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## RESEARCH ARTICLE

Section: *Culture, Media & Film***The character of performing masculinities in Gengetone music genre in contemporary Kenyan verbal arts**Ephantus Waiharo Kamuhuro<sup>1</sup>, Justus Kizito Siboe Makokha<sup>2</sup> & Eunice Wanja Kangangi<sup>1</sup><sup>1</sup>Humanities Department, University of Embu, Kenya<sup>2</sup>Department of Literature, Linguistics and Foreign Studies, Kenyatta University, Kenya\*Correspondence: [ekamuhuro245@gmail.com](mailto:ekamuhuro245@gmail.com)**ABSTRACT**

This study examines the character of performing masculinities in Gengetone music, a contemporary Kenyan urban youth genre that has gained cultural visibility through its distinctive linguistic, visual, and performative aesthetics. Guided by Judith Butler's Gender Performativity Theory and Deconstructionist perspectives, the study explores how masculinity is constructed, exaggerated, and negotiated through repeated performances in Gengetone music videos and lyrics. A qualitative research design was adopted, employing multimodal content analysis of six purposively selected songs: *Ting Ting*, *Pesa Ndogo*, *Sipangwingwi*, *Kidungi*, *Usherati* and *Ngumi Mbwegze*. Using a multimodal approach, the study analyzes how lyrics, bodily gestures, costumes, spatial control, and material props interact to produce recognizable masculine identities within urban youth culture. The findings reveal three dominant modes of masculinity: sexual bravado and gender hierarchy, hegemonic masculinity expressed through dominance, toughness, and spatial authority, and rebellious or hedonistic masculinity characterized by defiance, autonomy, pleasure, and resistance to social norms. These performances rely heavily on the Sheng language, exaggerated bodily expression, and symbolic displays of power and materiality. From a deconstructive perspective, the study demonstrates that these performances simultaneously reinforce and destabilize dominant masculine ideals, revealing masculinity as fluid, contingent, and dependent on repetition and audience recognition. The study concludes that Gengetone serves as a dynamic space where urban youth negotiate identity, authority, and social meaning through highly visible, performative constructions of masculinity.

**KEYWORDS:** masculinities, Gengetone, deconstruction and gender performativity**Research Journal in Advanced Humanities**

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## 1.0 Introduction

Masculinity is not a predetermined and natural identity, but a performance created by repetition, cultural anticipation, and social conditions. Based on the notion of gender performativity as developed by Butler, masculine identity is perceived to be an aspect of language, behaviour, and representation that is practiced, and not an inherent phenomenon. Such performances in popular music tend to be exaggerated, including toughness, dominance, and hypersexuality, which serve to perform and communicate socially relatable masculine standards. According to Avery, Ward, Moss, and Uskup (2017), such images are common in rap and hip-hop, where men are often portrayed as competitive, dangerous, and materialistic, which shapes how youth internalize and understand masculine identity. Similarly, Gengetone offers Kenyan youth a cultural arena where masculinity is made aspirational, rebellious, and visually expressive within urban youth culture.

Simultaneously, popular music has been revealed to uphold hegemonic gender patterns and inequalities. According to Chiweshe & Bhatasara (2013), in most cases, music highlights and promotes male dominance and places women in a subordinate and sexualized position, which is also true of Nduku (2020) in popular music in Kenya. Gengetone, however, not only follows the trend but also uses parody, exaggeration, and coded Sheng to reproduce and challenge the dominant gender expectations. According to the deconstructive perspective, such exaggerated performances demonstrate the insecurity of masculine identity because they are based on overstatement, repetition, and display to maintain their meaning. This notion of masculinity is very visible and performative in that young men have to be special and distinct by exaggerating their assertions of power, sexuality, economic ambition, and social dominance, and yet this assertion is not substantiated in a material sense.

In the Kenyan context, music has traditionally been the space where the masculine identities of the urban space are built and performed. Wasike (2013) shows how Genge rap artists employ the terms Sheng and urban imagery to express male experiences, desires, and anxieties within the social environment of Nairobi. Based on this view, the present paper analyses how Gengetone performers engage with different modes of masculinity through visual, linguistic, and sonic means. The study identifies the main trends in the enactment of masculinity by examining the selected songs, namely sexual bravado, street-oriented identity, economic aspiration, rebellious behaviour, and exaggerated self-presentation. Such trends demonstrate how masculinities in youth are created, bargained, and replicated by the young Gengetone culture.

Although past analyses of African popular music and Kenyan music have paid close attention to gender representation and social influence in their respective contexts, little has been done on how masculinities in Gengetone are being crafted through the interplay of language, visual, and embodied performance. This chapter fills this gap by examining how the various meanings of masculinity are performative through Sheng, gesture, and visual symbolism. Through this, it builds on previous literature to provide a more synthesized understanding of masculinity as a dynamic, socially constructed performance in modern urban youth culture.

To guide the analysis, a purposive sample of Gengetone songs—*Ting Ting*, *Pesa Ndogo*, *Sipangwingwi*, *Kidungi*, *Usherati*, and *Ngumi Mbwegze*—was selected based on their popularity, cultural visibility, and relevance within urban youth contexts. The study adopts a multimodal approach, examining how masculinity is constructed through the interaction of lyrics, bodily gestures, costumes, props, and spatial arrangements. The data were analysed thematically by identifying recurring patterns across the performances, including sexual bravado, hegemonic masculinity, and rebellious or hedonistic expressions. Attention was given to repeated and visually prominent features to ensure consistency in interpretation. This approach allows for a systematic analysis of both verbal and visual elements, treating masculinity as a performative and socially constructed phenomenon. The following sections present the key patterns identified in the data, beginning with sexual bravado and gender representation, and progressing to hegemonic, rebellious, and hedonistic forms of masculinity as they emerge through language, visual performance, and embodied practice

### 1.1 Sexual Bravado and Gender Representation.

This is because sexual bravado and gender representation are fundamental to the practice of masculinity in Gengetone music in terms of social norms and the desire of youth. In line with Butler's (1990) Gender Performativity Theory, masculinity is not a natural phenomenon but a performance enacted through socially coded repetition. Men in Gengetone assert dominance, control, and sexual prowess over women, and women

are frequently cast as objects of desire, thereby reinforcing the roles of males and females within the hierarchy (Avery, Ward, Moss, and Uskup, 2017; Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013; Nduku, 2020). The genre offers a medium through which young men can bargain with power, street respectability, and social identity, using hypersexuality, physical demonstrations, speech, and material representations to express status and exert power within youth culture in cities. Masculinity is not only very visible but also culturally intelligible in these performances influenced by local street aesthetics, Sheng language, and digital youth spaces.

*Ngumi Mbwenge* introduces the concepts of masculinity expressed through violence, territoriality, and visual symbolism. The title of the song, “A Crushing Blow,” conveys aggression, and military-style uniforms, thug-like postures, and Sheng-language speech are all designed to enhance a sense of roughness and street power. Men actors take control of physical space and social relations, emerging as dominant characters within city structures. Such a performance is reinforced by repeated movements and postures, which indicate that masculinity is performative and contingent: it must be shown continually to be recognized in society. Risk-taking, resilience, and masculinity, linked to physical and spatial authority in the video, are supported by its setting in slum-like areas and incomplete construction, and the way masculinity is connected to visual and physical dominance makes street-class identity and sexual bravado interdependent (Tsipis, 2024; Mukasa, 2022).

*Ting Ting* is a combination of sexual bravado, parody, and theatricality that introduces a form of masculinity that is both dominant and performative. Male actors indulge in exaggerated sexual movements, onomatopoeic noises, and comical facial expressions to convey virility and be funny at the same time. Both the sound of chains and jewellery create an audible and visual identity of prosperity, power, and street respectability, in contrast to the exposing costumes of female artists.

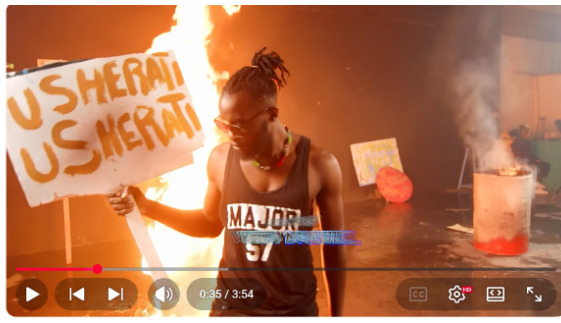


Mbogi Genje - TING TING (Official Music Video)

This opposition supports the idea of subordination of genders: men are embodied with the control, status, and sexual confidence, and women are objects of desire and visual complements. Integrating bodily expression, movement, and material props, *Ting Ting* demonstrates how sexual bravado is performed through various sensory modalities and how masculinity is extremely performative, socially identifiable, and contingent on audience perception (Thieme, 2021; Wanjala & Kebaya, 2016).

The performer depicts unruly masculinity in *Sipangangingwi* through independence, insurmountability, and rejection of social control. The resistance to societal expectations (and those that require discipline, emotional control, or conformity) is expressed through the repeated phrase “*I cannot be controlled.*” Male singers project power through body confidence, hand gestures, and body movements, thereby strengthening a sense of autonomy and rebellion. Simultaneously, this performance is limited by its repetition: to state autonomy, one must go through familiar modes of rebellion to demonstrate that masculine power in Gengetone is made and sustained within the framework of audience approval. The song illustrates how sexual bravado and street credibility are closely linked to performances of autonomy, in which men assert power by protesting regulation while simultaneously enacting their protest in a visible, repetitive manner.

*Usherati* anticipates men’s dominance by dominating the stage and the women performers. Dance, costume, and lyrical presentation sexualize women, whereas men look calm, commanding, and in full clothing, which visually identifies the imbalance of power. Visual aids like placards with words *Usherati* show satirically support the theme of sexual excess and male dominance, and the performativity of masculinity.



USHERATI!! - EXRAY TANIUA FT MEJJA & NDOVU KUU (OFFICIAL VIDEO)



USHERATI!! - EXRAY TANIUA FT MEJJA & NDOVU KUU (OFFICIAL VIDEO)



The male body, gestures, and space positioning act as the primary indicators of power, whereas the movements and exposure of women promote the view of the sexual prowess of men. The video is an illustration of how gender hierarchies are performed in concert with sexual bravado, whereby masculinity is repeatedly reasserted in the process of controlling women, space, and performance.

In addition to visual performance, the lyrics of *Usherati* highlight men's concern with women's sexual agency. Lines such as "*chunga bibi huwezi know, Ogoa ule mtu dem yako anaitanga bro, We hudhani ni bro wanakuchezanga kipro ...Beware of the guy your girl keeps calling 'bro', you think he is...*" show men negotiating masculinity in response to potential threats posed by women. The song portrays men as needing vigilance and control, reinforcing sexual bravado while simultaneously exposing the fragility of male dominance.

*Pesa Ndogo* is full of focus on sexual bravado and social dominance, which is supported by material props and communication with the environment. Roadside alcohol, cash sprays, and informal street locations are all symbols of masculine power, the usage of limited resources into performative representations of status, desirability, and sexual competence. Male actors continue to manipulate these props through gestures, dancing, and interactions with female actors, who are positioned as visual supplements rather than autonomous subjects.



EXRAY TANIUA X MEJJA ~ PESA NDOGO (OFFICIAL MUSIC VIDEO)

Additionally, the lyrics link economic success to sexual prowess. Lines such as "*You're busy chasing girls / We're chasing money / But once you get money, girls will start chasing you / I didn't get money just to be humble — I must be loud about it!*" show how financial performance translates into social and sexual dominance. The lyrics underscore that masculinity is enacted through visible achievements and repeated assertion, complementing the visual emphasis on props and material display.

This interplay of the constructive nature of masculinity based on bodily expression, sexual assertion, and material performance, and femininity based on supporting the male social and sexual dominance is emphasized. The recurring use of props, movement, and style highlights the needless and dependent aspect of masculinity, the idea that sexual prowess is not innate, but is constantly enacted, identified, and confirmed by audiences (Wanjala & Kebaya, 2016; Butler, 1990). Applying gender performativity theory, developed by Butler (1990) through deconstructive analysis, the Gengetone performances demonstrate that masculinity is a constructed and conditional identity rather than an inborn feature. Dominance by males, sexual bravado, and street power are performed repeatedly through bodily gestures, lyrics, visual elements, and materialized resources to produce an image of a consistent masculine identity.

From a Deconstructionist view, these performances can also be seen as exposing the instability and contradictions of masculinity. The repeated displays of male dominance and sexual prowess are based on the use of binary opposites, such as male/female and power/submission, but these aspects are continually shaken by exaggeration, parody, and coded language. The meaning of masculinity is never fixed; it changes based on the interpretation of the audience, the context and performance. This demonstrates that although Gengetone plays with the hegemonic male ideals, it simultaneously challenges and complicates them, concluding that gender identities are fluid, socially negotiated, and dependent on constant performance and recognition.

## 1.2 Hegemonic Masculinity

The Hegemonic masculinity in the Gengetone music mirrors the socially dominant masculinity, which is given authority, is respected, and is idealized by the youth in the urban centres. Hegemonic masculinity, according to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), is the norm against which all other masculinities and femininities are compared, justifying the hegemony of the male in the hierarchy of social relations. This masculinity is practiced by the urban youth culture of Nairobi through a mix of bodily displays, spatial control, material symbols, and performative confidence. Male performers establish their dominance through their lyrics, posture, fashion, props, and command of the performance space. These actions are reiterated and heightened, producing a perception of strength and social elevation that aligns with local street ethics and aspirational ideals.

This is the hegemonic masculinity that is exhibited in the fusion of violence, territoriality, and visual symbolism in *Ngumi Mbwegze*. The song's title, which translates to "a devastating punch," is one indicator of aggression and physical power, primary features of male authority. Toughness, defiance, and control of space in big cities are conveyed through visual symbols such as military-style clothing, vocal and facial expressions, and the Sheng language. This is also reflected in the song "*Kidungi*," in which the male artist is depicted wearing military gear and a gas mask, conveying toughness.



Mbogi Genje - KIDUNGI (Official music video) [SMS 'Skiza 5707914' to

Verbal toughness can be found in the same song *Kidungi*, when the line "*Mi ndo mtambo na nacheza kama Rambo*" (I'm the machine, I play like Rambo) is performed. The performer also enacts the phrase "*Kwa hii ring mtakucall maviding*" by punching himself, as an expression of linguistic bravado turned into a physical performance.



Mbogi Genje - KIDUNGI (Official music video) [SMS 'Skiza 5707914' to

This speech-gesture combination intensifies the act of male ghetto masculinity and serves as an indication of how speech and body language collaborate and reinforce each other to convey dominance, fearlessness, and street credibility. These enactments demonstrate how, in Gengetone, the language is not expressive but performative, actually creating and conveying the hypermasculine identities to the audience. This act shows that dominance is not inherent but a culturally approved system, which is created through overt, performative means that make men the primary participants in societal and peer hierarchies. Meanwhile, the very need for repetition reveals the fragility of such power: masculinity relies on further performance and audience acceptance, and hegemonic ideals are created (Tsipis, 2024; Mukasa, 2022).

*Ting Ting* and *Sipangwingwi* demonstrate that hegemonic masculinity may be combined with assertiveness, play, and theatricality. The male performers in *Ting Ting* employ exaggerated movements, sound symbolism, and comic exaggeration to convey domination while keeping the audience in suspense. The clanging

of chains and jewellery not only signals that the owners are rich and credible on the streets but also draws attention to their dominance of space and peer status. Additionally, the lyrics reinforce hegemonic masculinity by verbally asserting dominance within the local social hierarchy. Lines such as “*Pigwa riat kwa mnoko ni mating ting*” and “*Ndasu wada niwe mating ting*” signal prominence and control, marking the performer as central and authoritative in the scene. These verbal cues complement the visual displays of toughness and group cohesion, demonstrating that masculine authority in Gengetone is performed not only through physical presence and props but also through language, which positions the performer as socially elevated and commanding.

In *Sipangwingwi*, the repeated lyric “*Mi sipangwingwi, kijana ni gwiji*” (I cannot be controlled) functions as a verbal assertion of dominance and social authority, marking the performer as autonomous and formidable within the local street hierarchy. This linguistic display of power is reinforced through visual means in the broad, expansive movements of the dancers, synchronized group formations, and command of space, which convey a sense of cohesion, control, and physical superiority. Together, the lyrics and the visual performance create a multidimensional representation of hegemonic masculinity: men are depicted as independent, defiant, and socially elevated, while their authority is continually affirmed through audience recognition and the repetition of these verbal and bodily acts. The interplay between language and physicality shows that hegemonic masculinity in Gengetone is not simply intrinsic, but it is created through performative strategies that combine assertion through words, through space, and through audience acknowledgement.

In *Pesa Ndogo*, the exhibition and the tools of materiality are the focus of hegemonic masculinity’s performance. Male actors spray money, pour alcohol, and smartly use space to indicate status, social control, and sexual competence. These props enable the performers to transform scant economic resources into powerful signs, demonstrating that it is possible to become a hegemonic man through imagination, performance, and social recognition, even in economically marginalised situations. Female actors are still cast to support male authority and underscore male dominance. The reiteration of gestures, material demonstrations, and performative actions emphasizes that hegemonic masculinity in Gengetone is created, contingent, and theatrical, yet culturally compelling and persuasive.

These examples demonstrate that hegemonic masculinity in Gengetone can be multidimensional and involves the combination of bodily performance, material showcasing, spatial supremacy, and social acknowledgment. It is aspirational and performative, built through repetitive moves that denote authority, toughness, and control. Although they are rooted in local street culture, these performances are shaped by global youth aesthetics, forming a hybridized masculine ideal that is locally readable and socially valid. Significantly, the repetition, exaggeration, and recognition among the audience necessitate that hegemonic masculinity is not an intrinsic or fixed parameter, but rather an activity that is negotiated, stipulated, and confirmed or not within the social and cultural circumstances of the urban youth culture.

### 1.3 Rebellious and Hedonistic Masculinity

Rebellious masculinity in Gengetone is the practice of male identity by subverting, being independent, and going against societal norms. It also focuses on toughness, control, and rule-breaking, in which a man frequently finds himself in conflict with authority and societal norms. Here, masculinity is never discussed as an inherent aspect but as a kind of repetitive acts and acts that are socially identifiable. These behaviours, manifested through language, gestures, and visual displays, can be explained by Judith Butler’s Gender Performativity Theory (1990), which posits that masculine identity is built over time. On the same note, popular music also provides an environment in which these performances are validated and affirmed, shaping the conceptualization of masculinity within youth culture (Avery, Ward, Moss, & Uskup, 2017; Chiweshe & Bhatasara, 2013; Nduku, 2020). Rebellious masculinity is practiced in Gengetone through verbal assertion, physical expression, and symbolic resistance, enabling young men to gain control and visibility in the city.

Spatial control and group performance are among how rebellious masculinity is achieved in *Ting Ting*. The actors seem organized in a jail-like environment, yet they are calm, self-contained, and domineering, suggesting a struggle against institutional authority. The wearing of masks, their synchronized gestures, and controlled movement give a sense of cohesiveness, hardness, and readiness to send them home.



Chains and jewellery also indicate status and street credibility, which adds more authority in the group. The performance does not demonstrate submissiveness to confinement; rather, it reinstates the place as a location of masculine domination. The coded gestures, cage of limited space, and masked faces visually convey resistance, group solidarity, and controlled dominance. Gestures, chains, and masked faces in the performances contribute to a visual toughness and playful display. These acts show that masculinity is a socially constructed and repeated category, enforced by the active force of repetition and audience acceptance, as well as by performative ability (Butler, 1990; Wanjala & Kebaya, 2016).

The most frequent lyric used in *Sipangwingwi* is a repetition of “*mi sipangwingwi, kijana ni gwiji*” (I cannot be controlled) to show language and physical acting of defiant masculinity.



SIPANGWINGWI - EXRAY TANIUA FT TRIO MIO & SSARU (OFFICIAL VIDEO) skiza\_0371221

The linguistic resistance is supported by vigorous, broad movements of dancers who fling their arms and legs in any direction and engage space without limitation. The blend of Sheng language and expressive movement creates a masculinity that is not disciplined and open to independence. The elongated limbs, expansive poses, and movement configurations communicate visually in the drawing, conveying a sense of freedom, defiance, and self-determination. Power does not come from formal systems but from the freedom to act openly and freely in the city setting.

*Kidungi* is more open to rebellious masculinity with militarized imagery and violent performance. Other lyrics, like “*Up Militan amekuja na ki-rifle,*” cast the performer as an object of challenge and domination. This is supported by imagery: a combat jacket, a gas mask, and a forced exit from a narrow area are all signs of impending combat and resistance to power. Verbal aggression is physically performed through bodily movements, such as simulated punches and stern steps. The disciplined, tough, and dominating masculinity built is based on militarized styling and regulated movements in a hostile environment.



Mbogi Genje - KIDUNGI (Official music video) [SMS 'Skiza 5707914' to

The combat uniform, gas mask and punching expressions serve as visual indications of conflict, dominance and militarized personality.

Rebellion is built in *Pesa Ndogo* by negation of conventional social norms of success and masculinity. The lyric “*Unakimbiza madem, tunakimbiza madooh*” (*You chase girls, we chase money*) shifts the emphasis from traditional indicators of masculine approval to economic aspiration in the performers’ own terms. Such gestures, like rubbing fingers to signalize money, as well as roadside performance staging, underline the self-reliance of formal patterns of success. Alcohol consumption, presence of a group, and displaying in front of the audience support a kind of masculinity that does not seek institutional regulation but demands visibility and status.



EXRAY TANIUA X MEJJA ~ PESA NDOGO (OFFICIAL MUSIC VIDEO)

The visual representation of rebellious independence and indulgences masculine performance is through money sprays, alcoholic beverages, and well-coordinated male postures.

In the same song, *Pesa Ndogo*, hedonistic masculinity is seen in the sense of enjoyment of pleasure regardless of financial limitations. The pleasure is described as a planned activity, not an outcome of money, in a lyric that reads, “*hata na pesa ndogo bado nataka sherehe*” (even with little money, I still want to party). This performance disrupts prevailing norms according to which the definition of masculinity is linked to economic effectiveness and moderation. Rather, the pleasure is presented as direct and immediate, and as supporting a sense of autonomy based on lived experience.

These performances, taken together, reveal that rebellious masculinity in Gengetone is created by the ways language, gesture, visual presentation, and symbolic acts of resistance are used. By refusing to conform to standard expectations and redefining success in their own terms, performers claim to be autonomous, in control, and independent. Economic ambition, which is coded in gestures and lyrics, is important in marking masculine power, composure, and alignment with the group, strengthening discipline and social power in the urban space. According to the Gender Performativity Theory (Butler, 1990), such utterances demonstrate that masculinity is not fixed but is created through repetitive, recognizable actions. Sheng wordplay, bodily gestures, and self-naming practices are performative strategies that render masculine identity apparent and socially understandable. These acts stabilize a structure of masculinity based on defiance, control, and credibility in the streets through repetition and audience familiarity.

From a deconstructionist perspective, these performances and lyrics expose the instability inherent in the concept of masculinity. Binary oppositions such as control/submission, independence/dependence, and dominance/pleasure are always being negotiated and disrupted in the songs and visual performances. For example, as the performers declare control and toughness, the same gestures and lyrics underscore the contingent and performative nature of that power and the fact that masculinity is never fixed. Applying Derrida’s concept of “différance,” meaning is deferred, leaving these actions and words open to multiple interpretations, while de Man’s emphasis on the slippiness of language drives home the understanding that audience perception creates the meaning of masculine identity. This way, we can understand that rebellious and hedonistic masculinity in Gengetone is layered, contradictory, and fluid, and thus challenges the notion of a singular, stable masculine ideal.

## 2.0 Conclusin

In relation to the second aim, the results of the current study indicate that, in the case of Gengetone, rebellious and hedonistic masculinity is performed through performances that highlight defiance, autonomy, and pleasure

as the major attributes of male identity. Rebellious masculinity manifests itself through opposition to social rules and authority, as well as traditional demands, through Sheng language, aggressive lyrics, and regulated body movements, which are used to mark independence, toughness, and street credibility. *Ting Ting*, *Sipangwingwi*, and *Kidungi* are among the songs that illustrate how the performers use spatial control, group movements, and militarization to convey dominance, strength, and rebellion. These practices build a socially understandable masculinity that positions young men as self-directed, defiant, and authoritative in the city's youth areas.

At the same time, such performance as hedonistic masculinity predicts pleasure, indulgence, and enjoyment as forms or tactics of autonomy and social differentiation. In the case of *Pesa Ndogo*, dancers will focus on celebration and leisure despite limited economic resources, defining pleasure as the deliberate and convenient manifestation of freedom. Through the songs, physicality, dancing, material props, and group interactions serve as overt markers of this identity of pleasure-seekers. Based on the Gender Performativity Theory proposed by Butler (1990), these repeated acts, occurring linguistically, bodily, and symbolically, demonstrate that masculinity is socially constructed. These recurrent linguistic, bodily, and symbolic acts are based on Butler's (1990) Gender Performativity Theory: in these acts, masculinity is socially constructed, contingent, and performative. From the point of view of deconstruction as articulated by Derrida, these performances can also be seen as examples of the instability of meaning and the ambiguity of masculinity: the same acts of aggression, defiance, and pleasure can build and destabilize the masculine identity, indicating that its authority relies on interpretation by the audience, repetition and cultural background, rather than innate characteristics. Binary oppositions such as rebellious or dominant are challenged in these performances, as acts of masculinity simultaneously assert control and expose dependence on recognition. Rebellious and hedonistic masculinities are complementary strategies through which urban male youths affirm status, negotiate authority, and enact hyper-visible, culturally intelligible urban masculinity in *Gengetone*.

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