



# Afrocentric analysis of the music in political advertisements of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF)

---

## AUTHOR(S)

Mopailo Thomas Thatelo

University of South Africa

ORCID: 0000-0001-5796-9611

---

## PUBLISHED ONLINE

Volume 41 (2) December 2022

Pages 65-74

Submitted January 2022

Accepted October 2022

---

## DOI

10.36615/jcsa.v41i2.1431

---

## ISSN

0259-0069

## Abstract

In 2009, South Africa saw another landmark with the introduction of political advertisements on television. Literature is littered with studies of political advertisements on television. In these studies, 1) background music is merely an accompaniment to advertisement voiceover and images, rather than an argument itself. Little is known about 2) the discursive role of background political music as a means of conveying political messages in political television advertisements, 3) the underlying ideology and 4) Afrocentric rhetoric in political music used in political television advertisements. Considering the above, this paper interrogates the Afrocentric perspective underlying the rhetoric of background music in the political television advertisements of the South African opposition political party, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) from 2014 to 2021. This study employs the decolonial thought of the Afrocentric perspective as a theory and a research method to interrogate underlying rhetoric in political music. Findings of the paper revealed that the EFF background music is highly political, Afrocentric and inherently rhetorical.

## Keywords

political music, political television advertisements, rhetoric, Afrocentric perspective

---

## INTRODUCTION

Music in the context of political advertisement campaigns is constructed around issues of political, religious, economic, cultural and human interest primarily to project hope for a better future. Music is used not only to appeal to individuals' emotions, but also to appeal to the sociopolitical conditions of the electorate as well as the dissemination of political messages through lyrics. In the context of Africa, music in political advertising campaigns is produced under fluid, complex and ambiguous socioeconomic and political environments. Mbembe (2001:272-273) concedes that music is used in political campaigns often to present a counternarrative and reveal underlying "desperate" individual lived experiences.

It is for this reason that Africans employ various linguistic styling techniques such as figurative expressions, pronouns and proverbs among others, mainly to draw messages closer to the electorate (Allen, 2004:45). These linguistic styling techniques are employed rhetorically by political actors (political parties and/or political candidates) primarily to communicate sociopolitical and economic issues such as lack of basic services, government failures and inept government leadership (Okeke, 2019). In addition, music is used to protest against and/or delegitimise the sitting government (Nyairo & Ogude, 2005). On the other hand, music is also used to legitimise a particular political actor or a political issue (Adebayo, 2017). Osiebe (2016) points out that political music employs different and distinctive sub-genres of music, namely, protest political music, unity political music and terrestrial praise political music. What it means, is that protest political music mainly disagrees with issues relating to a political actor while unity political music primarily serves the unity of the nation or of political actors. Terrestrial political music functions mainly to praise political actors. The above different types of sub-genres of political music are therefore inherently political and evoke or reflect a particular political judgement (Street, 2013). These lyrics are either lamenting, resisting or opposing the prevailing political conditions.

It is therefore worth pointing out that music in the context of political advertisements serves as a public sphere where individuals such as a singer or a group could express their opinions about political actors, either legitimising or delegitimising the politics of their society. Moreover, music plays a critical role in shaping and influencing public opinion over a particular sociopolitical issue. Political music articulate ideas, beliefs and feelings through creation, performance and individual lived experiences mainly of the electorate. Therefore, when music is shared by an individual member of the electorate, it resonates with individual lived experiences and feelings; it serves an individual function rather than a group function.

This paper therefore uses Afrocentricity as a theory and a research method primarily to interrogate the underlying rhetoric of background music in the selected EFF political television advertisements. The EFF political party is a splinter group of the ANC launched in 2013 and is the third largest South African party after the African National Congress (ANC) and the Democratic Alliance (DA) (Mbetse, 2015).

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Previous studies by Adebayo (2017), Aririguzoh (2019), Mambwe (2019), Obono (2020), Onyebadi (2018 & 2019), Omenya (2019) and Osiebe (2016) point out that political music is significant in the field of political communication, in that it shapes public opinion in relation to political actors and to the socioeconomic and political conditions of the electorate. Adebayo (2017) argues that political music in Nigeria is used ideologically primarily to discourage violent behaviour between tribal and political opponents during presidential election seasons. The studies of Mambwe (2019) and Onyedodi (2018) argue that political music is a communication phenomenon that is in the public sphere where political communication messages are created and distributed by African musicians primarily to delegitimise African political actors and/or government policies. Onyedodi (2019) notes that it is rare for African musicians to use political music to legitimise political actors, as that is received with suspicion by the electorate. To the electorate it suggests that a musician has been bought by politicians.

In addition, studies by Aririguzoh (2019), Omenya (2019) and Obono (2020) note that political music employs different discursive practices such as political metaphor, words, images, religious allusions, context, messages, proverbs and idioms primarily as communication tools to create narratives on a particular political issue and to persuade the electorate. However, the main weakness in the above studies, is that they have specifically focused on the standalone singer rather than the background political music in political television advertisements.

Although studies by Hubbard and Crawford (2008) are old studies that focused on background musical instruments used in political advertisements, a limitation of these studies is that they are concerned with the impact of background music that the electorate is exposed to on radio rather than television. Other interpretative studies, such as that by Scoggin (2020), view background political music in political advertisements as propaganda rather than an election campaign tool. The study by Patch (2020) is concerned with the underlying use of political language in political music for communication of political issues to the electorate. A leading scholar of music in political television advertisements, Christiansen (2020) argues that the music in political television advertisements is subliminal and is used to evoke emotions among the electorate. Although the above studies have made significant contributions to the discourse of political music and political television advertisements, they have overlooked the critical aspect of Afrocentricity in the background music of political television advertisements.

It is against this backdrop, that this paper employs the decolonial thought of Afrocentricity as a theoretical framework and a research method primarily to analyse the underlying rhetoric of background music in the selected political television advertisements of the EFF political party.

## AFROCENTRICITY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Afrocentricity was conceptualised by the leading American theorist Molefi Kete Asante. Asante's main focus is on the significance of an Afrocentric orientation (Asante, 2009). Its forerunners include Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. du Bois and Cheikh Anta Diop. Afrocentricity is a revolutionary epistemic theoretical and methodological framework rooted in the five main works of Asante (Asante, 1980, 1987, 1988, 1990 & 1998).

Key to Afrocentric theory, is a counternarrative to the hegemonic Euro-North American worldview, and Eurocentric paradigm. Underlying the Eurocentric paradigm is its emphasis on the superiority of Western civilisation (essentially white supremacy) and the dislocation of African knowledge and culture (Amin, 1988). Although Afrocentricity emerged in the United States of America (USA), it is worth pointing out that it is not a theory exclusively for African-Americans, rather it is located among Africans in the diaspora. The theory under discussion was inspired by the social and political injustices of the transatlantic slave trade, colonialism, apartheid and the denial of African-Americans and Africans on the African continent, to exercise their cultural identity (Karenga, 2002). These experiences created conditions for the emergence of the Afrocentric theory (Chawane, 2016).

Afrocentricity and decoloniality are counter-ideological frameworks primarily concerned with the way of "thinking, knowing and doing among the (ex-)colonised people" of the global South (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015:488). Afrocentricity is a "mode of thought and action" that privileges African interests, perspectives and values (Asante, 1988:2). As a theory, Afrocentricity is mainly concerned with establishing the African consciousness, an agency where African history and culture is at the centre of analysis, and more importantly, it is an ideology that argues for an alternative to the European worldview (Asante, 1980). What the Afrocentric theory does is essentially unmasking the underlying codes, paradigms, symbols, and myths that reinforce the centrality of African ideals and values as valid frames of reference (Asante, 1987). In a nutshell, the theory argues in favour of the centrality of the African phenomenon rather than the Eurocentric perspective.

Moreover, Afrocentricity argues for the centrality of the African "space", "location", and "time" (Asante, 1990:23-25). Essentially, "looking at information from a black perspective" rather than from a "white perspective" the inverse relationship between "the centre" versus "the periphery" (Asante, 1988:45). What this means is that the black lived experience is located at the periphery, it is marginalised, while the white experience is at the centre, it is legitimate, it is universal, and superior (Asante, 1988). To counter the inverse relationship between "the centre" and "the periphery", Asante (1990) argues that African history, ideas, concepts, events, personalities, culture and communication are subjects that should be centred, thereby removing the Euro-North American from the centre of the African reality. Thus, Afrocentricity is integral to the centrality of black people as agents, actors and participants rather than as marginals on the periphery of global society.

However, the theory of Afrocentricity is criticised by Adeleke (2009), Collins (2006), Joyce (2005) and Walker (2001). For Adeleke (2009:47), Afrocentricity discredits and/or undermines the significant contribution of the Eurocentric worldview, while Collins (2006) views Afrocentricity as mere black racism inspired by black cultural nationalism, black radical feminism and religious nationalism that undermines whiteness. On the other hand, Joyce (2005) simply views Afrocentricity as a mere "indoctrination process" that fails to provide practical solutions to the socioeconomic and political woes of black people both in the Americas and in Africa. For Walker (2001), Afrocentricity is a mythology that is racist and reactionary towards whiteness.

Regardless of the above criticism, Afrocentricity remains relevant for this paper. Asante (2002) maintains that the analysis of communication by means of Afrocentricity is critical, as it focuses on the unique rhetoric employed by black people in verbal and visual texts. He maintains that this rhetoric is unique, artistic, and creates rhythm, repetition, and styling for an African audience. What makes Afrocentric rhetoric unique is primarily the underlying "Nommo", defined as verbal and visual aspects of communication that create reality among African people (Asante, 1988). "Nommo" presents the speaker and audiences with unifying symbolic images and language that establish a common understanding between them. It uses metaphors, repetition, and proverbs among other things mainly to depict unique African lived experience, such as discrimination on the basis of race, segregation, slavery, colonialism, and apartheid. Essentially, these immoral forms of white supremacy are only experienced by black people rather than any other racial group. "Nommo" also manifests itself through music, dance, history, images, and texture (Bates, Lawrence & Cervenka, 2008:279-280). The significance of "Nommo", therefore, is to allow audiences to experience the essence of what is being communicated through their lived experiences.

## AFROCENTRICITY AS A RESEARCH METHOD

This study follows a qualitative research design, is critical, interpretative and interrogates the underlying rhetoric of the background political music used in EFF political advertisements from 2014 to the 2021 government elections. This therefore makes the study longitudinal. For the purposes of analysis, this paper employs Afrocentricity as a research method to interrogate the underlying rhetoric of political music. Afrocentricity as a research method is guided primarily by the following five principles: (1) the African experience guides and informs the inquiry, thereby (2) revealing the hidden, subtle, racist tendencies embedded in the Eurocentric hegemonic worldview, (3) legitimising the centrality of African ideals and values, (4) maintaining an inquiry rooted in an interpretation based on black lived experience rather than white lived experience, and (5) including African spirituality in the creation of meaning (Asante, 2009). It is worth emphasising that the above principles will be applied throughout the analysis of this paper.

In his discussion of Afrocentricity, Asante (1990:8-14) identified its four qualitative tenets of analysis, namely, aesthetics, axiology, cosmology and epistemology. The aesthetic tenet is mainly concerned with the creative ethos of African people. The significance of the aesthetic as a tenet of Afrocentricity is the reflection of the cultural image of African society. The axiological tenet is concerned with the question of spiritual principles, values, morality, and ethics that hold African societies together (Asante, 1990). Cosmology is the third tenet of Afrocentricity, which helps black people to understand their location in relation to history and culture, race, gender, religion, and spirituality. Epistemology, the fourth tenet of Afrocentricity, is mainly concerned with the etymology of words and the sources of the author's language, that is, the "source of knowledge" (Asante, 1990:12). In other words, the researcher views language as the source of knowledge; it is deliberate, structural, regulated and symbolic. With the understanding given by Afrocentricity, the researcher interrogates and resists European values and systems. Asante (1990) emphasises that these qualitative tenets are critical in unmasking the unfair power dynamics that privilege whiteness over African and black voices and lived experience.

The main objective of this paper is to determine whether the rhetoric of background music in the EFF political television advertisements is inherently Afrocentric. The main research question is therefore: What is the underlying Afrocentric rhetoric of the political music used in the EFF election campaign advertisements? This paper sampled five advertisements of the EFF used from the 2014 to 2021 national, provincial, and local government election campaigns. The unit of analysis focuses mainly on the vocal texts and the different notes of musical instruments.

## INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The EFF 2014 opening background music leads with:

"Thina sizwe esimanyama",<sup>1</sup>

The 2014 EFF advertisement is highly rhetorical in that it uses the cosmological expression of a historical isiXhosa struggle song, Thina sizwe esimnyama, composed in 1952. The song laments deep feelings of loss, loss of everything that is "sacred, spirituality, humanness, belonging, humanity, dignity, ancestral ground that house our fallen ancestors" (Seti, 2019). The lyrics paint a picture of deep trauma of coloniality, that has robbed both the living, the dead and yet to be born their dignity, humanity, and humanness. The song is a national defiance campaign against white domination over the natives, it reflects resentment over the occupation of land by European colonialists and a determination to repossess their land (Dontsa,1990:53). Therefore, the song employs plural linguistic features, essentially the axiological tenet that ideologically forges a solidarity (sub-genre of unity) narrative among black people, that their

1 isiXhosa for "We the black nation".

socioeconomic difficulties are historical, caused primarily by colonialism and apartheid as well as the inept ANC leadership.

On the other hand, the EFF uses Thina sizwe to delegitimise the significance of the ANC-led government's underlying claim that it is a political party that cares about the socioeconomic hardships of black people in post-1994 South Africa. Moreover, the EFF uses the song primarily to remind South Africans that the ANC is increasingly becoming a "monster" to its own people – black people – an oppressive political party that has turned its back on black people turning them into "objects" of oppression and marginalisation just like the NP government (Mbembe, 2001:89). This is evident with the increasing corruption in government, public finance meant to uplift the poor being stolen to benefit individuals, lack of or poor services, and the appalling socioeconomic conditions under which black people live in informal settlements while government fail to provide housing for the poor (Hyatt, 2016).

The EFF 2016 background political music addresses the issue of land in South Africa. The opening background music leads with the vocals:

"Sikhalela, izwe lethu"<sup>2</sup>

"Mabauyeke, umhlaba wethu"<sup>3</sup>

The above political metaphor of "crying for our land" speaks to the radical and populist rhetoric of "expropriation of land without compensation" (Masungwini, 2021; Merten, 2018). The above background political music can be analysed from the tenets of Afrocentricity, namely, axiology, cosmology and epistemology. From an epistemological tenet, the music is used ideologically to suggest the struggle for land is a historical issue that dates to colonial South Africa in 1855. Then, the Transvaal government prohibited black people from being recognised as citizens of and landowners in South Africa. This was followed by a series of similar discriminatory legislations, the most notable one of which was the Native Land Act of 1913 that came into effect after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This Act sought to dispossess and prohibit black people from all forms of land ownership. It is because of the above Act that land that belonged to black people, including the Khoi and San people was lost to white settlers (Thompson, 2014). It is for this reason that the ANC was formed in 1912, mainly to fight for the land that was lost to whites.

Since 1994, the ANC-led government has been struggling to address the land issue by carefully negotiating the controversial Section 25 of the South African Constitution of 1996 which speaks to the "expropriation and compensation of land". The problem with the clause "expropriation and compensation of land" is that legislation does not provide answers to what size of land, how much will be given as compensation for the land, who is going to benefit from the land and for what purpose the land will be used.

On the other hand, during the first ten years of its tenure, the ANC-led government embarked on the World Bank policy guide of "Willing Buyer, Willing Seller" that recommends 30% of white-owned agricultural land be transferred to black farmers (Ntsebeza, 2004: 90-93). The World Bank policy was intended not to scare off investors, to protect food security and to avoid mass migration of skilled farmers that could destroy domestic food security and collapse the South African economy (Luke, 2015). However, the problem with the above policy was a very slow restitution process as landowners were not willing to sell their land, or sometimes selling it at an inflated price.

Another problem with the land issue is that South Africa is a signatory to several local and international treaties, namely, Customary International Law, Bilateral Investment Treaties, the Southern

---

2 isiXhosa for "We are crying for our land".

3 isiXhosa for "Let them leave our land".

African Development Community Treaty and the African Charter of Human and Peoples Rights (Bennet & Strug, 2013; Schlemmer, 2016). These treaties make provision for the protection of private properties. As a signatory to these international treaties, South Africa is obliged by law to protect the private property of its citizens and that of the international community (Soko & Qobo, 2018). Thus, South Africa stands to lose credibility among its international peers if it fails to observe its international responsibilities. This move could devastate the already struggling South African economy that many black people anyway do not benefit from. Moreover, this could destabilise the banking sector that holds land assets in the form of mortgages and tarnish the reputation of South Africa in international financial markets (Neves, 2021). This could potentially render South Africa another collapsed Zimbabwe.

Another problem with the political metaphor of “crying for our land” is that the motion of land being expropriated without compensation was problematic in that was heavily politicised, it lacked details and more importantly, it was unconstitutional. It is worth emphasising, that the issue of land in South Africa is critical and should be treated with urgency to address the social, economic, and political injustices of the past. However, the land issue needs a comprehensive legislative framework that clearly spells out specific details in terms of who is going to benefit and for what purpose. At the time of writing, the bill of “expropriation without compensation” was rejected by the South African national assembly after the ANC failed to secure enough votes to pass the constitutional amendment (Gerber, 2021).

From a cosmological point of view, the issue of land in South Africa is historical; it reminds black people of the brutal hardships brought about by the stolen land by both the colonial English and later the apartheid nationalist Afrikaner regime. The song uses plural linguistic grammar such as “sikhalela”, “izwe lethu”, “mabauyeke” and “umhlaba wethu” primarily to suggest the significance of people who lost a precious resource. The land that was used for spiritual, cultural and human settlement, a point of connection with the ancestors, food production and a means to provide people with shelter were all lost to the colonial settlers.

The background music in the 2019 EFF political television advertisement opens with a composition of high notes from the electric guitar, cymbals, drumbeats and trumpets, followed by vocal sound, “zizojika izinto”<sup>4</sup>. The opening musical composition is South African township disco music, a black music genre popular in the 1980s. The opening disco music possesses underlying tenets of Afrocentricity, namely, aesthetics in terms of black creativity, the axiology tenet that connects or holds black people together and the cosmological tenet that reminds black people of the oppressive white minority rule. Therefore, the use of the township disco music reminds black people of the apartheid state of emergency, and political disruptions in black townships mainly by National Party (NP) security agents (Cowell, 1986). Moreover, the music reminds black people of strong black communities, determination to succeed regardless of the hardships of the apartheid regime, civic involvement and most notably a solidarity among black South Africans in the fight against apartheid (Swilling, 1987). More importantly, it reminds black people of their creativity regardless of limited access to resources and exploitation by white music production companies (Davey, 2020). Black music creativity played a critical role in the struggle against apartheid and colonialism (Coplan, 1985). The above vocal sound emphasises protest and that the EFF political party “will bring about change” to the dire socioeconomic conditions of black people in post-1994 South Africa that have essentially reduced the majority of black South Africans to “pariahs rather than slaves” in their own country (Midgley, 2007:2-3), only “useful when made the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for others” (Woodson, 1990:11).

“Thula mtwanami, wena ukhalelani?”<sup>5</sup>

4 isiXhosa for “Things will change”.

5 isiXhosa for “Be quiet child, what are you crying for?”

The EFF 2019 background political music ideologically employs a political metaphor of a "crying child" primarily to legitimise the plight of black people. Black people have historically been "crying like children" under colonialism and apartheid given that they were marginalised and/or dehumanised by "white arrogance" (Ani, 1994:279). The above political metaphor employs the Afrocentric tenet of epistemology, that speaks to post-1994 South Africa. The plight of black people is adversely affected by the failure of the ANC-led government to grow the economy (Van Niekerk & Padayachee, 2021; Mosala, Venter & Bain, 2017), corruption in government and in business (Lannegrem & Ito, 2017), political factions within the ANC (Kanyane, 2021), and generally a lack of vision for South Africa's future (Mhaka, 2021; Mubangizi, 2020; Macpherson, 2020). In addition, from an axiological point of view, the above political metaphor is spiritual, it binds black people together, it emphasises harmony and justice in the face of their marginalisation.

"Isikhalo sa bantu usihoye"<sup>6</sup>

The above political metaphor appropriately exhorts the ANC to "listen to the concerns of people". The ANC-led government in its failure to improve the socioeconomic conditions of black people, rather chooses easy solutions by creating a welfare state where black people in particular are dependent on government for their livelihood (Vidojevin & Chipkin, 2021; Seekings, 2021). The ANC has failed to provide black people with high-quality public education (Workman, 2020), that could enable them to stand on their feet, compete, and create economic opportunities for themselves and for others. The political metaphor in the background music is therefore inherently axiological as it morally holds black people together.

The background political music of the 2021 EFF political advertisement uses a composition of musical instruments with high pitched notes, rapid drumbeat and piano, and repeated chanting of *namhlanje* (today) and *manje* (now, at this moment, immediately). The two adverbs are essentially synonymous as they emphasise the significance of time in terms of urgency. Moreover, the chanting of *namhlanje* and *manje* uses the linguistic style of repetition. An Afrocentric rhetoric emphasises the significance of the issue at hand, which for the purpose of this paper is primarily service delivery in black communities. The composition for musical instruments in high notes is used ideologically to highlight the protest and the urgent need for service delivery such as the creation of economic opportunities for young and unemployed people, access to land, improved access to basic services, water, sanitation, and health (Mavuso, 2021). The *namhlanje* and *manje* chanting is inherently cosmological in that black people have an understanding of their dire socioeconomic conditions and know what could be a solution to their plight (Asante, 1990).

On the other hand, *namhlanje* and *manje* present a counternarrative to the past that has significantly kept black people under unjust socioeconomic conditions. The issue of poverty and lack of service delivery particularly in black communities in South Africa is a historical issue that can be traced to the 17th and 18th centuries when the Dutch East Indian Company (DEIC) and later the British settlers arrived in the Cape Colony (Cloete, 1988). Then, it was necessary for white people to appoint magistrates (*landrats*) and councillors (*heemraden*) to undertake local government and administration of the predominantly white districts rather than black areas in the Cape Colony (the present-day Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape provinces) (Cloete, 1997). It is worth emphasising that these developments were racially based, since local government was virtually non-existent where black people resided (Ngubane, 2005).

Under apartheid, government services were based primarily on racial segregation through various pieces of legislation, the most notable of which was the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Act 41 of 1950). This

---

6 isiXhosa for "Listen to people's concerns".

legislation introduced segregation based on the forceful removal of black people from productive, arable land, and the restraint of freedom of movement of black people in urban areas and rural migration to urban South Africa. These laws were used primarily to deprive black people of critical services. In post-1994 South Africa, service delivery is sabotaged by political interference, lack of funds, when funds are available it is misappropriated, lack of accountability, lack of capacity of skilled personnel and some are based on marginalisation of black people primarily in the DA-led municipalities (Felix 2021; Wadesango, Mhaka, Chikoma & Wadesango, 2018; Zwane, 2021). The abovementioned high musical notes and repetition are aesthetical tenets of Afrocentricity used to legitimise the protest and the urgent need for service delivery.

## **CONCLUSION**

This article has argued that the background music in the EFF's political television advertisements is inherently political music. This fits into the theory of Afrocentricity that emphasises the centrality of black people rather than the peripheral location.

By means of the tenets of Afrocentricity, namely, cosmology, epistemology, axiology and aesthetics (Asante, 1990), this paper revealed that the EFF background music employed different rhetorical techniques such as political metaphor, pronouns, South African native languages of isiXhosa and isiZulu, musical composition that identifies with black people and the South African historical account. In the spirit of "Nommo", the rhetorical techniques of Afrocentricity are inherently ideological. They are used primarily to legitimise and/or delegitimise a particular political discourse. The foregoing analysis revealed that the EFF used the Afrocentric rhetoric primarily to delegitimise the ANC-led government. Although the above analysis revealed the use of genres of protest and unity in political music, none of the Afrocentric rhetoric used the terrestrial praise in political music.



## REFERENCES

- Adebayo, J.O. (2017). "Vote not Fight": Examining music's role in fostering non-violent elections in Nigeria. *African Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 17(1): 55-77.
- Adeleke, T. (2009). *The case against Afrocentrism*. Jackson, M.S.: University Press of Mississippi.
- Allen, L. (2004). Music and politics in Africa. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 30(2): 1-19.
- Amin, S. (1988). *Eurocentrism*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Ani, M. (1994). *Yurugu: An African-Centered Critique of European Cultural Thought and Behaviour*. Baltimore: African World Books.
- Aiririguzoh, S.A. (2019). Music, political messaging and Nigeria's 2015 presidential election, in Onyebadi, U.T. (ed.), *Music and messaging in the African political arena*. Chocolate: IGI Global, pp.261-282.
- Asante, M.K. (2009). *Afrocentricity* (online). Available from: <http://www.asante.net/articles/1/afrocentricity>
- Asante, M.K. (2002). Intellectual dislocation: Applying analytical Afrocentricity to narratives of identity. *The Howard Journal of Communication*, 13: 97-110.
- Asante, M.K. (1990). *Kemet, Afrocentricity and knowledge*. Trenton, N.J.; Africa World Press.
- Asante, M.K. (1988). *Afrocentricity*. Trenton, N.J.; Africa World Press.
- Asante, M.K. (1987). *The Afrocentric idea*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Asante, M.K. (1980). *The Afrocentricity: The theory of social change*. New York: Amulefi Press.
- Bates, B, Lawrence, W.Y. & Cervenka, M. (2008). Redrawing Afrocentricism: Visual Nommo. George H. Ben Johnson's editorial cartoons. *The Howard Journal of Communications*, 19(3): 277-296.
- Bennet, T.W. & Strug, J. (2013). *Introduction to International Law*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Chawane, M. (2016). The development of Afrocentricity: A historical survey. *Yesterday & Today*. Available from: <http://www.sashtw.org.za/index2.htm>.
- Christiansen, P. (2020). From the subliminal to the ridiculing. How US campaign ads use music to evoke four basic and two compound emotions, in Deaville, J., Tan, S.L. & Rodman, R. (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Advertising*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 625-43.
- Cloete, J.N. (1997). *South African Municipal Government and Administration*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Cloete, J.N. (1988). *Central, Regional and Local Government Institutions of South Africa*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Collins, P.H. (2006). *From Black Power to Hip Hop: Racism, Nationalism and Feminism*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Coplan, D. (1985). *In Township Tonight! South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre*. Johannesburg: Jacana.
- Cowell, A. (1986). State of emergency imposed throughout South Africa: More than 1 000 rounded up. *The New York Times*. 3 June. Available from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1986/06/13/world/state-of-emergency-imposed-throughout-south-africa-more-than-1000-rounded-up.html>.
- Davey, D. (2020). Dodging the sjambok: How musicians got around apartheid's laws. *The Mail & Guardian*, 11 April. Available from: <https://mg.co.za/article/2020-04-11-dodging-the-sjambok-how-musicians-got-around-apartheids-laws/>.
- Dontsa, L. (1990). *Contemporary Political Performing Arts in South Africa*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. London. University of London.
- Everatt, D. (2016). The era of ineluctability? Post-apartheid South Africa after 20 years of democratic elections. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 42(1): 49-64.
- Felix, J. (2021). ANC suffers huge blows in two Mpumalanga municipalities beset by corruption, service delivery failure. *News24*. 3 November. Available from: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/anc-suffers-huge-blows-in-two-mpumalanga-municipalities-beset-by-corruption-service-delivery-failure-20211103>
- Gerber, J. (2021). National Assembly fails to pass constitutional amendment to allow land expropriation without compensation. *News24*. 7 December. Available from: <https://www.news24.com/news24/southafrica/news/breaking-national-assembly-fails-to-pass-constitutional-amendment-to-allow-land-expropriation-without-compensation-20211207>
- Hubbard, G.T. & Crawford, E. (2008). Music in political advertisements: Music to the ears or background noise? A study of music's influence on message-relevant thinking. *Journal of Radio & Audio Media*, 15(2): 167-181.
- Hyatt, S. (2016). South Africa's housing crisis: A remnant of apartheid. *Aljazeera*. 11 October. Available from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2016/10/11/south-africas-housing-crisis-a-remnant-of-apartheid>.
- Joyce, J.A. (2005). *Black Studies as Human Studies: Critical essays and interviews*. New York: State University of New York Press.
- Kanyane, M. (2021). Factions and factionalism in South African party politics-appraising (de)merits. *Politikon South African Journal of Political Studies*, 48(3): 1-17.
- Karenga, M. (2002). *Introduction to Black Studies*. Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press.
- Lannegrem, O. & Ito, H. (2017). The end of the ANC era: An analysis of corruption and inequality in South Africa. *Journal of Politics and Law*, 10(4): 55-59.
- Luke, L.G. (2015). Challenges confronting South Africa: Land Reform. 9 April. *Independent Strategic Analysis of Australia Global Interest*. Available from: <https://www.futuredirections.org.au/publication/challenges-confronting-south-africa-land-reform/>.
- Macpherson, D. (2020). South Africa requires a different vision than the ANC's. *The Mail & Guardian*. 15 November. Available from: <https://mg.co.za/opinion/2020-10-15-south-africa-requires-a-different-vision-than-the-ancs/>.
- Mambwe, E. (2019). 'The discursive role of music in African elections: A perspective from Zambia' in Onyebadi, U.T. (ed.) *Music and Messaging in the African Political Arena*. Chocolate: IGI Global, pp. 166-184.
- Masungwini, N. (2021). EFF blames the ANC for failure to pass expropriation without compensation bill. *City Press*. 07 December. Available from: <https://www.news24.com/citypress/politics/eff-blames-anc-for-failure-to-pass-expropriation-without-compensation-bill-20211207>.
- Mavuso, B. (2021). Service delivery improvement vital to economic growth. *Moneyweb*. 2 November. Available from: <https://www.moneyweb.co.za/news/south-africa/service-delivery-improvement-vital-to-economic-growth-mavuso/>.
- Mbembe, J.A. (2001). *On the postcolony*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.
- Mbete, S. (2015). The Economic Freedom Fighters: South Africa's turn towards populism? *Journal of African Elections*, 14(1): 35-59.
- Merten, M. (2018). Parliament: Historic land expropriation agreement reached amid South Africa's changing politics. *Daily Maverick*. 27 February. Available from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-02-27-parliament-historic-land-expropriation-agreement-reached-amid-south-africas-changing-politics/>.
- Mhaka, T. (2021). South Africa's unrest and the ANC's many failings. *Aljazeera*. 18 July. Available from: <https://www.aljazeera.com/opinions/2021/7/18/south-africas-unrest-and-the-ancs-many-failings>.
- Midgley, P. (2007). Pariahs in the land of their birth: Sol Plaatje and Frederick Douglass in the search for identity. Safundi:

- The Journal of South African and American Studies* 2(2): 1-18.
- Mosala, S.J., Venter, J.C.M. & Bain, E.G. (2017). South Africa's Economic Transformation since 1994: What influence has the National Democratic Revolution (NDR) had? *The Review of Black Political Economy*, 44(3-4): 327-340.
- Mubangizi, J. (2020). Corruption in SA: The politics, the law and all the shenanigans in between. *Citypress*. 7 October. Available from: <https://www.news24.com/citypress/voices/corruption-in-sa-the-politics-the-law-and-all-the-shenanigans-in-between-20201007>.
- Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. (2015). Decoloniality as the future of Africa. *History Compass*, 13(10): 485-496.
- Neves, J. (2021). Changing Constitution to allow land expropriation is "dangerous" in face of Covid-19. 1 April. *BizNews*. Available from: <https://www.biznews.com/thought-leaders/2021/04/01/land-expropriation-amendment-bill>.
- Ngubane, M.B. (2005). *An Evaluation of Service Delivery at Ndongakusuka Local Municipality*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. KwaDlangezwa. University of Zululand.
- Ntsebeza, D.B. (2004). 'Reconciliation, reparation and reconstruction in post-1994 South Africa: What role for land?'; in Duxtader, E. & Vicencio, C.V. (eds.), *To repair the irreparable: Reparation and reconstruction in South Africa*. Cape Town: David Phillip, pp. 101-117.
- Nyairo, J. & Ogude, J. (2005). Popular music, popular politics: *Unbwogable* and the idioms of freedom in Kenyan popular music. *African Affairs*, 104 (415): 225-249.
- Obono, K. (2020). An analysis of the 2011 and 2015 electoral music of select presidential candidates in Nigeria. *Ibadan Journal of Humanistic Studies*, 30(1): 1-23.
- Okeke, R.C. (2019). Politics, music and social mobilization in Africa: The Nigeria narrative and extent tendencies. *International Letters of Social and Humanistic Science*, 86: 28-41.
- Omenya, G.O. (2019). Music, riddles and proverbs in Kenya's presidential elections: Raila Odinga's oratory style and the 2017 general election. *The East African Review*, 53: 1-17.
- Onyebadi, U.T. (2019). 'It isn't all about "authority": Deconstructing Fela Anikulapo-Kuti's political messaging against "follow-follow" citizenry'; in Onyebadi, U.T. (ed.) *Music and Messaging in the African Political Arena*. Chocolate: IGI Global, pp. 22-44.
- Onyebadi, U.T. (2018). Political messages in African music: Assessing Fela Anikulapo-Kuti, Lucky Dube and Alpha Blondy. *Humanities*, 7: 1-19.
- Osiebe, G.V. (2016). *Political music genre in postcolonial Nigeria, 1960-2013*. Ph.D Thesis. Birmingham: University of Birmingham.
- Patch, J. (2020). As head on the changing musical language of presidential campaign ads, in Deaville, J., Tan, S.L. & Rodman, R. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Advertising*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 604-23.
- Schlemmer, E.C. (2016). An overview of South Africa's bilateral investment treaties and investment policy. *ICSID Review-Foreign Investment Law Journal*, 31(1): 167-193.
- Scoggin, L. (2021). Music and sound design a propaganda in Hell Bent for Election, in Deaville, J., Tan, S.L. & Rodman, R. (eds.). *The Oxford Handbook of Music and Advertising*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 590-603.
- Seekings, J. (2021). (Re) formulating the social question in post-apartheid South Africa: Zola Skweyiya, dignity, development and the welfare state, in Leisering, L. (ed). *One Hundred Years of Social Protection: The changing social question in Brazil, India, China and South Africa*. Bremen: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 20-35.
- Seti, V. 2019. On Blackness: The role and positionality of black public intellectuals in post-94 South Africa. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- Soko, M. & Qobo, M. (2018). SA's cancellation of bilateral investment treaties – strategic or hostile. *Financial 24*. 28 September. Available from: <https://www.news24.com/fin24/opinion/sas-cancellation-of-bilateral-investment-treaties-strategic-or-hostile-20180928-3>.
- Street, J. (2012). *Music and politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Swilling, M. (1987). The United Democratic Front and township revolt. *Work in Progress*. Available from: <https://markswilling.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/UNITED-DEMOCRATIC-FRONT-AND-TOWNSHIP-REVOLT>.
- Thompson, L. (2014). *A history of South Africa*. London: Yale University Press.
- Van Niekerk, R. & Padayachee, V. (2021). The rise and fall of a social democratic economic and social policy alternative in the ANC (1990-1996). *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 39(2): 230-245.
- Vidojević, J. & Chipkin, I. (2021). The gendered character of welfare: reconsidering vulnerability and violence in South Africa. *Social Dynamics: A Journal of African Studies*, 47(3): 472-487.
- Wadesanga, N., Mhaka, C., Chokoma, T. & Wadesango, V.W. (2018). Causes of poor service delivery and the feasibility of outsourcing to improve service in local authorities. *Journal of Economics and Behavioural Studies*, 10(2): 188-198.
- Walker, C.E. (2001). *We can't go home again: An argument about Afrocentrism*. San Francisco: Oxford University Press.
- Woodson, C.G. (1990). *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
- Workman, K. (2020). Our education system is broken, and unless we fix it all else is doomed. *Daily Maverick*. Available from: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2020-11-26-our-education-system-is-broken-and-unless-we-fix-it-all-else-is-doomed/>.
- Zwane, T. (2021). Municipal finances in state of crisis. *Citypress*. 31 October. Available from: <https://www.news24.com/citypress/business/municipal-finances-in-state-of-crisis-20211031>.