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CHAPTER 15

‘My space trips from Chimoio’: Notes about space and temporality in sampling

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Abstract: This paper aims to think about sampling, space, and temporality, starting from the metaphor of beat making as a space journey. The notion came up during an interview the authors conducted in Chimoio, a city also known as Vila Perygoza, which is a vibrant city of Hip Hop in central Mozambique’s hinterland, less than 100km from the Zimbabwean border and 192km from Beira, another city of Hip Hop. With a nickname that literally means ‘a dangerous village’, it has a distinct sound in the Mozambican Hip Hop movement. While producers in Chimoio as much as anywhere else are sampling elements from all continents, particularly diasporic expressions of jazz, funk, progressive rock, and soul, some artists have preference in sampling local and regional music, to create fragments of music to use in the process of beat making, thus paying tribute towards the music from the hinterland and lands by the Indian Ocean. The method of research is listening to the local Hip Hop beats and related music, reflecting and drawing from our Hip Hop activities and experiences, particularly Milton Conqui’s sampling as well as learning from other local producers; and thus centering artists’ point of view aligned to hiphopography. Because listening is a highly personal state of being and acting, essential also in beat making, this paper is as much about Hip Hop’s classical quests about ‘who I am’ and ‘where I am’ as it is an ambitious academic quest about sampling.

Keywords: Sampling, Chimoio, Space, Time, Memory, Listening

1. Introduction

This paper aims to think with sampling, space, and temporality in a hiphopographic manner, starting from the metaphor of beat making as a space journey. Other two common but very useful metaphors we rely on in this chapter for different phases and aspects of sample-based Hip Hop music production are ‘digging’ and an ‘ocean of music’. Chimoio producer² and rapper Milton Conqui aka IMBLGK (hereafter: Imbelogik) used all three metaphors in the interview the authors conducted in Chimoio.³ These metaphors function as our temporal and spatial map to understanding the art of sampling.

¹ Milton Conqui and Janne Rantala contributed equally to this chapter.

² We mean here with ‘Hip Hop producer’ beat makers who are also involved on the tracks’ and sometimes albums’ final shaping, to different extents. All of the producers discussed here are both composers (beat makers) and contribute shaping the final product after recording vocals. Most of them are rappers as well.

³ Interview with Imbelogik conducted by Janne Rantala, 18 July 2018, Chimoio.

The method of research used for this chapter is listening to the local Hip Hop beats, rap music and original records over the regions, reflecting and drawing from our Hip Hop activities and experiences, particularly Conqui's (Imbelogik) own sampling methods as well as learning from other local producers. In this way we are centering artists' (and music fans') points of view aligned to the articulations of hiphopography. Instead of the term 'deep listening' adopted in sound studies, designating reconsiderations of meanings, social experience, relationalities, power and other relevant social phenomena through sound (Bull and Back 2016), we prefer to adopt the Hip Hop vernacular concept 'listening', which is a word used by music listeners, scholars and producers alike. As both action and sonic experience, listening is universal as much as it is personal and it has many forms from deep to superficial.

Because listening is a highly personal state of being and acting, which is also essential in beat making, this paper is methodologically as much about Hip Hop's quest of self-knowledge as it is an ambitious academic endeavour to understand sampling. The methodology we used was based on auto-reflective listening with biographic and auto-biographic tunes, described by emic metaphors rather than academic jargon, resonating perfectly with articulations and adaptations of hiphopography (e.g. Alim 2006a). Aside from relying on emic metaphors, we also aim to reflect on our methodological choices of studying sampling in the context of our personal involvement in Hip Hop culture. The authors' mindnotes and fieldnotes written in first person hopefully reveal enough of our listening subjectivity.

We will use listening to the music of Chimoio producers as the main method to understand expressions of temporalities and space in sampling; this method will be applied in a hiphopographic manner, simultaneously practicing academic research and Hip Hop's own intellectual work as postcolonial thinking. The music we consider in this chapter comprises instrumentals composed purely for listening or to be further 'married' with rap lyrics. With this methodology we examine how Chimoio producers play with space and temporality in their sample-based instrumentals.

The chapter starts by presenting Chimoio producers' emic concepts they use to designate different layers of sampling and listening, and then continues by describing listening to sample-based Hip Hop, where we explore the concept of sampling and describe how Chimoio producers understand sample-based productions. Then, the chapter examines music from Mozambeats, a beat tape by Chimoio producers focusing on sampling of Mozambican traditional and popular music. The chapter further explores expressions of Pan-Africanist and Afrocentric ideals in Chimoio producers' practice of sampling records from Chimoio's immediate region beyond the national borders and from the rest of the continent. The chapter then examines the sounds of Indian Ocean and Arabic Sounds that inspire Chimoio producers. The three main analysis sections are accompanied with the two authors' notes, which describe listening in first person, both from producer's (Conqui) as well as music fan's (Rantala) points of view. In conclusions, we show how our auto-reflective listening to Chimoio sample-based beats could help with understanding expressions of space and temporality in Hip Hop sound and thereby further develop hiphopographic methods.

2. From space trips to the sea of music

In this chapter, we draw on Chimoio producers' own poetic and sensory ways to describe beat making as a practice and a sonic experience. The sentiment of naming the tools for music production as "spaceships", for instance, is common for Chimoio producers for beatmaking feels as if one is gravitating to space in the moment of finding the right song to sample, making the right chops, and using different elements from different older songs to

compose new ones. In Mozambique, visual editing tools became common around 2002-2004, but space trips have belonged to African and diasporic imagination long before those applications became available. From Mestre Pastinhas's Capoeira Angola *ladainha* in the late 1960s⁴ to Parliament's often sampled Afrofuturistic funk album *Mothership Connection*⁵ (see Chang 2009) and versions of Michael Jackson's 'moonwalk' in rural Mozambique (Israel 2014). The journey into the unknown in beat making is what resembles conducting a spaceship. During the process of beat making, producers barely have in mind exactly what they expect from the final product, since every step of the process unveils an element of surprise. The beat maker has to constantly make instant decisions that fit the taste to shape the beat as it is being produced. This metaphor of the space journey and practice have strong links to memory and pasts, as well as futures, a still unknown destiny of space travel and its technology (see also, Morgado, this volume).

Searching for samples, traditionally known as *crate digging*, the second metaphor we discuss, is also a future oriented practice despite the fact that it is a kind of archival and archaeological work (see also Hahn, this volume), heading towards the future essentially through past fragments and past materiality. Many contemporary producers are now digging in the internet's sample archives and streaming services but vinyl still has some cultural value inherited from early turntable DJing, one of Hip Hop's classic four elements, and early Hip Hop production. In Chimoio, Imbelogik is possibly the only producer who samples also from his vinyl collection but also other producers are digging, although from different source material. Given this, the creative process behind sample-based music production of Chimoio producers can be comprised into two moments, the search for source material and the act of composition also roughly corresponding to two of our metaphors: digging and space trip.

The third metaphor for music production and listening is diving into an ocean of music, *mar de música*. In Chimoio, beat making involves an ocean of African music, where one can swim, dive or sail with a strong feeling of the southern African music waters. The influence of Chimurenga music from Zimbabwe (meaning 'uprising' in Shona), for instance, is a trademark of the beats produced by Chimoio beat makers as well as the horns and guitar riffs from Marrabenta music largely played in the south of Mozambique. Indigenous instruments such as timbila and mbira are sampled alongside 'western' and synthetic instruments to produce unique soundscapes. The salty waters of the ocean of music thus have their sources as much in the hinterlands as on the coasts and overseas.

Nostalgic feelings stimulate Chimoio beat makers to dive into popular music from former Portuguese colonies in Atlantic Africa that was very popular in Mozambique during the 1990s up until the 2000s and is still widely broadcast for instance via Portuguese broadcasting company's RDP África. Digging for the musical sonorities from former Portuguese colonies turns out to be an endless search for identity for African makers of Hip Hop, whereby the fragments and elements of local and regional music help craft the aesthetic and authenticity of the beats. Indian Ocean music flows have risen to the easternmost parts of the continent for as long and far into the hinterland that producers don't necessarily even recognise these influences, which might be heard more easily with ears that have grown up and were tuned outside the region. More than with the last millennium these musical flows

⁴ 'Eu Já Vivo Enjoado' (Ladainha) in Mestre Pastinha e Sua Academia. 1991. *Capoeira Angola* (LP). Philips, 1969.

⁵ Parliament, *Mothership Connection* (LP Casablanca, 1976.)

have been associated with Islamic worlds in many genres, for instance in Tanzanian Taarab (Askew 2002) or Mozambican Tufo.

3. Listening to sample-based Hip Hop

The method of sampling involves choosing a recording, cutting a section from it and placing it into a new composition. This practice is very common in the process of Hip Hop music production (Champaneri 2013). The practice of sampling is common among Mozambican Hip Hop producers, who were influenced by songs that marked the footprints of the genre in terms of music production. Thus, Mozambican Hip Hop producers incorporate in their beats elements of jazz, funk, progressive rock, electronic music and soul, creating a vibe to their productions close to the ones from their predecessors in the United States (legendary producers such as Pete Rock, Large Professor, the RZA or Dr Dre). However, in Chimoio, some artists have a huge preference for sampling local and regional songs as a way to maintain their identities audible in the instrumentals they produce.

Sampling has been at times discussed in Hip Hop scholarship (e.g. Shusterman 2004: 460-463, Haupt 2008: 66-99, Schloss 2004). While a lot of discussion has focused on issues such as legal aspects (Smith 2008) or creativity and technological empowerment (Moten 2017: 147-151; Watkins 2004), some of the authors have also paid attention to the central themes that we aim to develop in this chapter: temporality and space (e.g. Chang 2009, De La Barre 2019). Our special contribution to these discussions is, firstly, to give an overall description of the art of sampling in this under-researched area. Secondly, we reflect on the topic from the point of view of our own involvement in Mozambican and international hip hop. Thus, we are conducting this study with the ethos of hiphopography, which intends to rehumanise the artists rather than observe them 'objectively'. Following Spady, hiphopography is understood by Alim (2006b: 11-12) as Hip Hop cultural studies that can humanise the culture itself. Our way to practice hiphopography is to listen to beats and songs aiming to do it due to the highly personal level of perceiving and interpreting the music in case. In other words, rather than offering conventional musicological analysis of our materials, we discussed how we heard the beats; rather than prioritising thematic interviews, we conversed about our listening. This kind of (inter)personal and multi-layered listening and swimming in the ocean of music, which we believe is a part of any serious research on sampling, is usually neither reflected on nor made explicit in Hip Hop scholarship.

The authors of this chapter are engaged with Mozambican Hip Hop communities different ways. Milton Conqui aka Imbelogik is a Chimoio rapper and Hip Hop producer, specialised in producing sample-based Hip Hop instrumentals, sampling musical fragments in different mediums and all over the world but with preference for vinyl records released in Mozambique and surrounding regions. Janne Rantala is a Maputo-based Finnish-Mozambican scholar, who has been researching Mozambican Hip Hop since 2010. He is a member of the intercontinental Hip Hop collective Interligados, whose principal producer, Az Pro, is from Chimoio. The first rap groups Rantala remembers were Public Enemy, Run DMC and A Tribe Called Quest, and he heard the first Mozambican songs probably in the early 1990s on CDs borrowed from a world music/folk section of a Finnish municipal library. The first rap groups/artists that Imbelogik started listening to were MC Hammer and Kris Kross, and growing up in Chimoio, he always listened to Mozambican music and music from other former Portugal colonies. He started as a rapper in 1998 and started to produce in 2004. He is a member of the rap group III Brigada and the collective of local producers SoulNoridade Nativa. Consequently, our perspectives of analysing beats and original songs,

especially those in which we have been directly or indirectly involved, are not only academic but also personal.

The beats that will be analysed in this chapter will show how producers in Chimoio nourish creativity. Also, creativity is seen as the value that is often evoked as a merit of moral excellence within the beat-making scene (Vályi 2010). Creativity is presented as one of the foundational moral values underlying the ethics of sample-based Hip Hop production. Creativity is culturally valued as originality in terms of sampled material, innovation and transformative use of already available elements among producers (Schloss 2004).

While producers in Chimoio as much as anywhere else are sampling elements from all continents, particularly diasporic expressions of jazz, funk, progressive rock, and soul, some artists have a preference for sampling local and regional music, thus paying tribute towards the hinterland and Indian Ocean music worlds. Tributes to shared African musical heritage in accordance with Pan-Africanist thinking find a form in samplings of music from other parts of the continent, from the Cape to Cairo and from the Indian Ocean towards the Atlantic and from the African diaspora. Sources of their instrumentals range from traditional genres and instruments to, for instance, African Jazz, Passada, Marrabenta and Chimurenga. It's noteworthy that these Chimoio producers, while exceptionally interested in sampling local and regional records, are not the only ones who practice it in Mozambique and beyond. Expressing one's often multiple roots can be considered a part of Hip Hop's generic quest of 'who am I?', 'where am I?' and 'where am I going?', as linked to Hip Hop's fifth element, knowledge of self (see Rico Pabón in Rollefson 2018: 185-187). With 'roots' we refer to Mitchell's (2001) idea of Hip Hop's *another root* anywhere on the planet rather than any one root, such as a local culture. These multiple roots are like a map or a rhizome in which any point "can be connected to anything other, and must be" (Deleuze & Guattari 1987: 7). This approach celebrates the rhizome-like multiplicity of Hip Hop already in its first roots in the Bronx.

Although they make music, Chimoio producers are not musicians in the conventional sense of the term, since most of them do not play any instruments and have no skills with live instrumentation. Nevertheless, though there are other musical skills involved with Hip Hop music production, such as an understanding of harmony, melody, and rhythm, one of the most innovative aspects is the process of sampling (Schloss 2004). Hearing and listening are also mentioned as producers' skills, requiring sensibility to the origins of sounds among other qualities (Watkins 2021). The way how sample-based music requires musicality is that it uses sounds instrumentally, rather than using instruments to make sounds (V. Chang 2009). With sampling, sound marks the beginning of the creative process, and it is treated as raw material, whereas instrument-based music sound is considered the end of the process of music production (ibid.). Thus, for these producers being able to play an instrument is not as important as the inspiration that a sampled sound might give them to foster their creativity in the producing process. It is also noteworthy when discussing their musicianship that many of these producers are rappers as well, and most of them were rappers first.

These producers understand sample-based beats as the pure form of the beat making art that involves digging for samples, flipping the records, chopping and layering snippets and through these practises creating a beat. Hip Hop producers often see their work within the context of a valued aesthetic tradition, one that they are not anxious to uproot (Schloss 2004). In other words, the use of sampling is clearly the aesthetic preference of most producers, and this preference not only applies to the act of sampling, but also to the sound of sampling.

Schloss (2004) adds that in a broader sense, the fact that this preference exists at all reflects the purism of the Hip Hop producers' community.

Another aspect that needs to be understood for the purposes of this chapter is what type of nostalgia sampling can possibly represent. Nostalgia is often taken as a somewhat reactionary attitude towards social change with wishes to return to past golden ages. De La Barre (2019) suggests that there are two types of nostalgia in Lisbon's musical soundscape that he describes: the first is a nostalgia celebrating imagined Lusophone ecumene in a 'multicultural' dance floor predominantly with Kuduro rhythms, which he calls amnesic nostalgia. Second, which is more prevalent in underground rap coming from the city's outskirts, is a progressive nostalgia that also evokes sad memories. Rantala (2016), analysing the sampling of president Samora Machel's voice in Maputo rap among other nostalgic invocations, demonstrates that these invocations are not always glorifying but can also raise ambiguous memories. We therefore suggest that Chimoio producers' nostalgia is of a progressive nature, particularly evoking inter-generational memories. In other words, it is nostalgia, which does not arise from one's roots only but from rhizomatic linkages to multiple directions (Chang 2009).

In what follows, we invite you to our hiphopographic listening to the beats, tracks and original songs referenced in the table below and analyse the associations to space and time and memories this music evoked in us. Beats can be listened to in <https://www.ucc.ie/en/cipher/resources/outputs/myspacetrips/>, where we have archived all the media to go along with this chapter.

Table 1: Discography of the discussed music

The Beat	Region(s) of reference	Original record of the main sample
'Onanaria', produced by MD Akas, in <i>Soulnoridade Nativa: Mozambeats</i> (beat tape), 2017	Nampula/ Indian Ocean	'Masikini' (a song) in Eyuphuru: <i>Yellela</i> (album), 2001
'Moza Woza', produced by IMBLGK, in <i>Mozambeats</i> (beat tape), 2017	Beira; Caribbean	'Minha Terra Mãe' (a song) in XS Zouk: <i>Mozambique In The House</i> (album), 1996
'#HipHopGhorwane', produced by EO, in <i>Soulnoridade Nativa: Mozambeats</i> (beat tape), 2017	Maputo/ Gaza province	'Sathuma' (a song) in Ghorwane: <i>Majurugenta</i> , 1993
'Aprenda com Quem Sabe' (a track), produced by IMBLGK, in III Brigada: <i>Vila Poética</i> (album), 2014	Zimbabwe / 'Mbira Belt'	'Buka Tiende' (a song) in Thomas Mapfumo & the Blacks Unlimited: <i>Hondo</i> (album), 1991
'Tributo à Lokua Kwanza', produced by MD Akas, in <i>Soulnoridade Nativa: Irmandade Sonora</i> (beat tape), 2016	Congo; Caribbean	'Meu Amor' (a song) in Lokua Kanza: 3 (album), 1998
'Os Makakanas do Kau', produced by Dedecco, in <i>Soulnoridade Nativa: Irmandade Sonora</i> (beat tape), 2016	Cabo Verde/ Atlantic	'Gira Sol', (a song) in Bana: <i>Gira Sol</i> (album), 1997

‘Xibubu’ (an unpublished beat), produced by IMBLGK	Inhambane	‘Chibhudhu’ (a song) in Venâncio Mbande Orchestra: <i>Timbila Ta Venâncio</i> (album), 2001
‘O Poder dos Fracos’ (a track), produced by Az Pro, in Interligados: <i>O Poder dos Fracos</i> (album), 2020	Indian Ocean/ Arabic	‘El Bent Elli Sahrana’ (a song), composed by Mustafa Al-Assal and performed by Hanan Mady at the Millennium, 2014
‘Futuro’ (a track), produced by Az Pro, in Interligados: <i>O Poder dos Fracos</i> (album), 2020	Indian Ocean/ Arabic	‘We are the Champions’ (a song), in Queen: <i>News of the World</i> (album), 1977

4. Mozambeats

The various musical traditions that exist in Mozambique are to some extent related to each other, and they share common characteristics of style and instrumentation. Therefore, just as the languages differ in different parts of Mozambique, which according to most linguists has more than 20 languages (Ngunga 2015: 51–57), so does the local music and its specific varieties, which can often be heard in the country’s rural and urban soundscapes. The cultural evolution of the various social formations, which were in interaction, had internal factors that determined their progress as well as external ones that influenced the direction of their development. These factors influenced how the music was shaped to what we now consider Mozambican traditional and popular music, and consequently, through sampling, also shaped the music made by Chimoio Hip Hop producers.

Therefore, when listening to the music of the northern coastal part of Mozambique, we find influences of Arab sonics, for instance, the singing in Tufo dance that is largely practised in Nampula and Cabo Delgado contains chants of Arab origins, and parts of these songs are incorporated in the beats produced by Hip Hop beat makers. On the other hand, it is possible to hear similarities between Zimbabwean popular music with the ones from the central region of Mozambique, and these can be noticed between Chimurenga music (Zimbabwean popular music inspired by the liberation of the country) and songs played by artists from Manica and Sofala provinces in Mozambique. These similarities make the sampled songs very relatable for the producers, making the beat-making process more intuitive to some extent. In the southern region of Mozambique, Marrabenta evolved as a combination of western harmonies and post-World War II ballroom dances, Afro Caribbean tunes and local African rhythms and dance movements. Today we hear Marrabenta being sampled to shape some of the beats that will be analysed here.

Inspired by the diversity of Mozambican traditional and popular music, a beat tape was produced in Chimoio to honour Mozambican music and its artists. *Mozambeats* (2017) is the beat tape that emerged from the diversity of Mozambique’s traditional and popular music, and it was compiled by a group of beat makers from Chimoio named Soul noridade Nativa. The group comprises AZ Pro, Serenga, Africano, IMBLGK, MD Akas, Iv Pro, Babilônico Prod, EO, and Dedecco. They are all Chimoio natives although some of them reside outside the city of Chimoio. The concept of the beat tape was to pay homage to Mozambican popular music and its musicians, whereby the beat makers had to dig for songs from these artists and create beats inspired by the local sonorities. Thus, a wide range of Mozambican musical genres were sampled from Afro jazz to marrabenta and kizomba from all over the country. Because many local producers have the tendency of sampling American music (like funk, progressive rock and soul from the 1960s up to the 1990s), the purpose of this beat tape was

to incentivise them to explore the vast mosaic of Mozambican music to sample, and become more familiar with the local content, especially with music from the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s.



Figure 1: Artwork from SoulNoridade Nativa's beat tape, designed by Africano who also participated as a producer, with images of rock art painted in the proximity of Manica town. The images are a fragment of a larger painting field, representing (pre)historical narrative itself.

The beat tape involves the effort of all the members of SoulNoridade Nativa, and it contains 17 beats that range from 1990s rap music style, soulful beats, and trap. The variety of sampled songs emphasised a variety of rhythmic styles employed by the artists, and as a result, the beat tape presents a unique sonic characteristic, giving the beats a sense of identity and originality. Usually, cultural identities are not much celebrated in Mozambican Hip Hop production, since most of the instrumentals tend to follow the global tendency of American Hip Hop music aesthetics. Therefore, listening to *Mozambeats* can make one realise that the album has a Mozambican sonic flavour that does not lose the essence of Hip Hop, pushing the music of these Chimoio beat makers to a global pedestal, while preserving the local soundscapes.

In the beat tape *Mozambeats*, a clear example of incorporating Mozambican popular music in beat productions can be heard in the beat produced by MD Akas entitled 'Onanaria' ('Being Angry All the Time', Emakhuva). MD Akas, apart from making music, is a professional in the civil engineering sector, currently working and living in Nampula city. The beat contains samples from a record performed by Eyuphuro entitled 'Masikini', from the album *Yellela* published in 2001. Eyuphuro is a band from Nampula, a city from the North of Mozambique, and the founding members are originally from Ilha de Moçambique, which was the colony's capital for many centuries up until 1898, and one of the cosmopolitan commercial centres of the western Indian Ocean. Eyuphuro's music reflects a blend of musical influences, when listening to it, as the traditional music meets Arabic and Latin styles. MD Akas introduces the song by adding vocals and guitar riffs from the original record, except that the sample is pitched up and chopped in order to build a sequence that is different from the original record. Nine seconds after this brief introduction to the beat, a bass riff drops and the beat starts with a heavy boom bap drum sequence on top of a continuous and sustained bassline that makes the basic components of the song. Over the drums and the bassline, the sample comes in and

out, giving a beautiful flavour for the vocals and guitar riffs and complementing the basic sounds, enriching the song's rhythms and harmonies. To give the beat that special Hip Hop vibe, the producer added some scratches with a vocal phrase, using an effect available in FL Studio that simulates DJ scratching.

Another beat that can be analysed to exemplify the identity and originality of *Mozambeats* is the beat produced by Imbelogik entitled 'Moza Woza'. The beat contains samples from a song performed by XS Zouk entitled 'Minha Terra Mãe' (My Motherland) from the album *Mozambique in the House* published in 1996. XS Zouk is a band from Beira, a city from the Central region of Mozambique, and the band has strong influences of Zouk, a musical genre originating from the French Antillean Islands. In the following mindnote, Conqui recalls in first person how he produced a beat from these ingredients.

In this beat, with the use of an Akai MPC Studio (Figure 2), I made use of the guitar riffs from the original record, a record that brings memories of family confraternization in my teenage years, and pitched it down to have a more laid-back feeling. I chopped the sample and sequenced it in a way that it would evoke familiar patterns from the original record though I kept them sounding distinct from each other. In addition to the sample, I programmed the drums adding an extra hi-hat sample from a sample pack, and the hi-hats gave this sense of movement to the drums ensuring a pleasing swing to it. Another element added to the beat was this simple electronic percussion programmed in two different tones (high and low) and enriched with reverb that complemented the drum sequence giving a mystic tone throughout the drum pattern. The main base of the beat is a heavy melodic bassline. In different parts of the beat, various elements of synthesizers appear just to give a futuristic appeal to the song. Thus, ambient pads, sequenced synth leads and stab chords enriched the beat, adding electronic music characteristics to it.

The beat maker EO flipped a sample from a record performed by Ghorwane entitled 'Sathuma' (meaning 'useful' in Chope) from the album *Majurugenta* released in 1993. The beat, entitled '#HipHopGhorwane', captures the vibrant trumpet sound from the original record that was sequenced in a very catchy way, gaining characteristics of horns typically played in Latin music, making it sound quite different from the original record that belongs to the Marrabenta music genre. In addition to the trumpets, the producer added some heavy and bouncy drums complemented by the thickness of an 808 bassline with flares of synths in some sections of the beat, making it sound futuristic, with an essence of the Drum n' Bass music genre. The beat is very danceable although it does not lose the melancholic feeling of the sampled song. EO is probably the only producer in this group who works with music full time as the main producer for Cypher Studios, a music studio in Maputo.

Listening to the beat tape described in this section is mostly related to Conqui's artist and personal biography and his personal memories since childhood, later memories of producing the tape and creating his own beats to it. Some of the descriptions are very analytic, as he is a producer, but nostalgic feelings are also present. Rantala's listening, which was less present in this section, evoked more recent memories from the last ten years and they are less likely directly related to the original records. These different listenings are hiphopographic, because they also attend Hip Hop's quest for self-knowledge, and its particular way to perceive the music that shapes the culture and the society around us.

5. Sampling Pan-Africanism

The *Mozambeats* beat tape exemplifies how beat makers in Chimoio are influenced by old Mozambican popular music of different genres. But since they are submerged in this ocean of music, and constantly digging for new sounds, they do not limit themselves to the music of Mozambican artists. Producers in Chimoio seek inspiration from popular and traditional music of other parts of Africa, enriching the variation of source materials and ensuring that their sounds are distinct and authentic. These artists dig for different sounds from the music of Zimbabwe, South Africa, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Nigeria, Cape Verde and many other African countries. For instance, in the track ‘Aprenda Com Quem Sabe’ (Learn with Who Knows) performed by III Brigada, produced by Imbelogik, and recorded in 2014, the producer flipped the sample from a record performed by Thomas Mapfumo & The Blacks Unlimited, a Zimbabwean group. The original record entitled ‘Buka Tiende’ (means ‘Wake Up and Let’s Go’ in Shona), was extracted from the album *Hondo* released in 1991 and contains a Chimurenga rhythm characteristic of Thomas Mapfumo’s group, and it is predominantly based on polyrhythmic mbira playing and guitar-based Jiti beats (a style of popular Zimbabwean dance music).

Mbira, also known as “finger piano”, is one of the most popular traditional instruments throughout black Africa with many regional names; among the most common are *sanzhi*, *likembe*, *kalimba*, and mbira (Berliner 1993). In spite of the great variety of instruments, all mbiras have four elements in common (Figure 2): a soundboard, a method of amplifying the sound, usually some device for producing the buzzing quality that characterises mbira music, and a set of keys. In the following mindnote, Conqui describes the transformation of the original record to a beat, which pays tribute to 1990s rap style.

I chopped and sequenced the mbira sample differently from the source sound creating a different loop out of the original sample. Although sequenced differently from the source material, the loop kept the essence of a traditional song, almost evoking the spirits as the unique religious characteristic of the mbira sound. I filled the sample with a delayed trumpet (a very common technique in rap music from the 1990s), and the beat got a swing and groove from a traditional and heavy boom bap drum pattern. A simple rhythmic bassline (that I played on a VST plugin) complements the beat and in some instances a saxophone (also played on a VST plugin) brightens up the beat giving more life to it. In brief, the beat captures a Shona traditional sound characteristic embodied in a traditional and raw hip hop sound from the 1990s, with all of its components: a bassline, a delayed trumpet and a saxophone, encapsulating the simplicity that most of these beats (rap music from the 1990s) have.



Figure 2: Mbira and Imbelogik's other space-ship equipment, the Akai MPC Studio.

In another Soulnoridade Nativa's beat tape entitled *Irmandade Sonora* (Sonic Brotherhood), released in 2016, producer MD Akas gathered inspiration from Congolese music by sampling the record 'Meu Amor' (My Love) performed by Lokua Kanza. The song, extracted from Lokua Kanza's (1998) album entitled 3, had parts of its vocals used as the main sample for the beat entitled 'Tributo à Lokua Kwanza'. These vocal samples complement a strong drum pattern with a heavily sustained bassline under it. The rhythm is softened by a simple saxophone riff that can be heard in some sections of the beat. There is a dreamy feeling attached to the song embellished by repetitive percussive chimes.

Similar to many Mozambican artists, these producers do not limit themselves to one genre only. These artists sample music from Portuguese-speaking African countries (PALOPs), which not only share the same official language but also share common rhythms like Kizomba for example. Being young Mozambicans, most of them were born in the 1980s and grew up in the 1990s, they were in constant contact with music from Angola, Cape-Verde, São-Tomé e Príncipe, and Guiné Bissau. Producers could identify themselves with these records due to the common Portuguese language Mozambique shares with these countries, and up to some extent a common rhythm and sound that is Kizomba or Passada, as it is known in Mozambique. For instance, Dedecco on Soulnoridade Nativa's beat tape, *Irmandade Sonora*, sampled a record performed by Cape Verdean Morna singer Bana entitled 'Gira Sol' (Turns to Sun⁶), from the album with the same name and released in 1997. Dedecco, currently living in Beira City, works full time as a lecturer at Lúrio University, creating music in his spare time. The beat is entitled 'Os Makakanas do Kau' (Fishes of Kau⁷), and the producer made use of the intro of the original record and a vocal part as well. The sample was chopped and sequenced differently from the original loop, although the original melancholic sound can still be perceived. He added a very elaborated drum pattern that gave an interesting groove and swing to the song. Kizomba songs such as 'Gira Sol' are already intended to raise nostalgic feelings of missing home, called *sodade* in creole (and *saudade* in Portuguese). The producer has furthermore played with nostalgic feelings by filtering the sample in some sections of the beat giving it a feeling of listening to the song on

⁶ The title plays with the Portuguese name for the sunflower, *girassol*.

⁷ Kau is a small lake in Chimoio.

the radio, bringing the old memories of listening to RDP África, the radio station that played a lot of these songs and was listened to by these producers in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Both authors became familiar with rap and Hip Hop beats in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but otherwise they have different music biographies. Conqui, whose listening has had a main role in this section, grew up with music from PALOPs while Rantala has become familiar with it later in his life. Nevertheless, in our hiphopographical listening, these sounds recall histories of Pan-Africanism, anti-colonial struggles and postcolonial state that attend Hip Hop's quest of knowing yourself and surrounding society.

6. Indian Ocean and Arabic sounds

Mozambique has a 2500-kilometre long coastline on the Indian Ocean and it has belonged to Indian Ocean trade networks for more than two millennia (e.g. Sheriff 2010). Linguistic and musical cultures, especially on the coast, have constantly been in direct and indirect exchange with other Indian Ocean cultures from Mozambique to Malaysia and Indonesia via such lands and archipelagos as Madagascar, Comorians, Kilwa, Zanzibar, the Arabian Peninsula and the Indian subcontinent. Mozambican music cultures have interacted with this vast maritime network. An example of probable shared genesis in unknown location(s) is between timbila music and Javan gamelan, which both have a similar recognisable equitonic seven-note harmony despite the fact that these places are located at the extreme opposite poles of the ancient maritime network, over 8000 kilometres distance by birds' route (and much more by wooden dhow ships whose routes were following the coastline).⁸

Indian Ocean musical flows are part of the musical mother language of many producers or artists who grew up in Mozambique, and they don't feel them particularly exotic. Imbelogik himself sampled the record of famous timbila musician Venâncio Mbande in his unreleased beat 'Xibubu' referring to an original record 'Chibhudhu' (meaning the festival of timbila in Chope) released in 2001. When Mozambican producers sample timbila they pay tribute to Mozambican music or even the Chope tribal music but they do not probably intend to give a nod to Indian Ocean musical heritage. This *longue durée* belonging to the Indian Ocean world might be the reason that Conqui didn't first hear any specifically 'oriental' or Indian Oceanic in the below discussed instrumental in contrast to Rantala. The following fieldnote from 1st May 2018 describes Rantala's first listening of Az Pro's original instrumental for the track, which later became known as 'O Poder dos Fracos' (Power of the Weak), a song from the group's 2020 debut album (Figure 3).

Themes and elements of the Az Pro beat: cinematic orchestrations, the sound of a helicopter, as if the blades were mowing hay like it was looking for someone who might be hiding in a bush or in the mountains. The beginning expresses power and money and control, an expensive technology that seeks to subjugate, adapt, and control. There's something gloomy and heavy in it, until a sad melody, shattering sounds, cymbals, and a vibrating coil spring express something very fragile. Saxophones, like complaining people treated like animals, lead to the final part, an almost devout male-female duo that reminds me of music from the Middle East to India, maybe from Afghanistan or Iran. It tells of the immense power of sorrow, love and fragility of the human body, which would ultimately win even the greatest powers. I feel that this instrumental could resonate with a general theme concerning the

⁸ Following Jaap Kunst's original evolutionist hypothesis, Jones (1960) assumes that the origins of Chope Timbila's scale must be originating from Indonesia, which these ethnomusicologists considered a more evolved culture, and not the other way-around. It's not, however, necessary to be specialised to African musicology to see that their assumption is rather based on obsolete colonial theory than valid empirical evidence.

*power of the weak, inspired by Victor Turner's concept referring to power of the oppressed, women, minorities and resistance against those who hold political and economic power.*⁹

The producer revealed later that the beat is based on the sample from a musical type of song in Arabic 'El Bent Elli Sahrana' (Girl Stays up Late). The producer has chopped very creatively fragments of this romantic sounding song performed by an Egyptian duo. Listeners can recognise a cinematic start and a timber of some of the orchestrations and short chopped fragments of male and female vocals. However, tempo and order of these sampled fragments are changed and more generic Hip Hop elements such as boom-bap drums and a heavy bass line substitute the Indian tabla-type drums of the original record. In the post-production phase, the producer added samples of Fidel Castro's UN speech to the beginning, and in the middle between two rapping parts. As a part of the Planet Earth Planet Rap (PEPR, figure 3) radio show's Top 10 for four months in 2019 and being broadcast widely also in Latin America, this beat is probably the most internationally known of the instrumentals analysed here.



Figure 3: On the left, artwork from the Interligados' album cover with images of vocalists and five continents where the members are coming from. Artwork by Inspector Desusado, Chimoio (the sixth from the left). On the right, a poster from PEPR, announcing the debut airing of Interligados' song 'O Poder dos Fracos'. Poster by Mikko Kapanen.

Over the course of more than a millennium, nearly the whole Indian Ocean trade area has been exposed to Islamic world culture and especially Arabic merchants have mediated both religious as well as profane cultural ideas back and forth. This interaction has created partially creolized languages such as Swahili, which is a lingua franca for most of Eastern Africa, including northern Mozambique. In the musical field, Islamic world culture can be heard in Taarab, created in Zanzibar in the late 19th century as a mixture of musical heritages of the hinterland and a unique representation of Egyptian court music. Not a very different history of the conjunction of African and Arabic ideas could be told about the less researched Mozambican Tufo, whose influence could be heard in earlier analysed beat 'Onanaria'.

While Az Pro tells that he is not particularly religious, he is from a Muslim family of Indian origins whose arrival from Gujarat and Jaipur to Mozambique dates back to mid-20th

⁹ The beat, which this fieldnote describes, was different to the final one with rapped vocals. One of the biggest differences are the much more chopped and shorter fragments of the original song's vocals.

century. For this reason, he has for sure been more exposed to Islamic world culture and also its artistic expression and music than producers who grew up in non-Muslim families. His musical taste is very diverse, ranging from West Coast G-Funk to Soul, Electronic, singer-songwriters and Rock 'n' Roll but it may also be true that not every Mozambican producer ends up digging (for) Arabic popular music. Arabic samples are of course not exclusive to the Indian Ocean region but they are part of the global Hip Hop tradition.¹⁰ In the United States they may be associated to Hip Hop's common history with diverse forms of African American Islam. In Cape Town rap, sampled prayer calls can express local identity.¹¹ In the following mindnote, Rantala reveals that he first recalled prayer calling in another Interligados track produced by Az Pro entitled 'Futuro' (Future).

In this case the Indian Ocean/ Arabic feeling is not evoked because of the main sample itself, which is from a hardly recognisably chopped 1970s British rock ballad (Queen's 'We Are the Champions').¹² The Indian Oceanic impression largely comes from the track's beginning, which includes Ody's chanting and rapping in Arabic accompanied with small fragments of Freddie Mercury's vocals. The Interligados member Ody is a Palestinian refugee, who grew up in Syria and currently lives in Brazil in exile. In his solo career, he has recorded several songs and tracks with Arabic beats, Hip Hop instrumentals influenced by Arabic musical genres. For my ears, the first lines remind me of prayer calling, which you can hear from Mosques in many Mozambican communities as anywhere in the world with Islamic historical presence and influence.

'Futuro' is an example of the track where references to geographical space are not necessarily evoked in the sample itself but in the final composition where a start with Arabic chanting greatly contributes to the track's overall impression, even if the lyrics of the fragment have really nothing to do with prayer calling. Maybe this type of production follows a logic of sampling in a wider sense where new vocal recordings, acapellas, are integrated to a composition in a similar manner to traces and fragments of earlier recordings? Or maybe it would be better to designate this practice as a creation of a sonic community (Watkins 2004) where diverse sonic elements are used as equal members of the composition? Watkins's concept comes from sampling but it is applicable also to the wider sonic aesthetics of Hip Hop. Sonic communities as communities of sounds have fascinating analogies to communities of people who share sonic heritages and memories from their diverse (sonic) perspectives such as Chimoio producers, artists and their domestic and international audiences with each other's both diverse as well as partially shared music and life histories.

In this sense the two authors hear these beats differently from their different places in and routes to Hip Hop culture. There are also differences in how much and in what forms Islamic world culture, including calls for prayer, is heard in different parts of Mozambique, being more ubiquitous in Maputo and northern Mozambique than in Chimoio. Reflecting these locations and positions and breaking through from them with following space trips of Chimoio Hip Hop production and understanding the histories the sounds bring to them has been our way to practice hiphopographic listening.

¹⁰ Same can be said about sampling indigenous instruments such as mbira, which is not unique to the African 'Mbira belt'.

¹¹ As in YoungstaCPT's (2019) album *3t*. Cape Town: Y?Gen & Nomandla.

¹² A vocalist, Freddie Mercury was born in Zanzibar and grew up in London, and he is from an Indian-Parsi family. Queen has several songs with references to Islam, although not in this song.

7. Conclusions

Chimoio rappers often prefer Chimoio producers' instrumentals because of close distance, shared life history and easy collaboration but their instrumentals are also used in other cities in Mozambique and in other continents. When producers pack their things to the space journey of beat making, they take African music heritage with indigenous instruments such as mbira and timbila, local and global languages, African American music genres and Caribbean rhythms aside with FL Studio, LogicPro X, and Akai MPC Studio; inspiring books, and for instance an incense holder always with a lit Nag Champa incense from India. With these tools they aim to make music of the future, such as their predecessors did.

Chuck D from Public Enemy has often stated that US Hip Hop fans sleep on the rap planet because they only know domestic rap and they don't have a notion how big and powerful Hip Hop has become outside its birth country (e.g. Chuck D 2019). The same is true for many other countries, which mostly know only American rap and their own. For instance, in Finland, where listeners of the Rap Scholar (2017) radio show voted the 100 best rap tracks, there were only American and two Finnish tracks on the list. Following space trips of Chimoio producers and their listeners, however, reveals that at least beyond the mainstream, Hip Hop culture is very vitally global. In the early 1990s, 'Tuga Rap' from the former metropole and 'Brazuca Rap' from Brazil were other roots for Mozambican Rap aside from the US rap, bringing a model of rapping also in Portuguese. Initially Mozambican rappers were rapping to American Hip Hop beats or Mozambican beats, drawing nearly exclusively from North American popular music genres. But in the mid-1990s, the first experiments with Mozambican and PALOP sounds such as Marrabenta and Passada started in Maputo and Beira. As elsewhere, these experiments soon created new commercially oriented hybrid genres (in this case pandza/ dzukuta) which were not always well received among hip hop artists (Cossa 2019). These genres have not been the focus of this chapter. Instead, what we have witnessed here is something different: an impressive number of Hip Hop beats and tracks, even complete beat tapes, sampling Mozambican, African and Indian Ocean music worlds, made in Chimoio, Mozambique. From our hiphopographic southern African perspective, we see no reason to look at African beats and Hip Hop beats as mutually excluding categories because these beats are 100% Hip Hop, 100% African and 100% global (cf. Clark 2018).

Putting aside Chuck D's metaphor about the rap planet (which sounds familiar to those who remember Public Enemy's album *Fear of a Black Planet*) and Chimoio producers space trips, it's easy to note that independently of the specific intention of a language user, Hip Hop metaphors and wisdoms are very dynamic, they tend to travel, transform themselves and constantly expand into other metaphors. A similar type of observation to Chuck D's about Americans not listening to 'foreign' rap was made by Mitchell (2001), but in spite of his argument sustained with statistics on broadcasting and sales at time, it cannot compete with the brilliance of Chuck D's Hip Hop metaphor, which also expresses how silly it fundamentally is to sleep on the noisy rap planet. How silly it would also be to not see that oceans of music, such as languages, have no borders but that they are interlinked by streams, through rivers, through railway lines and ancient trading paths, that every drop of the ocean will be in all other drops of the musical universe. That space trips are not in contradiction of roots, and that digging is almost the same as diving into the ocean of music, except that the digging is connected to solid material such as crates and vinyls, while the ocean is more liquid and fluid. And while digging might be especially a grounded and rooted metaphor for Hip Hop production, in space travels producers and their listeners fly very high into the future.

The beats discussed here drew from diverse sources around the planet with emphasis on African and diasporic sonorities. In both of these roots, sounds of the United States and Caribbean islands, especially the French Antilles, can be heard either directly or indirectly through other African countries such as Congo and PALOPs. Some of these beats gain success globally, but also others have great potential because of their originality and uniqueness and their multiple roots. This is of course very subjective, but perhaps it's worth saying that while writing this chapter we have listened to these nine and other approximately 30 beats continuously without ever becoming tired of them.

Perhaps these instrumentals stand the test of time because even instrumentals without acapellas can tell stories, though these can be difficult to articulate. For instance, southern Africa with a shared history of forming a frontline against final strongholds of colonialism and apartheid is accompanied, for instance, with Zimbabwean revolutionary sounds of Chimurenga, which are culturally close to Chimoio producers' lands. The Pan-African legacy makes these producers pass first cultural and national borders to the south, the west and the north and draw also from Lusophone connections with former Portuguese colonies of Atlantic Africa, with a similarly shared history as the frontline against late colonialism. Indian Ocean connections with pre-Islamic, Arabic and Islamic interactions are often less conscious or taken-for-granted elements of these instrumentals but they are present nevertheless. Indian Ocean maritime networks have brought a continuous exchange of ideas to Mozambique and elsewhere on the eastern coast of Africa; the arrival of Az Pro's grandparents to present-day Mozambique represents a part of a two-millennia long historical continuation in the creolisation of the people, cultures and music. All of these connections make Chimoio beat making at once local, regional, African and global.

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