SONGS OF STRUGGLE IN THE FILM *SARAFINA!*

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SUMMARY

Sarafina! (1992) started in the 1980s as an inspirational resistance theatre production called *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation*. After the stage production's big success on Broadway in the USA, film director Darrell James Roodt adapted *Sarafina!* as a musical film which was released in cinemas in 1992. *Sarafina!*, identified as a combination of township theatre and theatre of resistance, also employs songs of struggle. *Sarafina!* depicts the context in which the socio-political resistance of the youth during the 1980s is articulated, as well as the internal battle of a young black girl who is searching for her place in the struggle.

The purpose of the study is to understand how songs of struggle contribute to the construction of context in the film *Sarafina!*. By understanding the nature and meanings of the songs in *Sarafina!*, as well as identifying the contexts depicted in the film, we can understand how the songs contribute to the construction of the contexts in the film.

This mini-dissertation is a qualitative, hermeneutic research study, conducted against a social constructivist paradigm. A traditional literature review was used to collect data on the concepts relevant to this study and a systematic literature review was applied to sort through this literature in order to find the most suitable and relevant sources. The data was analysed using strategies of textual analysis in order to interpret the text and to identify the relationship between the text and the multiple contexts reflected in the text.

The findings of this study indicate that not all the songs in *Sarafina!* are songs of struggle, but they do articulate some form of struggle. The songs in *Sarafina!* appear in various types of resistance music, namely songs of struggle, protest songs, as well as freedom songs. The findings of this study also indicate that the songs in *Sarafina!* articulate contexts depicting socio-political circumstances or a personal human experience. *Sarafina!* articulates multi-layered contexts which depict temporal and spatial contexts.

Ultimately, we can conclude that the songs of struggle in *Sarafina!* contribute to the construction of these multi-layered contexts in which socio-political and personal

human experiences are articulated. Each song has its own unique focus, but ultimately contributes to our understanding of how the youth was affected within these contexts.

Key words: *Sarafina!*, context, songs of struggle, South African protest music, resistance theatre, township theatre

OPDOMMING

Sarafina! (1992) het oorspronklik tydens die 1980's ontstaan as 'n inspirerende produksie naamlik *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation*. Nadat die verhoogproduksie groot sukses op Broadway in die VSA behaal het, het filmdirekteur Darrell James Roodt *Sarafina!* as 'n musiekrolprent aangepas en is dit in 1992 vrygestel. *Sarafina!* is 'n kombinasie van *township* teater en weerstandsteater en maak onder andere gebruik van liedere wat bekend staan as *songs of struggle*. *Sarafina!* weerspieël 'n konteks waarin die sosio-politiese weerstand van die jeug gedurende die 1980's geartikuleer word, asook die interne stryd van 'n jong swart meisie wat haar rol in die stryd tot vryheid probeer bepaal.

Die doel van hierdie skripsie is om te verstaan hoe die liedjies in *Sarafina!* bydra tot die daarstel van kontekste in die rolprent. Deur die aard en betekenis van die liedjies van *Sarafina! te* verstaan, sowel as die verskillende kontekste in die rolprent te identifiseer, kan ons verstaan hoe die musiek in *Sarafina!* tot die daarstel van kontekste bydra.

Hierdie skripsie is 'n kwalitatiewe, hermeneutiese navorsingsstudie wat vanuit 'n sosiale konstruktivistiese paradigma benader is. 'n Tradisionele literatuuroorsig is gebruik om data te versamel en 'n sistematiese literatuuroorsig is toegepas om die mees gepaste en relevante bronne te identifiseer vir die gebruik in hierdie studie. Die data is geanaliseer deur van teksanalise-strategieë gebruik te maak. Dit word gebruik om die teks te interpreteer, asook om die verhouding tussen die teks en die konteks wat in die teks weerspieël word, te identifiseer.

Uiteindelik is daar gevind dat nie al die liedjies in *Sarafina! songs of struggle* is nie, maar wel ander vorme van worsteling artikuleer. Die liedjies in *Sarafina!* word geïdentifiseer as *songs of struggle*, protesmusiek, asook vryheidsliedere. Daar is ook bevind dat die liedjies in *Sarafina!* kontekste van sosio-politiese omstandighede en persoonlike ervarings artikuleer. Hierdie veelvlakkige kontekste van *Sarafina!* weerspieël die temporale en ruimtelike kontekste.

Die uiteindelike gevolgtrekking is dat die *songs of struggle* in *Sarafina!* bydra tot die konstruksie van veelvlakkige kontekste wat sosio-politiese en persoonlike ervarings

artikuleer. Alhoewel elke lied sy eie unieke fokus het, dra dit by tot hoe die swart jeug binne hierdie kontekste geaffekteer is.

Sleutelwoorde: *Sarafina!*, konteks, *songs of struggle*, Suid-Afrikaanse protesmusiek, *resistance theatre*, *township theatre.*

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Contextualisation of the study

This mini-dissertation considers the manner in which the songs in *Sarafina!* (1992), a cinematic adaptation (hereafter referred to as film) of the stage production *Sarafina: Music of the Liberation* contributes to the construction of contexts[1] in the film. This research is important within the context of South African arts because it contributes to the understanding of protest music, especially songs of struggle and freedom songs, and its role in the South African film industry. *Sarafina!* is one of few South African musical films that uses this style of African music.

Sarafina!, born out of the inspirations of South African director and play writer Mbongeni Ngema (Brown, 1990:90), started as a sold-out Broadway stage production in the 1980s. It was an inspirational resistance theatre production that paid homage to the students who died in the Soweto uprising[2] on 16 June 1976 (Brown, 1990:90). Ngema started to compose and write *Sarafina!* in 1984 as a tribute to the dance music of the townships of Durban (Brown, 1990:90) and by 1987 it was a Broadway hit which played in New York theatres for a year (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:232). A few film makers tried to capture the essence of *Sarafina!* on film after its big success in the USA (Ukadike, 1994:227). The first was Nigel Nobel who filmed a documentary version of the Broadway show, but it was a box office disaster after Nobel made the film a study about the characters rather than a film about apartheid[3] (Ukadike, 1994:227). After the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, *Sarafina!* was adapted by director Darrell James Roodt as a musical film which was released in cinemas in 1992, starring Whoopi Goldberg and Miriam Makeba (Ukadike, 1994:227).

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1 For the purpose of this mini-dissertation *context* should be understood to include temporal and spatial dimensions, as well social dimensions in which culture and ideologies are embedded.

2 The students of Soweto intended a peaceful demonstration to present the Department of Bantu Education with a memorandum containing students' grievances. However, the march ended in a riot where the police opened fire into the masses of children (Ndlovu, 2006:341).

3 The struggle against apartheid was a long journey which started in 1948 with the implementation of apartheid. Segregation of Africans from the whites started with laws like the Population Registration Act of 1950 (classifying all South Africans according to race) and establishing the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Allen, 2005:169). This was the beginning of many more laws and many fights for freedom.

Music has always been a part of South African political discourse (Shultziner, 2010:140). It is a mode of communicating, amongst many others, protest against political domination. Protest music started among the Zulus in the early 1900s (Urbain, 2008:65). Urbain (2008:65) identifies a few genres of this time: *iMusic*, *iRagtime* and *Toyi-toyi*. According to Urbain (2008:65), the music of black South Africans was a modification of styles which were influenced by their socio-political conditions. From 1948 to 1994, a time during which South Africa was governed according to the principles of apartheid, socio-economic and political conditions for black South Africans grew increasingly difficult. Segregation was institutionalised, pass acts were implemented and the struggle for freedom from oppression intensified. This period was characterised by several incidents of unrest and violence, noticeably those taking place on 21 March 1960 (Sharpeville massacre) and 16 June 1976 (Soweto uprising). Incidents such as these continued to influence the socio-economic landscape until 1984 when the economic downturn of 1981–82 reached a critical point. The Vaal triangle, a region that was plagued by socio-political problems at the time, had a rapid decrease of industrial expansion during this time. During the 1980s the economy declined and unemployment increased. Some people were being paid less and others enriched themselves. By 1985, almost 30% of the people earned an income below the Bureau of Market Research's designated Minimum Living Level (Gerhart and Glaser, 2010:68).

The dire economic circumstances were exacerbated by, for example, a steep rise in rent, which also resulted in further unrest. In 1984 the Lekoa residents' rent was the highest rent in the country. On 3 September 1984, several townships in the Vaal triangle had a rent boycott (Gerhart & Glaser, 2010:68). The people of the township disrupted transport services and prevented police from accessing the area. Public buildings, shops and homes were burned down. The workers from this area started the *stayaway* boycott, during which they did not go to work, and children reacted by staying away from school (Gerhart & Glaser, 2010:69).

These three events discussed above mark points in the history of South Africa and became the symbols of the struggle against apartheid (Diawara *et al.*, 2010:125), and more often than not, human experiences in these circumstances were articulated through the performing arts (music, dance and theathre) – particularly

through songs of struggle. The songs were frequently modified as the politics and circumstances of the people changed (Gilbert, 2007:427). It was out of the 1976 Soweto uprising that many of the struggle songs developed (Gilbert, 2007:437) and after these events struggle songs reached a new intensity to strengthen the struggle (Shultziner, 2010:140). Struggle songs, also described by Gilbert (2007:426) as freedom songs, are songs inspired by the people who resisted apartheid and fought for freedom – commonly referred to as *the struggle*. The purpose of music during the struggle was to generate and strengthen group identity and group solidarity among the African people. It brought solidarity between various personalities and age groups. Everyone was part of the struggle when singing freedom songs in a group (Shultziner, 2010:140).

Songs of struggle were not the only medium to fight for freedom. Black South African theatre[4] developed into a weapon of protest which articulated oppression and resistance in South Africa (Graver, 1999:2). The beginning of contemporary African theatre can be traced back to the late 19th century and even then it started as means of protest (Sirayi, 2012:94). Small musical theatres started in the 1920s and 1930s and since the 1950s, big musical productions were formed, some of which got international recognition (Graver, 1999:5). During this time, as black theatre grew, protest theatre developed (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:257). According to Attridge and Jolly (1998:257), protest theatre was a "theatre of complaint, of weeping, of self-pity, of moralising, of mourning and hopelessness." When a segregated township audience developed in black musical theatre during the 1950s and 1960s, township musical theatre was formed (Ansell, 2005:132). Graver (1999:6) describes township musical theatre as a combination of "song, dance, melodrama and clowning in extravagant display of talent and energy."

The beginning of the Black Consciousness Movement in the early 1970s changed everything about the black South African theatre scene. The Black Consciousness Movement gave life to a new approach to African theatre, namely the theatre of resistance, which replaced protest theatre (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:257). The weapons against apartheid and the struggle began to include the arts and culture of which

[4] Black theatre was created for an only African audience with only African actors, writers and producers (Orkin, 1991:120–121).

theatre formed a part. Protest theatre did not stand against the struggle; it was only a place where discontent could be articulated. On the other hand, theatre of resistance directly addressed the oppressed people and motivated them to fight against oppression (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:257).

Sarafina! is identified by Attridge and Jolly (1998:262) as a combination of theatre of resistance and township musical theatre. The use of dance, song and melodrama, described by Graver (1999:6), is a distinct component of township musical theatre in the production of *Sarafina!.* Gibson Kente, known as *the father of township theatre* (Mojapelo, 2008:10), had the biggest influence on the township musical theatre aspects in *Sarafina!,* with his extraordinary use of local music and dance traditions (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:262).

1.2 Problem statement

While *Sarafina!* does not portray an authentic historical or political event (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:232–234), it does reflect the theatrical form of resistance. *Sarafina!* possesses the characteristics of both theatre of resistance and township musical theatre and, as such, also employs struggle songs that have the potential to contribute to the construction of specific contexts.

1.3 Theoretical statement

Attridge and Jolly (1998:233) assert that, even though the context of *Sarafina!* is not authentic, the film represent accurate experiences and suffering. The struggle songs in *Sarafina!* reveal the unrest amongst the youth in 1986, a decade after the Soweto Uprising. It is clear in the production that their socio-economic and political situations are unchanged. Just as in 1976, young Africans are under oppression and resisting apartheid.

1.4 Research questions

The main question that emerges from the contextualisation in the problem statement is: How do the songs in the film *Sarafina!* contribute to the construction of the contexts depicted in the film? Two sub-questions emanate from the main question:

- What are the nature and the meanings of the songs in *Sarafina!*?
- What contexts are constructed in *Sarafina!*?

Each of these questions will be dealt with in more detail in 1.7 during the discussion of the narrative design of this mini-dissertation. I trust that, once these questions have been answered, a better understanding of how the songs in *Sarafina!* contribute to the construction of contexts will have been reached. This is the primary purpose of this study. Furthermore, the research questions and the intended purpose will determine the research design of the study.

1.5 Scope of the study

This research study uses the film version of *Sarafina!* as its primary text. This text is captured on a digital video disk (DVD). The study does not include a detailed analysis of the original stage production,[5] but will point out the major differences between the stage production and the film.

1.6 Research design

This hermeneutic study follows a qualitative research design, is conducted from a social constructivist perspective and considers context-bound realities. The qualitative research technique used to gather and analyse data is textual analysis. Through the use of textual analysis, the researcher will be able to determine the nature of songs of struggle, freedom songs (as representative of protest music), as well as the contexts in which these appear in *Sarafina!*. The research design and methods will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

1.7 Narrative design of the mini-dissertation

Chapter 1 is an introduction that contextualises the research topic and explains the scope of the study. It also offers a very brief summary of the research design and methods used in this study before stating the main questions and the purpose of the study. The chapter concludes by stating the study's compliance with the ethical policies of the North-West University.

[5] Such an analysis is available on the web page of The Guide to Musical Theatre (Anon, 2014).

Chapter 2 is concerned with the research design and methods used for this mini-dissertation. It explains my understanding of which methods I had to use in the process of collecting and analysing data. This includes my understanding of what a research design is, what qualitative research is, what a research paradigm is and which paradigm to use to conduct this study. It also explains my understanding of literature overview, how to analyse text, how to apply crystallisation and ensure trustworthiness. This chapter also states the criteria of trustworthiness used in this study to ensure the credibility of this mini-dissertation.

Chapter 3 is a review of the literature used to support this mini-dissertation. It gives an overview of the information gathered from existing literature in order to understand the main concepts and aspects of this study. This includes information on protest songs, songs of struggle, freedom songs, protest theatre, theatre of resistance, the relationship between music and context and additional material on *Sarafina!*. The chapter also gives a description of the film *Sarafina!*: its narrative, origins and the differences between the original stage production and the film.

Chapter 4 is an analysis of the eight major songs and their contribution towards the context in *Sarafina!*. It consists of a close reading of the lyrics of each of these songs, as well as of the contexts in which they occur.

Chapter 5 is the conclusion of this study. This chapter represents the findings of this mini-dissertation, based on the information gathered from the literature overview in Chapter 3 and the analysis in Chapter 4. It answers the sub-questions and the main question before making suggestions for further study.

1.8 Ethical issues

This study adheres to the North-West University's policies regarding ethical issues in research. The study does not require the researcher to conduct interviews or do surveys. Therefore, no ethical issues relating to protecting participants are expected. However, the researcher acknowledges the ethical integrity needed in conducting the research and writing the research report in such a manner that it is trustworthy and devoid of unfounded bias against any person based on race, class or gender.

CHAPTER 2: RESEARCH DESIGNS AND METHODS

This chapter is concerned with the research design and methods used for this study. It elaborates on the outlined structure that the researcher is going to use in order to collect and analyse data. The chapter considers various concepts, such as the research design and approach, the research paradigm, the type of research and the strategies used to gather and analyse data for this study. The steps taken to ensure the trustworthiness of the study are described and the matter of ethical concerns is stated.

2.1 Research design and approach

A research design is the framework that supports researchers in the process of collecting and analysing data (Creswell, 2003:3). The specific research design upon which is decided will guide the researcher in choosing the correct methods of data collection and analyses (Creswell, 2003:17). Yin (2009:26) defines a research design as “a logical plan for getting from here to there”. The research design of a study is determined by the paradigm, situation and purpose of the research and, therefore, also the research question(s) and methods of the study (Jesson *et al.*, 2011:108). Furthermore, the research design involves formulating a range of questions that will be answered and after which conclusions can be drawn. To establish a research design suitable for this study, I explored different avenues. The first step was to decide upon a research approach. Based on the research paradigm, the situation and the purpose of this study, as discussed in the first chapter, it made sense to follow a qualitative research design.

Creswell (2003:17–18) identifies three research approaches, namely qualitative research, quantitative research and mixed method research. Quantitative research is based on researching statistical information, while a mixed method approach is a research design that requires the researcher to use both qualitative and quantitative research (Creswell, 2003:18). As mentioned earlier, this study adopts a qualitative

research design (Creswell, 2003:17) for it is rooted in social structures, history and text.[6]

Qualitative research is based on perspectives from knowledge gathered from the individual's experiences, history, social background and political structures (Creswell, 2003:17). The focus of qualitative research is to discover, identify and mostly to understand "the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem" (Creswell, 2013:4). According to Merriam (2009:5) the purpose of qualitative research is to understand "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences".

2.2 Research paradigm

Both the situation and the purpose of this research study were explained in Chapter 1 and, therefore, it remains only to briefly discuss the research paradigm against which the research was conducted. Creswell and Plano (2011:38–39) identify four levels for developing a research study, starting with the research paradigm. The research paradigm, also referred to as philosophical perspective (Blaikie, 2007:3) and epistemological perspectives (Merriam, 2009:11), is a perspective I used to understand social dynamics (Blaikie, 2007:3). According to Kuhn (2012:144) a paradigm, consisting of different worldviews, is used to solve the "puzzle" of the research. The paradigm is not the focus of the research but assists the research. Blaikie (2007:3) describes a research paradigm as a method to "provide different ways of making connections between ideas about the social world, the social experiences of people and the social world within which social life occurs."

This paradigm includes how philosophical assumptions and beliefs influence the researcher on how she gathers knowledge about what she knows (Creswell & Plano, 2011:38–39). The paradigms influence the theoretical lens of the researcher, which can be any form of social science theories. These theories then determine the methodological approach the researcher will use, which informs the methods of data collection and analysis (Creswell & Plano, 2011:38–39). It is thus clear that the

[6] Text is a means of articulating social, cultural and historical events, as well as reflecting the functionality of society (Daiute and Lightfoot, 2004:2).

research paradigm will influence the entire research design, from its strategies to the manner in which data will be collected and analysed.

The philosophical perspective against which this study is conducted involves constructivist interpretivism, also called social constructivism (Creswell, 2013:24). Creswell and Plano (2011:40) define constructivism as "the understanding or meaning of phenomena". Creswell (2013:24) also describes social constructivism as a worldview defined by the way "individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. They develop subjective meanings of their experiences – meanings directed toward certain objects or things." Social constructivism is created by the individual's social interaction, historical background and cultural models. This social constructivism will assists me in understanding the specific context articulated in *Sarafina!*.

From the discussion above, it is evident that it is of the utmost importance to understand one's own philosophical and epistemological perspectives in order to approach a study such as this one. To understand one's own perspective will not only determine one's socio-political understanding, but also prevent invalid assumptions. According to Belsey (2005:160) the researcher will analyse text with predetermined suppositions. Therefore, it is important to identify the predetermined assumptions by understanding one's own perspectives.

2.3 Research type

Having decided to use a qualitative research design and a constructivist interpretative paradigm, I had to decide which research type was most appropriate for this study. Each research type has strategies that relate to its own unique way of collecting, analysing and interpreting data (Creswell, 2003:13–15). Therefore, I have to use a research type which will assist me in collecting, analysing and interpreting data to reach a stance of how the songs of struggle in *Sarafina!* contribute to the articulation of contexts. After studying Creswell's (2003:13–15) five types of qualitative research (narrative research, phenomenological research, ethnography, grounded theory and case studies) it appeared that none of his research types was suitable for this study. Eventually, having considered Kramer's (2002) thoughts on the meaning and interpretation of musical texts, I realised that mine is a hermeneutic

study which will attempt to derive meaning from the analyses of the data that will be collected.

According to Blaikie (2007:110) one uses concepts derived from everyday meanings in a hermeneutic study in order to "describe and understand any social phenomenon". To understand the phenomenon in this study, I shall interpret the music – more specifically the songs of struggle. Hermeneutics is "the art of understanding" (Kramer, 2002:11) as well as "the art of interpretation" (Kramer, 2011:1). Kramer (2011:2) refers to this form of hermeneutic interpretation as open interpretation as being "analytical, articulate, and reflective." According to Kramer (2011:1)

> [musical hermeneutics] seeks to show how music works in the world by interpreting both music and musical performances in language. To interpret music verbally is to give it a legible place in the conduct of life.

When using the technique of open interpretation one ideally should have no predetermined ideas. One should interpret the meaning of the musical expression (Kramer, 2011:2). Hermeneutics is suitable for this study for its use of techniques to understand meaning through open interpretation.

2.4 Research methods

This qualitative, hermeneutic study will use an approach of naturalistic inquiry and not a rationalistic inquiry to collect data (Guba, 1981:77). A naturalistic inquiry believes in multiple realities which can be influenced by the research unit and researcher (Guba, 1981:77). A rationalistic inquiry, on the other hand, is grounded in the viewpoint of a single reality inquiry while maintaining a distance from the inquiry. Data will be collected by means of a traditional literature review and will be analysed using strategies of textual analysis.

2.4.1 Data collection

- **Literature review as method of data collection**

Various publications will be reviewed in gathering information to form the basis of the study. A literature review is the link between the research question and the research.

It is an overview of existing literature affiliated with the research topic; analysing the information and gather knowledge (Jesson *et al*., 2011:9). Jesson *et al.* (2011:10) describe the purpose of a literature review as a task

> where you show that you are both aware of and can interpret what is already known and where eventually you will be able to point out the contradictions and gaps in existing knowledge.

Jesson *et al*. (2011:14–15) identify two styles of literature reviews, namely traditional and systematic literature reviews. A traditional literature review is used to gather knowledge on existing information. One can approach a traditional literature review from different angles, depending on the purpose of the review. Jesson *et al.* (2011:15) describe each of these approaches; a critical approach, a conceptual review, a state-of-the-art review, an expert review and a scoping review. On the other hand a systematic literature review is a "standardised, structured, protocol-driven methodology [used to sort through] all the relevant literature" (Jesson *et al*., 2011:103) gathered by means of a traditional literature review in order to ensure its contribution towards the specific research questions.

For this study I shall use a traditional literature review to collect data from existing literature regarding protest music, freedom songs and songs of struggle. The literature review will also collect data on black South African theatre and resistance music. Furthermore, this literature review will consider what other authors wrote about *Sarafina'*s contexts, as well as consider some of the researcher's own perspectives on the narrative of the film production. The literatures that will be reviewed also include a CD recording of *Sarafina's* soundtrack and a DVD recording of the film.

However, data will not only be gathered by conducting a traditional literature review. Criteria were determined by which the literature that was gathered by means of the traditional literature review will be assessed and arranged systematically. Jesson *et al.* (2011:108) refers to this as a systematic literature review. I shall thus follow a systematic layout of gathered information to reach the end result (Jesson *et al*., 2011:12). The systematic literature review will be used to determine the most relevant and trustworthy sources gathered during the traditional literature review. Jesson's (2011:104) structure of a systematic literature review is employed as the criteria for this mini-dissertation: scope and map, plan and control, document,

inclusion and exclusion criteria, search and screen, quality appraisal, data extraction, and synthesis. In order to decide which sources to include and the ensure the quality of the sources, I shall only include peer-reviewed articles, articles from accredited journals, most recently published articles and books by experts in the specific field in order to ensure that I use sources that are beyond scrutiny. I also will avoid the use of unreliable websites.

Systematically working through all the literature gathered during the traditional literature review, I shall consider the range of the topic of this study (Jesson *et al.*, 2011:104). I shall analyse the information and make connections between all the parts (Jesson *et al.*, 2011:123, 66). Eventually the information gathered through the systematic literature review will be synthesised (Jesson *et al.*, 2011:66). I shall organise and relate the different aspects of knowledge in the topic of *Sarafina!*, struggle music and context through the use of mind maps (Jesson *et al.*, 2011:84). These mind maps will be based on the codes, categories and themes that will emerge as the information is analysed and interpreted. Having gathered the data, I shall proceed to analyse it.

2.4.2 Data Analysis

Analysing texts can be done in various ways. When working with a specific study like this and analysing a comprehensive work, it is important to identify the essential ideas in the text itself. A four steps approach of qualitative research in text, suggested by Marschan-Piekkari and Welch (2004:347), can be used: identify the main research question(s), conduct an analysis of the overall textual material, identify specific texts for close reading and reach a conclusion.

The most suitable research strategy for this study is textual analysis (Strauss, 1987:5). Textual analysis allows the researcher to understand the meaning of texts. It enables the researcher to answer exploratory and conceptual questions (Mouton, 2001:167). Textual analysis is the study of society through analysing and interpreting text(s) (McKee, 2003:1) and is considered to be the most ideal strategy to use for the understanding of others (or society) through text. Both McKee (2003:1) and Brennen (2012:206) believe that textual analysis is “a way for researchers to gather information about how other human beings make sense of the world”. Textual

analysis is therefore a method used to understand text and society. By studying and analysing text or context, it is possible to identify a society and interpret their worldview (McKee, 2003:1). Saukko (2003:100) identifies textual analysis as a political and historical reflection. “Any given text can be analysed in relation to different social texts and sensibilities in order to unravel its contradictory politics” (Saukko, 2003:106). The texts of any cultural or sub-cultural group can reflect important social and political information if a deeper look is taken. Furthermore, Mouton (2001:167) regards textual analysis as typically applicable to the “analysis and interpretation of musical compositions.” He also identifies the strengths of textual analysis as not just a way to “shed light on the meaning of text” but it is also used to understand the “historical periods, cultural trends and socio-political events” (Mouton, 2001:168).

The analyses of the primary texts in this study will take into consideration the views discussed in the previous paragraph. In order to understand the protest music used in *Sarafina!* I shall ask both exploratory and conceptual questions. The main question of this study focuses on how the songs in the film *Sarafina!* contribute to the construction of the contexts depicted in the film. Mouton’s (2001:167) opinion, as mentioned earlier, is of fundamental importance for this study for we will not only find the meaning of the music but also understand the context of *Sarafina!*. The researcher will also use an inductive mode of reasoning in order to understand the role text (in this case the musical and visual text) plays in the specific situation within which it is placed. Mouton (2001:167) explains that inductive reasoning aims to “generate an understanding of a hitherto unknown or little known text”. While *Sarafina!* is not a completely unknown text, the relationship between the songs and the context has not been considered yet.

However, it is important to remember that no two textual analyses can be the same. As stated before, researchers usually analyse text with predetermined assumptions shaped by their worldviews (Belsey, 2005:160). Researchers interpret texts based on textual analyses which are informed by “relevant social, historical, political and/or economic context as well as their own knowledge” (Brennen, 2012:206). Belsey (2005:160) also states: “there is no such thing as ‘pure’ reading: interpretation always involves extra-textual knowledge.” She identifies this knowledge as a combination of cultural influence, personal meaning, personal interests and it is also

influenced by a second opinion (Belsey, 2005:160). Each individual researcher's interpretation and worldview will thus influence her understanding of any given text (Belsey, 2005:160).

Belsey (2005:170) suggests that one should start with a problem in the text and address the series of questions one identify in this problem. As stated before, the problem identified in this study is *how do the songs in the film Sarafina! contribute to the construction of the contexts depicted in the film?* We assume that the songs are songs of struggle and that they articulate context in the film. In this study we will explain our assumptions by employing textual analysis. Therefore, *Sarafina!* can be regarded as a text that reflects the temporal and spatial contexts of a specific cultural group and their social structures. Textual analysis will lead this study in understanding the meaning of all contexts in *Sarafina!.* While focusing on the struggle songs, other texts – such as the setting, location, drama and even choreography in *Sarafina!* – will be considered by using the methods of textual analysis.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011:870–871), as well as Gurak and Lay (2002:48), identify and discuss a few methods of textual analysis. All these methods of textual analysis specifically analyse the "relationship between text and context" (Gurak & Lay, 2002:48). While most of the methods mentioned by the aforementioned authors can be applied to this study, the analyses in this research focus on interpreting "written, oral, or electronic text[s]", as well on social, historical and situational contexts articulated through the text (Gurak & Lay, 2002:48–49).

Another method of textual analysis that is relevant to this study is a *close reading.* The term refers to a method used to analyse literary, as well as visual and media texts. Priest (2010:172) describes the analysis of visual or media texts as an "observer stance to the act of reading or viewing". It is a manner of observing social action in textual or visual material (Priest, 2010:172). The main question of this research can be used to guide the researcher to establish a detailed analysis on specific themes (Marschan-Piekkari & Welch, 2004:349). The researcher should focus on these specific themes and observe their contexts.

2.5 Trustworthiness

This study is validated primarily by crystallisation. Ellingson (2009:4) defines crystallisation as

> [combining] multiple forms of analysis and multiple genres of representation into a coherent text or series of related texts, building a rich and openly partial account of a phenomenon that problematizes its own construction, highlights researchers' vulnerabilities and positionality, makes claims about socially constructed meanings, and reveals the indeterminacy of knowledge claims even as it makes them.

Crystallisation can be achieved by using various methods of data collection and not restricting oneself with the minimum information about a topic (Maree & Van der Westhuizen, 2009:35). This study will offer rich, but always substantiated description of my interpretation of the primary texts.

Furthermore, subjecting to the traits of a naturalistic inquiry, this mini-dissertation will refer to Lincoln and Guba's (1985:290) aspects of trustworthiness, namely credibility (internal validity), transferability (external validity), dependability (reliability) and confirmability (objectivity). The aspects of trustworthiness can be reached by prolonged engagement, persistent observation, triangulation, referential adequacy materials, peer debriefing, member checking, reflexive journaling, a thick description, purposive sampling and an audit trail (Guba, 1981:80–84). These aspects of trustworthiness also shape the criteria for the researcher to determine valid reliable resources. As already mentioned earlier, I shall only use sources that are beyond scrutiny; peer-reviewed articles, articles from accredited journals, most recently published articles and books by experts in the specific field. My prolonged engagement with the subject matter allows me increased insight into the phenomenon and results in a thick description. This description is audited by regularly reconsidering and reformulating what I have written and having my supervisor provide detailed feedback and allowing her to guide my development as a young researcher.

2.6 Ethics

This study complies with the ethics policies of the North-West University regarding research. Because I am the primary collector of data and there are no other participants involved in the research process, it is not necessary for any form of consent to be obtained. My responsibility regarding the ethics for this study is to commit myself to ensure that the sources and methods used in this research are beyond scrutiny.

2. 7 Conclusion

As I stated in the introduction, the aim of this chapter is to determine and describe the research design and methods for this mini-dissertation. Upon completion of the chapter, I can conclude that this mini-dissertation is a qualitative, hermeneutic research study, conducted against a social constructivist paradigm. I shall employ a traditional literature review as means to collect data on the concepts relevant to this study, after which I shall systematically sort through the literature in order to find the most suitable and relevant sources related to the topic of this study. The data that is gathered for this study will be analysed using various strategies of textual analysis. I shall interpret the text and identify the relationship between the text and the multiple contexts reflected in the text. I shall also use close reading as a method to analyse the primary texts. The nature of the analyses and interpretation in this study is validated by crystallisation and the trustworthiness of the study will be based on the truth-value, applicability, consistency and neutrality of the research. Ultimately, I shall adhere to the four aspects of trustworthiness, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability by only using sources that are beyond scrutiny, namely peer-reviewed articles, articles from accredited journals, most recently published articles, books by experts in the specific field and very reliable internet sources.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter considers the main concepts and aspects discussed in this mini-dissertation. The chapter reviews existing literature in order to understand the nature of protest music, freedom songs and songs of struggle and the relationship between music and context. I also regard the DVD recording of *Sarafina!* as existing literature and include its narrative progression in the literature overview of the film. The chapter also considers existing literature on the origins and background of the film and the differences between the stage production and the film. All the data gathered during the overview of the literature on the concepts mentioned above will be analysed and discussed in Chapter 4.

3.1 Protest music, freedom songs and songs of struggle

Protest music, freedom songs and songs of struggle all belong to music of resistance: music created during a period of conflict. O'Connell (2010:5) describes music in conflict as being complex and culturally related. He is convinced that "[m]usic offers the possibility of an imaginary ideal, a shared goal that promotes cooperation between groups while respectful of individual cultural identities" (O'Connell, 2010:12). Music has the ability to unite a group of people who share corresponding worldviews. O'Connell (2010:12) states that "music may be employed in certain instances to promote intragroup solidarity and to excite intergroup aggression". The music articulates the group's solidarity and emotions. In music associated with conflict, the meaning is shaped through the social contexts, but also articulates the essence of the social contexts (O'Connell, 2010:2).

Music of resistance is a universal reaction against political oppression. According to O'Connell (2010:12) the function of music within the context of conflict is a contradictory negotiation between increasing and resolving conflict. Various types of songs have the ability to articulate conflict, namely protest songs, songs of freedom and songs of struggle. These types of songs have a lot in common. McNeill (2011:165–167) refers to freedom songs and protest songs as songs of struggle. These songs were highly politically-driven songs; songs that were adaptable to the changes in politics and could articulate a political status quo, even when the

government banned big groups of black South Africans gathering for political purposes (McNeill, 2011:165–167).

Protest songs, being one of the main musical genres involved in articulating conflict, are formed by the oppressed group as means of communicating, to strengthen each other as a unit and to react against their oppressors (Hawn, 2011:411). Björkman (1989:77) and Sirayi (2012:151) both agree that protest songs are articulated emotions that occur as a result of continual oppression. Protest songs appear in different ways in different parts of the world (Hawn, 2011:411).

According to Michie & Gamede (2013:xiii) South African protest songs belongs to music that "promotes conflict and attempts to find its resolution." In South Africa these songs are used to address and publicly express political problems. Together the oppressed group of people who shares similar emotions about their political subjugation could verbally articulate opinions as well as feelings about their oppression; they address their oppressors in an attempt to create an awareness of the bondage of oppressive restrictions. Through protest music, the oppressed Africans of South Africa could sing as a unified group about their struggle in order to get their voices heard by others. However, South African protest music does not just articulate social and political contexts. According to Urbain (2008:71) South African protest songs include music that reflects the historical context of a specific time, for example the historical context of the black South Africans' struggle for freedom and their call for justice during the apartheid.

The earliest form of protest music in South Africa can be traced back to the early 1900's with the beginning of black oppression before the rise of apartheid. *iMusic* was the first of its kind and the beginning of South African protest music on record. The context of its Zulu lyrics was about the oppression and the music had strong western choral music sounds. *iMusic* was rooted in European and American church music. Its structure that emulates Christian hymns camouflaged its true political meaning from white South Africans (Urbain, 2008:66).

With the frequent changes in the South African politics and circumstances, protest music also developed, modified and changed styles (Urbain, 2008:71). According to McNeill (2011:166) genres like jazz, reggae, gospel, choral and traditional music

challenged the political segregation. In the 1950s and1960s, jazz played a big role in black society, but after racial segregation[7] occurred, changes caused the popular performance venues – where local African Jazz musicians used to perform – to close down and all these people were moved to rural areas. These circumstances caused a shift in African Jazz music (Coplan, 2002:106). Due to the shift in location and social environment, African Jazz was influenced by rural music and infused into new genres and styles.

During the apartheid era in South Africa, protest music grew continuously and evolved into various types of genres and repertoire which were used to protest against apartheid oppression. One such genre is known as freedom songs; South African struggle songs used during the apartheid to demand racial equality. Gilbert (2007:423) describes freedom songs as "the dominant musical medium of popular political expression". Freedom songs developed out of the western Christian music associated with missionary songs found in the townships during the early twentieth century[8] (Smith, 1997:326). According to Gilbert (2007:426), freedom songs are rooted in *makwaya* music, which is a fusion of Christian church hymns and traditional southern African singing styles.

During the 1960s, new indigenous and rural forms of African music, known as *simnje-manje,*[9] *mqhashiyo*[10] or *mbaqanga*[11]*,* emerged (Coplan, 2002:105–106). In

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7 In the early 1960s the South African government began implementing a policy to remove Africans from white areas into homelands in order to complete all of the Acts set since the beginning of apartheid (Du Toit, 1995:309–310), among which was the Group Areas Development Act of 1955 (Allen, 2005:169). African people were forcefully removed from their homes and nearby suburban black neighbourhoods were cleared (Coplan, 2002:106). Many of the social venues in the city where the African community had usually gathered, were closed down and, in effect, caused the popular performance venues where local African Jazz enthusiasts went to listen to the African Jazz musicians perform to close down as well (Coplan, 2002:106).

8 Traditional group music, being a part of black cultural music, and the Christian missionary influences which taught the South African people Western choral music, gave protest songs their undeniable choral sound (Hawn, 2011:419–420). As such, struggle songs have choral characteristics and are sung a cappella with a repeated call-and-response structure (Gilbert, 2007:423).

9 *Simanje-manje* (a Zulu phrase that means 'now-now!') is a sub style that emerged out of the rural African Jazz of the 1950s (Ansell, 2005:91). The style can be defined as a form of *mbaqanga* and consists of a lead male vocalist and four female vocalists. The vocal parts consist of urban neo-traditional and *marabi* music accompanied by Western instruments (Meintjes, 2003:35).

10 *Mqhashiyo* is also a form of vocal *mbaqanga*. *Mbaqanga* consists of male and female vocal sections, and *mqhashiyo* is a combination of a male lead singer and five piece choirs with four women and one added male voice (Meintjes, 2003:35).

an interview conducted during the making of *Sarafina!*, Ngema acknowledged the use of *mbaqanga,* as well as various other African music styles in the film *Sarafina!*. *Mbaqanga* is defined as "a label for the local styles of African jazz band music that appropriated well-known folk melodies and phrasing from a variety of African Language corpuses" (Coplan, 2002:106). Coplan (2002:105–106) identifies a connection between the political and ideological context of the time, and the emergence of *mbaqanga* as the adaption of African Jazz to its environment since African people were not permitted to settle or perform in urban areas. Ultimately, *mbaqanga* would become the musical identity of working class Africans that were banned from urban areas and could not support themselves outside of cities in which they would normally perform (Coplan, 2002:106).

After the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, an outburst of powerful freedom songs occurred, uniting the group during their violent oppression (Smith, 1997:326). These freedom songs were used at any form of mass gatherings (Gilbert, 2007:423), especially funerals. At the funeral gatherings, the youth sang songs of struggle — songs that articulated freedom, their oppression, their suffering, their heroes and biblical references (Bozzoli, 2004:224). According to Sepamla (1988:192), "the silence of the sixties is shattered at every funeral by the chants of freedom songs". After the government started using a more aggressive approach to control resistance of black political parties, as well as declaring large gatherings of black South Africans illegal, parties such as the ANC and PAC found new ways to reach the masses (Hawn, 2011:411), of which funerals were the easiest form of legal gatherings (Magubane, 2006:29). These were the only mass gathering points where they could speak and sing freely about their struggle and could praise or remember those fighting the struggle, but even these gatherings were heavily guarded by police forces (Hawn, 2011:411). However, it was not only at funerals where these freedom songs were sung. Each specific event had its own range of freedom songs. Even the events of the 1976 Soweto uprising had its own effects on the repertoire of freedom songs (Gilbert, 2007:427).

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[11] *Mbaqanga,* a Zulu word that means 'African maize bread', was used as a synonym for African Jazz in the 1950s (Lucia, 2005:338). It is a mixture of male vocals and female harmonies, guitar, drums, saxophone and penny whistle (Meintjes, 2003:36). *Mbaqanga* developed in the 1950s from *kwela*, *marabi* and American jazz (Meintjes, 2003:34).

One of the later forms of protest music to develop during apartheid was *toyi-toyi.* During the 1980s, freedom songs moved away from prominent western church music influences and fused into strong traditional African music with remarkable traditional harmonies, scales and rhythm (Smith, 1997:326). Within this development, a new protest musical form, called *toyi-toyi,* emerged (Urbain, 2008:71). *Toyi-toyi*, also called "war dance" (Smith, 1997:326), is protest music accompanied by a form of dancing similar to jogging (Michie & Gamede, 2013:262). The use of these movements and dances while chanting was a symbolic representation of war and resistance (Powers, 1997:321) which were designed to scare the oppressed South Africans' enemies during their riots (Michie & Gamede, 2013:262). *Toyi-toyi* formed a big part of this method of protesting (Powers, 1997:321). According to Power (1997:321), *toyi-toyi*, affiliated with protest music, was very important during the freedom movement, especially when it was used at rallies, funerals and demonstrations (Michie & Gamede, 2013:262).

3.2 Black South African theatre and protest music

The collective voice of the black South Africans was not only heard in the songs of struggle at political gatherings and funerals. The theatre played a significant role in the shaping and construction of protest music. Black South African theatre has distinctive characteristics of drama, dance and music. The themes that emerge in the productions staged in these theatres are specific representations of the experiences in black South African lives, like domestic, racial, class and political conflict (Harding, 2013:69). Black South African theatre expresses the immediate "political-cultural status quo" (Diakhaté *et al.*, 1997:28); its contexts are based on actual events and gathered from society (Harding, 2013:281). Black South African theatre can contain methods of protesting and resistance (Diakhaté *et al.*, 1997:28) that depict the experiences of the oppressed, the actions of the oppressor and the urgency for change (Diakhaté *et al.*, 1997:29). Many of the black South African writers were arrested and their plays banned (Cody & Sprinchorn, 2007:101). Unfortunately those who were not arrested became greedy and commercialised their work. They compromised their original beliefs about oppression to articulate a more commercial idea about apartheid (Diakhaté *et al.*, 1997:29). However, most of the black South

African theatres of those times remained rooted in resistance to the political ideology of apartheid (Cody & Sprinchorn, 2007:102).

While there are no written records of the history of traditional African theatre, it can be traced back as being part of the African culture prior to colonisation. African theatre has been part of African traditions and rituals long before the imposition of Western influences. As the political contexts and locality of black South Africans changed, their arts and culture adapted to their new environment (Sirayi, 2012:17–18). Traditional African theatre genres changed to fit commercially acceptable theatre projects. Black South African theatre developed dramatically during the rise and fall of apartheid. During this time several types of commercial theatres emerged in the black South African community: township theatre, protest theatre and theatre of resistance.

During the 1950s and 1960s, massive steps were taken to segregate white and black, which resulted in an extreme growth in the number of people participating in township theatre. The bigger demand for theatre created township musical theatre (Ansell, 2005:132), which developed under oppressing conditions, without any support of white South Africans. The limitations of their environments, venues, props and casts influenced the existence of township theatre (Gordon, 2013:40). Township theatre productions featured a combination of "improvisation, song, dance, music, narration, spoken word, hybrid language, mime, one actor in multiple roles, fantastic leaps in time and place, and emphasis on physical energy in performance" (Cody & Sprinchorn, 2007:101). These theatre productions consisted of song, dance, melodrama, clowning (Graver, 1999:6) and also made use of local traditional music and dance (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:262). Although Gibson Kente mentored most of the famous black theatre directors of today, some of them broke away from his static structures of township theatre towards other forms of protest theatre (Rubin, 1997:29). While black theatre is an indirect form of protest, it was even further exploited by the mediation of the actors.

Protest theatre was specifically about challenging the apartheid ideology (Cody & Sprinchorn, 2007:101). The subject matter of this type of theatre involved the oppressed and their need to articulate anger and frustrations. It did not project hope or resolution and did not stand against the struggle; it was a place where the

discontent of the black public could be expressed (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:257). I already mentioned in Chapter 1 how Attridge and Jolly (1998:257) described protest theatre as being a platform for lamentation, despondence and a strong sense of moralisation. Later, during the struggle, the protest theatre was replaced by the theatre of resistance (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:257), a different form of protest theatre, directly addressed at the oppressed people. This type of theatre aimed to fight against oppression (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:257). Resistance theatre does not only stand for the oppressed, but also uses their testimonies as material. The music of the theatre of resistance includes actual songs of the oppressed. It was a representation of their own socio-political reality (Banham, 2004:358–359). However, as much as protest theatre and theatre of resistance differ, they are also alike. According to Harding (2013:69)

> resistance theatre may be distinguished from protest theatre in its stress on the representation or, at least, assertion of defiance over and above the portrayal of suffering. They share a thematic emphasis on bearing witness to the brutality of apartheid and the effects of state violence not only on the social and political aspirations but also on the bodies, voices, and dreams of the majority of South Africans.

Both protest theatre and theatre of resistance articulated the effect apartheid had on the entire South Africa.

As stated before, *Sarafina!* is a combination of theatre of resistance and township musical theatre (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:262). According to Banham (2004:359), the theatre plays after the Soweto uprising were identified as resistance or protest drama, thus making a musical theatre piece such as *Sarafina!* a resistance-protest drama. *Sarafina!* is categorised as a black South African musical theatre project with plays like *Umbathala, Ipi Tombi,* and *Asinamali*; plays that became commercialised and do not express the true suffering of the situation (Diakhaté *et al.,* 1997:29). These musical dramas, written during apartheid, comprise the black South African's search for freedom (Diakhaté *et al*., 1997:28). Diakhaté *et al.* (1997:29) also point out that these works became "severely criticized for the points of view which they expressed, which differed from those held by the suffering masses, which these works claimed they portrayed". Although *Sarafina!* is categorised as a form of theatre of resistance, it does not articulate real testimonies of learners during the struggle. It articulates historical context rather than specific events. According to Ukadike

(1994:227–228), *Sarafina!* reflects the struggle, but does not use the protest songs and dances that are familiar to the South African audience, not even those that are stylistically correct according to those used during protests.

3.3 Music and context

According to Hargreaves *et al.* (2005:1–2), music is a powerful tool in any social order. Music is an important form of communication in society; it is the link between people which unites them in solidarity and, most importantly, it articulates contexts (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2005:1–2). Music as a form of communication can be portrayed as a text and, therefore, music as a text reflects context (Cohen, 1997:104). Cohen (1997:102–103) argues that music and place, as well as social and historical events or circumstances, can also be seen as text and context. The meaning of music, or the message in music, is rooted in the text and context. Reay (2004:40) claims that "the extra-textual meanings are also often related to the song lyrics as well as conveying a sense of the social and historical context". The message in music articulates a group's emotions, goals and the meaning of their historical, political and social context. It is this articulated message in the music that unites a group or sub-culture as an entity. The context of the group is rooted in the creation of the music which acts as the medium of communication between the members of the group. According to Reyes (2010:136), "context shed light on music and attendant behaviour, and musical behaviour shed light on the social conditions under which that behaviour was functional." The group is not just united through the context of music, but also creates the music for their specific contextual message (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2005:1–2).

Hargreaves *et al.* (2005:8–12) state that the relationship between context and music is a repeatedly correspondent relationship. Music and context continuously influence each other and, therefore, cannot function without one another. The music is shaped by the context and the context is influenced by the music (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2005:9–12). As much as music and context cannot function without each other, they can also not exist without the listener (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2005:9–12). According to Hargreaves *et al.* (2005:1–2), the listener creates his own connection with the contextual meaning in the music. Therefore, the listener can also unite with the group through his/her own experience and understanding of the music. The context

of the music may take on various forms depending on the listener's worldviews. How the listener interprets the song from his own references of knowledge and experiences will determine his/her representation of the message (Hargreaves *et al.*, 2005:9–12).

The message, text and context of *Sarafina!* are rooted in conflict. O'Connell (2010:2) views music as the best medium to articulate conflict. Music is used to address conflict due to its powerful influence on people (Dunn, 2008:75). It is a prime medium of communication and has a remarkable influence on a listener's emotions (Dunn, 2008:74–75). According to O'Connell (2010:5), music is not only used to articulate conflict, but it is also used to resolve conflict. Conflict and resolution of conflict contribute to the creation of music (O'Connell, 2010:12). Just as the context influences the music and vice versa, so does conflict shape the music and the music influence conflict. Music can enhance conflict or it can resolve it (O'Connell, 2010:12). The music needs to adapt to each change in the situation, especially music rooted in conflict (Dunn, 2008:96).

Dunn (2008:95) states that conflict and music are both very complex concepts. It is a complex process to use music to articulate this relationship between music and conflict (Dunn, 2008:97). The complexity of conflict in music starts with our ability to see the larger picture. Conflict is rooted in an overall context rather than in a specific situation. Therefore context in music does not only articulate a specific event, but also articulates other contextual components rooted in the event (Dunn, 2008:95).

Having discussed the nature of the different genres of protest music, black South African Theatre, as well as the relationship between music and context – especially the context of conflict – I shall now continue to discuss *Sarafina!*. As mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, the discussion of *Sarafina!* includes a synopsis of the story, its origins and background and an explanation of the differences between the stage production and the film.

3.4 *Sarafina!*

3.4.1 The narrative

Sarafina! is a musical film, featuring a black South African girl named Sarafina. It is set in one of the biggest South African townships, namely Soweto, during the time of apartheid. The film reflects the South African youth's view of apartheid, their frustration with the older generation's seeming incapacity to fight for freedom and starting their own revolution against apartheid. However, the story mostly revolves around Sarafina, a young girl caught between being a teenager and her search to find her purpose in the struggle.

Sarafina! begins with an epigraph that contextualises the socio-political scenario that informs the film.

> In 1976, the apartheid Government of South Africa declared a State of Emergency. Millions of schoolchildren adopted a campaign of resistance. Thousands were killed. This film celebrates their courage.

Although some authors define *Sarafina!* as telling the story of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, the film has nothing to do with those events, but it is perceivable that the events of 1976 could have inspired the film.

The epigraph is followed by a series of images of events taking place during the early hours of the morning. These images show a number of young boys running and cutting through a fence, after which they enter a classroom of a school and set it alight with Molotov cocktails.[12] The scene changes to a brief view of the township before closing in on one of the shacks where a young girl (Sarafina) lights a candle and immediately greets a photograph of Nelson Mandela. As she gets out of bed, it becomes evident that she shares the bedroom with five other children.

This is the audience's introduction to Sarafina. She and her siblings share a house with her uncle and her grandmother. It is immediately evident that her siblings depend on her to see to it that they have food and school supplies. However,

[12] A Molotov cocktail is a petrol bomb. The name is derived from a Russian officer, Vyacheslav Molotov. It consists of a glass bottle half-filled with petrol or alcohol with an oily rag as a stopper in the mouth of the bottle. The rag is set alight and the bottle is thrown at the target. Upon contact, the bottle breaks, causing the flammable liquid to spread and ignite the target.

Sarafina is just a young girl who dreams of having no cares in the world — of being a star. She dreams of being followed by fans and photographers and of winning awards.

On the same morning, upon arriving at Isaac Morrison Secondary School, the school that Sarafina attends, she and her fellow learners are confronted by a very angry headmaster and a strong police presence. It is at this point that the audience is introduced to Mary Masembuko. In an imaginary conversation with Nelson Mandela Sarafina describes this teacher[13]:

> Sarafina: Mary Masembuko…our very own teacher. You'd love her Nelson…I just know you would. She is beautiful and she tells us the truth…and she doesn't pretend she knows it all…and I love her because she's crazy and she's not afraid.

Sarafina and the other children are inspired by the ideologies expressed by this history teacher, generally known as Mistress, who teaches her learners about their black South African heritage[14] and not only the authorised syllabus set by the apartheid government.[15]

As the school day proceeds, investigators search for any lead they can get on who might be behind the act of arson. The audience learns about Sarafina's love interest. She is not unaware of his shortcomings and suspects him to be one of the culprits who burned down the classroom, a suspicion that is confirmed in a scene where he and his friends plan rebellious acts. In the meantime the police are seeking the teachers' assistance in identifying the culprits and when Masembuko implies that all the children support the quest for freedom and Nelson Mandela, it becomes evident that she is under suspicion.

Masembuko and the learners plan the school concert that is to take place in six weeks' time. Sarafina suggests that they do a play about the day on which Nelson Mandela is released from jail. While they are all excited, both Masembuko and

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[13] Repeated and extensive efforts to obtain a film script of *Sarafina!* were unsuccessful. Therefore, I had to transcribe the lyrics and dialogue from the DVD and CD recordings. Intense measures were taken to ensure the validity of the transcriptions.

[14] Masembuko teaches them about black history and culture to give them a sense of pride in who they are and from where they come.

[15] During apartheid the government authorised a specific syllabus for black South African schools.

Sarafina realise that this production will not meet with the approval of the police and the government. In the meantime, the unrest amongst the learners is growing.

After school she travels to the affluent suburb in Johannesburg (Parktown) to visit her mother, Angelina, who works as a domestic servant for a white family. While she is there, some of the rebellious young boys in Soweto try to convince others in their community to boycott stores owned by white people. The youngsters are irritated with the grown-ups whom they perceive to be unwilling to take drastic action and their discontent leads to a confrontation with the older people and with the police. According to Wells (2009:131), most parents during the 1980s were law-abiding citizens who did not participate in any form of protest, which in turn caused the children to take matters into their own hands.

In Parktown, acting out her own frustration, Sarafina reacts rebelliously in the white family's house where her mother works. She pretends to be a white woman and sarcastically acts how she imagines such a woman would act towards Africans. She runs through the house, throwing cushions around, lying on the beds and opening all the taps in the bathroom. When her mother reprimands her about her behaviour, she accuses her mother of being a servant for too long and not caring enough about the quest for their freedom. She idolises her father for his contribution towards their freedom and overlooks the fact that he did not physically participate during the fight for freedom, but actually died of sickness in Mozambique. Her mother points out the contradiction between reality and perceptions by stating the details of their situation. If she has been a servant for too long, it is as a result of Sarafina's father who has been absent from their lives for too long; she has to work because he is not there.

Sarafina:	He died for the struggle
Angelina:	Oh sure…he went away to be a hero and I stayed home to work.
Sarafina:	Don't talk like that
Angelina:	I have four children and no man. My children cannot eat glory.

Sarafina is not convinced and leaves her mother's workplace dissatisfied.

The next scene is the first in which it becomes clear how, during the State of Emergency, some black officers were an integral part of the police brutality. Crocodile, Sarafina's boyfriend, is brutally attacked by Constable Sabela, who is

encouraged by white policemen. The police unleash a police dog that attacks the boy and bites his leg as he escapes over the fence. Crocodile goes to Sarafina's home where she cleans his wounds. She ensures Crocodile that their time would come; the day that the people rise up and march down Commissioner street, Constable Sabela will change his tune because of fear for the masses who will hail Mandela.

Sarafina goes to Masembuko's house to ask for advice. While cleaning up water she has spilled, Sarafina discovers an AK47 (weapon) hidden behind the stove. Sarafina complains that she cannot fight like the boys. The teacher says that there are other ways to fight and points out that one must first know where you are going. Sarafina asks her teacher what she wants from life.

> Masembuko: I want very many things. I want the war to be over. I want the hate to be over. I want my Joe back in my arms. I want quiet days and loving nights. I want babies. I want to come home to kindness.

Perhaps because these are not the things she expected to hear, Sarafina confronts her with the weapon she found. Masembuko ensures Sarafina that the gun does not belong to her and emphasises that she hates violence. She admits that she is willing to fight, but not to kill. She also admits that she is not sure how she will react when confronted by someone kicking down her door and raiding her home.

That night a student is taken into custody and the next morning the headmaster and lieutenant Bloem confront Masembuko about rumours. As mentioned earlier, she is already under suspicion for encouraging unrest amongst the students. The headmaster asks her directly whether she is teaching the children communism or violent revolution. While she denies this, she does admit that she teaches additional material to the authorised syllabus in order to instil a sense of pride in her students about where they come from and who they are. Returning to her class, she explains to the learners that she wants them to learn history because

> Masembuko: History is a beautiful thing[…]because history teaches you where you come from. I want you to know this. I want you to be proud of what we got right and tell the truth about what we got

> wrong…and learn from it. Otherwise, what's the use of tomorrow? If you don't learn, all you've got is today and today and today. And you're much better than that people. Believe me…believe me.

That Sunday after church, Sarafina sees a fellow student, Guitar, speaking to Constable Sabela and realises that he is a police informant. When she and her fellow students confront Guitar, he confesses that Sabela had threatened to take the young boy's crippled father out into the bush to die if he did not help the police. Although Sarafina is filled with anger, in this moment she shows compassion towards a fellow student's struggle.

Shortly thereafter, Masembuko is taken away while teaching a class and asks Sarafina to get rid of the AK47 at her house in order to prevent it from being found by the police. The students are enraged and upset. Sarafina goes to Masembuko's house and takes the weapon home where she hides it on top of the cupboard.

The following day the students ask about the whereabouts of their teacher and become enraged when they do not get a satisfactory answer. They act aggressively towards the police and those teachers whom they perceive as representing the white oppressors. The police open fire on the students and kill several of Sarafina's friends, including her boyfriend who is shot in the back while fleeing.

In a speech during the funerals of those who perished at the school killings, the preacher ensures the young people that their struggle against oppression is not in vain.

> Preacher: They fear you because you are young. They fear you because you are the future. How fearful they must be that they shoot you children. How powerful you must be that they fear you so much. You are powerful because you are the generation that will be free. The violence, the beatings, the torture, the killings. All this is the back pain of our free nation. Please God, may I live to see it. But if I don't, I see it now in your faces. Like the light of the rising sun. And it has lit in me as if I am young again. And I know, yes I know freedom is coming tomorrow. Amandla!

The incident causes a riot, orchestrated by the students. The riots, fuelled by the students' determination to reject the white authority forced upon them, spreads from the school into the township. Sarafina and other learners gather to toyi-toyi. They ignore warnings by the police and have to flee when police throw tear gas. The learners throw stones and go on a destructive rampage. They burn down busses, attack the police and vandalise shops and more die during these riots.

Sabela violently confronts Guitar in an attempt to find out who the ring leaders behind the unrest is, but he refuses to talk. Sarafina and a few friends, fed up with the traitor among them, attack Constable Sabela. That night the learners force Sabela out of his home by throwing a Molotov cocktail at it. When he escapes, they follow him, pour petrol over him and set him alight. Sarafina is there and acknowledges that they have been pushed too far. Although Sarafina walks away the moment the other learners kill the police officer, she bears the guilt of the event. The following day Sarafina and fellow learners are arrested for their participation in the riots, as well as being under suspicion of killing the officer. They are kept in police custody and tortured (including Sarafina); some even died under suspicious circumstances while in custody.

Lieutenant Bloem singles Sarafina out for interrogation and at this point she hears that Masembuko is dead. The interrogator claims that she committed suicide by jumping from the tenth floor of a building.[16] Sarafina is taken to the tenth floor and is tortured; the same floor on which her teacher was also tortured. For the first time, Sarafina questions whether there is hope for them. Her despair is underscored by several children relating the details of how they were tortured. One of the characters summarises not only the specific time of these events, but also the mindset of the youth during this time.

> Young boy: This time is called the state of emergency, 1986. 80,000 children in the prisons. They hurt us to make us fear them. We fear them, but we do not forget. We are still children, we are young and full of fear. But every day we grow older. Every day we grow stronger. We do not forget.

[16] Sarafina does not believe that Masembuko committed suicide, but is convinced that she was murdered while in police custody. According to McKoy (2001:109), the narrative of *Sarafina!* reveals that suicide can be interpreted as murder in apartheid terms.

After she is released from prison, she visits her mother in Parktown. She realises that she does not want to be like those who tortured her— full of hate.

> Sarafina: They call it teaching us a lesson…like school. They taught us their lesson and then, one-by-one, they let us go. And what was their lesson? To be like them? To torture and kill? To hate them more than they hate us? I don't want to be like them[…]I want to be free now Nelson; free from the hating and the killing. I want to live my life with the people I love.

She finally understands the complications of fighting for freedom and realises that her mother is free because she is not confined by hatred. Her mother is playing an important role in her life. Sarafina thanks her mother for the burden she has to carry every day in order to take care of her children. On her way home she makes peace with her limitations and finds comfort in the hope that freedom might come one day.

After her arrival at home Sarafina walks to the outskirts of Soweto with Masembuko's AK47 in a bag. When she reaches a marsh she stares at the moving reeds as she remembers Masembuko's words.

> Masembuko: I meant what I said. I hate the killing. I hate the violence. But I cannot stand aside and let others die for me. I will fight too. I can't kill. Don't ask me to kill.

This is when Sarafina tosses away the AK47— freeing herself from the killing and the violence. She will no longer resist her oppressors with violence and, just like Masembuko, she will no longer partake in the killing of others.

She returns to the burned down school to sing her song of freedom. Keeping faith that Mandela will be set free and that they will be able to live in a free and democratic South Africa, Sarafina stars as Nelson Mandela in the school play – a production that ends with a song of hope, *Freedom is Coming Tomorrow.*

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, Sarafina's role and experiences during all the above-mentioned events is the main focus of the film. The narrative depicts her as a character that develops from a young girl caught up in the spirit of defiance to someone who gains insight into a complex situation. Being a young teenager at

Morris Isaacson High School, Sarafina is confronted with more than just the normal teenage problems. She is challenged by socio-political problems such as taking care of her siblings while their mother works, dealing with friends being bullied by the police, witnessing her boyfriend being fatally shot by the police during a school raid and being captured and tortured by the police herself.

3.4.2 Origins and background

As mentioned in Chapter 1, the story of Sarafina was originally written in the 1980s by Mbongeni Ngema as a production named *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation* (Brown, 1990:90). South African director and playwright Mbongeni Ngema created this musical with co-composer Hugh Masekela, as a theatre piece that articulates protest against apartheid (Simon, 1987:124). The original work was only performed in Soweto before the production was taken to New York in the mid-1980s. *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* was an effort to project the influence that apartheid had on the black South African society through the use of theatre arts. *Sarafina* is representative of the youth's struggle for freedom since the Soweto Uprising of 1976, where young black children of Soweto were killed after police opened fire on what was supposed to be peaceful march (Simon, 1987:124). Since the beginning of its run in theatres, the stage production drew full houses and was performed on Broadway from 1987 to 1988 (Attridge & Jolly, 1998:232).

After its success as a Broadway production, Mbongeni Ngema, William Nicholson and the South African director, Darrel James Roodt, started on the pre-production for a cinematic adaptation of the stage production. In 1992, four years after the big success the play had as a Broadway show in New York City, the cinematic adaptation of the stage production, titled *Sarafina!* was released. The film was distributed in the United States of America by Touchstone Home Videos. *Sarafina!* was screened at the 1992 Cannes Film Festival, but not as part of the competition. While no clear purpose for the cinematic adaptation has been stated, one could imagine that the wide reach of the film appealed to those who wanted to convey the messages embedded in the various themes of the text.

Sarafina! reflects the socio-political situation and experiences of the black youth during the late 1980s. Mbongeni Ngema may have been inspired by the 1976

Soweto Uprising with the original music *Sarafina,* but there is no clear indication that the film production is about the Youth Uprising of 1976. As mentioned before, during one scene in the film, one of the characters in *Sarafina!* clearly states that it is 1986, a year in which South Africa experienced a national state of emergency. Sadly, before and after the release of *Sarafina!* in 1992, no South African protest film addressed the Soweto Uprising of 1976. According to McKoy (2001:105), governmental control suppressed this subject to ensure complete silence. This meant that *Sarafina!,* with the support of the USA film industry, was the first film to reflect on the events such as those of 16 June 1976 and the struggle of the youth that followed after that incident. Ukadike (1994:227) describes *Sarafina!* as a "powerful tool of political enlightenment concerning oppression" in the South African film industry.

3.4.3 Stage to cinema[17]

The film *Sarafina!* is well-known to South African audiences, more so than *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation.* The combination of Ngema and Roodt's viewpoints of Sarafina's story brought remarkable changes to the play. Ukadike (1994:227–229) criticises these differences between the original stage production and the musical film as an effort to make the film more appealing to the masses, rather than to stay true to the events on which the film was based. Ngema's original stage production was intended to be a realistic representation of the socio-political context in which the Sowetan children lived during apartheid (Ukadike, 1994:227). However, Ukadike (1994:227–229) is of the opinion that Hollywood's influence on this production resulted in the harsh reality of historical events within these contexts going missing. Ukadike (1994:227) identifies a range of differences between the original stage production and the musical film: text, music, lyrical text and the authenticity of characters, cultural and social acts.

The structure of *Sarafina!* is remarkably different from *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation.* The original production consists of two acts and has a narrator called Colgate throughout the play. Colgate leads the audience through the play, being a character who communicates directly with the audience. In the film this narrator is

[17] For a detailed discussion on the theory of adaptation, see Hutcheon (2006).

replaced by Sarafina's imaginary conversation with Nelson Mandela. Sarafina's conversation with Mandela allows her to contemplate difficult circumstances. In light of the fact that Sarafina's father died for the struggle and perceptions of Mandela being the father of the nation, it is understandable that she regards Mandela as a father figure. Every time she has to confront a complex situation, she engages in a one-sided conversation with Mandela. Her thoughts guide the audience through her perspectives and emotions, giving them an insider's view into a young black South African girl's experiences of apartheid.

While she plays an important part in both productions, the role of ms Mary Masembuko (generally known as Mistress) differs somewhat in *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* from *Sarafina!.* Commonalities in the two productions include Masembuko's strength of character and her being a role model for her learners. In both productions police perceive Masembuko's passion as an act of anarchism. However, in *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* Masembuko features throughout the play, while disappearing half way through the film. In the film Masembuko is arrested for her assumed anarchism and disappears while in police custody. Later in the film, when Sarafina is arrested, a police officer tells Sarafina that Masembuko committed suicide while in prison.

One of the most impacting moments in both productions of *Sarafina* is the riot that occurs during school hours. In *Sarafina!* there is a strong police presence at school after parts of the school were burned down by protesters. During the police investigation they discover that Masembuko is not teaching the authorised syllabus. She becomes the main suspect of encouraging disruptive behaviour amongst learners in the school and is later arrested. After the police remove Masembuko from the school grounds, the learners react in an aggressive manner. When the new history teacher takes over, the class demands to know Masembuko's whereabouts, screaming at the replacement teacher "burn, burn, burn" and hitting the tables. The learners storm out of the classroom and attack any form of white authority, but are met by the police who opens fire into the crowd of learners, killing some of them in the process.

In *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* the police does not open fire on a group of unrestrained learners. The shooting of learners occurs as a result of a

misunderstanding. After a policeman accuses Masembuko of communism, Sarafina starts to argue with the officer about his allegations. The officer turns to Sarafina to shoot her, but in effect gives the group of learners a fright which has them running for the door. As this group of learners tries to run to safety, the police perceive them to be a threat to public safety and the officers open fire, killing some of the learners on the spot.

Other scenes which appear to be different in the film are the imprisonment of Sarafina and the annual school play. The imprisonment of Sarafina happens for a completely different reason in the play than in the film. In the first act of the stage production, Sarafina is sent to jail for bad behaviour, but closer to the end of the film, Sarafina and a group of learners are arrested for the murder of a black police officer. Unlike the scenes of arrest and imprisonment, the depiction of the annual school play shows similarities in both productions. The annual school play is arranged by ms Masembuko and imagines the day of liberation— the day Nelson Mandela walks free in the streets of Soweto. These scenes feature Sarafina as Nelson Mandela. She gives a speech that she imagines he would give on the day of his release and the play ends with a song of freedom. The difference between the stage production and the film is that this scene only appears in the second act in the stage production, but appears to be divided into sections and spread out throughout the film. Another difference about this scene is that, in the stage production, the play is performed in front of an audience. In *Sarafina!* the school play is cancelled due to circumstances, but Sarafina insists of performing it once with all of her friends.

When the script of *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* (Ngema, 2005:37–106) is compared to the narrative progression of the film, it becomes clear that drastic changes were made to the script of the film. In the stage production the characters' dialogue is remarkably more explicit than in the film. The use of certain language and accounts in the stage production are not repeated in the film. The differences in the scripts of the two productions also reveal differences in the characters of the respective productions. Sarafina appears more aggressive and outgoing in the stage production than in the film. In the film Sarafina's character develops extensively. Furthermore, according to Ukadike (1994:227), the role of the teacher in the film does not have such a strong impact as the role of the teacher in the stage

production. Ukadike believes that it might be because of the use of an American actress (Whoopi Goldberg) in the role of the teacher in the film, rather than a South African actress, that some sense of authenticity is lost.

Ngema did not use all the music from the stage production in the film. *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* consists of twenty-two vocal pieces, whereas only eight vocal numbers feature in *Sarafina!*. The script of the original stage production *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation* (Ngema, 2005:37–106) and the recordings of the musical film production *Sarafina!* reveal that only five songs of the original production are used in the musical film, namely: *Sarafina!, The Lord's Prayer, Sechaba, Safa Saphel' Isizwe* (called *Safa Isizwe in Sarafina, The Music of Liberation*) and the final song, *Freedom is Coming Tomorrow*[18] (called Nkosi Sikelel' I-Afrika in the stage production). Some of the compositions were not even kept in the style in which they were originally composed. Ukadike (1994:227) criticises *Sarafina!* because the

> structure alternates between the main story line and sudden bursts of exuberant song and dance sequences. The dance sequences are disturbing for their transformation of the stage play's original 'music of liberation' to that of reductionist stylization or what one might as well term bastardized 'Zuluism' symptomatic of Hollywood-MTV music video allure.

The use of dance is not as authentic in the film as in the stage production. Hollywood choreographer Michael Peters did the choreography of the movie, giving it a more contemporary influence than a true township character (Ukadike, 1994:227). According to Ukadike, the dances have no emotion and do not represent any form of protest song and dance. The music and the dance movements were modified rather to fit the genre than to state a political point. According to Ukadike (1994:228), it was nothing like protest songs and dance of the 1970s–1980s, nor was it like the original play. Ukadike criticises the musical film for losing the articulation of political and cultural patterns.

[18] As it will be discussed in Chapter 4, *Freedom is coming tomorrow* features twice in the film. This is also the case in the stage production, except that, in the stage production, the song features a section of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, which does not appear in the song *Freedom is coming tomorrow* in the film *Sarafina!.*

3.5 Conclusion

In the introduction of this chapter I stated its aim to understand the concepts of protest music, freedom songs and songs of struggle. Having done the literature review, it is clear that all these concepts refer to music, also songs, which allow the one who performs it to express emotions and experiences relating to socio-political contexts. The aspects of these songs, in a South African apartheid context, started out as means to articulate oppression and later evolved into songs used to express the need to obtain freedom. These forms of resistance music have also been used in the African theatres to protest against and resist oppression. It is clear that this music of resistance, rooted in conflict, is shaped by the oppressed group's context and that these songs articulate this context. It is understood that the relationship between music and context is a repeatedly correspondent relationship— the one cannot function without the other. The literature review concludes that *Sarafina!*, its music and context, are ingrained in conflict.

Chapter 4: Songs of struggle in *Sarafina!*

The musical film *Sarafina!* resonates with song and music like any other musical film found in the repertoire of Hollywood entertainment. Moving up the ranks from township theatre to New York's theatres, the original stage production was later adapted into a film that articulates the South African youth's struggle during apartheid. This chapter analyses the songs in *Sarafina!* and its contexts to understand how the songs contribute to the depiction of the film's contexts.

4.1 Songs and contexts in *Sarafina!*

Sarafina! comprises eight major musical moments[19] which will be referred to throughout this chapter as songs. These songs, in order of appearance, are *Sarafina!*, *The Lord's Prayer*, *Nkonyane Kandaba*, *Sabela* (followed by a short version of *Freedom is coming tomorrow*), *Sechaba*, *Safa Saphel' Isizwe*, *Thank You Mama* and *Freedom is coming tomorrow*[20]. Almost every one of these songs in *Sarafina!* is performed by a group of learners: Sarafina and her classmates. They sing and dance as a group that is united in their quest. Sometimes the group is led in song by a lead singer as is customary in traditional and protest African music. Although this form of call-and-response occurs in the songs, they are not solo performances, but part of uniting through group music.

The discussion that follows explores the nature and the context of each of the songs listed in the paragraph above.

4.1.1 *Sarafina!*

Sarafina is brushing her hair when the portrait of Nelson Mandela reflecting in her mirror catches her eye. She looks at him and asks why she cannot be a star. Her perception is that stars do nothing else but be happy. She turns her attention to her reflection, imitating what a famous star will do while pictures are taken of them. As

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[19] Three more songs, which are not part of these musical moments, appear on the album of the film's soundtrack (2006): *Vuma Dlozi Lami*, *Lizobuya* and *One More Time. Lizobuya* is used in the trailer of *Sarafina!* and *One More Time* appears in the end credits of the film *Sarafina!.* It is not clear where *Vuma Dlozi Lami* is used. These songs will not be discussed in this chapter for they do not feature as major musical moments in the film.

[20] The musical moments do not make use of the full song as they are on the album of the soundtrack.

she smiles and says “stars just be”, the music of *Sarafina!*¸ the first song in the film, begins. Below is the transcription of the lyrics of *Sarafina!*.[21]

Boy:	Sarafina! Take one...action!
Ensemble:	*Sarafina, when you talk de way you talk*
	Me body temperature begins to rise
	Sarafina!
	Sarafina, you’re de one
	Sarafina, when you walk de way you walk
	Perspiration commence to cover me
Boys:	*Flowing down me body*
Ensemble:	*Sarafina!*
	Sarafina, you’re de one
	Sarafina!
	Sarafina, you’re de one
Boys:	*Sarafina!*
Ensemble:	*Sarafina please don’t run away from me*
	I love you Sarafina
	I love you Sarafina
Boys:	*Sarafina!*
Ensemble:	*Sarafina please don’t run away from me*
	I love you Sarafina
	I love you Sarafina
	Sarafina, Sarafina, Sarafina, Sarafina, Sarafina
	Sarafina, Sarafina, mama yo (our mother)
	Sarafina please don’t run away from me
Ensemble:	*Sarafina, when you talk de way you talk*
	Me body temperature begins to rise
	Sarafina!
	Sarafina, you’re de one
	Sarafina, when you walk de way you walk
	Perspiration commence to cover me
Boy:	And the winner is?
Girl:	Sarafina!
Boys:	*Flowing down me body*
Ensemble:	*Sarafina!*
	Sarafina, you’re de one
Girl:	I want to see, I want to see
Ensemble:	*Sarafina!*
	Sarafina, you’re de one
Boys:	*Sarafina!*
Ensemble:	*Sarafina please don’t run away from me*
	I love you Sarafina
	I love you Sarafina
Boys:	*Sarafina!*
Ensemble:	*Sarafina please don’t run away from me*

[21] The lyrics to this song can be found in Ngema’s (2006:42–43) book about *Sarafina! The Music of Liberation.* The song *Sarafina!* is not the full version of the song as it appears in the stage production.

I love you Sarafina
I love you Sarafina
Sarafina, Sarafina, Sarafina, Sarafina, Sarafina
Sarafina, Sarafina, mama yo (our mother)
Sarafina please don't run away from me

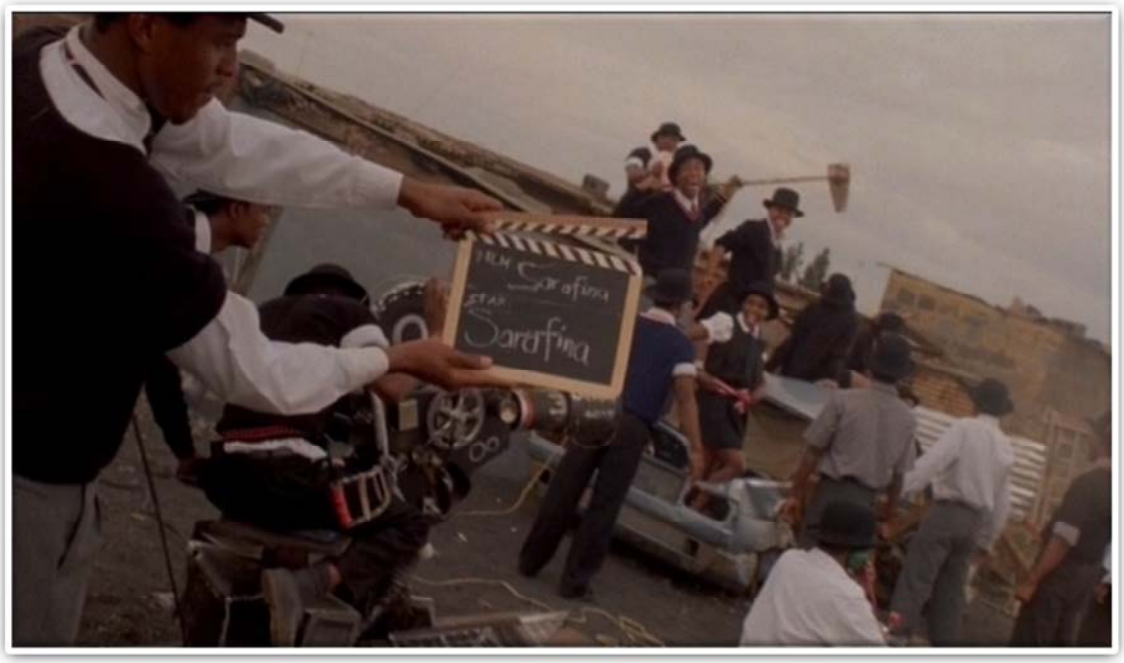
If one takes into consideration Meintjes's (2003:36) description of *mbaqanga,* it is possible to classify this song as being written in this style, with strong bass, guitar and brass sections. The music is a lively group number. The song is presented almost like a voice over, superimposed on the crowd's cheers, screams and whistles, as well as the voices of the make-believe paparazzi.

The song *Sarafina!* is not a moment of realistic representation in the film, but is created in Sarafina's imagination. The lyrics of *Sarafina!* articulates her dream of being famous, a dream typical of a young teenage girl. She is beloved, beautiful and desirable. Everyone wants to know her and take her picture. Various scenes shown during this song represent the world Sarafina visualises for herself as a famous star. The scenes underscore Sarafina's earlier statement "what does a star do? Nothing…Stars don't do. Stars just be." The scenes depict images of Sarafina being photographed and filmed by 'photographers' and 'camera men' (see Frame 1),[22] which are in fact her fellow learners dressed in school uniforms. In between taking pictures of Sarafina, they film a movie where Sarafina features as herself – dancing on cars, on the hilltops of Soweto and through the streets. She smiles, waves and hands out autographs to the crowds. Sarafina receives an Oscar made out of wire at a small ceremony with the shacks of Soweto in the background (see Frame 2).

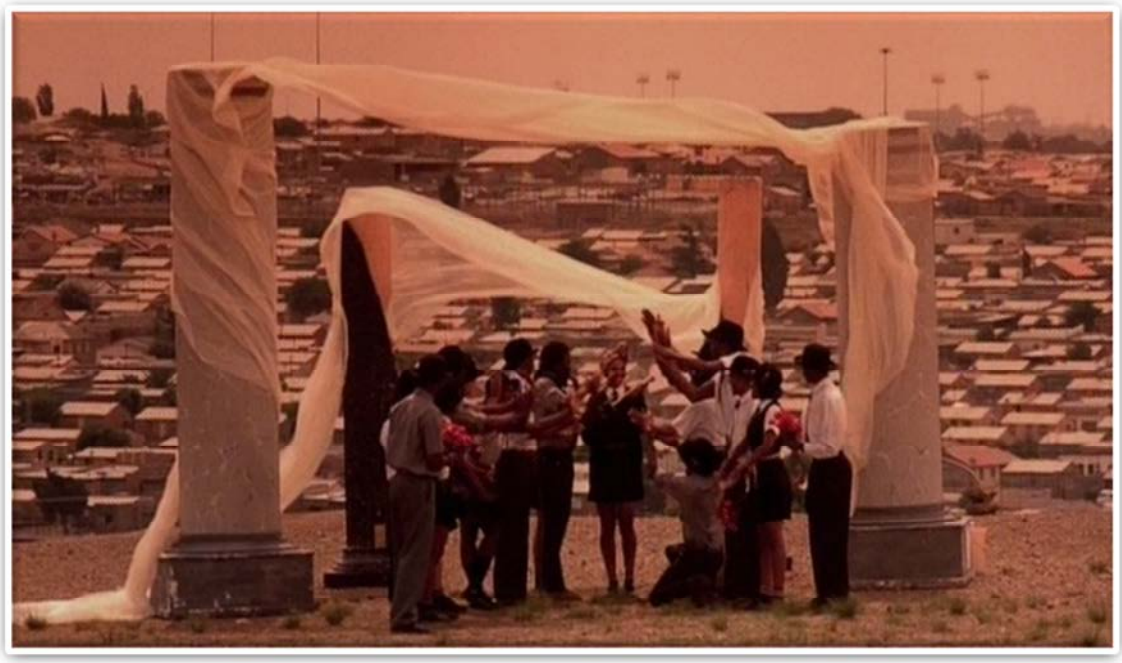
The discrepancy between the Hollywood glamour of an Oscar ceremony and the squalor of the township is not the only one of its kind in these scenes. The scenes are filled with combination of images of Soweto and stereotypical Hollywood symbols. Earlier in the song, the Hollywood sign is replaced with a similar sign reading Soweto (see Frame 3). Sarafina receives an Oscar on a makeshift stage and casts her handprints in mud – an imitation of famous actors' prints on the Walk of Fame in Los Angeles. The contradictory scenes reflect the poverty of Soweto. Sarafina's Hollywood dream is, in fact, made out of recycled scraps. The children

[22] All film stills were taken from the digital video disk (DVD) on which *Sarafina!* is captured. This DVD is a 2000 edition and is distributed by Impact Video.

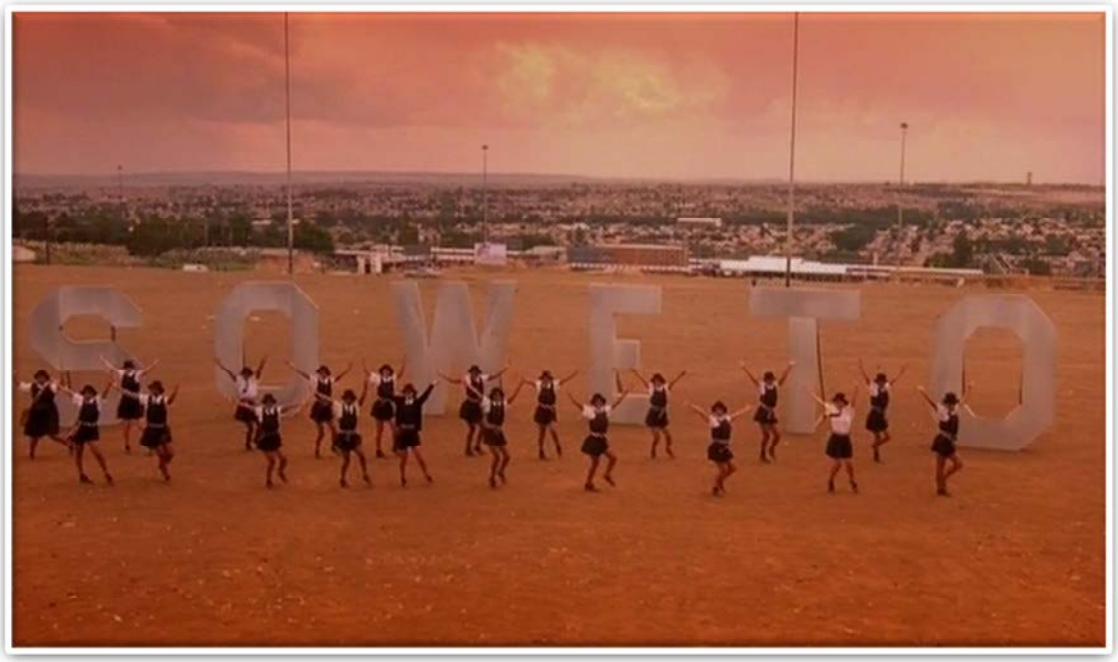
Frame 1



Frame 2



Frame 3



Frame 4

Frame 5

Frame 6

use wooden and plastic cameras, a limousine made out of scrap car parts and a sports car made of wire[23] (see Frame 4).

4.1.1 *The Lord's Prayer*

Unlike the previous song, this song is not a depiction of a fantasy, but of a real event. The setting for this song is the Isaac Morrison Secondary School in Soweto. It takes place during school assembly. The staff and learners are gathered and white soldiers are on patrol in the hallways. The frustrated and furious principle, having just scolded the learners about burning down one of the classrooms of the school, asks Ms Masembuko to lead the learners in their morning prayer (see Frame 5). Below is a transcription of the lyrics and dialogue.

Female soloist:	*Hallowed be Thy name*
Male soloist:	*Our Father which art, which art in, which art in heaven* *Give us this day our daily bread*
Ensemble:	*Thy will be done as it is done in Heaven*
Female soloist:	*Hallowed be Thy name*
Masembuko:	*Our Father*
Ensemble:	*Our Father which art in Heaven* *Hallowed be Thy name* *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven*

Instrumental interlude

Ensemble:	*Our Father which art in Heaven* *Hallowed be Thy name* *Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven* *For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory* *Forever and ever, Amen!* *For thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory* *Forever…*
Masembuko:	Our father must be happy wherever He is…you kids are just beautiful! (children cheer) Jesus, just come down and listen to these voices
Ensemble:	*and…*
Masembuko:	Did you hear that?
Ensemble:	*ever…*
Masembuko:	Shit!
Ensemble:	*Amen!*

[23] Wire-cars are well-known toys with which young black children in South Africa play. They are made out of off-cuts and thus affordable.

The soundtrack of this song, a version of the well-known *The Lord's Prayer*, includes the juxtaposition of music and people shouting their approval and enjoyment of the music. The music is also interrupted by Ms Masembuko calling upon Jesus to come down and listen to the children singing. Her spoken interpolations even include an expletive.

The first part of the song is in the style of a song of worship— slow in tempo and characterized by long dramatic notes sung by the soloists and a typical choral-like contribution by the rest of the learners. This section is accompanied by piano and strings and when it comes to a close, one would expect that the song is finished. However, after a brief pause, Ms Masembuko initiates an up-tempo and lively section where all the learners join in. This music is accompanied by bass guitar, guitar, electric keyboard, wind instruments and drum section. It is representative of a joyous song of praise. As mentioned before, the first section was in the style of a song of worship during which learners' heads were bowed and hands put together in prayer. This devout demeanour is replaced by energetic dance movements. The song ends with the learners standing in unified formation, singing the final part *a capella*.

As much as the learners reject the educational system, the school has significant meaning for the learners. Being in school is not only to receive an education, but it unites the group in a sub-culture identity. This identity is informed and shaped by their socio-political circumstances. Collectively they long for the chance to strive for more than what they have. They stand together, unified in their need to gain their freedom. The school is a place of refuge, a physical space in which their solidarity is not only possible, but also unyielding. As long as all of them are together in school, they feel safe enough to express their dissatisfaction with their situation and to discuss possible actions to protest against the apartheid regime and its ideologies. Within this space, they have the freedom to let their morning prayer articulate their joy and, in some sense, their refusal to adhere to unfair expectations and restrictions.

Ms Masembuko's disregard of the soldiers depicts an equal lack of being intimidated. She is the image of steadfastness and strength[24]. Masembuko leads the learners in prayer and joins them in worship. This scene reflects her fun and somewhat crazy personality which Sarafina refers to earlier in the scene (see Chapter 3). She enjoys working with her learners, their talents and their passion. Ms Masembuko guides the learners, but she also places herself in a position of solidarity, as is evident when she joins them in singing and dancing. The learners' reaction towards her reflects their respect and admiration towards her.

This scene is, in more than one way, very ironic. In these joyful moments the learners look absolutely free from their struggles, but the reality of their socio-political circumstances is represented by the white soldiers standing in the corridors. They sing *The Lord's Prayer*, asking "give us this day our daily bread" and "Thy will be done as it is done in Heaven". However, the joyful spirit with which they pray contradicts the reality of their situation. They pray for their *"daily bread"*, but one can question their acceptance of what they are receiving. As seen in Chapter 3, Sarafina states that they are surviving on servant's food for her mother is only a servant of a white family. It articulates her unwillingness to accept that it is the only status they can achieve; she believes they deserve equal rights and a change to work towards something bigger. The learners want to be free and be able to achieve more than what their political structures allow them. They want the Lord's "will [to] be done", but they want it to be in their favour.

4.1.2 *Nkonyanda Kandaba*

The march of *Nkonyanda Kandaba* does not depict an official protest event in *Sarafina!.* Just like *Sarafina!* (the song), this song is also only an imaginary vision. Sarafina's boyfriend takes refuge in her house after constable Sabela, a black police officer, assaulted him. As Sarafina cleans his wounds, she comforts him by reiterating their hopes of gaining freedom— telling him about the day when the people of South Africa will rise up against apartheid. The chants of *Nkonyane Kandaba* start over the conversation of the two learners and the images of a group

[24] Mary Masembuko depicts the same strength, calmness and steadfastness when she is arrested by the police.

marching in the streets of Soweto with torches in hand appear on screen (see Frame 6).

Sarafina:	When the people rise up you will see him [Sabela] singing a new song. When they march down Commissioners Street Legacy, Constable Sabela will shit himself with fear and up will go his fists: 'Viva Mandela, Viva'!
Male soloist (heard in the background):	*Wathinta thina wathinta abangasokufa*[25] *Safa saphenduka saphenduk' inj' ebomvu*
Crocodile:	Oh man, I shall love to see that.
Boys:	*Si*!
Ensemble:	*Wathinta thina*
Male *soloist:*	*We molo*
Ensemble*:*	*Wathinta abangasokufa*
Male soloist:	*Mole mole molo*
Ensemble:	*Safa saphenduka saphenduk' inja ebomvu*
Male soloist:	*Molo bo*
Ensemble:	*Wathinta thina wathinta abangasoku*fa
Male soloist:	We *Molo*
Ensemble:	*Safa saphenduka saphenduk' inj' ebomvu*
Male soloist:	*Mole molo molo mole molo*
Ensemble:	*Wathinta thina wathinta abangasokufa*
Male soloist:	Ye *molo*
Ensemble:	*Safa saphenduka saphenduk' inj' ebomvu*
Male soloist:	*Mole mole mooo nkonyane kaNdaba*[26]
Male group:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awe nkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba* *Awe nkonyane kaNdaba*
Female group:	*Ahyeyeyeyeye*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba* *Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male group:	*Nkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba* *Awu we mooooolo*
Male group:	*Nkonyane kaNdaba*
Female group:	*Ahyeyeyeyeye*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*

[25] Zulu lyrics transcribed by Mpumie Njobe (tutor in mother tongue iZulu) in November 2014.

[26] *Nkonyane Kandaba* means the author is praising a king.

Male soloist:	*Awu we moooooloo*
Male group:	*Nkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awe wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Female group:	*Ahyeyeyeyeye*
Male soloist:	*Awe wenkonyane kaNdaba*
	Awe wenkonyane kaNdaba
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awe wenkonyane kaNdaba*
	Awu we moooooloo
Male group:	*Nkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba*
	Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Female group:	*Ahyeyeyeyeye*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Awu wenkonyane kaNdaba*
	Awu moooooloo
Male group:	*Nkonyane kaNdaba*
Ensemble:	*Kunyakaz' imkhont' wenkonyane kaNdaba*
Male soloist:	*Molo mole bo*
	Awu molo bo

English Translation (as understood within the context of the narrative)[27]:

You can wound us
But you cannot stop us
We are coming
You can kill us
But we will live again
We are coming
Sharpen your spears
The war is at your door
We are coming

As the fast marching group becomes more visible to the audience, a clear image of a group of young men and woman, all dressed in school uniform, appear. The learners chant the song *Nkonyane Kandaba* in harmony, accompanied only by African bass drum. A solo male vocalist leads the ensemble, calling out the song before the

[27] This is the translation of *Nkonyane Kandaba* as it is appears as subtitles on the DVD of *Sarafina!.*

ensemble joins in as an answer to his call. The ensemble repeats the basic song pattern, accompanied by the soloist singing a melodic pattern over their chanting. As the song progresses, the girls add ululation to the music.

The music and vision symbolise their solidarity as a group – singing and marching together. Young men and women are declaring "the war is at your door". The music and lyrics symbolise their strength as a group. They believe that, if they stand together, they will be strong enough to lead the people to freedom. They sing *"we are coming"* as they march out of Soweto into Johannesburg. They do not fear the government, for their power lies in the unity of the group. One can interpret their words "you can wound us, but you can't stop us" and "you can kill us, we will live again" as the drastic measures they will take to achieve freedom. Nothing will stop them, not even death. They will not stop until the Black Nation is free (we are coming). They are willing to die for that in which they believe. Even when some of them are killed during the riots (as seen later in this chapter), it encourages the rest to fight even more (see Chapter 3). They accept their role as martyrs for the cause and believe that, as such, their legacy is ensured. Their words articulate their faith in achieving freedom. They will no longer accept their socio-political circumstances.

4.1.3 *Sabela*

A new teacher takes over Ms Masembuko class after she is arrested by the police for teaching unauthorised material to the learners during her history classes. The learners, furious because of Ms Masembuko arrest, reject the teachings of the Napoleonic War by the new teacher. The tension between the learners and the teacher progressively gets more intense and, at the first mention of the Russians burning down their own homes to defeat the Napoleonic army, the learners burst out in anger. Believing in Ms Masembuka's teaching that the people can make a difference, they scream "burn, burn, burn" while throwing their books at the teacher. The army, still patrolling the school for any signs of protest, run to the scene and open fire on any student perceived to be a threat.

The music of *Sabela* starts as Sarafina stares at the fallen body of Crocodile (see Frame 7). The image of Crocodile's lifeless body is followed by one in which the masses of learners march with the coffins of their deceased friends through the

streets of Soweto, chanting and singing their way to the cemetery. They toyi-toyi, lifting their knees high as they proceed (see Frame 8).

Preacher:	They fear you because you are young. They fear you because you are the future. How fearful they must be that they shoot you children? How powerful you must be that they fear you so much. You are powerful because you are the generation that will be free. The violence, the beatings, the torture, the killings; all of this is a back pain of the free nation. Please God may I live to see it, but if I don't, I see it now on your faces. Like the light of the risen sun. And it has lit in me as if I am young again. And I know, oh yes I know, freedom is coming tomorrow.
Priest:	Amandla! (Power!)[28]
Ensemble:	Awethu! (To the People!)
Priest:	Amandla (Power!)
Ensemble:	Awethu! (To the People!)
Priest:	Mayibuye! (Come back!)
Ensemble:	iAfrika! (Africa!)
Priest:	iAfrika! (Africa!)
Ensemble:	Mayibuye! (Come back!)
Priest:	May our children rest in peace, ashes to ashes, dust to dust.
Ensemble:	*Inhlupeko ndi nje nje njena*[29] *Ndizilahlela Kuwe Baba*
Female Soloist:	*Amen, Amen, Amen*
Ensemble:	*Amen*
Female Soloist:	*Amen, Amen, Amen …*
Ensemble:	*Inhlupeko ndi nje nje njena* *Ndizilahlela Kuwe Baba*
Female Soloist:	*Amen, Amen, Amen*
Ensemble:	*Amen*
Female Soloist:	*Amen, Amen, Amen… Hallelujah*
Female Soloist 2:	*Nkosi yami, Oh my Lord, Amen*
Ensemble:	*Amen*

English Translation[30]

I'm like this because of suffering
I surrender to you Father
Amen

[28] A traditional call-and-response used at the rallies. The speaker will raise his fist into the air while calling and the crowd will answer with raised fists in the air. The famous chant means "power to the people, come back Africa" (Michie and Gamede, 2013:264).

[29] Zulu lyrics transcribed by Mapula Mahlo and Ndumiso Mahlangu (mother tongue is iZulu) in July 2014.

[30] Translation done by Ndumiso Mahlangu (mother tongue is iZulu) in July 2014.

Frame 7

Frame 8

Vocally, *Sabela* starts with humming that continues in the background for the duration of the preacher's speech and the official funeral ceremony. After the preacher ends the proceedings of the funeral, the learners start singing the words of *Sabela*. The song is a prayer sung in choral style with two female soloists. The instrumental accompaniment consists of electric piano, guitar and a small percussion section. After the song has been repeated, the instrumental section decrease in size until only the piano accompanies the two soloists who bring the song to a moment of prayer. As the soloist sings "Amen", a brief build-up in the music appears, ending the song with the full vocal ensemble.

In this song the learners mourn the deaths of their friends. For the first time they gather outside of their 'safe' space, namely the school, to express their feelings about being oppressed and after this they never return to school. Once again they are monitored by armed police and military forces on military vehicles (see Frame 9). As in the previous song, *The Lord's Prayer*, the learners do not show any sign of being intimidated. They continue with the ceremonial procedures typical of funerals during apartheid (Bozzoli, 2004:224) and sing their songs of struggle as well as freedom songs. Directly after *Sabela* ends, the vocal ensemble starts singing *Freedom is coming tomorrow* (this song will be discussed later in this chapter under 4.1.8). However, in this instance one does not get the impression of optimism from the learners' performance of *Freedom is coming tomorrow.* The song is perceived more as promise that, despite any obstacles, no compromise will be made in order to gain freedom.

One can interpret *Sabela* as a song of struggle, articulating the learners' struggle and oppression. They sing together about their suffering as oppressed children. For the moment their suffering overwhelms them and they pray for strength. Even though they are overcome by grief, the deaths of their friends do not discourage them from resisting their oppressors. In fact, after these events they protested even more – fighting their oppressors with violence (as they had promised in the song *Nkonyanda Kandaba*).

4.1.4 *Sechaba*

The scenes that feature the song *Sechaba* depict students who have been arrested being transported to the police station. The scene begins with the police chasing and capturing learners in the streets of Soweto. Sarafina looks out of the window of her house and sees the police arresting her fellow learners. They are being arrested for the murder of Constable Sabela. The learners are screaming and kicking, trying to fight of the officers, refusing to get into the back of the pick-up vans (see Frame 10). Eventually, Sarafina is also arrested and taken to the detention centre. Below is the transcription of *Sechaba*'s lyrics.

Ensemble:	*Iyo siyelele mama*[31]
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
	Iyo siyelele mama
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
	Siyalila sechaba
	Digkomo difedile
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Boys:	*Bafedile lebo papa*
Ensemble:	*Batshwaretswe dipasa*
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
	Stimela seba tsere,
	bafeletshe Johannes
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Girls:	*Basemane basetsana*
Ensemble:	*Batsabile Soweto*
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
	Maseya le basadi basetse balebangwe
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Girls:	*Tlang le boneng*
Ensemble:	*Mathatha-a-Africa*
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
	Iyo siyelele mama
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
	Iyo siyelele mama
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Police officer:	Kom uit, kom uit. Ons is by die fiskaal. (Come out, come out. We are at the fiscal[32])
Girls:[33]	*Nanka amaphoyisa ahlasela uDlamini*[34]
	Ahlasela uDlamini emgodini wegolide

[31] Sotho lyrics as it appears in the original play *Sarafina, the Music of Liberation* (Ngema, 2005:88–89).

[32] From the Dutch word fiskaal used by the VOC with the first settlers at the Cape. The fiscal was the public prosecutor who was responsible to maintain law and order (Morris, 2004:50).

[33] *Sechaba* starts in Sotho and from the second section the learners sing in iZulu.

[34] Zulu lyrics transcribed by Jeannette Masumpa (mother tongue is iZulu) in October 2014.

Lieutenant Bloem:	Hey Botha, I want an ID parade now
Ensemble:	*Amadoda aphelile*
Botha:	*Bloody* chaos, Lieutenant.
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Lieutenant Bloem:	Tough luck, get the rooms ready.
Girls:	*Asikwazi nokubuyel' emakhaya*
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Boys:	*Abantwana bayakhala*
Ensemble:	*Ubisi luphelile*
Ensemble:	*Hoo helele*
Ensemble:	*Abotsotsi nezimpimpi ziyakhathaza*
Police:	Shut up!

English Translation[35]

The nation is crying
The cattle are gone
The fathers are arrested for the pass
They are taken by the train to Johannesburg
The boys and girls ran away from Soweto
The babies and women are left behind
Come and see
The pain of Africa

Here are the police attacking Dlamini
They attack Dlamini in gold mines
Men are finished
We can't even go back home.
Babies are crying
Milk is finished
Tsotsi and traitors are troublesome

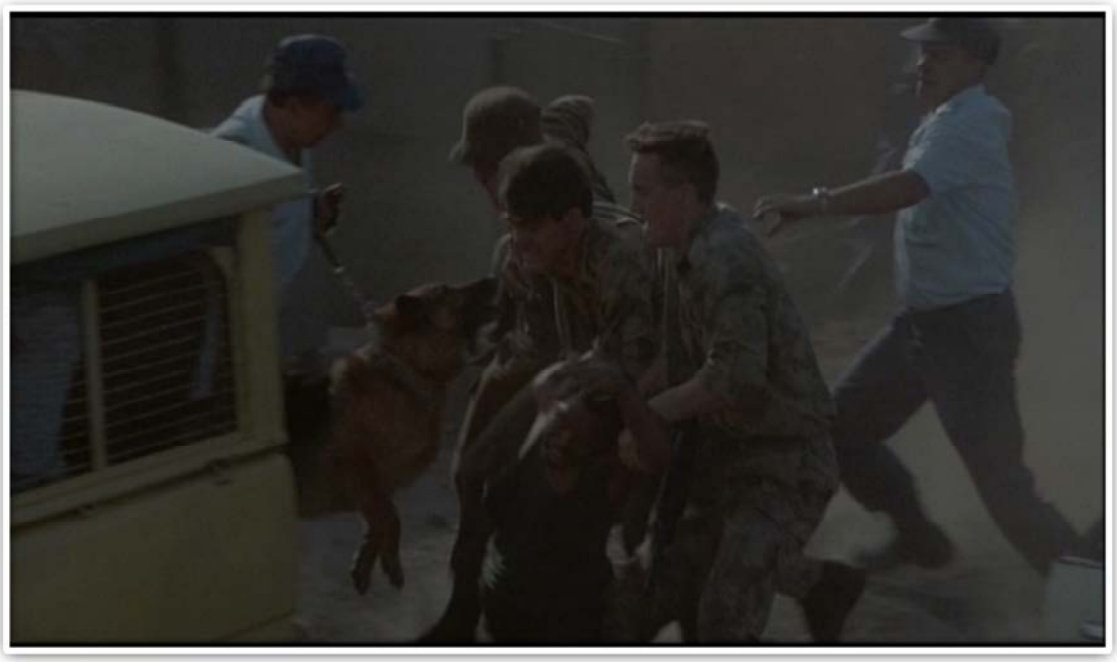
Sechaba is a song of struggle sung by the learners as they are transported to the police's detention centre. Dialogue, the sound of dogs barking and other sounds are superimposed on the music. The song is sung by the ensemble in the style of a choral work with no solo sections and it is accompanied by light electric keyboard and drums. *Sechaba* features short sections where the ensemble singing is alternated with either male or female voice groups singing alone.

The initial images accompanying *Sechaba* depict learners in the back of the police pick-up vans, singing this song that narrates their struggle. As seen in the discussion of *Nkonyanda Kandaba* (see 4.1.3), the learners had sworn that they will stop at

[35] The translation is done by Jeannette Masumpa (mother tongue is iZulu) in October 2014 and by Mpumie Njobe (tutor in mother tongue iZulu) in November 2014.

Frame 9

Frame 10



nothing to achieve freedom, but in the scenes accompanying *Sechaba* they sit powerless while singing the song about their struggle. One can interpret this scene as the moment the learners realise the impact of their situation. In this moment the learners mourn not only their personal defeat, but also that of the black nation. *Sechaba* articulates both the struggle of the black South Africans and the *"pain of Africa"*. The second part of *Sechaba* continues as the learners are dragged out of the pick-up vans and shoved into prison. The song ends abruptly, leaving an empty silence.

The lyrics of this song elicit images of physical poverty, deprivation and disempowerment in Soweto. The lyrics "the cattle are gone" and the "babies are crying / [the] milk is finished" articulate this poverty and deprivation in Soweto. Owning cattle symbolises wealth within the African culture. However, not only apartheid, but also urbanisation prevented black South Africans in Soweto to own cattle, depriving them not only of the financial wealth that these animals ensure, but also the cultural symbolism of wealth that they represent.

Sechaba also articulates the social disempowerment of black South Africans, as represented by the Sowetan families. The lyrics "the babies and women are left behind" depict an image of families without male figures. The women and children have to survive on their own. Some of the men were arrested for travelling without passes, while others left their families behind to fight the struggle and some (like Sarafina's father) died during the struggle. Unfortunately the social and economic circumstances of black South Africans caused many young men and women also to leave the country. These lyrics also indicate how Soweto has become a *feminised space*.[36] Just like colonisation, the oppressive ideologies of apartheid have robbed Soweto of its masculinity and have left it weak and powerless to defend itself. Women cannot fight because they need to provide for their families and children are powerless to do anything.

When the captured learners sing about Dlamini that has been attacked on the "gold mines", it becomes clear that the hope with which people had come to Johannesburg – to make a better life for themselves – has come to nothing. They realise that they

[36] Viljoen (2012:69) explains that "the idea of spaces being feminized is based on gender ideologies which rigidly posit women as the weak, passive, subservient and obsequious other".

"can't even go back home" – to rural areas from which many had come. There is no way forward and no return; they are caught up in the nightmare that is their present.

The last line of *Sechaba* shows that Soweto is a community who resents those who do not know and understand or, like Constable Sabela, betray its history and culture: "tsotsi and traitors are troublesome." De Ridder (1961:6) describes a tsotsi as "an almost completely detribalised, often illegitimate, usually teenage criminal delinquent, who neither understands nor respects the tribal customs and culture of his forefathers".[37] It is unavoidable that the deprivation and disempowerment of any community will lead to a lack of knowledge about their own history and culture which, in turn, would result in diminished respect for that which should be held in high regard.

4.1.5 *Safa Saphel' Isizwe*

Safa Saphel' Isizwe is featured in scenes depicting Sarafina and the other learners being kept captive at the detention centre. Sarafina is interrogated by the chief of police and placed in a single cell away from the other learners. In her cell Sarafina once again engages in a conversation with Nelson Mandela. Sarafina confesses her part in the killing of constable Sabela and pleads to Mandela to free her from all her hardships. She realises that Mandela is nothing more than a prisoner himself and in the dark cell she confronts him: "you are old now and your children are dying". Her words are answered by the learners' song, *Safa Saphel' Isizwe*:

Male soloist:	*Safa saphel' isizwe esimnyama*
Ensemble:	*Wo safa*
Male soloist:	*Iwo safa*
Ensemble:	*Isizwe sabantsundu*
Male soloist:	*Lamula mala*
	An'inkokheli zeth' oh maye we molo
Ensemble:	*Anitsheleni inkokheli zethu zisilamulele oh kuloludaba*
Male soloist:	*Wo Safa saphel' isizwe esimnyama*
Ensemble:	*Wo safa isizwe sabantsundu*

[37] While perceptions of delinquency persists even today in relation to the term 'tsotsi', Glaser (2000:53) points out that "[d]uring the second half of the 1940's and throughout the 1950's[…]the meaning of *tsotsi* was far more specific. A *tsotsi* was a young man who dressed, spoke, and behaved in a clearly identifiable way. He imitated America 'city slicker' clothing styles, spoke *tsotisitaal*, indulged in some kind of criminal or quasi-legal activity, and generally moved around in gangs."

Male soloist:	*Iwo safa*
	Lamula mo…
Ensemble:	*Anitsheleni inkokheli zethu zisilamulele*
Male soloist:	*An'inkokheli ze...*
	We *Maye ngiyakhala*
Ensemble:	*Kuloludaba*
Male soloist:	*Wo Safa saphel' isizwe esimnyama*
Ensemble:	*Wo safa isizwe sabantsundu*
Male voices ensemble*:*	*Wo iii…..*
Male soloist:	*Iwo safa*
Ensemble*:*	*Anitsheleni inkokheli zethu zisilamulele*
Male soloist*:*	*Awlamule! An'nkokheli ze…*
	Oh maye oh molo
Male soloist*:*	*Woh woh…*
Ensemble*:*	*Woh woh…*
Male soloist:	We *Maye ngiyakhala*
Ensemble*:*	*Woh woh…*
Male soloist:	*Woh woh…*
Ensemble:	*Woh woh…*
Male soloist*:*	*Oh maye we molo*
Ensemble:	*Woh woh…*
Male soloist:	*Woh woh…*
Ensemble:	*Woh woh…*
Male soloist*:*	*Wee maye ngikhala*
Ensemble:	*Woh woh…*

As the ensemble continues with the song in the background, a montage of learners narrating their specific experiences of police brutality is shown.

Boy 1:	They took me to a prison and they beat me. When I cried they put a babies dummy in my mouth so that I wouldn't cry. Then they covered my head with a wet sack and gave me the electricity. I cried like a little baby holding the dummy in my mouth.
Girl 1:	He took me to a room full of dead bodies. He said he will leave me with them. I began to cry. He took my face and turn it to the light and he laughed and he said look your eyes are pissing.
Police:	Come
Boy 2:	He shouted my name he pointed at me: "come to me boy." I was so afraid I couldn't speak. I walked slowly towards him. When I was close he hit me hard, here. It hurt so much I screamed and fell to the ground. He pointed at me again: "come to me boy." I was still crying I knew he will hit me again. I put my hands here so it wouldn't hurt so bad, but he hit me again. It hurt so bad. I couldn't cry anymore.

Girl 2: There were many of us, all from my school. They took us to a big room. They told us to take of our clothes, all our clothes. They told us to lie down on the floor. Then many police came in. They whipped us with sjamboks[38] until we bled. When they were tired more police came in. They whipped us again and we bled more.

Boy 3: This time is called *The State of Emergency, 1986*. Eighty thousand children in the prisons. They hurt us to make us fear them. We fear them, but we do not forget. We are still children, we are young and full of fear, but every day we grow older, every day we grow stronger. We do not forget.

English Translation:[39]

The black nation is dying
Who will lead us
To the day of peace
The black nation is dying
Oh, Mama, I am crying
For the day of peace

Safa Saphel' Isizwe is a song that articulates the black nations' suffering and its need for a leader who will negotiate their freedom. It is sung *a capella* with only an African bass drum as accompaniment. The song consists of a call-and-response structure with a male soloist and a vocal ensemble answering his call. The first section of the song repeats three times before the lyrics develop into variations of the Italian [u] vowel, based on the same melodic structure. As mentioned before, the ensemble continues singing on this vowel, five learners tell of their experiences of imprisonment and police brutality.

Sechaba, the previous song, focuses on the struggles of the black South African nation, articulating their suffering. While *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* claims that the "black nation is dying". The narratives of the individual learners that are superimposed on the music strongly articulate the suffering of the South African youth at the hand of the police. Furthermore, there is a sense of increasing decline – from suffering to impending death. Sechaba claims that "the nation is crying", while *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* declares that "the black nation is dying". *Sechaba* tells the tale of a society's struggle, while *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* sketches the youth's horrific encounters with the

[38] A sjambok is a South African form of a rattan.
[39] The translation of *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* as in the subtitles on the DVD of *Sarafina!.*

police. With the repeat of the rhetorical question, “who will lead us to the day of peace?”, one can interpret *Safa Saphel’ Isizwe* as a moment in which the realisation of the hopelessness of their situation hits home.

Despite the absolute heart-wrenching situation depicted in the scenes discussed above, the third boy’s (see Frame 11) narrative ends with a profound statement. He acknowledges that they are young and afraid, but also asserts that they grow older and stronger every day and that they will not forget. This statement articulates the belief that, even though they could not win the struggle while they were children, the day will come when they will rise again as strong adults and then will claim their freedom.

4.1.6 *Thank you Mama*

Thank you Mama is a song emulating a conversation between Sarafina and her mother, Angelina, but it is not a duet. Sarafina has been released from prison and is on her way home after visiting her mother. She sings this song on her journey home. She thanks her mother for being a true example of endurance during the struggle. Here follows the dialogue between Sarafina and Angelina:

Sarafina:	You make me strong mama, always you make me strong
Sarafina’s mother:	That’s what a mother is for
Sarafina:	Thank you mama
Sarafina’s mother:	*Leading the struggle*
	With nothing in your hands
	Can bring confusion in the family
	I miss those days of jubilation
	Weh Mama yeah
Ensemble:	*Jump to reality*
Sarafina’s mother:	*Days of happiness*
Sarafina and ensemble:	*Days of happiness*
Sarafina’s mother:	*When families*
With Ensemble:	*Sat around the fire*
Sarafina’s mother:	*Those were the days of stability*
	Weh Mama yeah
Ensemble:	*Jump to reality*
Sarafina:	*I wanna thank you mama*
Sarafina’s mother:	*Thank you baby*
Ensemble:	*Thank you mama for everything that you have done for me*
Sarafina’s mother:	*It was my responsibility*
Sarafina:	*Since I was a little girl*

When I was lying on your back
Taking me to church
Weh mama, I wanna thank you mama…

Sarafina's mother: *Thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you, thank you baby*

The music starts during their dialogue when Sarafina thanks her mother for being a strong woman during the struggle. The introduction of the song begins with sliding bass guitar which is joined by a full band consisting of guitar, drum sections and instrumental parts done on electric keyboard. As soon as the band starts to play, a vocal section enters cheering "aaee" – a call used during protest marches. The vocal section is enriched by a male soloist rejoicing with random vowel sounds. Sarafina and Angelina's singing starts after their dialogue. Angelina begins with the first part of the song in which the ensemble joins for small sections. After two verses sung by Angelina, Sarafina begins with the section in which she sings with her mother, emulating a dialogue.

Although this scene is between Sarafina and Angelina, their song features as background music to the visual images of the film. The audience never sees them singing together. Sarafina looks peaceful; she is smiling as she stares out the window of the train. Across her sits a lady at whom she smiles. As she walks home, one hears her sing with Angelina and when she arrives home, her grandmother welcomes her back with relief and joy.

In the first part of the song, Angelina contemplates the present situation, but also thinks back on the past. This part of the song can be interpreted as narrating the impact that the struggle had on their family. Angelina acknowledges that one cannot fight the struggle if one is not sufficiently equipped. Her statement that "[l]eading the struggle with nothing in your hands, brings confusion in the family" is indicative of the effect that the struggle has on her family. They are split apart and confused. She looks back on those "days of happiness" when they were a family who had peace of mind and stability. It was a time when Sarafina's father was still alive and with them; a time before Sarafina tried to fight with the resistance. Even though they did not have freedom, they had peace and they were happy. However, with Sarafina fighting the struggle, "with nothing in [her] hands" the family unit is disrupted. First Sarafina's father died for the struggle and now Sarafina also joined the fight to freedom. Every

time Angelina sings about the past, reminiscing about those "days of jubilation[…]happiness [and] stability", the ensemble beckons her to "jump to reality". These words underscore the reality of their current situation. Things are not like they once were; the struggle has changed their lives.

In Sarafina's section she shows appreciation for her mother. In this section we realise the impact of the murder of Constable Sabela and the imprisonment had on her. Sarafina's struggle with herself about her part in the death of Sabela and her struggle with her political struggle brought Sarafina to a new realisation about herself, the struggle and her role in the struggle. Sarafina thanks her mother for the example she set in their lives — leaving everything behind to provide for her children and for peacefully accepting her circumstances. Sarafina's choice of fighting the struggle with her friends has gone against that in which her mother believed, but even after this, her mother still receives her back with open arms. In this scene Sarafina realises something about the power of a peaceful, kind individual. It is a strength above that which she believed the group had.

Sarafina's words "when I was lying on your back, taking me to church" can be interpreted as literally and figuratively. Angelina is an African mother carrying her child on her back, but also carrying her children through the struggle. She gave up everything to work for a white family in order to take care of her children, which Sarafina interpreted as being a slave (see Chapter 3). However, in this moment Sarafina realises that her mother is providing for her children. Her mother provides for her family and she sets an example of good values. One can interpret this scene as Sarafina's realisation of the powerful impact her mother has made on their lives.

4.1.7 *Freedom is coming tomorrow*

Freedom is coming tomorrow is the only song that appears twice in *Sarafina!*. It can be regarded as one of the most important songs of the entire film. The first scene in which *Freedom is coming tomorrow* appears is during the funeral of the leaners that were killed during the school raid. The song starts directly after the ensemble ends the song *Sabela* (see 4.1.4). Its second appearance is in the final scenes of *Sarafina!*. After Sarafina tossed away Masembuko's AK 47 which she had hidden away in her house, she returns to the empty school and finds herself in

Masembuko's class. She remembers Masembuko's words as she stands in the empty classroom.

> Masembuko: I want very many things. I want the war to be over. I want the hate to be over. I want my Joe back in my arms. I want quiet days and loving nights. I want babies. I want to come home to kindness.

As Sarafina remembers her teacher's words she also starts to imagine what her beloved mentor will say in this important moment of growth in Sarafina's live.

> Masembuko: Freedom is just the beginning. Think bigger, like your idea for the school play. The prison door opens. The prisoner walks free. What then?

Sarafina realises that she has true purpose in the struggle towards freedom and finds guidance in the words of her teacher. This guidance leads Sarafina to continue with the school play. She finds Guitar in a burnt down classroom (see Frame 12) and asks him to join her in the school hall to sing their song of freedom. Guitar replies that the year-end school concert was cancelled and that the school hall has burned down. Sarafina insists and as she talks about the day of liberation the scene changes. At the school concert Sarafina, dressed as Nelson Mandela, addresses the crowed with a speech of hope. The lyrics of *Freedom is coming tomorrow*, as it appears the second time reads as follows:

Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Female Soloist:	*Get ready mama prepare for your freedom*
Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Female Soloist:	*Get ready mama prepare for your freedom*
Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Female Soloist:	*Iyabuy 'iyabuy 'kwezo ntaba mama* *Iyabuy 'inkululeko kusasa mama*
Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Female Soloist:	*Iyabuy 'inkululeko kusasa mama*
Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Guitar Feature	
Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Guitar Feature	
Ensemble:	*Freedom is coming tomorrow*
Instrumental interlude	
Ensemble:	*Aaee!*

English Translation of the phrase:[40]

It's coming from far (from the mountains)
Freedom is coming tomorrow mother

Although the school concert was cancelled, the leaners gather for their performance about the day of liberation. Sarafina, impersonating Nelson Mandela, and her fellow learners dressed in traditional clothing sing and dance in the streets of Soweto (see Frame 13). The scenes that accompany this song can be perceived in one of two ways. On the one hand it can be interpreted as a vision Sarafina has about the school concert, imagining how they will perform their play about the day of liberation. She imagines the play being set in the township Soweto where Nelson Mandela will address his people on the day of his release. On the other hand it can be interpreted as Sarafina and her friends performing their concert in the streets of Soweto. She follows her mentor's guidance and although their school is burned down and the concert is cancelled, they continue with the play to reach the people of Soweto. In this manner they protest against oppression with township theatre without using violence. The play does not articulate their aggression to resist their oppression, but rather focuses on the hope of a free future. In both interpretations this factor of peaceful resistance can be interpreted as a visualisation of the day of liberation.

It is interesting that the scenes accompanying the final rendition of *Freedom is coming tomorrow* are juxtaposed with flashbacks to scenes from when it first occurred after the funeral. In both scenes the song *Freedom is coming tomorrow* is lively, up tempo music. This freedom song consists is sung by a female soloist with a vocal ensemble. Their singing is accompanied by a full band with electric keyboard, guitar, bass guitar, drums and brass section. Thus, taking into consideration Meintjes's (2003:36) description of *mbaqanga* once again, one can regard the music of *Freedom is coming tomorrow* as being in the style of *mbaqanga*. The only difference in the music between the two scenes is the duration of the song. The learners do not perform the full song at the scene after the funeral, but at the end of the film it is performed in its entirety.

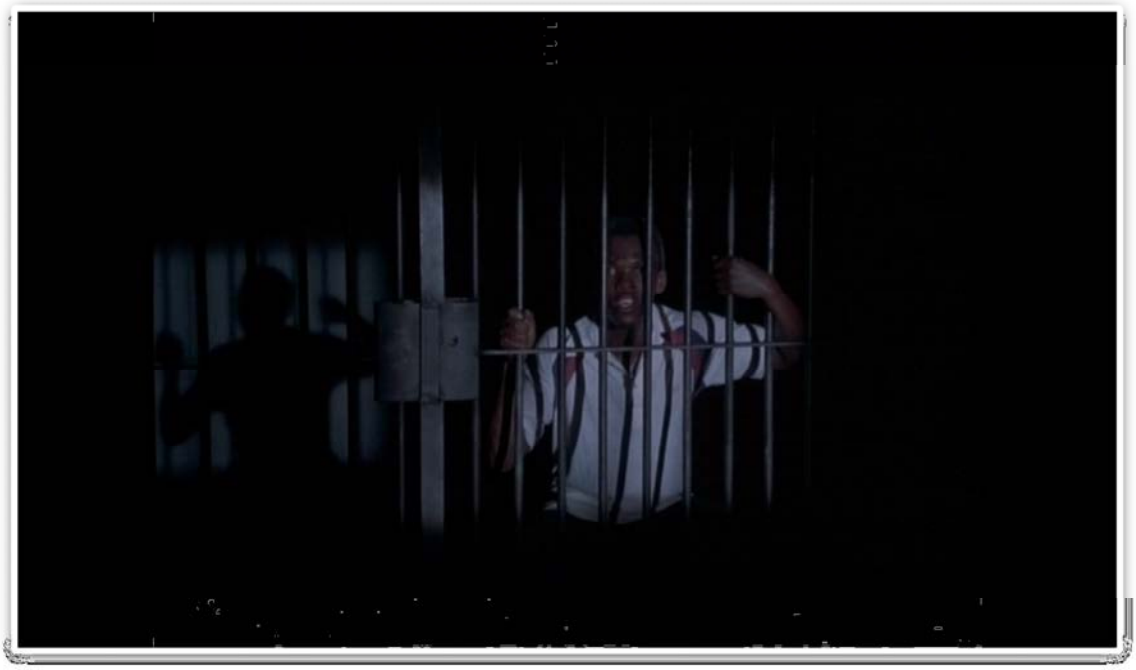
[40] The translation is done by Mpumie Njobe (tutor in mother tongue iZulu) in November 2014.

The first scene of *Freedom is coming tomorrow* perceives, as discussed in *Sabela* (see 4.1.4), a promise to gain freedom. They will protest against their oppression by any means necessary. It is in this breaking point that Sarafina's vision of *Nkonyanda Kandaba* becomes a reality in the measures the leaners will take to fight for freedom. Their suffering, articulated in *Sabela¸* develops into a powerful emotion to resist their oppression. In the scene of *Sabela* the preacher states that he believes their "freedom is coming tomorrow". With this in mind, one can interpret their song of freedom as an emotional reaction to his message. They are incited and react by warning their oppressors that they will stop at nothing to gain freedom; freedom will come for them tomorrow.

As mentioned before, the final appearance of *Freedom is coming tomorrow* is a juxtaposition of scenes in which the leaners are singing their song of freedom at the funeral and at the end year school concert. The promise of obtaining freedom in the first scene was destroyed after they were defeated by the police (as described in *Sechaba* and *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* in 4.1.5 and 4.1.6). However, the funeral scene in this song is not about resisting oppression, but to articulate hope. The juxtaposition of these two scenes in *Freedom is coming tomorrow* ultimately contributes to the contrast between "fighting the struggle with nothing in your hands" and the philosophy of *hope springs eternal.* Even though they are surrounded by death, they rejoice in the hope of freedom (see Frame 14).

The representation of Nelson Mandela's freedom as they sing their song articulates the hope for freedom for all. This imagination of the day of liberation and Nelson Mandela's release from prison is an answer to their call in *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* (see 4.1.6) as they have called on someone to lead them to "the day of peace". Regardless of their suffering, this scene depicts how they emerge from hardship, to celebrate their hope for liberation. Although their school has been burned down and even though, during the first rendition of the song, they dance among the graves of their friends, they have found a sense of hope and peace. In the final moments of the film the learners are depicted as people who have evolved through protest and struggle into people who cling to hope.

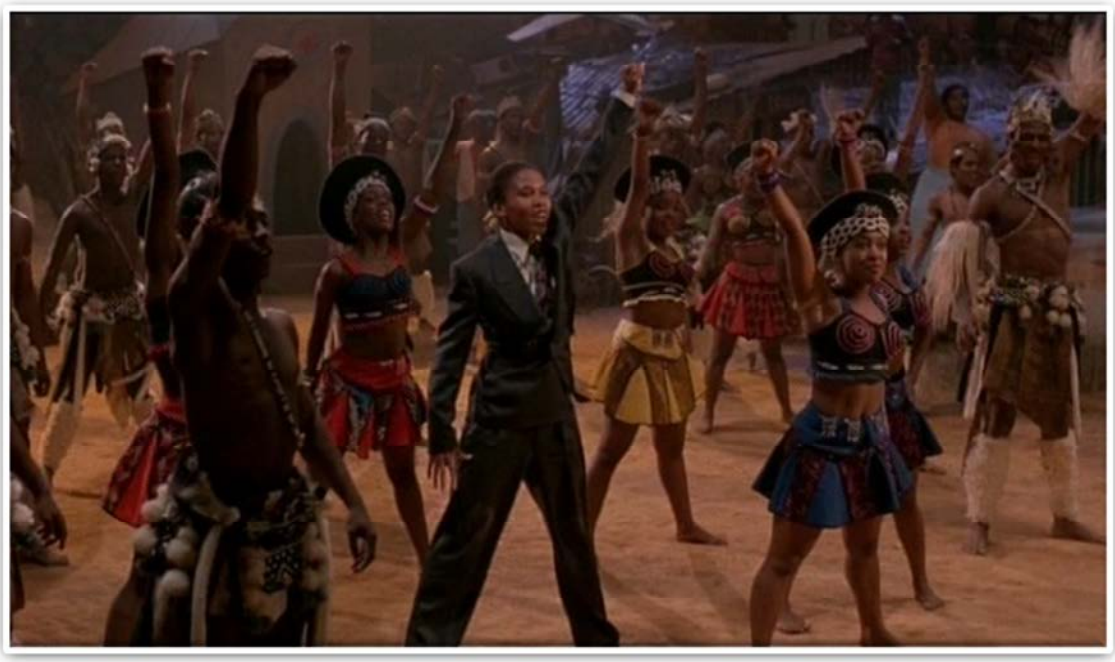
Frame 11



Frame 12

Frame 13

Frame 14



CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the findings and conclusions of this mini-dissertation. In Chapter 1 I stated that the purpose of this study is to understand how the songs in *Sarafina!* contribute to the construction of contexts in the film. In order to reach this purpose I had to answer two sub-questions that would eventually result into answering the main question with which this mini-dissertation is concerned. Based on the literature overview in Chapter 3 and the analysis of the songs in Chapter 4, I can present the findings which are stated in this chapter.

5.1 Findings

The first sub-question that this study researched was: what are the nature and the meanings of the songs in *Sarafina!*? Based on the literature overview, it was clear that songs of struggle can be defined as songs that express a group's political status quo. In the South African context, songs of struggle, which also refers to freedom songs, were used to express black South Africans' socio-political oppression, suffering under white authority, hope for freedom and aim for racial equality. Songs of struggle are shaped by their political, social and historical context; they are politically driven and adapt to political change. The oppressed group finds solidarity in their oppression and through their songs of struggle they articulate solidarity and emotional struggle. Black South African protest music started as a means to address their oppressors and promote conflict in striving towards freedom. Freedom songs and songs of struggle developed out of protest songs into songs that will rather address their oppression than to encourage conflict. Songs of struggle are rooted in Western influenced traditional African choral music. They sing as a choir to articulate their struggle and solidarity. The songs of *Sarafina!* are songs associated with black South African music in the style of *mbaqanga* or traditional African music.

When I started this study, I expected to find that all the songs in this film would adhere to the description of songs of struggle as explained above. However, the analysis of the songs in *Sarafina!* showed that not all the songs found in the film are songs of struggle in the sense that they articulate messages of socio-political struggle. I think it is safe to argue that all of the songs articulate some form of

struggle, whether it is a struggle between a young girl's fantasies and the harsh reality of her socio-political contexts or the articulation of a whole generation of young people's struggle against the oppression of apartheid.

The song *Sarafina!*, for example, is not about any socio-political struggle, but it articulates Sarafina's internal struggle. The film articulates the emotional and internal struggle Sarafina experiences. She is a black South African girl who lives in difficult socio-political circumstances. She, like many normal teenage girls, dreams about a world that is free from this poverty and her frame of reference – a situation that epitomises freedom and wealth: Hollywood and stardom. The song depicts a dream where Sarafina is no longer marginalised because of her race; she is the centre of attention and she is valued as being precious. The theme of Sarafina's internal struggle is developed as the film progresses. Her internal struggle develops from innocent fantasies to her inner battle with guilt about Sabela's murder and her search for her place in the struggle.

Just like the song *Sarafina!,* the song between Angelina and Sarafina is not a song of struggle. It is also not part of our understanding of resistance music, but it does articulate a message about struggle. It describes the impact the struggle has on them as a family and creates an intimate moment between mother and daughter. It articulates the internal struggle a black South African family has due to their socio-political circumstances. *Thank You, Mama* is an important introduction song to the freedom song, *Freedom is coming tomorrow.* How we interpret *Thank You, Mama* is determined by our understanding of the loss within the black nation as depicted in *Sechaba.*

Another song that can be regarded as something other than protest or resistance music is *Sechaba*. This song articulates a strong sense of loss. The learners express the state of the black nation due to their oppression. A great deal of their social and cultural environment is disrupted by the political situation in South Africa. They have lost all of their rights and in the process lost any form of wealth or financial stability which is the biggest cause of black poverty. This poverty is articulated throughout the film, even in the representation of Sarafina's dream of fame in the song *Sarafina!.* They have no heritage or culture – not being able to practice their culture or live

freely in their own country – and they lost any form of black pride. The biggest loss they have suffered is the loss within the family unit. The political circumstances have driven families apart, with men fighting the struggle or dead and woman working to provide for their family. It is because of this socio-political poverty that the learners took it on themselves to rise against their oppressors and fight the struggle. From the beginning of the film the loss of the black nation is depicted. It is only after the learners were captured and lost all hope of winning the struggle that their loss becomes a bigger struggle.

However, the song *Nkonyanda Kandaba* can safely be described as protest music. *Nkonyanda Kandaba* articulates a message of resistance, using deadly force in the pursuit towards freedom. The learners address their oppressors directly while marching with flares down the streets of Johannesburg. They address their oppressors not about their struggles, but about their promise of gaining freedom by any means necessary. In this protest song they increase the conflict between them and their oppressors in an attempt to resolve the political injustice.

The second sub-question stated in Chapter 1 was: what contexts are constructed in *Sarafina!*? The contexts depicted in *Sarafina!* are rooted in the socio-political situation of the black South African communities during apartheid in South Africa. These multi-layered contexts depict the temporal and spatial contexts of especially young people. As described in the literature overview of Chapter 3, the temporal context of *Sarafina!* is set in the late 1980s during a state of emergency. It was a time of extreme unrest.

One of the contexts in *Sarafina!* involves a major theme in the film, namely black education during apartheid. The learners were unsatisfied with the oppression of the black nation, especially within the education system. There were especially extreme feelings of negativity about the prescribed curriculum for black schools. Black South African learners in the 1980s were only allowed to be taught a rigidly prescribed curriculum for black learners. Black South African teachers were not encouraged to teach additional material. The curriculum for history classes, for example, only included Western history. Teachers like Masembuko were not encouraged to teach learners about black South African history. The learners were not only politically

oppressed; they were also deprived of receiving a proper education that includes knowledge of their own social contexts.

Although the learners are unsatisfied with the education system, they find a sense of safety and solidarity in the school, one of the major spatial contexts in the film. They adopt teachers like Masembuko, who is the only teacher using additional material, as their role models. The school is their place of refuge, but after Masembuko's arrest and the killings of their friends, they remove themselves from the school and any association with it. Besides the school, there is another spatial context in the film, namely Soweto. *Sarafina!* is set in this renowned township. It is the home of these learners, but it is also a place where restriction and oppression govern everyday life. Soweto might be their home, but it is also their prison. Even in the streets of Soweto they are not free from the soldiers. They are not safe from the police in their own homes and are subjected to police raids. Like at the school, Soweto is a place of poverty, oppression and control.

Besides the temporal and spatial contexts – in which the socio-political contexts are embedded – there is also a clear context of personal human experience in *Sarafina!*. This is evident in not only the internalisation that we notice in Sarafina, but also in Masembuko's statements about her life and her dreams. The context of personal experience is also depicted in Angelina's story: a woman whose husband went into exile to train for battle and died in Mozambique, leaving her behind to fend for herself and her children. Probably the most poignant testimony of the context of personal human experience is embedded in the learner's stories of how they were tortured.

As mentioned earlier, it is possible to argue that the song *Sarafina!* does not really represent protest music in the true sense of the word. However, it contributes to the construction of a context in which the personal experiences, fantasies and dreams of a young black girl are articulated. However, it is not only the personal experiences of an individual that are articulated within this context. *Sechaba* contributes to the construction of a context in which the suffering of the black nation is articulated. The song also contributes to our understanding of the misfortune the black nation had to endure: loss of wealth, culture and family. Another song which contributes to the context of suffering is *Sabela.* It articulates the youth's suffering because of their

socio-political circumstances. The song *Safa Saphel' Isizwe* contributes to the construction of two contextual backgrounds: a socio-political context and a context in which personal human experience is articulated. It contributes to our understanding of the youth's powerless plea to a leader to free them from their circumstances, as well as to serve our understanding of the individual experiences of police brutality.

The Lord's Prayer contributes to the construction of an ambivalent space that the school offers the learners: simultaneously their safe haven and a threatened space. It contributes to our understanding of the struggle that the youth have with their circumstances. This song also contributes to perceptions that, despite the police presence, the learners are enthusiastic and cheerful, and focused on their song.

Nkonyanda Kandaba is the first song that contributes to the construction of a context in which the youth's dissatisfaction with their socio-political circumstances is articulated. It contributes to our understanding of their urge to protest against their oppressors and to gain freedom. It is only with the first appearance of *Freedom is coming tomorrow* that the learners literally embody the vision depicted in *Nkonyanda Kandaba* and promise to take the necessary measures against their oppressors.

Thank You, Mama is another song that is not according to the conventional form of songs of struggle, but it contributes to our understanding of the impact of the struggle on the black South African family. This song contributes to a context in which hope has replaced anger and where we can begin to understand the impact the struggle, protest and imprisonment have had on Sarafina.

Only after looking at all of these songs and contexts can we truly understand the impact of *Freedom is coming tomorrow*, as it appears for the second time in the film. The contribution that *Freedom is coming tomorrow* has on the construction of a context is that, at the end of the film, the song articulates a sense of acceptance and infinite hope. It contributes to our understanding that after the struggle, protest and suffering the learners will achieve freedom through hope, thus ending the play with a song that can truly be described as a freedom song.

5.2 Conclusion

Having done the literature review and analysed the songs, we understand that songs of struggle are not necessarily songs that articulate defiance and promote unrest and violence. These songs also articulate human experiences during a socio-political struggle: sadness, loss, hope and an undying search for freedom. The contexts in *Sarafina!* include those in which black South Africans' struggled with various social structures being destroyed as a result of their socio-political circumstances during apartheid, the struggle with their oppressors, poverty and their own demons. We understand better how especially the youth was affected within these contexts.

Upon having a better understanding of the nature and meaning of songs of struggle, as well as the contexts of *Sarafina!*, it is now possible to conclude that the songs contribute to the construction of multi-layered contexts in which socio-political and personal human experiences are articulated. The meanings of the songs in *Sarafina!* are rooted in the personal and socio-political contexts of the black youth during the 1980s in South Africa and are associated with specific events that form part of the scenes in which the songs occur. Every song has its unique focus, but ultimately the songs articulate not only the various contexts of struggle, but also of hope in the lives of the black South African youth during apartheid.

5.3 Suggestions for further study

After completing this mini-dissertation, it is evident that further research can be done in the field of *Sarafina!* and other black South African musical films. I suggest three different options of further research. Firstly I suggest a study in the analysis of visual texts to understand the specific context articulated in *Sarafina!.* Secondly I propose further research in the use of music in other black South African musical films. Finally, I suggest further research on the comparison of the music of *Sarafina, The Music of Liberation* and the music of *Sarafina!* and the different contributions towards the contexts in both productions.

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