part of the study at such a pivotal time.

The semi-structured interviews were audio-recorded (see Appendices D & E) as this was an effective tool that enabled the researcher to actively listen and focus on the participants' experiences and establish rapport with the participants (Blaxter, Hughes & Tight, 1996) . However, Blaxter et al. (1996) also noted how recording could result in the participants feeling anxious and thus reluctant to talk about sensitive issues. It was therefore important for the researcher to explain the purpose of having the sessions recorded and assured participant confidentiality. The participants were at liberty to request that the recorder be switched off at any time during the interview if they felt uncomfortable.

The collected data was kept in an electronic file and only made available to the researcher and the researcher's supervisor. This will be kept in storage for five years after the completion of the entire study, after which the data recorded on paper will be disposed of by shredding and recycling, while audio-recorded data stored digitally will be deleted and the USB physically destroyed.

3.9 Data analysis

3.9.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse focuses on language patterns occurring in a specific context, which can be in either the written or spoken form. It is socially constructed as it assimilates knowledge, identities, and events to maintain the social status quo (Blanche, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006). This means that in critical discourse analysis, language is interpreted as a form of discourse in which social change occurs. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a branch of discourse analysis and was used as one of the analysis methods for this study. It emphasises the different ways in which constructs, such as power relations, inequality and ideologies, are constructed in social spaces through text and talk (Baker & Ellece, 2011; Van Dijk, 2003).

CDA in this study aimed to unearth hidden binary oppositions, ideologies and discourses participants expressed concerning contemporary revolutionary songs within the context of the #FMF movement. Thus, the role of the researcher was to be aware of linguistically covert, overt, and concealed meanings embedded within a text (Cameron, 2001).

The general strategy of analysis involved recording, transcribing, coding and organising the data into meaningful and interpretative units (Marshall & Gretchen, 2006). Steps provided by Goodman (2017) were utilised as guidelines for conducting discourse analysis.

Step 1: *Deciding on the appropriate research*

Three research questions were formulated for this study, namely: what is the role of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, what was the purpose of amending revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994, and what was the intended message(s) communicated by the members of the #FMF movement? These were suitable research questions for discourse analysis.

Step 2: *Selecting appropriate sources of data*

The most appropriate data for discourse analysis is obtained through conversations with participants (Goodman, 2017). The data in this study was collected through semi-structured interviews. The semi-structured interviews took place using naturalistic and informal conversations which provided the participants with a platform to express their thoughts and ideas

using their own words. From this perspective, semi-structured interviews were part of naturally occurring talk.

Step 3: *Generating the corpus*

The corpus is the collection of all the appropriate data that ought to be analysed (Goodman, 2017). Not all the information in the corpus will make the final report. However, it is essential to look at all the data available. The corpus of this study was the audio-recorded semi-structured interviews from all six participants. This sample size correlates with the appropriate size for qualitative design research (Gentles et al., 2015).

Step 4: *Transcribing the data*

Data was transcribed using the Jefferson Notation (see Appendix G). This transcription notation required the researcher to have a clear understanding of the purpose of the study. The researcher was required to distinguish the important aspects of the study, while simultaneously maintaining the integrity of the data (Silverman, 2006). It assisted in gaining a better understanding of the participants' position regarding contemporary revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. This also assisted in determining themed discourse within the text and provided the researcher with data that indicated the discourse participants drew from concerning the revolutionary songs. The Jeffersonian transcription method is advantageous because it provides ample information about a phenomenon as it transcribes every spoken word, laugh, and emotion expressed by the participants. However, the disadvantage is that it is time-consuming (Goodman, 2017).

Step 5: *Preliminary reading*

This step involved reading and re-reading the transcribed data, which assisted the researcher to become familiar with the data (Goodman, 2017). The researcher was also taking note of the initial impressions of the data about the formulated research questions. The researcher also highlighted only the data that was relevant to the research questions (Goodman, 2017). Finally, only the relevant data was copied into another file.

Step 6: *Generating results*

This step involved identifying the discursive strategies used in the transcribed data. The discursive strategies are discussed below.

6.1 Interpretative repertoires

Potter and Wetherell (1987) explain interpretative repertoires as routines of arguments, descriptions, and evaluations in the language people use. In this study, these interpretative repertoires were noted through repetitive metaphors, terms, phrases, and how participants presented their speech. In-depth analysis of local semantics, syntax and language structures were also given great emphasis.

6.2 Ideological dilemmas

These are also referred to as ideological squares. Ideological squares are described by Van Dijk (2011) as a polarised manifestation of group relations. It is how the in-group is positively represented and the out-group is negatively presented, meaning that group members are more inclined to speak or write positively about themselves and negatively about the other group. In so doing group members also de-emphasise their negative characteristics and in turn emphasise the other group's negative characteristics. These ideological squares made the researcher aware of various oppositions that were involved in the text. Some oppositions were implicit, with only one side of the opposition being explicitly stated most of the time.

6.3 Subject positions and identity

This involved how participants constructed their own identity and others' identity through discourse (Goodman, 2017). This step required the research to pay attention to the different identities and positions the participants assumed.

Step 7: *Building a case to support findings*

The researcher read the transcribed data with the identified discursive strategies (Goodman, 2017). Extracts that illustrated the discursive strategies discussed in Step 6 were identified. Each extract was discussed in detail using the relevant discursive strategy and discourse.

Discourse analysis focused on how the participants constructed their arguments, how they conveyed their narratives, and how these aspects were expressed through language (Starks & Brown Trinidad, 2007). Thus, this method of analysis was most suitable because the focus of the study was to answer research questions about the participants' experiences, beliefs, and meanings, and how these were conveyed through the language used. This is because the argument the

participant decided to propose while including or excluding other resources is significant to their narratives.

3.9.2 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is a process of identifying patterns in the collected data to address research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). It is an advantageous method of analysis because it is not associated with a specific theoretical framework, making it a flexible method to analyse collected data. Consequently, thematic analysis was a suitable method to be employed in this study because it assisted in providing more comprehensive findings. Braun and Clarke (2006) proposed that there are two levels of themes that can be generated from thematic analysis, namely, semantic, and latent. Semantic themes are generated from observing the collected data on the surface, and the researcher does not look beyond what the participants have expressed through text or speech. Conversely, latent themes are generated when the researcher evaluates the data beyond what the participants merely express, and the researcher identifies the underlying assumptions and ideas. The latter was utilised in this study as the researcher did not only summarise the data, but also made interpretations. Steps provided by Braun and Clarke (2006) were followed in conducting a thematic analysis.

Step 1: *Becoming familiar with the data*

This involved reading and re-reading all the collected data from the audio-recorded semi-structured interviews (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher also took note of the earlier impressions about the data.

Step 2: *Generating initial codes*

The collected data was then organised systematically to code the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). All the data that was considered relevant, based on the research questions, were highlighted and colour coordinated. The different colours were used to generate the codes and similar codes were highlighted in the same colour. As the researcher worked through the transcripts, new codes were generated, and others were reviewed.

Step 3: *Searching for themes*

The different colour coordinated codes were evaluated and some of them were able to be clustered into one theme. The codes were therefore organised into broader themes. For this study, the identified themes were arranged according to the research questions.

Step 4: *Review themes*

This step involved reviewing the themes identified in Step 3 (Braun & Clarke, 2006), ensuring that the collected data spoke to the identified themes. During this stage, certain themes were also modified to effectively contribute in addressing the research questions.

Step 5: *Defining the themes*

In defining the themes, this step focused on identifying what each theme was about and what it intended to communicate (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Therefore, for the first research question, the researcher defined the themes. The researcher was also able to identify the subthemes of the overarching themes.

3.10 Reliability, validity, and transferability

The instruments and measures used to establish reliability and validity in quantitative studies cannot be utilised in qualitative research. Terms such as reliability, validity, and rigor are associated with quantitative research designs. However, terms proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985), such as consistency, truth value and transferability, are more applicable to demonstrate rigor in qualitative research.

3.10.1 Reliability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) defined consistency as concepts that are equivalent to reliability and reflect the paradigm of qualitative research. Therefore, the reliability of a qualitative study is based on the consistency of data collection, examination, the way notes are processed for interpretation, and evaluation (Joppe, 2000). Consistency in the study ensures that there is cohesion between the research objectives, designs and methodology used. Joppe's (2000) definition of consistency also embraces the idea of replicating the research in similar methodologies and settings.

In this study, consistency was achieved through detailed record-keeping and an audit trail (Creswell, 1998; Long & Johnson, 2000). A detailed account of the research processes from the beginning to the completion of the study was given, and transparency regarding the research methodology is imperative in maintaining consistent data. An audit trail is the process involving an independent party reviewing the findings obtained (Creswell & Miller, 2000), a process which allows for an objective perspective by an external individual to assess the credibility and dependability of the research (Creswell & Miller, 2000). The methodology and findings of this research study were reviewed and discussed by the researcher's supervisor to minimise subjective perspectives and interpretation of data. The process of reviewing and discussing the findings with the researcher's supervisor also prevented the premature release of the research study findings.

3.10.2 Validity

Noble and Smith (2015) suggested that validity in qualitative research is equivalent to a truth value, and refers to the integrity of the methods used in a study and how accurately the findings reflect the data collected (Noble & Smith, 2015). It is, therefore, the accuracy of the research questions to yield the desired outcome, selection of methodology for answering the research questions, the accuracy of the research design for the methodology, sampling and data analysis, and lastly, the accuracy of the findings and conclusions with regards to the sample and context (Leung, 2015). To ensure truth value, a study ought to account for personal bias that may influence the findings of the research, represent the participants' viewpoints with precision, and acknowledge that multiple interpretations of realities exist.

Given this understanding, truth value was ensured in this study through research reflexivity, peer debriefing, prolonged observation of data, audio-recorded semi-structured interviews, and thick and detailed exacts from participants (Noble & Smith, 2015). Research reflexivity was achieved by keeping a self-descriptive journal. According to Long and Johnson (2000), reflexivity is the researchers' awareness of their own bias, prejudice, and assumptions regarding the phenomenon being studied. This is achieved through the reflection of the researchers' cultural, social, and historical perspectives that may shape the interpretation of the data obtained. The same conclusion is expressed by Creswell and Miller (2000) who states that this method suspends the researcher's bias as the research study progresses.

Peer debriefing consists of peers reviewing the different aspects of the research and acting as a sounding board (Creswell & Miller, 2000). A peer reviewed the transcriptions to expand the researcher's understanding regarding the topic of interest. Lincoln and Guba (1985) state that a peer challenges the researcher by asking probing questions about the methodology of the study and acting as a sounding board. The researcher also engaged in the prolonged observation of the data (Creswell, 1998). The objective of this method was to make the researcher cognisant of the inconsistencies that may be present by persistently evaluating all relevant information (Long & Johnson, 2000). The audio-recorded semi-structured interviews permitted a revisiting of the transcripts whenever the need presented itself. This helped to remain true to the participants' viewpoints and exact words. The use of thick descriptions and the participants' direct quotes were essential in ensuring that the discourses and themes that emerged were a true reflection of the participants' accounts.

3.10.3 Transferability

In qualitative research, generalisability is a challenging task: firstly, because of the small sample size; secondly, because a phenomenon occurs and is situated in a specific context that may be unique to the identified participants (Bashir et al., 2008); and thirdly because the snowball sampling method was employed for this study. Transferability is, therefore, an appropriate term used in qualitative research.

Transferability refers to the extent to which the research results can be applied to other contexts (Noble & Smith, 2015). Babbie and Mouton (2001) suggest that the dependability of a study is determined by its ability to be replicated given a similar context and the same participants.

In this study, transferability was ensured by providing a detailed and informative description of the participants, the context of the study, research methods, data and findings (Creswell, 1998). Transferability was also enhanced by using participants' direct quotes, which also contributed to the dependability of the research study, whilst providing rich and relevant information enabling the reader to make an informed decision about the transferability of the findings in a specific context (Creswell, 1998). This was made possible by providing the schedule for the semi-structured interviews, a thorough discussion of the data collection and analysis.

3.11 Ethical considerations

Ethical guidelines are principles that assist the researcher conduct a research study until its completion in an ethical manner (Orb et al., 2001). Emanuel et al. (2000) discuss seven principles that make clinical research ethical, namely: value, scientific validity, independent review, selection of participants, evaluation of the risk-benefit ratio, getting informed consent, and maintaining respect for participants. All these ethical principles were considered in this study.

For a research study to be ethical, it ought to add value in that scholarly area of interest (Emanuel, Wendler & Grady, 2000). This study provided social value to the participants as they were provided a platform to express their uncensored truth. Additionally, it criticised and discussed issues of inequality and democracy that are perpetuated in higher education and conveyed through the #FMF movement's revolutionary songs. This adds value to knowledge about dynamics in higher education and the students' musical response to it.

The study was approached in a scientifically rigorous manner from the beginning to the completion of the study (Emanuel et al., 2000). The researcher used methods widely accepted as scientific in qualitative studies.

The process of selecting participants was fair. They were selected based only on the objectives and factors related to the study. The favourable risk-benefit ratio was also considered in this study. The risk associated with participation was considered to be low however, given the topic of the study, it was likely that some participants might experience the study as distressing in which case they would be referred for psychological assistance to the Child and Family Centre (CFC) on the PMB campus (see Appendix F). There were no immediate benefits of any kind to the participants for taking part in this study, other than helping to add to the body of knowledge regarding the use of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, as this is a relatively new and unexplored area of interest.

Autonomy was ensured through the process of informed consent. Informed consent was obtained and participants were made aware that they could terminate their involvement at any point should they feel uncomfortable (Emanuel et al., 2000). This ensured their participation was voluntary. It was imperative that the participants sign the informed consent form before partaking in the study and had a clear understanding of their role. The consent form stipulated how confidentiality was

to be maintained and how the data collected would be kept in an electronic file and only made available to the researcher and researcher's supervisor (Wassenaar & Mamotte, 2012). It was also the researcher's responsibility to discuss the limits of confidentiality and how it would be maintained. Records of participation may be revised by the members of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), who would ensure that the research is conducted properly and ethically. Additionally, respect for participants was maintained throughout the entire study by complying with the guidelines for confidentiality and making the study voluntary (Emanuel et al., 2000). Justice and fairness were maintained throughout all stages of the research study by continuously minimising risk, maximising benefits, and putting plans in place for the dissemination of the final findings to the participants (Wassenaar & Mamotte, 2012). The findings of the study will also be made available to the participants to recognise the contribution they made (Emanuel et al., 2000). None of the participants were bribed or coerced to take part in this study, and reliable and valid research methods were employed throughout (Tsoka-Gwegweni & Wassenaar, 2014).

3.12 Conclusion

The focus of this chapter was to describe the research design and methods used in this study. A qualitative study was employed, rooted in an interpretative paradigm. Data was collected using audio-recorded semi-structured interviews, which were then analysed using discourse and thematic analysis. Truth value, consistency, and transferability was discussed to ensure validity and reliability. The chapter included discussions regarding ethical considerations. The next chapter presents the findings and a discussion of the results obtained.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the study and a discussion of the results are presented. This chapter is structured in accordance with the three objectives of the study, namely: to identify the roles played by the revolutionary songs in the #FMF student movement; to explore the purpose of reconstructing the revolutionary songs created pre-1994 by the participants of the #FMF movement; and finally, to investigate the intended message(s) being communicated by the contemporary revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. The themes that emerged in this study were also used to organise how the discourse analysis results were presented in this chapter.

Description of participants

The participants were students studying at the UKZN PMB campus.

Participant 1 was a 23-year-old black male completing his 3rd year towards a B. Com Accounting degree. He was not affiliated with any political party, but he was passionate about student politics and an active member of the #FMF movement.

Participant 2 was a 20-year-old black male in his 3rd year of a B. Social Sciences degree who was interested in South African politics with prospects of pursuing political studies. He was an active participant in the #FMF movement.

Participant 3 was a 24-year-old black female completing her 3rd year of a BA International Relations degree and was an active member of the EFFSC and the #FMF movement.

Participant 4 was a 25-year-old black male completing his Master's in Education, who was previously an active member of the EFFSC and an active member of the #FMF movement. However, at the time of the study he was not affiliated with any political party.

Participant 5 was a 23-year-old black male completing his 3rd year of a BA Philosophy, Politics and Law degree, an active member of the EFFSC, and was arrested during the activities of the #FMF movement.

Participant 6 was a 28-year-old black male completing his Master's in Psychology and was a former SRC president at the UKZN PMB campus during the #FMF movement.

4.3 What is/was the role of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement?

This question sought to explore the participants' views and their understanding of the roles that revolutionary songs played in the #FMF movement.

4.3.1 Theme 1: Communicative role

Participant 1:

> '*The liberation songs are about things that people don't speak about on a daily basis ↑like iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*) (.)*…There is a lot of emotions behind liberation songs*, *uhmm* (.) *It's written with a message more than anything else* (.) *also to draw emotions amongst the people who are hearing them. Striking fear in someone else or striking pride for us who are singing the songs…*'

Participant 1 speaks about the communicative role of revolutionary songs within the context of the #FMF movement as the most salient as expressed by, *it's written with a message more than anything else*. This view seems similar to the one that was held by Steve Biko (1978) and Gray (1999), to name a few. Biko (1978) argued that music and rhythm are not luxuries as they are encapsulated in communication in the African culture. This communicative role of revolutionary songs enables performers to have spontaneous responses to their social and political circumstances. Revolutionary songs were used as a voice for black South Africans during the liberation struggle because no alternative and appropriate channels were available to convey their messages (Gray, 1999).

The participant makes a reference to the revolutionary songs as communicating subliminal messages that are not implicitly stated, but nonetheless understood by the actors involved in the performance. This is illustrated in the participant's words *liberation songs are about things that people don't speak about on a daily basis*. There is an increase in voice notation on words *like iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*), which may imply emphasis is made between the two clauses connected with the word *like, Things that people don't speak about on a daily basis = iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*). Although not in agreement, participant 1 also seems to be saying that there is a silencing of our

history; however, revolutionary songs serve to break that silence. This is also indicated in the words *Things that people don't speak about on a daily basis = iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*).

In the liberation space, revolutionary songs were used to express issues that are deemed sensitive. This deep-seated surreptitious element of revolutionary songs is heavily rooted in structural discourses of the apartheid era, during which revolutionary songs were one of the few media in which the grievances of black people could be communicated.

The term *iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*) used in participant1's utterances is controversial in the context of democratic South Africa. However, it is a dominant discourse in the historical context and there appears to be a level of awareness of the controversy surrounding the term, hence categorising the *other* as *iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*). Participant 1 explains that the metaphors and embedded messages function as *striking fear in someone else*, as such justifying using the term *iBhunu* (*Boer/farmer*). There are also binary oppositions created in which the revolutionary songs elicit positive feelings of *pride in us* and negative feelings of *fear in someone else*, an expression of the positive characteristic of the in-group and negative characteristic of the out-group.

In this respect, revolutionary songs served as a communicative outlet, explained by Kunene (1986, p. 46) as 'an act of self-emancipation to be able to confront your oppressor face to face and tell him in uncensored language what you think of him…'. This element can be viewed as a cathartic feature as revolutionary songs served as a platform for people to sing about their discontent without fear of threat. The words of Kunene (1986), as old as they are and falling squarely during some of the most violent points of the liberation struggle, still seem to ring true today for some of the participants of the #FMF student movement.

Emotional expression is associated with emotional regulation and functions as a channel to communicate people's internal states to others (Jang & Elfenbein, 2015). In other words, an emotional expression is also a form of communication. Thus, revolutionary songs as vectors of emotional expression are a subtheme for theme 1: communicative role.

4.3.1.1 Subtheme 1: Vectors of emotional expression

Participant 1:

> '*There is a lot of <u>emotions behind</u> liberation songs, uhmm* (.) *It's written with a message more than anything else* (.) *also to draw emotions amongst the people who are hearing them…There is emotions behind it, for us black people obviously…*'

Participant 1 acknowledged the compelling and provoking emotive nature of revolutionary songs which served a role in the #FMF movement. The views articulate revolutionary songs as powerful vectors for emotional expression. There is an emphasis placed on the *emotions behind it* to reinforce the emotive nature of the songs. This is illustrated by the repetition of the word *emotions* in the statement. The revolutionary songs were not only viewed to empower the performers but also believed to have the ability to manipulate the listener emotionally. This sentiment is similar to what Mondak (1988, p. 27) noted when he stated that, 'although rhetorical in nature, protest lyrics and creative expressions are designed to elicit an emotional response rather than being critical for cognitive examination. They do not call for intellectual processing from the auditors to whom they are directed […] appeal to the emotions.' This statement seems to have been later supported by Gray (1999), who stated that revolutionary songs had/have the power to steer an audience's emotions and shape their behaviour.

Participant 1 implies that these emotions can only apply to black people and therefore creates polarisation. There is an expression of binary opposition, '*us*' – black people who are inherently deserving to relate to the emotions elicited by the revolutionary songs – and '*them*'. This premise is embedded in social and historical discourses informed by the apartheid ideology in South Africa. The use of the word *obviously* implies that what is communicated is already known or is expected to be known to the audience – a presupposition – and furthermore forces the audience to accept the point communicated as a fact, thereby silencing opposing views.

This sense of ownership of revolutionary songs may emanate from the notion that revolutionary songs were predominantly composed and performed by black people (le Roux-Kemp, 2014). They are understood to be a product from people who directly identified with the liberation struggle by being present and impacted by the socio-political situation of that era.

Participant 2:

> '*…Obviously, we are going through similar situations right now, so when we sing those songs, we are going through the same emotions*.'

The statement begins with the term *obviously*, implying that all that follows should already be known to the audience as fact and thus, like participant 1, silencing opposing views. Participant 2 expands on the affective impact of revolutionary songs within the #FMF movement. There is a patent expression that when *those songs* (revolutionary songs) are sung, the members involved symbolically travel the same emotional journey as those of the past. This is expressed by *we are going through similar situations= we are going through the same emotions*. The repetition of '*we*' may be a means to assert a position of the ingroup, who could consciously be in the same emotional space as those that came before them, which is a positive portrayal of *us*. Consequently, by implicitly stating the *other* who *cannot* relate to those emotions, results in a negative portrayal of the other. This positive portrayal serves to legitimise the struggle of the ingroup by equating it to anti-apartheid movements.

There is a striking resemblance between the 1976 Soweto Uprising that occurred during the anti-apartheid struggle and the #FMF movement (Naidoo, 2016). The legacy of the apartheid ideology served as a political context for the #FMF movement. This was illustrated through the decolonisation ideology of Pan-Africanism and Black Consciousness being adopted as the foundational framework of the #FMF movement (Naidoo, 2016). Therefore, the singing of the same revolutionary songs sung during the anti-apartheid struggle and sung during the #FMF movement, albeit with minor differences, created an alliance between the events by traveling the 'same musical path as the composers' (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014, p. 513), which may also include evoking similar emotions.

Due to the link created between historical and contemporary events, the participant's responses alluded to the emotional connection between the events. The historic protests, therefore, served as an emotional foundation for the #FMF movement's members. As expressed, they perceived themselves symbolically in the same emotional space as those that came before them, consequently experiencing the same emotions. The participant's utterance alludes to the concept of inherited

emotions from previous movements. Therefore, just as they inherited the contextual legacies, so too did they inherit the emotional legacies of those movements.

Related to the emotional communicative role, participants suggested that revolutionary songs played a role in the expression of spirituality. The spiritual role of revolutionary songs is a subtheme for theme 1: communicative role.

4.3.1.2 Subtheme 2: Spiritual role

Participant 6:

> '*You go to church right* (?) (*Smiles*) = *Like Hosana*. *So, when you think about the songs you like and sing at church, you find that* (.) *I don't know what to call it* (.) *there is that spiritual thing that comes out of you*.'

Participant 6 equates the experience of singing revolutionary songs to that of singing church hymns. Participant 6 asked a rhetorical question: *You go to church right*?! Which silences the audience from presenting any opposing views and results in them accepting what is being communicated as a fact. There is a sarcastic tone to the rhetorical question implied by the smile, followed by *Like Hosana*. Participant 6 provides a critical commentary on organised religion and differentiates church attendance from spirituality. He seems to equate these revolutionary songs with spirituality, but not 'church like spirituality'. Revolutionary songs within the #FMF movement were also seen as a means to facilitate the expression of spirituality. This is captured when participant 6 said *that spiritual thing that comes out of you*.

Saliers (2005) suggested the spiritual role of revolutionary songs is anchored in their ability to express what is not heard, while carrying the listener to places of joy and sorrow. He understands music and protests songs as a 'language of the soul made audible' (Saliers, 2010, p. 10). Thus, drawing from Saliers (2005, 2010), it seems that the singing of revolutionary songs reaches into the depths of one's soul and heightens a spiritual experience that motivates the performers and encompasses their being.

Participant 6:

> '*…we are having a conversation with our ancestors, we are having a conversation with God…Let me make an example*(.) *the decolonized version of the national anthem, there is*

a part that speaks about → sihlukunyezwa kabuhlungu(*we are abused*) (.) *it's more like having a conversation with them, we are having a conversation with our ancestors, we are having a conversation with God.↑ We are telling God that he must be with us in the conditions that we are in*.'

Participant 6 further elaborates that the revolutionary songs allow the members of the #FMF movement to connect with their ancestors and God. Participant 6 drew deeply from the spiritual discourse of the omnipotent God ideology in a plea for divine intervention. Stefani (2015) viewed revolutionary songs in the 1960s as synonymous with African religions, traditions, and gospel music. All these function as sources for promoting the resolution of sorrow and for inspiration. Therefore, Stefani (2015) equates the social movement context to a religious awakening. This viewpoint may be suggesting that, just as gospel music was used as a channel to call upon their ancestral spirits and God for relief from their sorrow, so are revolutionary songs. This sentiment was shared by Lebaka (2018), who viewed revolutionary songs as a mechanism that instilled in South Africans the need for God as the ultimate comforter. Thus, this spiritual role of revolutionary songs was for consultation, reassurance, and re-energising their spirits as combatants against a strong adversary.

Nostalgia is identified as a subtheme of theme 1: communicative role

4.3.1.3 Subtheme 3: Nostalgia

Participant 6:

'*There are some songs that when you sing them when you hear them…they take you back to a certain place and there is an emotion attached to it*.'

Participant 1:

'*Any songs that you hear, even on your radio* (.) *a liberation song, it makes you feel some type of way. It takes you back to a moment when Mandela was taken out of prison, or when Chris Hani got shot or when Steve Biko was still alive or something like that. It takes you back to certain moments even if you were not alive but hearing the songs in documentaries, in videos, or audio clips, it's like…*(.) *I remember that*.'

The two participants present a clear illustration, a view held by many participants, of the ability of revolutionary songs to elicit memories of a particular time and place. This is communicated in their respective words *they take you back to a certain place*, *it takes you back…*, which emphasises the powerful nature of the songs, that they are able to elicit memories from events experienced from second-hand accounts. Participant 1 reflects on moments in the history of South Africa – *Nelson Mandela taken out of prison, Chris Hani got shot, Steve Biko still alive* – triggered by the singing of revolutionary songs within the #FMF movement. Participant 1 acknowledges that nostalgia is accompanied by emotions, unfortunately, they experienced difficulties vocalising them explicitly – *it makes you feel some type of way*. The role that revolutionary songs play in nostalgia, is to connect the #FMF movement to the anti-apartheid struggles.

The participants reflected on moments in history while giving an account of the power of revolutionary songs to elicit struggle nostalgia. Their utterances of *it takes you back to a moment when…*, indicate how the songs can evoke memories beyond the current realities. Assmann (2013) terms this diachronic identity, which is understood as the identity that allows people to locate themselves individually or collectively in the past, present or the future. This was demonstrated by the events that the participants reflected on, drawing from collective memories long before their birth.

Gevisser (2011) speaks about nostalgia being a controversial term within the South African context because it may evoke a yearning for an idealised past. Therefore, the mere expression of the song triggers memories of that period. le Roux-Kemp (2014) shared the same view when she stated that revolutionary songs are often used as an avenue for performers to reaffirm their identity and to further defend the socio-political space that is nostalgic of the liberation struggle. The participants' utterances further demonstrate how revolutionary songs not only convey the lyrics of the experience, but also a deeper meaning that the music conveys as an emotive or human experience associated with the event being sung about in the songs. This is also aligned to Assmann's (2013) opinion that things don't possesses memories on their own. It is the meanings invested that have the biggest significance and thus having the ability to create nostalgia.

4.3.2 Theme 2: Mobilising role

Participant 1:

'*Makes people want to join in and sing together, it becomes so loud, people are dancing*(.) *like people rejoicing while the songs are sung … ↑Ayaba yaba yaba yaba yaba yaba yaba* (*singing*) *… This is a song to mobilize when people start clapping* ((*clapping*)). *The song grabs the audience and the crowd…*'

When asked to describe revolutionary songs as mobilising agents within the #FMF movement's context, participant 1 broke into song and started clapping during the interview – ↑*Ayaba yaba yaba yaba yaba yaba yaba* (*singing*). This reiterated the compelling nature of revolutionary songs being sung at the slightest provocation. There is a clear transition from speaking to the researcher to singing to illustrate the effectiveness of revolutionary songs in the process of mobilisation, which is marked by the increase in voice notation. Participant 1 attempted to practically demonstrate this role of mobilisation by engaging the researcher in song and the effectiveness of a different medium of expression other than speech.

As demonstrated by the participant, the physical performance of revolutionary songs forms part of its persuasiveness. Therefore, singing revolutionary songs and dancing can be viewed as two elements that are not mutually exclusive. Tambo (as cited in Gray, 1999) explains how the toyi-toyi forms an integral part of black South African tradition. Although it has become synonymous with politicised activity, it is still very cultural in its roots. This physical motion brings people together, builds unity among the members, and simultaneously elicits courage in the performers (Twala & Koetaan, 2006). Kasrils (as cited in Groenewald, 2005) suggested that the singing of revolutionary songs and toyi-toyi featured as a concrete weapon of conveying messages in an uncensored language and compelling the members of the ingroup to embark on the toyi-toyi. This is echoed by participant 1's utterance– *Makes people want to join in and sing together, it becomes so loud, people are dancing […] The song grabs the audience and the crowd*. This provocative culture of toyi-toyi is echoed by Twala and Koetaan (2006), who describe it as an intimidation tool used against the out-group.

Participant 6:

The same view is shared by participant 6 who briefly mentions how mobilisation progresses through the contagiousness of revolutionary songs.

> '*A song can bring someone out of there. It's like saying it's a group song…once a person starts to dance, two will come and join. So, when they are together in a group, they are in a circle and they start to sing …Let me give you an example* (.) *when you go to group mobilization like a protest. You don't just go randomly, knock and say can we go to the protest. Most of them are invited through music. It's a conversation, you are telling them we have arrived, you are telling them there is a protest, and you are informing them that you are here*.'

Participant 6 further comments on how revolutionary songs serve as a form of persuasion for others to join in – *it's a group song…once a person starts to dance, two will come and join*. This is what Denisoff (1966) referred to as 'magnetic songs of persuasion'. The revolutionary songs still maintain the political function of drawing people to be part of the movement in order to achieve a collective goal. Participant 6 provides an example regarding mobilisation to increase persuasion even to the researcher, thus creating a *double entendre* by using persuasion to explain persuasion. In this regard, according to the interpretation of Aristotle's Rhetoric by Nkoala (2013), music ought to put people in a certain frame of mind for them to be effective in synchronising their movement for mobilisation. Thus, through dance, the performers are put in a certain frame of mind.

However, participant 6 detaches from this role as illustrated by a persistent referral to *they,* which is accompanied by *us*. There is binary opposition of positive *us,* who already form part of the in-group *us,* who don't need to be invited via revolutionary songs but are already in constant knowing with their ears to the ground. However, on the other side of the spectrum is *them*. *Them* here is part of *us,* but participant 6 doesn't know it yet. However, participant 6 still presents those in the know about social movements more positively than those that ought to be mobilised. Participant 6 is differentiating and defining the real activists from those that need to be mobilised (not real activists). In doing this, participant 6 is emphasising the positive characteristics of real activists, which appears to be the role being identified with. Participant 6 has assumed the role of calling rather than being called via music as illustrated by them – *Most of them are invited through music. It's a conversation, you are telling them we have arrived, you are telling them there is a protest, and you are informing them that you are here*.

Participant 3:

> '*…there is a song that says ↑Masihlangane →which means all students must come together*(.) *Because we are already in the revolution and its continuing, but we sing it in the morning. In the morning when we sing that song* (.)*then you know we are coming together*; *we come together and pave the way forward*'.

The intended message relayed by this song is focused on mobilising unity – *masihlangane*, translated meaning *let's come together*. The song highlights the unison of a collective cause. Participant 3 emphasises *masihalngane* (*let's come together*), as evidenced by the rise in voice notation. Participant 3 also translates the word *masihlangane = come together* for the audience, so as to deepen their understanding and connection with the song, thereby attempting to make the message universal. There is also an assertion of the position assumed within the positive in-group, as indicated by the repetition of *we* in conjunction with terms that often embody unity such as *sing, come together*. Participant 3 speaks about revolutionary songs mobilising each other, the members of the #FMF movement. Thus, the members were persuading each other to be involved in future movements about the same assertion (Sanger, 1997). This form of mobilisation is also directed inward to the members of the in-group, to unify and increase group cohesion.

4.3.3 Theme 3: Express collective identity

Participant 4:

> '*There is a one that says ↑phambile ngo mzabalazo pumbele ne war* (*Forward with the struggle, forward with war*)(.) *It goes further to what I said about been in a revolution, in a revolution when you speak about war you don't try to explain which war you are speaking about. When you say forward with the war, you are not going to come to me and ask me which war you are talking about, we speak the same language*.'

Participant 4 gives an account of collective identity in revolutionary songs through shared experiences and therefore common understanding. This is demonstrated by the phrase *when you speak about war you don't try to explain which war you are speaking about… we speak the same language*. There was also an emphasis placed on the lyrics of the song, ↑*phambile ngo mzabalazo*

pumbele ne war (*Forward with the struggle, forward with war*), as evidenced by the rise in the speech notation.

Pring-Mill (1987) stated that revolutionary songs are not a reflection of an individual's interpretation but rather a collective interpretation of events, while Groenewald (2005) expressed that the effectiveness of revolutionary songs is anchored on the mutual commitment and determination of the collective. The participants gave an account of collective identity in revolutionary songs through shared experiences and common understanding, which serve as a moral compass for that community. Commonly, people in liberation movements all over South Africa, even all universities during the #FMF movement, sing the same revolutionary songs. Thus, they access the same information and communicate in the same performance mode. The participant also interpreted this as *speaking the same language*.

By uttering the statement *speaking the same language*, participant 4 is attempting to create a binary opposition. An opposition of *us* who speak the same language and *them* who don't speak the same language. This statement serves as a form of exclusion. In other words, those who don't speak the same language are excluded from the collective identity embodied and expressed by revolutionary songs.

Participant 6:

> '↑*Let's say when you are at home right, there is a particular song you like, or your mother, or Gogo likes right, that you and they understand together, you share that song. When you hear or sing that song, automatically, they join in because it's a song that you share together. The same thing happens in the FMF*'.

Participant 6 speaks about the integral role music plays in the family system. The use of words such as *home*, *mother*, *gogo*, are words that echo the essence of family. There is mention of how songs create a sense of unity and shared experience in the family, which is equated to the context of #FMF movement where revolutionary songs were passionately sung. By using the metaphor of the family, participant 6 is explicitly creating binary opposition differentiating between *us* and *them*. *Us* is presented positively as they form part of the 'family', the collective identity expressed by revolutionary songs, while *them* represents those who are perceived to be excluded from the family system and collective identity of the #FMF movement.

African culture is characterised by familial inter-connectedness (Mbaegbu, 2015), which is captured by using words such as *understand together*, *share together*, *joining in*, which embody unity and the epitome of ubuntu. Participant 6 also describes joining in a shared song as *automatic*. This speaks to spontaneity and describes how revolutionary songs have maintained their communal nature within the African culture. The concept of family uttered by the participant is rooted in the principle of connectedness, forming the backbone of African society (Mbaegbu, 2015). The process of socialisation, beginning in individual households and extending to the larger community, is also demonstrated as the participant equates the experience of communal living to the context of the #FMF movement. This transcending collective identity is substantiated with a statement regarding the intrinsic nature of songs by saying:

> '*Historically, we do everything with a hymn, your mom when she is washing the dishes or doing the laundry she will be singing, at church, she will be singing. It's just us. Now why do we sing these songs* (.) *We do it unconsciously, it's like we are unaware*....'

Participant 6 begins the response by providing context for the audience – *historically*. This view is informed by the history of music in the African context, which is known to encompass everyday activities such as *washing dishes, doing laundry, singing hymns at church*. Conceptualising these revolutionary songs in this manner creates a collective identity that extends beyond the current context – a generational collective identity that comes effortlessly and is subconsciously aligned with ordinary activities such as *washing dishes, doing laundry, singing hymns at church*. There is a repetition of *we*, which serves to emphasise the positive representation of in-group values and culture.

Stefani (2015) and Jolaosho (2014b) noted how revolutionary songs were not only appropriate to be performed in contexts such as social movements but also in everyday routine spaces. These are the same sentiments expressed by participant 1 below:

Participant 1:

> '*I think* (.) *primarily because we are still cultural beings as black people… Hearing someone lead a song it's just like how it would be emakhaya* (*rural area*) *or emshadweni* (*weddings*).'

Participant 1 equates the participation in revolutionary songs to being in a rural context, which is captured by the phrase *like it would be emakhaya* (rural areas). This premise draws from an African cultural discourse that is traditionally grounded by the hallmark of interconnectedness and communal living (Tönsing, 2017). Participant 1 further shared the same view as participant 6, that music is described as functioning as an integral part of certain life cycles and events, such as *emshadweni* (weddings). Traditionally, weddings are conceptualised as the coming together of a group of people/communities and therefore establishing a certain collective identity. Therefore, the singing of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement resonates with the collectiveness embodied in *emakhaya* (rural areas) and *emshadweni* (weddings). The use of the two isiZulu words *emakhaya* (rural areas) and *emshadweni* (weddings), reaffirms the position of the in-group through linguistic identity, which is collective, and expressed through the singing of revolutionary songs.

Summary:

Objectivation in social constructionism is understood as the process of forming truths about realities, and language plays a vital role in this process (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Language is used to describe a phenomenon and consequently determines how it is experienced by society. In this study, the language and terms used to describe and understand revolutionary songs determine the roles attributed to them. The participants used family, collective, church metaphors, and terms such as *iBhunu* (Boer/farmer), which impacted their view regarding the functionality of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. The terms and metaphors the participants used also determined the themes and subthemes that categorised the roles of revolutionary songs.

The participants further indicated that there was a common understanding regarding the roles of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, as indicated by using terms such as *obviously* and *speaking the same language*. This occurs when socially constructed knowledge is frequently repeated, reproduced with less effort, and not redundantly explained, like *speaking the same language*. This process is referred to as habitualisation (Berger & Luckmann, 1991), a process used by the participants to demonstrate the co-creation of reality through language, which in turn determined the roles of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement.

4.4 What is/was the purpose of amending the revolutionary songs created prior to 1994?

This research question sought to explore the reasons why members of the #FMF movement changed some of the lyrics of the original versions of the revolutionary songs that they sang.

Theme 4: The more things change, the more they remain the same

Participant 5:

> '*Because they must speak to the current situation. If we had Afrikaans, we would be fighting against Afrikaans, now we are fighting for the black government to give us what they promised us. They must speak direct to the black government* (.) *we can't say white people this… = We can't sing songs that are against Jacob Zuma…*'

Participant 5 describes how the performance of the revolutionary songs ought to mirror the context in which they occur, and that the effectiveness of these revolutionary songs lies in their ability to be flexible and convey a message that is relevant to the context. This utterance suggests that revolutionary songs must reflect social and political issues that occur within a period. Gray (1999) indicated that the liberation struggle was marked by different levels of repression and frustration, and so the revolutionary songs evolved throughout time to address relevant social and political issues. According to Nkoala's (2013) perspective of revolutionary songs in terms of Aristotelian Rhetoric, the power of revolutionary songs lies in their fluidity and flexibility to capture the emotions and articulate the conditions of the time.

The whole statement uttered by the participant is loaded with binary oppositions which are implicitly stated. *Afrikaans → black government, black government →white people, white people → Jacob Zuma*. This viewpoint is rooted in the historical and political discourse of South Africa. Participant 5 creates a juxtaposition for a single audience. In his view, the perpetrator can also be the victim based on the changing context, hence the amendment of revolutionary songs within the #FMF movement. The songs were thus viewed as a response to an experience in South Africa and participant 5 highlighted how this can be ever-changing.

Participant 5 places emphasis on the word *fighting* as indicated by the repetition of the word. What participant 5 may be suggesting is that there may be a fight or a struggle between the binary oppositions of *Afrikaans → black government, black government →white people, white people →*

Jacob Zuma. Within each of these oppositions, one is bestowed with the antagonistic role and the other the protagonist role. Participant 5 views the black government as the antagonist in the context of the #FMF movement, as indicated by the statement *we must sing direct to the black government*. While on the other hand, in direct opposition is Jacob Zuma who plays the protagonist role as explicitly stated that *we can't sing songs that are against Jacob Zuma*.

Participant 6:

Participant 6 also spoke about the relevance of certain revolutionary songs:

> '*Let's take the Malema's song, Dhubulu iBhunu* (*Shoot the Boer*). *In today's society, it is characterised as hate speech because it's an irritation from one group of people to another group of people…, = some of the songs are not relevant when you look at our context* (.) *some songs are relevant* (.), *others are not relevant↓ depends on the context* (.)... '

Participant 6 was quite uncertain and hesitant in the response he provided to this question. This is indicated by the multiple micro pauses and the slight decrease in voice notation. The uncertainty and hesitation may be attributed to the fact that that participant 6 is referencing Malema, who is a 'controversial' figure in South Africa. The uncertainty was also evident in the confliction as there was a shift between *some songs that are not relevant →some songs are relevant → some songs are not relevant*. The repetition in this statement could also be associated with an attempt to persuade himself regarding the relevance or non-relevance of certain revolutionary songs, specifically referring to the *Dhubulu iBhunu* (*Shoot the Boer*) song which is banned in democratic South Africa.

The participant's utterances sceptically hint to the concept of relevance, begging the question whether certain revolutionary songs produced before the advent of democracy in South Africa remain relevant in the current democratic context. In Fischlin and Heble's (2003) opinion, revolutionary songs are inseparable from their social and political context, suggesting that emotional and social residues are still associated with revolutionary songs. In agreement, Mati (2016) argued that our heritage and revolutionary songs are not set in stone and therefore the message should be communicated to future generations regarding our history.

Participant 5, however, argued that there was no need for traditional revolutionary songs to be amended as they speak to the same conditions, they were originally composed to address prior to 1994.

Participant 5:

> '↑*But because there is still* <u>*black pain*</u>*, we still sing those songs because we are still experiencing the black pain. That is why some songs are still relevant today because they are still sending the very same message, they were sending even that time. So, it's about message, the message is still one, the pain is still one even the environment is still the same because if you think about it* (.)*Apartheid time and now time there isn't nothing major that has changed…*'

Participant 5 drew a parallel between the apartheid ideology and contemporary South Africa and expressed that there is an intruding reality that nothing *major has changed* regarding the context. Participant 5 is saying that in the same way as revolutionary songs pre-1994 addressed *black pain*, the same is true concerning contemporary revolutionary songs. There is a repetition of the word *still*, emphasising the sameness and motionlessness of the realities pre-1994 and post-1994. Participant 5 spoke about *black pain* with conviction and assertiveness depicted by the voice notation, which in addition created polarisation of the *black victim* and the *white perpetrator*.

F. B. Nyamnjoh (2015) understood black pain to be a result of white privilege, because the discontent and discomfort of black people occurs as a result of the privilege of white people. Therefore, to speak about the fallacy of freedom and equality is to disregard the reality that hierarchies informed by race, class, culture, and economic standing, do not exist in democratic South Africa, more than 20 years since the demise of the apartheid regime (F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015). Thus, the argument made by participant 5 is that there has been no need to reconstruct revolutionary songs because the discourse of transformation in South Africa has not shifted since the downfall of the apartheid era.

Thus the impact of institutional racism has created hostile environments for black students attending university, in which they, like foreigners, are alienated (A. Nyamnjoh, 2017). In this regard, the system of higher education is currently perceived as a hostile environment for black students.

This theme is also reflected in participant 3's statement:

Participant 3:

> '*Some of us* (.) *they can say that freedom actually happened in 1994 but you can still feel oppression. That's why some sings songs that still speak to that. =So, when you sing the song its due to oppression that took place at that time. Because you have the feeling that someone is oppressing me even though↑ the context says that we are in a freedom world… Let just say I come from a rural area and I say I am free when I know that I can't even afford tuition fees for my child. That is still a form of oppression*.'

Participant 3 detached from *them* who believed that democracy would bring equality and freedom. The micro pause between *us* (.) *they* form a binary conflict on stance expressed regarding the ideology of democracy/freedom. The use of the word *even though* with a marked increase in voice tone emphasises the contrast between *the feeling of being oppressed* and *living in a freedom world*. Participant 3, therefore, argues that the revolutionary songs created before 1994 still speak to the contemporary South African context, consequently there is no need to reconstruct the revolutionary songs. An emphasis is placed on the word *oppression*, as indicated by the repetition to emphasise the point that the ideology of apartheid was characterised by *oppression*. Participant 3 assumed the position of the oppressed and thus created the binary of the oppressor.

Mtshiselwa (2014) argued that the legacies of colonialism and apartheid, in the form of socio-economic injustices, are perpetuated in the post-apartheid South Africa. He questions whether democratic South Africa can be viewed as a free nation when holistic freedom has not been attained. He further asserted that oppression manifests itself in different forms and that South Africa still needs to be liberated from forms of oppression which extend beyond the apartheid regime. Subsequently, the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement which were not amended criticised the notion of transformation and addressed access to education (Zwane, 2017).

The participant's argument was focused on the similarity between contemporary South Africa and apartheid ideology. They acknowledge that revolutionary songs definitely need to reflect the current context, however, this ought to be a true reflection and not a fallacy of a reality hoped for. Therefore, whilst not disputing the dynamic nature of revolutionary songs, the participant seems to be suggesting that revolutionary songs have not been amended to fit the true context.

Participant 6:

> ' ↑*Sizofunda e nkane* (*We will study by force*), *shiwelele*' (*harmonizing*) = *we are telling each other that by any means necessary we are going to study…Sizofunda e nkane* (*we will study by force*) = *we are saying we deserve to be educated, we qualify, we have the capacity. There should be nothing that separates this person, that person just because there is no money, so we should all be getting access to education, we are communicating our shared reality*.'

Participant 6 began singing to convey a message of relative deprivation through a contemporary song composed during the #FMF movement – ↑*Sizofunda e nkane* (*we will study by force*), *shiwelele*' (*harmonising*). This contemporary song spoke to the specific issues targeted by the #FMF movement. The message of the song communicates assertiveness among the members by telling them that they also deserve to be educated, and thus should be shaking the walls of inequality in South African institutions. This contemporary revolutionary song was newly composed in response to the financial difficulties that NSFAS was experiencing. The financial difficulties meant that students who were eligible for funding were unable to be provided with the necessary financial aid (Mbhele, 2016). Participant 6 identifies with the in-group and stresses the positive characteristics as shown by the repetitive use of the word *we-we → deserve to be educated, we→ qualify, we→ capable, we→ access to education*.

The participants expressed contradictory opinions regarding the purpose of amending revolutionary songs created pre-1994; on the one hand some participants felt there was a need to amend revolutionary songs to reflect the immediate context, whilst on the other hand some participants were of the opinion that there was no need to amend the revolutionary songs because they still reflect the immediate context. Thus, a composition of a contemporary revolutionary song with a message that resembles the pre-1994 outcry against exclusion was how the members of the #FMF movement dealt with this contradiction. Therefore, the composition of the *Siwelele c*ontemporary revolutionary songs was a concrete reflection of the contradiction between the need to amended revolutionary songs and the view that there was no need to amend revolutionary songs.

Summary:

The process of externalisation in social constructionism of reality occurs when people with different viewpoints interact with each other, interchange knowledge, and make their own subjective experience known to the other (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). Through externalisation people make their own experiences known to others. The participants indicated that this process of externalisation is a daunting and anxiety-provoking exercise, in that when people are confronted with the need to change how they construct reality, this is not an easy process.

The revolutionary songs created prior to 1994 reflected the subjective experiences of the people pre-1994. Thus, the process of amending some of the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement was a process of externalising their (the #FMF movement's members') own subjective realities. Through the #FMF movement's members' amended versions of revolutionary songs, their subjective realities were made known and accurately reflected the context of the movement. The contradicting opinions regarding the *need* versus *no need* to amend revolutionary songs were also a reflection of the process of externalisation. The process of internalisation in the social construction of reality consists of the integration and exchange of knowledge through social interactions and may be viewed as exchanging viewpoints and knowledge about revolutionary songs. The amending and modifying of some revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement could be understood as a point of integration and exchange of knowledge about the revolutionary songs; integration of knowledge not only from the historical context but also from the context of the #FMF movement. This was demonstrated by the fact that some of the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement were amended to fit the present context albeit sampled from the historical context.

4.5 What is the intended message being communicated by the contemporary revolutionary songs sung by the members of the #FMF movement?

Theme 5: Messages that echo the past

Participant 5:

> '*…Now when we speak about free education* (.) *there is a contradiction we must sharpen in the FMF*. *We are not saying free education for poor people*, *we would be making the*

state education (.) *it would be different education…And those who have money will attend others and us who are poor will come here*.'

Participant 5 suggests that the notion of free education needs to be redefined in detail to ensure that it doesn't perpetuate the cycle of inequality – *free education…. we must sharpen in the FMF*. The message of free education should be inclusive of every student yearning for access to education to bridge the juxtaposition between '*the haves*' and '*the have-nots, poor vs rich*' binary formed in the system of higher education. Participant 5 also assumes the role of the *have-nots* as he identifies with us *who are poor*.

Participant 5 also emphasises that the #FMF movement must not perpetuate old binary oppositions, which is indicated by his use of the words *We are not saying free education for poor people… it would be different education…And those who have money will attend others and us who are poor will come here*. This concern expressed by participant 5 emanates from the education system in the apartheid era. Thus, differentiated education meant that education for black people's, which was called Bantu Education, was tailored to provide minuscule skills to black people so they would occupy subordinate positions, while white people were provided with superior education (Badat, 1999; Muswede, 2017). The #FMF movement indicated that the slow pace of transformation in South African universities did not prioritise the needs and experiences of black students as institutional racism in universities prevailed and continued unabated. Participant 5 is asking is that the call by the students for free education should not further disadvantage the poor as it did previously, resulting in a differentiated education system.

Participant 5:

'*…senzeni mfundi*? *uZuma a o phendule* (*what have we done as students*? *Zuma must answer*), *so it's basically a song that speaks to the government ukhuti, senzeni*? (*that, what have we done*?) *Please give us answers, why don't you want to give us what we want*? (.) *we want to study and continue with our career and enrich the country*. *So, what is it that we did to your government of ANC that you can deny us our future like this*?! *So those songs touched the government*.'

Participant 5 posed several rhetorical questions which were not meant to be answered but intended to evoke internal responses from the subconscious of the audience. Rhetorical questions are also

used to silence the audience of the song and further accept the position taken by the performers. *Senzeni mfundi...senzeni*?? (, *students what have we done*?), borrows from the traditional song of *Senzeni na*? (*what have we done*?), and in this way the song was reconceptualised for the context of the #FMF movement.

This song was intended to highlight the absurdity concerning unrestricted access to education when it was ultimately for the benefit of South African people and the country itself. The rhetorical questions posed urge the audience to rethink their actions and aim to elicit feelings of guilt (Nwoye, 2018). The message conveyed in this contemporary revolutionary song is aligned with the role of emotional manipulation, and the efficacy of this song lies not only in its accusatory tone (Nwoye, 2018), but also in its ability to function as a vector for emotional expression.

Participant 5 identifies with the in-group and assumes the victim role, as indicated by *why you don't want to give us what we want*; *you can deny us our future like this*. Assuming the victim role in this instance justifies the emotions experienced by the victim, whilst simultaneously silencing and negating the emotions of the negative perpetrator. There is also a positive representation of the ingroup as participant 5 uses positive words such as *study, our career and enrich the country* in conjunction with the ingroup.

Participant 2:

> '*Solomon = It emphasizes the role of Solomon Mahalngu who fought for the people. They are reminding us because it seems like the same situation is coming back*(.) *so when they sing that song, they are saying ↑please don't allow certain things to happen to us…*'

Solomon Mahlangu's name was historically synonymous with youth struggle and the contemporary #FMF movement was no different. Therefore, when this song was sung – which was also adopted as one of the anthems of the #FMF movement – a subliminal message of fighting, combat and perseverance is communicated to the audience. This theme is vocalised by participant 2 when he says, so *when they sing that song, they are saying ↑please don't allow certain things to happen to us…* The emphasis is noted by the rise in the voice notation. A link is also created by singing this song between the June 16 Soweto Uprising and the #FMF movement as expressed 'They *are reminding us because it seems like the same situation is coming back* (.).'

The participant's utterances of the song *Iyoh Solomon* is aligned to the notion of self-persuasion. It is a message directed at the #FMF members to assert the same spirit of perseverance that Solomon Mahlangu possessed (Mati, 2016), which also elicits struggle nostalgia. The message conveyed by this contemporary revolutionary song is preserving the tainted social space of the apartheid legacy and internalising further the character of Solomon Mahlangu (Mati, 2016). This song also elicits reminders of the sacrifices made, and that have to be made by today's generation for collective objectives to be achieved.

Summary:

The process of objectivation in social constructionism of reality is described as the process of forming truths about realities (Berger & Luckmann, 1991). The language used to describe and explain revolutionary songs predates how they are understood in terms of their intended message(s), in other words, the language that was used to described revolutionary songs informed their intended message(s). However, the participant's responses demonstrated how this process of objectivation is complex in the sense that it is dynamic. The intended message(s) of revolutionary songs changed based on the audience, and the audience itself changed based on the context. The participants indicated that social constructionism of reality is an ever-changing process. Some of the revolutionary songs discussed in this section were prime examples of the importance of revolutionary songs speaking to the context in which they occur.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings and discussion of the study. The participants argued that the communicative role of revolutionary songs is layered, in that they surpass verbal communication. Revolutionary songs were also understood to communicate emotional, spiritual, and nostalgic expressions. These were identified to be the subthemes of the communicative role of revolutionary songs. Participants also identified the mobilising role and expression of collective identity as noteworthy roles for revolutionary songs. The participants of this study strongly agreed that revolutionary songs ought to reflect the context in which they occur. However, there was a nuance in the participants' perspectives regarding the need to amend or not to amend revolutionary songs to accurately mirror the context of the #FMF movement. Finally, the intended message(s) of

contemporary revolutionary songs were closely aligned to the purpose of amending revolutionary songs. The following chapter will provide the recommendations and conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a summary of the study's findings will be discussed. This will be followed by an outline of the limitations and recommendations for training and further research.

5.2 Summary of the Study

The participants of this study were student activists at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Pietermaritzburg Campus, who were previously active participants in the #FMF movement.

The study focused on the following three research objectives: Identify the roles played by the revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement; explore the purpose of amending the revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994; and investigate the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs sung by the members of the #FMF movement

The use of revolutionary songs within the context of the #FMF movement was understood by its functionality. For the first objective, three primary themes were identified to be the roles of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement, namely, communicative, mobilising, and an expression of collective identity.

The participants illustrated that the communicative role of revolutionary songs is multi-layered, emotional, spiritual, and nostalgic expression were categorised as subthemes for the primary communicative role of revolutionary songs in the #FMF movement. The performance of revolutionary songs offered an outlet for people to express themselves. Nwoye (2018) suggested that during the apartheid era revolutionary songs were used as therapeutic tools for regulating emotions. This acknowledged the cathartic feature present in revolutionary songs for emotional expression. Revolutionary songs are also viewed as mechanisms that facilitated the expression of spirituality and bring people closer to their God. This was demonstrated in the history of *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica* which was a highly politicised revolutionary song used to express spirituality and faith in God (Lebaka, 2018). The same *Nkosi Sikelel*' *iAfrica* song was amended and adopted in the #FMF movement as the Decolonised National Anthem. The Decolonised National Anthem was a musical manifestation of the decolonised identity the #FMF movement's members

embraced. For other South Africans, the song *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica* was a musical nostalgia of the apartheid era (Rhodes, 1962). Therefore, revolutionary songs have the ability to create struggle nostalgia, meaning that they elicit reminders and memories of the original context in which the revolutionary songs were first created (Mbhele, 2017).

The second theme was the mobilising role of revolutionary songs. The participants suggested that mobilisation was experienced on two levels in revolutionary songs. Firstly, mobilising others to join in the movement; and secondly, mobilising the members of the in-group to come together. The former supports the notion that revolutionary songs are songs of persuasion (Denisoff, 1966). This form of mobilisation is directed towards the members of the group, to unify and increase group cohesion. The latter is where the performer simultaneously plays the role of the audience, where self-persuasion is directed inwardly (Nkoala, 2013). In this way, the mobilising power of revolutionary songs lies in their ability to provide psychological affirmation, self-assertion and soothe members of the movement

The third theme identified by the participants was to express collective identity. The collective identity in revolutionary songs is demonstrated in the collective interpretations and 'us' statements. One of the central features of the #FMF movement was the singings around collective interpretations and communal understanding. Additionally, by referencing struggle heroes in the #FMF movement, revolutionary songs also place the #FMF movement in trajectory of the wider struggle (SABCNewsOnline, 2016), thereby creating a generational collective identity. The arguments provided by the participants view collective identity as an active process, that weighs heavily on the shared experiences of members. Collective identity through revolutionary songs was conceptualised as echoing the essence of family and interconnectedness in the African culture.

The second objective; to explore the purpose of amending the revolutionary songs composed prior to 1994 produced the fourth theme titled: The more things change, the more they remain the same. The participants' general rationale for composing contemporary revolutionary songs is that they ought to mirror the context in which they occur. Subsequently certain revolutionary songs were amended because they were deemed irrelevant in the context of the #FMF movement. This supported what Gray (1999) suggested, revolutionary songs evolve throughout time to address the relevant socio-political issues.

However, it was also indicated from the participants' sceptical responses that some of those revolutionary songs are viewed as still being very relevant. This as a result of the apartheid era being likened to contemporary South Africa. This elicited a discussion regarding the relevance of revolutionary songs and attempted to answer the research question, why revolutionary songs created before 1994 should be amended. Despite the nuance in perspectives, all the participants' viewpoints drew from a historical discourse informed by the apartheid ideology.

The participant's argument was focused on the similarity between contemporary South Africa and apartheid ideology. They acknowledge that revolutionary songs definitely need to reflect the current context, however, this ought to be a true reflection of the current society. Therefore, whilst not disputing the dynamic nature of revolutionary songs, the participants seems to be suggesting that revolutionary songs have not been amended to fit the true context. Muswede (2017), noted that sadly the grievances that were expressed during the liberation struggle bear a huge resemblance to the current grievances. The legacies of colonialism and apartheid, in the form of socio-economic injustices, are perpetuated in the post-apartheid South Africa. Mati (2016) also expressed that contemporary songs sung in the #FMF movement were amended to reflect the circumstances of the current context, those songs that speak to the current realities continue to be relevant. Despite modification of the lyrics, the message is the same, which makes revolutionary songs just as relevant in the present context as in the past.

The third objective; to investigate the intended message(s) communicated by the revolutionary songs sung by the members of the #FMF movement produced the fifth theme titled: messages that echo the past.

Student activism during apartheid emanated from an education system that was based on inequalities that were reflected in the wider society (Badat, 1999; Muswede, 2017). In the post-apartheid it became evident that higher education inherited the legacy of apartheid. Thus, student politics in the post-apartheid era was an outward expression of the grievances of daily exclusion based on race, class, culture, and economic status. Mbhele (2017) argued that the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement showed how the inequalities and hierarchies of the apartheid era continue to exist today, even in higher education institutions. It may seem that the #FMF movement was anchored in already existing social issues observed in the present South Africa. Despite the transition from the apartheid era into a democratic South Africa, many people still

struggle for economic and political freedom (Levy, 2017; F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015), and the revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement reflected these realities.

Certain revolutionary songs focused on challenging the barriers of inequality, discontent regarding the conditions of colonialism, transformation, and institutional racism, while other revolutionary songs focused on the constructive roles of mobilising members, reaffirming their collective identity, and persuading themes to draw from Solomon Mahlangu's spirit. The focus was to gain a deeper understanding of the roles of revolutionary songs within the #FMF movement, which subsequently informed the message(s) intended to be communicated. The contemporary revolutionary songs of the #FMF movement conveyed messages that were considered important to the members of the wider #FMF movement.

5.3 Study recommendations

5.3.1 Recommendations for training

Black pain is a result of while privilege, in the sense that the discontent and discomfort of black people occurs as a result of the privilege of white people (F.B. Nyamnjoh, 2015). Thus, to speak about freedom and equality is to disregard the reality that hierarchies informed by race, class, culture, and economic standing do not exist in democratic South Africa (F. B. Nyamnjoh, 2015). Therefore, institutional racism has created hostile environments in universities for black students in which they are alienated (A. Nyamnjoh, 2017). The participants of this study expressed that they perceived the university as a hostile environment in which the experiences of black students are silenced. They further viewed revolutionary songs in the context of the #FMF movement to be a form of expression on multiple levels; emotional, spiritual, nostalgic, social cohesion and collective identities. It is therefore recommended that universities create initiatives aimed at providing safe spaces for problematizing identities. These spaces can operate as avenues through which different perspectives can be accommodated and debated.

It is also recommended that all university staff members and personnel who interact with students address questions/discussions of inequality and democracy more directly and explicitly. The university should be responsible for ensuring that students who later become influential figures in

society are adequately informed and prepared to assist in addressing issues of inequality and democracy in the wider society.

5.3.2 Recommendations for further research

The #FMF was a student-led allied movement which was characterised as a collective of both students and workers mobilising for visible transformation. This transformation focused on the decolonisation of the university curriculum, the social composition of academic staff, institutional culture, inadequate funding, and the rising tuition fees (Badat, 2016; Naicker, 2016). The issue of representation, especially in terms of black university staff is deeply embedded in the students call for a decolonised higher education. Additionally, many of the revolutionary songs were amended to accommodate staff members who played a pivotal role in the movement. Therefore, given how allied the #FMF was in nature, it recommended that a future study samples university staff members and workers in efforts to understand their experiences and how they were impacted by the #FMF movement. The impact explored can be from a psychological or social perspective. This would immensely expand the knowledge regarding the multiple dynamics of the #FMF movement which would attempt to provide a holistic understanding of the movement.

5.4 Limitations

Snowball sampling was used as the sampling method to recruit the relevant participants for this study. Snowball sampling was used for this study because of the perceived sensitivity of this topic. With snowball sampling, there is a limitation of bias sample and transferability. As such, the findings of the study can only be transferred to a group of people who share similar characteristics with the participants. Although useful, future studies could consider making use of a sampling method that will draw a more diverse group of participants.

5.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the study's major findings and provided recommendations for training and further research. The chapter also outlined the limitations that were identified during the study.

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Appendix A: Ethical Clearance

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

13 December 2017

Ms Mokgabisi Phajane 217029874
School of Applied Human Sciences
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Ms Phajane

Protocol reference number: HSS/2054/017M
Project title: The use of revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall student movement: A discourse analysis

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 26 September 2017, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

cc Supervisor: Mr Thabo Sekhesa
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor D Wassenaar
cc. School Administrator: Ms Ms Nondumiso Khanyile

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 **Email:** ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

Appendix B: Gatekeeper's Approval

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

9 May 2017

Ms Mokgabisi Phajane (SN 217029874)
School of Applied Human Sciences
College of Humanities
Pietermaritzburg Campus
UKZN
Email: phajanem@gmail.com

Dear Ms Phajane

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall student movement: A Discourse Analysis".

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by conducting interviews with students on the Pietermaritzburg campus.

Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book.

Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

Office of the Registrar
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 **Email:** registrar@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

Appendix C: Semi-structured Interview Schedule

1. What is your understanding of revolutionary songs?
2. What is your understanding of the #FeesMustFall movement?
3. Why do the student protestors sing the contemporary revolutionary songs during the #FeesMustFall movement?
4. What emotions are evoked by these revolutionary songs?
5. How do the revolutionary songs bring about a sense of togetherness?
6. Why does it appear as though the revolutionary songs are more powerful when sang in a group setting?
7. Why are some of the original revolutionary songs now amended?
8. Who are the revolutionary songs directed to in the #FeesMustFall movement?
9. What are the revolutionary songs communicating to the intended audience?
10. Who is the intended audience for the revolutionary songs?

Appendix D: Information Sheet

INFORMATION SHEET AND CONSENT FORM

Dear Participants

I am Mokgabisi Phajane, student at the University of KwaZulu- Natal Pietermaritzburg (PMB) campus, studying MA Clinical Psychology. Contact details: revolutionary.songs@yahoo.co.za

You are invited to participant in a research study that involves contemporary revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall movement that first occurred in October 2015. The aim is to identify and explore the roles played by contemporary revolutionary songs. Furthermore, to investigate the message communicated to the intended audience by these revolutionary songs. The study is expected to enrol 14 participants situated in Pietermaritzburg campus. It will involve semi structured interviews for some participants and focus group for other participants, which will take approximately 90 minutes. However, should the information provided on this interview not be sufficient, please expect a follow up session.

Please understand that **your participation is voluntary,** and you are not being forced to take part in this study. The choice of whether to participate or not, is yours alone. If you choose not to take part, you will not be affected in any way whatsoever. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw from the research at any time should you feel uncomfortable. If you do this, there will be no penalties or prejudice against you.

All identifying information will be kept in a lock- key cupboard and only made available to the researcher and the researcher's supervisor unless compelled by the court of law. The records from your participation may be reviewed by people responsible for making sure that research is done properly, including members of the ethics committee at the Human Sciences Research Council. (All of these people are required to keep your identity confidential.) Otherwise, all identifying information will be stored separately from other collected data.

May you please grant me permission to audio- recorded your interview or focus group session as this will assist in getting accurate information.

The information provided will be stored electronically in a security coded drive and used for research or academic purposes now or at a later date in ways that will not reveal your identity. All future use of the stored data will be subject to further Research Ethics Committee review and approval. Your answers will be linked to pseudonyms (another name) and you will be referred in this way in the data, any publication, report or other research outputs.

The risks associated with participation in this study are no greater than those encountered in daily life. However, if any form of anxiety or distress is experienced as direct involvement in this study, you will be referred to the Child Family Centre on PMB campus for psychological assistance.

There are no immediate benefits to you from participating in this study. However, will be helpful in broadening the understanding of contemporary revolutionary songs in the context of #FeesMustFall movement as this is a relevantly new interest area.

If you are interested in receiving feedback on this study, your contact details will be recorded on a separate sheet of paper and results communicated with you when they are completed.
This research has been approved by the Human Science Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) – approval number _____. If you have any complaints about ethical aspects of the research, please contact

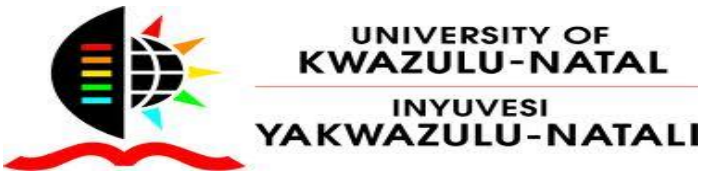
HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

If you have concerns or questions about the research, you may contact my research supervisor

Thabo Sekhesa
Educational Psychologyist
Applied Human Sciences
Tel: 033 260 5370
Email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za

Thank You

Appendix E: Consent Form



CONSENT

I _____ have been informed about the study of revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall movement by Mokgabisi Phajane.

I understand the purpose and the procedures of the study

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions pertaining to the study and had answers that provided clarity

I declare my participation in this research study is entirely voluntary and understand I may withdraw at any point should I wish to do so.

I have been informed about the possible risks and benefits of this research study

If I have further questions/concerns pertaining to the study, I understand that I may contact the researcher at revolutionary.songs@yahoo.co.za

……..
Signature of participant **Date**:……..

CONSENT FOR Audio Recording
I hereby agree for my interview/focus group session to be audio recorded.

……..
Signature of participant **Date**:……..

I understand that the information that I provide will be stored electronically and will be used for research purposes now or at a later stage.

……..
Signature of participant **Date**:……..

Appendix F: Permission for referral to CFC

Dear Ms Chilimanzi

RE: Permission to refer research participants

I am Mokgabisi Phajane currently a master's Clinical Psychology student in the school of Applied Human Science at University of KwaZulu- Natal Pietermaritzburg campus. As partial requirement of the programme I am conducting a research study exploring the role of contemporary revolutionary songs in the #FeesMustFall movement. No harm will be inflicted onto the participants however if any form of anxiety or distress is experienced as a direct result of involvement in the study, I am requesting to refer them to Child Family Centre for psychological services.

Your assistance will be greatly appreciated.

Kind Regards,

Mokgabisi Phajane

Appendix G: Jeffersonian's Transcription Notations[14]

Symbol	Name	Use
[text]	Brackets	Indicates the start and end points of overlapping speech.
=	Equal Sign	Indicates the break and subsequent continuation of a single interrupted utterance.
(# of seconds)	Timed Pause	A number in parentheses indicates the time, in seconds, of a pause in speech.
(.)	Micropause	A brief pause, usually less than 0.2 seconds.
. or □	Period or Down Arrow	Indicates falling pitch.
? or □	Question Mark or Up Arrow	Indicates rising pitch.
,	Comma	Indicates a temporary rise or fall in intonation.
-	Hyphen	Indicates an abrupt halt or interruption in utterance.
>text<	Greater than / Less than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more rapidly than usual for the speaker.
<text>	Less than / Greater than symbols	Indicates that the enclosed speech was delivered more slowly than usual for the speaker.
°	Degree symbol	Indicates whisper or reduced volume speech.
ALL CAPS	Capitalized text	Indicates shouted or increased volume speech.
underline	Underlined text	Indicates the speaker is emphasizing or stressing the speech.
:::	Colon(s)	Indicates prolongation of an utterance.
(hhh)		Audible exhalation
? or (.hhh)	High Dot	Audible inhalation
(text)	Parentheses	Speech which is unclear or in doubt in the transcript.
((italic text))	Double Parentheses	Annotation of non-verbal activity.

[14] See a detailed account of Jeffersonian Transcription Notation in Jefferson, G (1984), Transcription Notation in J. Atkinson & Heritage (Eds.), *Structure of Social Interactions*, New York: Cambridge University Press.