

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

DECLARATION

SOME PERFORMANCE PRINCIPLES IN UMBHAQANGA

MUSIC: A STUDY IN TRADITION AND CHANGE

A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music (Performance)

in the

DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

By

MFUNDO GOODWILL NTAKA

PROMOTER: PROF. M.K. XULU

DATE : DECEMBER, 1997



(i)

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this mini-thesis is my own original work and that it has never been presented in part or in its entirety at this or any other university in order to obtain a degree. Where contrary is found, all sources used or quoted have been acknowledged in full.

.....
KWADLANGEZWA
DECEMBER, 1997

(ii)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In accomplishing the study, the author wishes to express gratitude to the following people whose names appear below. Without their help, the study would not have been possible.

- My Promoter, Professor, M.K. Xulu, Head of the Department of Music. His keen interest in the project, objective criticism, his guidance and his ingenuity in supervision in particular, contributed extensively to the completion of this study.
- Miss S.M. Mkhathswa, for her patience and dedication in typing the work.
- The staff members of the University of Zululand Library for the help during my research.
- The following musicians, Siphso Mabuse, West Nkosi, Marks Mankwane, Mahlathini Nkabinde and Ray Phiri for their kind and candid contributions.
- My mother, Mrs N.A. Ntaka, brothers, sisters, my friends, in particular, Thembelihle and my son Le roy for their constant encouragement and support to pursue this study.
- Finally, my gratitude goes to God Almighty for providing me with strength and perseverance to complete the study.

G.M. NTAKA
UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND
KWADLANGEZWA

(iii)

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to two very special people who believed so much in education.

MANDLAKHE GODWILL NTAKA

my father

and

FANNY GUMEDE

my grandmother

May their souls rest in peace

CONTENTS		PAGE
CHAPTER 1		
BACKGROUND AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDY		
1.1	INTRODUCTION	1
1.2	AIM OF STUDY	1
1.3	PROBLEMS AND ISSUES TO BE INVESTIGATED AND THE QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED	2 3
1.4	DEFINITION OF TERMS	3
	1.4.1 Tradition	3
	1.4.2 Traditional music	3
	1.4.3 Neo-traditional	4
	1.4.4 Mbhaqanga	6
1.5	THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	6
1.6	ANTICIPATED METHODS AND DIRECTION OF INVESTIGATION	6 6
	1.6.1 Historical method	7
	1.6.2 Descriptive method	8
	1.6.3 Research tools	8
1.7	FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PROGRAMME	
CHAPTER 2		
GENESIS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MBHAQANGA		
		10
2.1	INTRODUCTION	10
2.2	MUSICAL STYLES THAT PRECEDED MBHAQANGA	10
	2.1 Marabi music ✕	14
	2.2 Kwela music ✕	15
2.3	HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MBHAQANGA	
	2.3.1 The socio-cultural and political context of ✕ mbhaqanga ✕	17 20
	2.3.2 Mbhaqanga, identity and class ✕	
2.4	THE ROLE OF MUSICIANS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MBHAQANGA ✕	24 28
2.5	THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA	
2.6	CHARACTERISTICS, NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF THE STYLE ✕	33 33
	2.6.1 Instrumentation ✕	35
	2.6.2 Performance practice of the style	37
2.7	RESUME	

CHAPTER 3

MBHAQANGA MUSIC: FEATURES AND CHANGES

3.1	INTRODUCTION	39
3.2	WESTERN ELEMENTS IN MBHAQANGA	40
3.3	AFRICAN ELEMENETS IN MBHAQANGA	42
3.4	MBHAQANGA TRADITION TODAY	43
	3.4.1 Internal and external influences	46
	3.4.2 Tradition and change	53
3.5	RESUME	

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY USED IN THE PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1	INTRODUCTION	54
4.2	RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE STUDY	55
	4.2.1 Interviews	56
	4.2.2 Recordings and observation	57
4.3	PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN OBTAINING DATA	58
4.4	RESUME	

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1	INTRODUCTION	59
5.2	ANALYSIS OF DATA	59
	5.2.1 What is mbhaqanga music? ✓	62
	5.2.2 The structure of mbhaqanga songs	63
	5.2.3 Performance principles of the style ✓	69
	5.2.4 Tradition and change	71
	5.2.5 Mbhaqanga and other musical styles	75
5.3	RESUME	

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

6.1	INTRODUCTION	76
6.2	SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	79
6.3	APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTION	80
	APPENDIX B: PHOTOGRAPHS	82
7.	BIBLIOGRAPHY	

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND AND OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study my intention is to look and explore the history and development of mbhaqanga music. Mbhaqanga music will be examined from several perspectives. Firstly, the historical aspect and its development would be scrutinized. An attempt would be made to discover internal musical components which combine to produce the sound that is recognized as mbhaqanga. This tradition would be examined in its social, political and cultural context.

Several people have contributed to the birth of mbhaqanga music. It would be vital to look at the role of musicians, influence of other musical styles, other influences (political, social, economical, etc), dynamics, characteristic, nature and performance of this style. Mbhaqanga music is one of the African popular musical style that is said to have emerged during the 1940's and evolved in various forms. In addition to this style other styles include isicathamiya, maskanda music and other mushrooming styles.

1.2 AIM OF STUDY

This study intends to examine the changes which have occurred in this tradition. In the African society music is linked to social and community life. Changes that have occurred in the life pattern of African society manifest in music. Mbhaqanga music

CHAPTER 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study my intention is to look and explore the history and development of mbhaqanga music. Mbhaqanga music will be examined from several perspectives. Firstly, the historical aspect and its development would be scrutinized. An attempt would be made to discover internal musical components which combine to produce the sound that is recognized as mbhaqanga. This tradition would be examined in its social, political and cultural context.

Several people have contributed to the birth of mbhaqanga music. It would be vital to look at the role of musicians, influence of other musical styles, other influences (political, social, economical, etc), dynamics, characteristic, nature and performance of this style. Mbhaqanga music is one of the African popular musical style that is said to have emerged during the 1940's and evolved in various forms. In addition to this style other styles include isicathamiya, maskanda music and other mushrooming styles.

1.2 AIM OF STUDY

This study intends to examine the changes which have occurred in this tradition. In the African society music is linked to social and community life. Changes that have occurred in the life pattern of African society manifest in music. Mbhaqanga music

as part of the African tradition has undergone some changes. These changes were often caused and influenced by the circumstances of the time. The purpose of this study is:

1.2.1 To examine some performance principles and techniques involved in the creation and presentation of mbhaqanga music.

1.2.2 To outline the socio-cultural changes that has affected this music.

1.3 **PROBLEMS AND ISSUES TO BE INVESTIGATED AND THE QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED:**

Although mbhaqanga music is essentially African, it is performed on foreign instruments and is influenced by various indigenous and imported styles of music. It would be vital to ascertain and comprehend foreign as well as local influence on mbhaqanga. Questions to be investigated in this study are the following:

1.3.1 What and which principles make mbhaqanga music distinct from other African musical styles?

1.3.2 What changes are there in this music since its emergence?

1.3.3 What role is played by this music in the general African music arena?

1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.4.1 Tradition

The term "tradition" refers to the practices of the society that are passed on by older members of that society to younger generation. Spiegel and Boonzaier (1988:40) however assert that "in a limited sense, 'tradition' refers to the transmission of culture in the repeated handing down of ideas, conventions and practices which humans need in social interaction."

1.4.2 Traditional music

Traditional music in this study refers to music that is performed not by professionally trained musicians but passed down orally through generations. It is music that is deeply rooted in the African culture. Traditional music is thus perceived as indigenous and African in origin.

1.4.3 Neo-Traditional

Coplan (1980:437) defines this term as "an adjective describing any African expressive cultural form in traditional idiom modified by performance on Western instruments, urban conditions, or changes in performance rules and occasions." In contrast to traditional music neo-traditional music has resulted because of a number of factors and under certain conditions.

1.4.4 Mbhaqanga

Mbhaqanga as a musical concept has been defined by various writers. Graham (1989:266) defines mbhaqanga as "the unique blend of South African traditional music with urban influences, which took on record in the 1960's" Coplan (1985:16) maintains that this term:

Originally referred in Zulu to a kind of traditional steamed maize bread. Among musicians it meant that the music was both Africans' own, the homely cultural sustenance of the township, and the popular working-class source of the musicians' daily bread.

Dibango in Ewens (1991:186) contends that "the music of the South African townships, commonly known as mbhaqanga the poor 'man's soup' is like other African urban styles, a broth cooked up from available ingredients." According to Illustrated Encyclopedia of Essential knowledge (1996:351) mbhaqanga referred to:

A Zulu word for maize bread, originally a term for popular commercial African jazz in South Africa in the 1950's that developed from kwela and blended African melody, marabi and American jazz. In the 1960's it described a new style combining urban neo-traditional music and marabi played on electric guitars, saxophones, violins, accordions and drums.

Erlmann (1985:113) on the other hand reveals that:

Mbhaqanga music developed primarily as a form of entertainment. It came out of marabi of the sheebens, as well as the guitar accompaniment of traditional songs, with its highly repetitive lines overlapping in call-and-response with the vocals.

Erlmann (1985:114) further maintains that "with the influence of jazz, all this music became known as jive or mbhaqanga, which refers to a quickly made mealie bread and possibly 'quick money'." However, what is common in all these definitions is that:

- (a) this music was developed by Africans for entertainment purposes.
- (b) mbhaqanga is a hybrid style drawing from various musical styles.

It is conspicuous that mbhaqanga music is influenced by internal and external elements. Mbhaqanga seems to be a mixture of jazz, traditional music and draws from European music as well. The performance practice and dynamics of this style make mbhaqanga distinct from other musical styles. In the performance of mbhaqanga, body movement, melody, gesture and rhythm plays a vital role. Bass guitar and electric guitar as a lead instrument plays a tremendous role.

1.5 THE STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study intends to examine the performance principles in mbhaqanga music. This tradition has grown and because of numerous factors it underwent some changes. The aim thus is to examine the factors that have caused these changes, the extent to which change has taken place and the effect it made on mbhaqanga. In understanding this, it would be vital in this study to look at the following aspects:

- 1.5.1 Development and historical aspects of mbhaqanga music.
- 1.5.2 The role of musicians and media in the development of this music.
- 1.5.3 Characteristics, nature and dynamics of the style.

1.6 ANTICIPATED METHODS AND DIRECTION OF INVESTIGATION

The research methods that were used in this study are the following methods:

1.6.1 Historical method

A survey of relevant literature was undertaken to examine the history and development of this genre. This method is indispensable in obtaining historical data of mbhaqanga music in this study. Anderson (1990:113) clearly points out that "historical research is past oriented research which seeks to illustrate a question of current interest by an intensive study of material that

already exists." Eichelberger (1989:191) concurs with Anderson (1990) when he maintains that "a historical research involves the collection of data from the past." Data on historical background of mbhaqanga music was reviewed to ascertain changes that have occurred to this musical style since its inception.

1.6.2 Descriptive method

Another method that was adopted in this study is the descriptive method. Best (1970:15) asserts that the descriptive method:

Involves the description, recording, analysis and interpretation of conditions that now exist. It often involves some type of comparison or contrast and may discover cause-effect relationships that exist between existing non-manipulated variables,

Eichelberger (1989:171) states that "descriptive research is done in the present, but no variables are manipulated. Relationships among variables that occur naturally are simply described." Descriptive method is used in this study to describe differences and similarities between mbhaqanga as a musical style and other musical styles. Data collected during interviews, visual and audio recording will be analysed.

1.6.3 Research tools

In this study the following research tools were used to obtain data:

6.3.1 Interviews: Interviews were conducted with three musicians.

6.3.2 Observation: Some performance of mbhaqanga music were observed by the researcher.

6.3.3 Recordings: Audio and visual recordings of some mbhaqanga songs were made.

1.7 **FURTHER ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PROGRAMME**

Chapter 1 sets out the scope and objectives of this study. Aim of study, problems and issues to be investigated are stated. Definitions of some of the terms used in this study are given.

Chapter 2 will deal briefly with two South African musical styles which preceded mbhaqanga music. Historical development of this genre in relation to political, social and cultural context will be discussed. Role of the media and musicians in the development of this style, characteristics, nature and dynamics of the style will be briefly outlined.

Chapter 3 will focus on the features of mbhaqanga music. Internal and external factors that influenced this music and how these influences brought about changes in this tradition will be discussed.

Chapter 4 will focus on how fieldwork was conducted. Methodology employed in this study and problems encountered in obtaining data will be stated.

Chapter 5 will briefly deal with the analysis of data.

Chapter 6 will be a summary of this study. Some conditions will be drawn and certain recommendations for further research will be offered.

1.2. MUSICAL STYLES THAT PRECEDED MBHAQANGA

1.2.1. Mbizo music

The history of mbizo music dates back to the 1930s. It originated in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape province, where it was first performed by the amaXhosa people. This style emerged as a form of social commentary and protest against the harsh conditions of apartheid. It was characterized by its simple, repetitive melody and lyrics that often dealt with the struggles of the oppressed. Over time, mbizo music evolved and incorporated elements from other musical styles, such as jazz and funk, leading to the development of mbhaqanga music.

CHAPTER 2

GENESIS AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MBHAQANGA

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The genesis of mbhaqanga tradition as speculated by various scholars dates back to the 1940's. Discussions of these writers, however, reveal uncertainty particularly on the authenticity of exact dates regarding the emergence of this style. Most work done by a number of scholars trace its evolution from other musical styles such as marabi and kwela musical styles.

Discussion of the genesis of mbhaqanga, therefore, necessitate a cursory glance at these styles. Marabi and kwela music played a gigantic role in the development of mbhaqanga tradition.

2.2 MUSICAL STYLES THAT PRECEDED MBHAQANGA

2.2.1 Marabi music

The history of **marabi** dates back to the 1920's. This style refers to both a musical style and to the subculture which formed around its performance. This style emerged under historical and social conditions that prevailed during this era. In South Africa, the discovery of gold in Johannesburg coerced black people to seek employment in the mines. In these mines workers were housed

in compounds under abominable living conditions. Black people from various ethnic backgrounds were brought together and this led to cultural **syncretism**. These workers being cut from their families and unaccustomed to urban conditions became nostalgic. These conditions led to the emergence of shebeens and stokvels which became venues for social and recreational activities.

According to Erlmann (1985:111) in the shebeens workers "would play music on whatever instrument were at hand - old guitars pianos, concertina's and home made percussion." Erlmann (Ibid.) further maintains that "the result was called **marabi** music." Manuel (1988:107) agrees with Erlmann when he advocates that:

The music that emerged in the shebeens, as well as the accompanying dance and social occasion when it was performed, came to be known in the 1920's as marabi music.

During this era, marabi became the standard recreational music of urban centres. Ballantine (1993:5) asserts that marabi was "a style forged principally by unschooled keyboard players who were notoriously part of the culture and economy of illegal slumyard liquor dens." Marabi music also drew from various sources. Among these sources is the ragtime, Pedi and Tswana tribe brass music and keyboard adaptations of Xhosa folk melodies. Reuben Caluza

is also reputed to have contributed to the development of this genre. Manuel (1988:108) points out that:

Under Caluza's inspiration there emerged in the twenties a marabi style - oriented towards the black petty bourgeoisie rather than the proletarian shebeens - which combined ragtime keyboard style with melodic phrase displacements typical of Zulu music.

Marabi music was however disliked by educated black middle class. They associated this music with gangsters, ghetto life and the poor working class. Erlmann (1985:111) contends that the middle class preferred "more Westernized forms of entertainment such as a sort of ragtime with Zulu singing, or a European cabaret style music." Manuel (1988:108) affirms to this when he alleges that:

The Westernized black middle class tended to deplore shebeen-style marabi culture, preferring spirituals, Europeanized makwaya, and other genres for expressions of their own ambivalent nationalism.

Manuel (Ibid.) further points that marabi music "came to represent more unambiguously the new proletarian social identity, becoming the dominant working-class musical form in the twenties and thirties". This genre had

influence of western music and this is evident in its structure which employs western chord progression. Manuel (Ibid.) clearly reveals this when he states:

Most marabi songs use a simple I-IV-I₄⁶-V progression that has persisted as the basic for successive South Africa genres like Kwela, Mbube, Mbaqanga, and much "township jazz."

The black middle class began to tire of **makwaya** concerts. Although they resented marabi music, they however developed a taste for dance-band music. According to Manuel (Ibid.) "in urban South Africa, 'township jazz' arose as a dance-band style, big band swing." Musicians, however could not afford musical instruments that were expensive. Moreover, most black people could not attend functions where dance bands played. These problems led to the emergence of a musical genre known as Kwela music. Manuel (1988:108-109) puts this clearly when he says:

In the forties and fifties a more grassroots version of township jazz developed which came to be known as Kwela . Kwela could be performed in a variety of instrumental and vocal formats.

Marabi music thus gave way to this new genre which began to spread like wildfire to neighbouring countries.

2.2.2 **Kwela music**

Kwela music took over and became popular after marabi music. According to Arnold (1983:36) "kwela, or Afro-jazz is the popular urban style of Southern Africa. The genre arose during the 1940's among band of African youths mainly playing penny whistles."

The emergence of **kwela tradition** maybe attributed to several factors. Most black musicians could not afford expensive musical instruments and the penny whistle was more affordable. Initially, the inclusion of the penny whistle was not taken seriously by marabi musicians and black middle class. Penny whistle was associated with children busking in the street corners. Allen (1993:1) clarifies this negative attitude towards the penny-whistle in these words:

In the forties, a penny whistle was considered to be
child's toy: what small boys played because they could
not afford "real" instruments.

Despite these attitudes, this style gradually gained acceptance not only among the elite blacks but even among white people. It has been mentioned that kwela emerged from marabi style and the penny whistle simple replaced brass instruments that was mainly used in marabi music. This is also affirmed by Ballantine (1993:7) when he describes kwela music as:

The extra-ordinary marabi-derived penny whistle music of the streets, produced by children of the black slums in creative imitation of their favourite jazzmen ...

The popularisation of kwela music can also be attributed to the film "**The Magic Garden**", where a small boy performed a boogie on the penny whistle. This film was shown in South Africa and it received a warm reception. Musicians who popularised kwela includes Spokes Mashiyane and Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso who are reputed to be this music's major stars. Recording industry also took interest in this genre, and other instruments, were added to accompany the penny whistle.

This brief history of these two styles, marabi and kwela is just an abridged version aimed at giving a more vivid picture of the development of mbhaqanga. These musical styles contributed extensively to the genres and development of mbhaqanga tradition.

2.3 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MBHAQANGA

The history and development of mbhaqanga can be traced back as far as the twentieth century. Numerous factors led to the emergence of this tradition. Commenting on the emergence of mbhaqanga Ewens (1992:186) declares:

Mbaqanga was the eventual descendent of jazz, choral and dance

idioms dating from the beginning of the century. The first recognizable local style, marabi transposed American jazz into a local dialect form ...

Various definitions of mbhaqanga in Chapter 1, clearly reveals that this tradition is a hybrid resulting from divergent musical traditions. This tradition was closely associated with the working class. The launching of South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in the early 50's had a tremendous effect on the development of mbhaqanga. Coplan (1980:348) maintains that:

By the early 50's the S.A.B.C. was presenting different African languages and musical styles on separate days. Once each week jazz pianist-composer Gideon Nxumalo entertained urban African with his regular feature, "This Is Bantu Jazz". He was principally responsible for the kwela-derived majuba African jazz, mbaqanga. This term, coined by Jazz Maniacs' trumpeter Michael Xaba, originally referred in Zulu to a kind of traditional steamed maize bread.

Several terms were used to refer to mbhaqanga. One of these terms was "**Msakazo**", meaning broadcast. This term was however perceived as derogatory. Since the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was a government institution, people regarded "**msakazo**" as a tool to promote separate development among black ethnic groups. Another term which also referred to mbhaqanga was **jive**, commonly known as **Township jive**. The term "**mgqashiyo**" also refers to mbhaqanga. **Mgqashiyo**

refers to a style of mbhaqanga that was developed by Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens. Sometimes the term **African jazz** was used and it also referred to mbhaqanga. These various terms for mbhaqanga seems to confirm that mbhaqanga music evolved in various forms.

Mbhaqanga tradition did not emerge in vacuum. It was the product of various forces and factors. Socio-cultural and political factors led to development of this music. It is extremely important therefore, to discuss the development of mbhaqanga within its context.

2.3.1 **The socio-cultural context of Mbhaqanga**

Mbhaqanga is regarded as one of South African musical tradition. As a tradition mbhaqanga is associated with African people particularly in South Africa. A tradition cannot be studied in isolation. To understand mbhaqanga tradition, one has to understand the social environment of the society which produced this tradition. Fage (1971:260) strongly emphasizes this when he argues that:

Tradition cannot be properly understood without a full comprehension of its social environment. The musicologist in Africa (like the historian) cannot meaningfully operate without knowing the society whose music (or history) he is studying.

Fage's argument stresses the need of comprehending the society and circumstances under which a tradition developed. Chernoff (1979:35) seems to concur with Fage's assertion when he alleges that:

One feature which African musical traditions seems to have in common, therefore, is the depth of their integration into various patterns of social, economic, and political life.

The emergence of mbhaqanga as South African musical tradition was extensively influenced by circumstances of the time. In South Africa, as early as in the twenties, numerous political, economic and social changes swept the country. These changes led to development of various musical styles. Graham (1989:257) stipulates that:

The vast expanse of South Africa has produced a diversity of music unequalled in any other African country. With its extremes colonialism and turbulent history, South Africa has been a unique melting pot for European and indigenous musical influences.

It is vital at this point to delve into the causes of these changes and development of various musical traditions in South Africa. The arrival of Europeans in South Africa, and in Africa as a whole impacted greatly on

African music. This contact between Europeans and African people is categorised into various phases. Since the focus is not on history per se, these details are intentionally omitted here. The emphasis in the study is on the changes that occurred in the South African music which were caused by this contact.

In Africa, particularly, in South Africa, colonization, urbanization and westernization, transformed the traditional way of living among the Africans. The missionaries and the gold mines brought radical changes which inevitably reflected on music. The discovery of gold in Johannesburg exacerbated this situation. Black people were circumstantially coerced to look for work in these mines, mainly because of the changed economic conditions. In these mines the migrant workers were housed in compounds. Gradually the demand for work led to a process of urbanisation. Several people moved from rural areas into cities in search of work. Scarcity of places to live led to the development of townships and other places which were nearer to places of work.

In these mines people from divergent ethnic groups were brought together. As various groups met the process of **acculturation** took place. People learned from each other's culture. This also led to musical **syncretism**. In these urban areas, new forms of social organization emerged. A lacuna was created between these migrant workers and their families. As a result places like shebeens and stokfels evolved as venues for recreation and social activities. A new social life began to emerge which reflected in music of

black people as a whole.

Politics had great effect on African music in South Africa. Political conditions that existed during many decades had a direct influence on music in South Africa, particularly on mbhaqanga music. Political conditions that existed in South Africa would clearly be portrayed in the next section, which focuses on mbhaqanga and its role in the formation of identity and class.

2.3.2 Mbhaqanga identity and class

It is evident that mbhaqanga is a direct result of several factors that prevailed in South Africa. Colonisation which took place in 1652 robbed black people of their political authority. To worsen this situation, the missionaries introduced Christianity to black people. Black people were demarcated into two groups, Christians and non-Christians. The Christian group comprised of the educated elites. This situation led to this class of the educated elites and those who resisted and often referred by missionaries as "heathens".

This crisis that was encountered by black people is portrayed by Coplan (1980:387) when he states:

Urban change in South Africa has occurred within the broad context of urbanisation. This process has involved the disruption of traditional

social systems, the emasculation of indigenous political authority, the appropriation of the bases of economic production, and the imposition by whites of an alien and discriminatory system of the law upon Blacks.

The shortage of accommodation in the cities, as mentioned previously, led to the development of slums and townships. Sophiatown, which accommodated people across the racial lines developed. In Sophiatown various musical styles evolved as a result of intermingling of cultures. Manuel (1988:109) asserts that during the 1940's and 1950's:

The black struggle for cultural autonomy and identity generated a flowering of synthetic mbube, kwela, and jive, disseminated on the media, by stokfels, and in the concert halls.

This life in Sophiatown was however shortlived when the National Party took reigns in 1948. This government introduced draconian pass laws and it enforced apartheid policy. In 1950 the Group Areas Act was introduced. This was a blow to Sophiatown which was racially mixed. The demise of Sophiatown led to the emergence of township for migrant workers and urbanised families. Soweto township was developed, where black people were reallocated especially on ethnic grounds. Only five sections were left open for

various ethnic groups.

These radical and drastic changes had an effect on the lives of black people. People moving from rural areas to urban areas had to adapt to a new life. This inevitable led to a problem of identity. While adapting to this new life, they had to sustain their rural lifestyle. This problem of identity is clearly described by Allen (1993:1):

People living through periods of fundamental social change generally suffer deep crises of identity. Their search for a way of making sense of their existence

manifest in cultural forms such as musical style.

Music thus became a vehicle through which they could construct identities. Different lifestyles between the working class and the educated elites led to the formation of two classes, that is, the working class and the proletarians (educated elite). Forerunners of mbhaqanga, marabi and kwela were also identified with a certain class. The educated elite tended to adopt a westernized identity and preferred choral music "makwaya" and eventually American jazz.

The educated elite despised any form of traditional music, as an outcome of indoctrination which took place in the mission schools. In these schools any African tradition was equated with barbarism. The working class, on the

other hand wanted music that would reflect their urban and rural lifestyle. Graham (1989:266) stresses that "workers wanted music that was new and exciting but still retained cultural roots." The working class then developed neo-traditional musical styles, in an attempt to integrate urban and rural experiences. Coplan (1980:395) alleges that:

In so doing they extended the principles of traditional performance to western instruments and to the integration of the varied musical and dance influences of the industrial workplace.

Although mbhaqanga can be said to have developed in most South African townships, Soweto seems to be its starting place. Soweto accommodated a proportional portion of population that came from Sophiatown. In the late 1970's a nightclub, few discos, Jabulani Amphitheatre and Orlando Stadium were established in Soweto. These establishments served as venues for recreation and music concerts. Coplan (1985:184-185) points out that:

During the 1960s, the staple of these ever-popular shows were the mbaqanga or mgqashiyo song and dance groups like Mahlathini and his Queens, backed by Makhona Tshole Band, the all-male Abafana baseQhudeni, and many others.

other hand wanted music that would reflect their urban and rural lifestyle. Graham (1989:266) stresses that "workers wanted music that was new and exciting but still retained cultural roots." The working class then developed neo-traditional musical styles, in an attempt to integrate urban and rural experiences. Coplan (1980:395) alleges that:

In so doing they extended the principles of traditional performance to western instruments and to the integration of the varied musical and dance influences of the industrial workplace.

Although mbhaqanga can be said to have developed in most South African townships, Soweto seems to be its starting place. Soweto accommodated a proportional portion of population that came from Sophiatown. In the late 1970's a nightclub, few discos, Jabulani Amphitheatre and Orlando Stadium were established in Soweto. These establishments served as venues for recreation and music concerts. Coplan (1985:184-185) points out that:

During the 1960s, the staple of these ever-popular shows were the mbaqanga or mgqashiyo song and dance groups like Mahlathini and his Queens, backed by Makhona Tshole Band, the all-male Abafana baseQhudeni, and many others.

Report was in the forefront of the record company policy of tightly controlling new mbhaqanga trends.

Mbhaqanga music seemed to appeal more to the working class. Gallo record Company took interest in this style and in co-operation with the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) started promoting it. The educated elite developed negative attitude towards it, especially because it was promoted by the government institutions. Moreover, they perceived this act as a government's move of promoting ethnicity. According to these elites and other Black political organisation this was an erroneous endeavour of reconstructing African identity.

2.4. THE ROLE OF MUSICIANS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MBHAQANGA

Mbhaqanga music, as mentioned earlier, was associated with the working class and other people who were not fully urbanized. This means that mbhaqanga to a great extent identified with the working class. At this point, it is vital to look at the role of musicians and certain talent scouts in the nurturing of this style.

Rupert Bopape is regarded as one person who contributed to the development of mbhaqanga. He played a vital role in developing mbhaqanga musicians like Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens. Graham (1989:268) confirms to this when he asserts that:

Most professional musicians did not welcome this emerging style. (Graham 1989)

One of the most famous talent scouts of the 1960s and early 1970s

Rupert was in the forefront of the record company policy of tightly controlling new mbhaqanga bands.

Another talent scout that is reputed to have played a role in the development of mbhaqanga is Matumba. In the early 1950s he sought for common denominators between migrants and urbanites. Matumba wanted music that would cater for both urban and working class. Professional musicians indulged in African jazz whereas illiterate musicians produced top-selling recordings such as "Baby Come Duze" by the Alexandra All Star Band when they turned kwela into mbhaqanga (Coplan, 1980:358).

Problems arose between literate musicians and non-literate musicians who were much sought by producers in the studios to back mbhaqanga musicians. To cater for urbanites and the working class, Matumba utilised both literate and illiterate musicians. Coplan (1980:360) describe what Matumba did in the following words:

Using a standard musical formula, he produced numerous msakazo ("broadcasting-African Jazz") recordings that were popular with urban working class Africans. For the large migrant population, Matumba hired neo-traditional instrumentalists such as John Bengu ("Phuzushukela --Zulu:"Drink Sugar") and urbanized their style by backing them with studio sidemen.

Most professional musicians did not welcome this emerging style. Coplan (Ibid.) asserts that these musicians faced three alternatives:

They could leave the studios and the professional music world, adapt to the mbhaqanga trend in popular music, or seek a wider multiracial and international audience.

This situation led to most of them packing up their instruments, others went to other countries and others adapted to this existing trend. Mbhaqanga tradition started growing and flourishing. Under Rupert Bopape, Mahlathini's mbhaqanga became more and more popular and he was in great demand. According to Graham (1989:269) "Mahotella Queens were the premier mbhaqanga harmony group, especially through the 1970's". Graham (Ibid.) further states that "Mahotella Queens and Mahlathini call their style of mbhaqanga music mgqashiyo - the 'Indestructible Beat'". Numerous groups emerged following this style. This style was characterised by a group consisting of a female quartet and a leading male groaner. Mahlathini's mbhaqanga drew a lot of support from migrants and working class urbanites. Mahlathini's mbhaqanga appealed to urbanites and migrant working class. This can be attributed to his success of striking equilibrium between urban and rural demands. His music as Coplan (1980:381) describes it, was:

Music for people who were urbanising but not Westernising, as well as for migrants and even rural listeners influenced by urban culture.

This new mbhaqanga sold well in both urban and rural South Africa and in other countries of Southern and Central Africa.

Besides the role of Mahlathini in the development of this genre, various musicians

contributed to its development. According to Coplan (1985:186) "among the most authentic and intriguing mbhaqanga performers are the Zulu guitarist John Bengu (Phuzushukela) and his male dance group." Other groups included Amaswazi Emvelo and Abafana Besishingishane, as other all-male mbhaqanga groups who as Coplan (1985) reveals specialize in "comical parodies of traditional dance." Juluka, created by Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu, put together an original blend of Zulu rural music and dance, mbhaqanga and western folk guitar music. Graham (1989) contends that this band had been extremely popular with blacks and whites. Groups like Harari, originally the Beaters, is also one of the most influential of the fusion mbhaqanga bands in the 1970s. According to Coplan (1985:197) this group which comprised of people like Sipho Mabuse developed an "exciting and accessible combination of Black American funk, progressive rock and African traditional and mbhaqanga music."

Other groups played mbhaqanga which was soul-influenced. Coplan (1985:195) states:

The most South African soul performers, including Steve Kekana, The Soul Brothers, Kori Moraba, Babsi Mlangeni and the late Mpharanyana sell hundreds of thousands of records with the music that combines the American Soul ballad with mbhaqanga.

The Soul Brothers contributed extensively to this soul-influenced mbhaqanga. Graham (1989:272) states that "one of the best-selling mbaqanga bands, the Soul Brothers

started in the 1970s playing soul-influenced music and moved into mbaqanga with great success." According to Ewens (1991:202) this group which was known before as Groovy Boys changed their name to the Soul Brothers in 1976. The leaders of this group today are David Masondo (lead vocalist) and Moses Ngwenya, alias Black Moses on keyboards. Ewens (Ibid.) states that Moses Ngwenya "became one of the most influential mbaqanga musicians."

Other musicians played mbhaqanga that was more jazz-oriented. Among these musicians are Victor Ndlazilwane and Jazz Ministers, Philip Tabane and Gabriel "Mabee" Thobejane, Todd Matshikiza and many others. Other musicians who popularized this music in exile include such luminaries as the Manhattan Brothers, Miriam Makeba, Letta Mbuli, Hugh Masekela, Dollar Brand, Jonas Gwangwa, Dudu Pukwana, Louis Moholla, Jullian Bahula and many others.

Mbhaqanga music as we know it today, is the result of the work done by these musicians and talent scouts. They played a vital role in the growth and development of mbhaqanga tradition.

2.5. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

In discussing the development of mbhaqanga we cannot overlook the part that was played by media (radio, television and newspapers) in promoting this tradition. We have to look at the works of record companies and how they promoted and influenced this genre.

It is evident that the promotion of mbhaqanga depended extensively on the producers, recording studios and the media. The introduction of gramophones and records in South Africa influenced not only mbhaqanga but other musical styles as well. The media is however indispensable in the wider dissemination of music. Because of its affordability, the radio became the media of promoting music.

Before the launch of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), it seems that the only access to music was through records and live performances. According to Collins (1985:115) "the African record business goes all the way to 1907, when the records were first sold in South Africa at two shillings each." Several recording companies took interest in South African music, dating back as early as in the twenties. According to Collins (Ibid.) record companies such as His Master's Voice (HMV), Zonophone and Brunswick started recording in the twenties. In the thirties some South African ragtime groups recorded with EMI record company. Gallo-Africa which was the first African record company was only established in the forties. Collins (Ibid.) further stipulates that:

In the forties, the first African record company was set up. This was Gallo-Africa, which employed the first African talent scouts and producers like Griffiths Motsieloa. Their initial major success was August Musurugwa's hit song Skokian, which he sold for a few pounds and which made Gallo-Africa hundred of thousand of pounds.

Coplan (1985:136) however mentions that "in 1932 Gallo set up the first recording

studio in Johannesburg and other companies quickly followed suit". Mbhaqanga tradition was therefore promoted by the state-owned media and local recording companies which were state influenced. Gallo-Africa in cooperation with the SABC created and marketed mbhaqanga music. Urban musicians because of constant protestation against exploitation were replaced by rurally-based musicians. The 1960s saw the demise of African jazz that was popular among black urban class. Coplan (1979) revealed that the era of massive state repression starting in 1960 coincided with the launch of ethnic divisive black radio service. This demarcation on ethnic grounds was seen as the government's plan to promote ethnicity. Radio stations thus became the channel of disseminating and promoting music. This media was fraught with problems for musicians. The SABC greatly determined what music to be played and what to be heard by the audience. Coplan (1985:194) explains this situation in the following terms:

The state Radio Bantu rigorously censors any music referring to explicit sex, the reality of urban African existence, or social and political issues. African censors are employed to expunge any township slang or oblique reference to politics. Eager to get air time, the producers and performers pre-censor themselves or risk rejection by the SABC.

It is clear, therefore, that censorship of music infringed on the freedom of black musicians. This implies that they could not produce what they want but only what is wanted by record companies and SABC. This attitude of radio and recording

industry, discouraged and frustrated many creative and talented musicians. Some musicians, especially jazz musicians left for Europe and United States. Those who remained had no alternative but to adapt to this situation or pack their instruments. The SABC continued to control the air-waves and tended to promote apolitical music.

The influence of producers and rigid control in the studios determined the direction, growth and development of mbhaqanga tradition. The aim of producers was to promote music that had a commercial appeal. Mbhaqanga spelt quick money for the studios, who produced new bands at a phenomenal rate. Rupert Bopape is one of producers that steered the recording of mbhaqanga in the studios. Rupert focused on developing mbhaqanga music and also searching for musicians especially among migrants in the mines. Renowned mbhaqanga musicians such as Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens are the product of Bopape.

As several mbhaqanga bands mushroomed, recording studios chose certain prospective groups for recording purposes. Stapleton and May (1989:190) assert that:

Larger studios also put a toe in the market. CBS' main signing was the Soul Brothers, who took mbaqanga to a new level of polish and, by the early 1980's, were selling 200,000 copies of each new album.

Although the mbhaqanga market was growing at an alarming rate, musicians were grossly exploited. They were paid low wages by white promoters while record companies made a lot of money out of them. Graham (1989:259) emphasizes this

when he reveals that:

The record companies paid a pittance to stars of the time; royalty payments were virtually unheard of until the 1960's.

Exploitation of musicians benefitted the record companies and promoters, who in turn obtained large profits. Coplan (1980:406) maintains that "producers often put their own name on studio musicians composition and collected the royalties themselves." Beside the financial exploitation that these musicians faced, lack of venues for live performances added to this problem. Segregation and pass laws worsened the situation. Coplan (1980:406) stipulates that:

Regardless of their style of performance Black performers were denied access to White and international audience unless, like Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, and Dollar Brand, they were willing to go into exile.

Musicians were only exposed to international audience through theatrical production such as **King Kong**. **Dorkey House** served as a venue for both black and white musicians, and also for a mixed audience. This venue was contrary to apartheid policy which did not permit the mixing of races. The show, **King Kong** was created at Dorkey House. This show was severely criticised for its lack of political content, but it played a vital role in exposing South African musicians and their music to the outside world.

However harsh these conditions were, mbhaqanga music continued to grow. Graham (1989:275) points out that Sipho Mchunu and Johnny Clegg "rose above racial barriers and harassment, gradually gaining acceptance at large venues and festivals." Mchunu and Clegg attracted audience from black and white people.

It is worthy to point out that the role of the media had both positive and negative effects on the growth and development of mbhaqanga music. The media made it possible and more easier to disseminate this music. On the other side musicians were exploited, their music censored and musicians creativity suppressed. The role of the media on mbhaqanga music can be summed up in the words of Coplan (1980:427):

The role of the media in African performance culture is another illustration of how the dynamics of social power influence stylistic innovation.

2.6. CHARACTERISTICS, NATURE AND DYNAMICS OF THE STYLE

At this point it seems vital to look at the instrumentation of mbhaqanga, characteristics, nature and dynamics of this style. It is also imperative to look at the performance practice of this genre.

2.6.1 Instrumentation of mbhaqanga

Instrumentation of mbhaqanga involves western instruments and traditional

instruments seems not to feature in this music. It is vital however to stress that the use of western instruments does not imply that mbhaqanga is a western style music. Traditional instruments were thus gradually replaced by western instruments, for instance, the guitar replaced one-string bow (umakhweyana).

Graham (1989:257) maintains that "European instruments such as accordion (or concertina) guitar, banjo and saxophone had been introduced long before 1900." One of the most important instrument used in the creation of mbhaqanga music is the electric guitar. Bass guitar and drums also have a vital role in this music. Through the years electric organ have been added in mbhaqanga. Today, most mbhaqanga songs include electric organ. This is quite observable especially in mbhaqanga of the Soul Brothers where an organ sound can rarely be missed.

Penny-whistle which was extensively used in kwela music was replaced by the saxophone. Most of penny-whistle musicians changed to saxophone, especially when playing mbhaqanga. The characteristics, nature and dynamics of this style is briefly described by Nowotny (1983:106):

Most mbaqanga pieces begin with a lead guitar (or electric organ, violin or accordion) introduction before a heavy bass line and a rock beat entry playing a short I IV V I cycle over a bouncing 8/8 rhythm. The music could be called minimalist because of its repetitiveness.

There is often a lead singer and a group of backing vocalists who sing about three or four different melodies. The vocal text are usually in African languages. Body movement and gesture are basic to the style.

Coplan (1985:186) points out that "song lyrics consist of a few short couplets ...". Rhythm in this music is extremely important for movement.

It is interesting to note how western instruments were adapted to fit in the creation of this new style. In maskanda music, for instance, the tuning of the guitar is in terms of western theory incorrect. These guitars are also clipped at the end of the fretboard. The tuning itself may change according to a certain style or song. In mbhaqanga music clipping of guitars is also done, but this is not as often as in maskanda music.

2.6.2 Performance practice of the style

Performance of this style takes place in the studios during recordings and also in live shows. Before any new formed group could engage in a recording and live performance, the group had to prove itself by imitating well established groups. Coplan (1985:185) points out that "new groups are given copies of recent mbhaqanga hits to imitate, and rehearse for a year before they can go on tour." This lengthy period of rehearsing ensured that they were ready for

There is often a lead singer and a group of backing vocalists who sing about three or four different melodies. The vocal text are usually in African languages. Body movement and gesture are basic to the style.

Coplan (1985:186) points out that "song lyrics consist of a few short couplets ...". Rhythm in this music is extremely important for movement.

It is interesting to note how western instruments were adapted to fit in the creation of this new style. In maskanda music, for instance, the tuning of the guitar is in terms of western theory incorrect. These guitars are also clipped at the end of the fretboard. The tuning itself may change according to a certain style or song. In mbhaqanga music clipping of guitars is also done, but this is not as often as in maskanda music.

2.6.2 Performance practice of the style

Performance of this style takes place in the studios during recordings and also in live shows. Before any new formed group could engage in a recording and live performance, the group had to prove itself by imitating well established groups. Coplan (1985:185) points out that "new groups are given copies of recent mbhaqanga hits to imitate, and rehearse for a year before they can go on tour." This lengthy period of rehearsing ensured that they were ready for

recordings and live performances.

The formation of most mbhaqanga groups reflect amalgamation of musicians from diverse ethnic groups. This mixture of ethnic groups may be one reason which made this music acceptable to various ethnic groups. Coplan (Ibid.) also asserts:

Groups tend to be multi-ethnic, reflecting the blending of various local African musical traditions in urban areas over the past several decades, as well as producers' effort to find musical common denominators' among the heterogenous urban audience.

It is therefore obvious that blending of various local African musical traditions made it easy for people of diverse ethnic background to identify with this music. Coplan (Ibid) also reveals that:

Vocalists are kept as a unit for all performances.

Instrumentalists, on the other hand, are used independently according to the demands of a particular recording or live show.

Live performance of mbhaqanga music demands a lot from performers. This music is not just the matter of singing and playing instruments. The

performance involves body movement, gesture, melody and rhythm. A lot of energy is exerted by performers especially in live shows. Coplan (1985:186) emphasizes that "the audience enjoyed the co-ordination between body movement, gesture, melody and rhythm."

In mbhaqanga shows, musicians usually perform in traditional African costume and also in Western clothing. Mahlathini, for instance, usually appeared in animals skins and Western clothing in his performances. Coplan (1985:185-186) portrays mbhaqanga shows in the following terms:

Mbhaqanga shows generally have several segments, proceeding from the most traditional in music, dance, and costume towards the more Westernized.

7. RESUME

At this point, it can be concluded that mbhaqanga tradition evolved from other musical styles that came before it. Apart from other styles, marabi and kwela music played a vital role in its development. African music is a product of the people and cannot be discussed outside its social, cultural and political context. Mbhaqanga as an African musical tradition, is part of the social and cultural history of black people in South Africa. Musicians, talent scouts and the media contributed extensively to its development.

It is therefore obvious that the performance, instrumentation, nature and dynamics of this style demarcates this style from other styles. Mbhaqanga tradition gained a wide audience and is epitomised through the likes of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, the Soul Brothers and many more.

INTRODUCTION

At this point, it is imperative to look at the changes in the Mbhaqanga tradition over the years. With the passing of time, the Mbhaqanga tradition was subject to transformations when the Mbhaqanga tradition incorporated changes. It will be clear to identify how the Mbhaqanga tradition incorporated these changes. Although these changes are clearly visible in the Mbhaqanga tradition, it is not clear how these changes are reflected in the Mbhaqanga tradition.

WESTERN ELEMENTS IN MBHAQANGA

The inclusion of western elements in the Mbhaqanga tradition is a result of the influence of western music, style, instrumentation and technology.

The influence of western music in the Mbhaqanga tradition is a result of the influence of western music, style, instrumentation and technology. The influence of western music in the Mbhaqanga tradition is a result of the influence of western music, style, instrumentation and technology.

CHAPTER 3

MBHAQANGA MUSIC: FEATURES AND CHANGES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

At this point, it is imperative to look at the changes that have occurred in this tradition over the years. With the passing of time since its emergence, this tradition was subject to transformation under the impact of various influences. Before we look at this changes, it will be vital to briefly look at the features of mbhaqanga music. Mbhaqanga music seems to display Western and African features or elements.

3.2 WESTERN ELEMENTS IN MBHAQANGA

The structure of mbhaqanga music exhibits some features of Western music in terms of its structure, style, instrumentation and harmony.

3.2.1 Instrumentation: Mbhaqanga music uses Western instruments. Instruments that are mostly used include saxophones, electric guitar, electric bass, electric organ, accordion and drums. (See accompanying video-tape).

2.2 The style: Most mbhaqanga songs adopt one of the following styles:

- a) The twist originated in America and became popular in 1962. It was associated with black American and performers such as Chubby Chicken.
- b) The soul music, is a musical style of Black American popular music which draws from various styles such as gospel music and rhythm and blues. This musical style originated in the 1960s.
- c) Rock 'n roll: This musical style originated in the late 1980s. It draws from various styles, such as country and western music, black rhythm and blues and boogie-woogie.

3.2.3 Harmony: The use of four-part harmony is evident in most of mbhaqanga songs. In most cases there is a lead singer and three accompanying singers. These singers maybe three females or sometimes three males. There is also a constant use of hymnal melodies. Chord progression is usually a three chord pattern, using primary chords which are I IV V I. (See Appendix A).

3.3 AFRICAN ELEMENTS IN MBHAQANGA

Despite the fact that this music is played on Western instruments, mbhaqanga music depicts a lot of African elements. This music is essentially African and draws a lot on traditional and indigenous African sounds.

- 3.3.1 Repetition: One of the features of mbhaqanga music is repetition which is an African musical characteristic. There is constant repetition of harmonic cycles of 4 or 8 beats. There is an evidence of melodic repetition as opposed to melodic development. (See Appendix A).
- 3.3.2 Layering: Most mbhaqanga songs have melodic layering with each instrument or voice playing a melodic pattern of its own. Rhythmic layering comprise different rhythmic lines, different metres and a steady rhythmic pulse. (See Appendix A).
- 3.3.3 Choreography: Mbhaqanga music is dance music. Dance is an important feature which characterise African music. Body movement, gesture is vital to mbhaqanga music. (See, accompanying video-cassette).
- 3.3.4 Text: Mbhaqanga songs are sung in various languages. In most cases, African languages are used. Some songs however depict the use of English language. In most cases the text is usually a mixture of languages and dialects. (See accompanying audio and visual cassettes). Some songs sound similar in form but words (lyrics) and message make them distinct.

It can be concluded that despite Western elements that are discernible in this music, this music is essentially African. Mbhaqanga is made out of various ingredients, drawing from various musical styles. Most importantly, this music was developed by Africans and thus remains one of the African traditions.

3.4 MBHAQANGA TRADITION TODAY: CHANGES AND INFLUENCES IN THIS MUSIC

Mbhaqanga music as a tradition has undergone some changes in its performance, instrumentation and style. Like any tradition, this tradition is not static but dynamic and prone to transformation and inevitable metamorphosis through changing times. Human life is a dynamic phenomena and change is a direct outcome of human interaction.

The impact of various influences, obviously are the causes of some changes in mbhaqanga music. Music is susceptible to foreign and local influences. Erlmann (1991:177) rightly argues that:

Internal and in particular interethnic cultural contact through migration to mines, plantations, and cities was probably the single - most effective mechanism of African cultural dynamics.

Erlmann's argument clearly shows that beside external influence, internal influences had a tantamount impact on African traditions. These influences are thus reflected in mbhaqanga tradition even today.

3.4.1 Internal and external influences

It is quite apparent that changes in mbhaqanga were brought by both internal and external influences. When white people came into this continent the way of life of African people was gradually transformed. Mission stations, urbanization, industrialisation, technology and numerous other factors subjected African traditions to numerous changes. Modernising technology tools such as radio, television and today the use of computers continue to influence music. Erlmann (1991:178) maintains that:

With the onset of colonization rural traditions were drawn into the orbit of European music technology (musical instruments and gramophones) which had long established itself in the coastal urban centres of West and East Africa.

In the mines and urban centres, African people from divergent cultural and ethnic background were brought together. Manuel (1988:107) points out that:

Urban recreation, social life, and cultural activity came to be centered around shebeens, extra-legal beer gardens where African men and women from diverse tribes could gather and socialize freely.

This intermingling of cultures in these centres brought about new musical styles. Marabi and kwela for instance depicts cultural interaction of different groups. Mbhaqanga music evolved from these musical styles and was influenced by them.

Western influence also contributed to the evolution of some African musical styles. American jazz and swing, for instance, appear to have a prominent influence on African musical styles. Manuel (1988:110) states that:

South African popular music, from marabi to mbaqanga, has always drawn heavily on Afro-American music for inspiration and musical materials.

Mbhaqanga music reflect influence of various musical styles. This is evident in for instance in Mahlathini's mbaqanga which reflects a myriad of styles such as American jazz, marabi, kwela, pop and traditional music. It is vital to note that before the contact with Europeans, traditional music in Africa and particularly in South Africa, has always been predominantly vocal. Singing and dancing took place without accompaniment. Sometimes traditional instruments provided accompaniment for certain songs.

With the passing of time and western influence, music started adapting to the changing social environment. Western instruments gradually took place of the

traditional instruments. The effect of western influence on traditional music is described by Graham (1989:27-28):

The introduction of these instruments (guitar, banjo, violin and concertina) had a profound effect on the musical horizons of rapidly urbanizing South Africans, given that the great strength of their musical traditions lay in the area of vocal harmony and polyphony.

It is apparent therefore, that the introduction of Western instruments in Africa influenced African music. Choral music which was taught in the mission schools had an influence on mbhaqanga music. The three-chord pattern, tonic-dominant-subdominant (I IV V) is frequently used in mbhaqanga music. This chord progression reflect the influence of Western music. Brass band music also had some influence on the instrumentation and musical styles in South Africa. Stapleton and May (1987:8) remark about this influence in the following words:

Brass band were enormously important in the development of African pop; bringing in new instruments and stimulating African musicians to create their own fusions.

Gramophones, radio and records had a great influence on African music. South African musicians started listening to these records which were mainly jazz and blues. They started imitating this music which was American jazz. Graham (1989:258) stipulates that:

The early introduction of records, mainly American jazz and blues, was another important influence in the development of local music.

It can be concluded that mbhaqanga music was influenced by both internal and external factors. These influences played a vital role in the emergence and development of this tradition.

3.4.2 Tradition and change

Numerous changes have occurred in mbhaqanga music from the time it emerged till today. This tradition is a dynamic tradition which has undergone and still continues to undergo changes. These changes are apparent in the performance, structure and instrumentation of this music. These changes can be attributed to various factors, as previously discussed in the above discussion.

Technology and socio-cultural changes in South Africa, had a direct input in bringing about changes in this tradition. Before mbhaqanga emerged, styles

such as marabi and kwela drew a lot from American jazz. In most cases, musicians would imitate and play American jazz songs. As time went on, musicians gradually incorporated indigenous sounds in their music. Early mbhaqanga thus appeared as a mixture of jazz and township music. The indigenization of jazz thus led to the emergence of mbhaqanga music. Mbhaqanga thus reflected a mixture of local, traditional and imported elements. Manuel (1988:110) points out that:

From the late 1950s the term mbhaqanga - denoting commercialized syncretic pop music - came to be applied to various forms of jazz - (and later) rock - derived jive.

In the early fifties, changes in this tradition can be attributed to several musicians and talent scouts. During the fifties, mbhaqanga was reflecting less influence from American jazz. Through the influence in the studios this music was commercialized. Coplan (1980:380) reveals that:

The new music, pioneered by Joyce Mokgatusi's Dark City Sisters and kwela-mbaqanga innovator Aaron Lerole, showed less American influence. It employed a simplified version of traditional part structure., set traditional and neo-traditional songs to urban rhythms derived from marabi and tsaba-tsaba, and was played at

rapid tempo by back up groups consisting of the reed instruments plus electric bass guitar, and drum-set.

Mbhaqanga was now gradually moving to indigenous styles and drawing much from traditional music. Rupert Bopape, one of the talent scouts, created a new style **simanje-manje** (now-now) which he built on the vocal mbhaqanga performed by Miriam Makeba. **The groaning style** (ukubhodla), which was brought to prominence by Mahlathini, became the trademark of male mbhaqanga or simanje-manje (now-now) solo singing.

Mbhaqanga groups were characterised by a male groaner and female quartet. It is vital to note that some groups consisted of only male singers. This is evident in the groups of Abafana Besishingshane, Soul Brothers and many others. During performance musicians appear in traditional and western costumes. Ballantine (1983:8) alleges that "Mahlathini - one of the new order's first commercial products - appeared in animal skins and sang of the virtues of tribal life." It is apparent that in this music traditional and Western clothing is used. (See, accompanying video cassette).

Choreography plays a vital role in the performance of this music. The performance of mbhaqanga music involves body movement, gesture, melody and rhythm. During performance musicians clad in traditional or western costume are involved in a lot of action and dance movements. (See, accompanying video cassette). When we look at the performances of

Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, body movement, dance routines on traditional steps and urban jive is portrayed.

The instrumentation of mbhaqanga exhibits some changes over the years. These changes were caused by various factors. Technology is one of the factors which led to changes as far as mbhaqanga instrumentation is concerned. The guitar appears to be the earliest instrument to be used in mbhaqanga music. The guitar was introduced in South Africa in the 1920's. Guitars thus dominated this music and home-made drums were used to keep the rhythm. Even today, the guitar is frequently used and plays a vital role, especially in the introductory section. However, in some cases accordion or concertina is used in this section.

Nowotny (1993) argues that the instrumentation of mbhaqanga was heavily influenced by several American styles. These American musical styles were rock 'n roll, twist and soul music. Remarking on the influence of rock 'n roll in this music, Nowotny (1993:105) stated that "the increase use of electric guitar is at least one direct influence that it had on mbhaqanga." The influence of twist music also brought some changes on mbhaqanga instrumentation. This is revealed by Nowotny (Ibid.):

The popularity of American twist records resulted in the following instrumentation changes of mbhaqanga in the early 1960: bass, the electric guitar was used

increasingly as a lead instrument, and the rhythm guitar as a separate instrument became standardized.

Another apparent influence which brought some changes in mbaqanga instrumentation is that of soul music. Soul music was popularized by the likes of Aretha Franklin and Percy Sledge. Nowotny (Ibid.) maintains that:

Mbaqanga was too powerfully entrenched to yield to even this music but drew from it a slower but equally intense beat, the electric organ, and a new emphasis on small vocal ensembles, augmented by the usual mbaqanga instrumentation.

Some mbaqanga songs, even today, exhibits the influence of soul music. Coplan (1985:195) seems to concur with Nowotny when he asserts that:

The most South African soul performers, including Steve Kekana, The Soul Brothers, Kori Moraba, Babsi Mlangeni and the late Mpharanyana sell hundreds of thousands of records with the music that combines the American Soul ballad with mbaqanga.

The music that is played by **Soul Brothers** clearly illuminates the soul influence. The Soul Brothers is regarded as one of the best selling mbaqanga

bands. This group developed a distinctive mbhaqanga style where the organ is mostly utilised. The organ sound produced by keyboard wizard, Moses Ngwenya can hardly be missed in their music. The Soul Brothers brought changes in this music through the excessive use of the organ. Stapleton and May (1987:190) allege that the Soul Brothers in the early 1980's:

Created a distinctive sound based around a slower beat, florid organ lines and the use of township slang spoken by tsotsis or gangsters.

Several groups followed the Soul Brother's mbhaqanga style and the organ sound became more popular than the lead guitar. Stapleton and May (1987:190) maintain that prior to this style of the Soul Brothers, most mbhaqanga groups did not use township slangs, but had used "pure Zulu" and other South African languages.

Other changes in mbhaqanga music took place in the recording studios. Some producers seemed not familiar with the musical principles of mbhaqanga music. Some musicians were forced to change their songs to suit the taste of producers. This served as a deterrent to musicians creativity. The producers however did not care about this creativity and were more concerned with the marketability of this music. Davies (1993:14) emphasizes that:

The changes that are taking place in the music during

recording process are often to the detriment of the music. The producers, however, do not necessarily see it as such, nor care, as the overriding aim is the commercial appeal of the end product.

Apart from these changes that occur in the studios musicians today enjoy inhibitions of the past such as censorship of songs with overt political overtones. According to Graham (1992:185-186) "since 1990 musicians have been able to sing freely about liberation without being detained and their albums banned."

It should also be noted that mbhaqanga tradition during the 1970's declined to a certain extent. This was caused by the emergence of disco or "bublegum" music which swept the country especially during 1970's till the 1980's. This is evident in the music of Brenda Fassie, Chico Twala and many others. However, some mbhaqanga bands continued to play this music although disco was more popular during this era.

After this decline, mbhaqanga music re-emerged and Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens came to the fore again. Mahlathini's rejuvenation in the late 1980's led to several international tours and this music gained popularity globally. One of Mahlathini's hit song since his rejuvenation is the song entitled "I am in love with the Rastaman." (See, accompanying video-cassette). One of their successful album **Stoki Stoki** which comprise twelve tracks includes some of

their hits songs in the sixties, such as Hamba Phepha Lami, Umgqashiyo and others.

3.5 RESUME

It is now clear that mbhaqanga tradition exhibits African and Western elements. Although this music emanates from African people, external influences cannot be overlooked in its development. As a tradition, mbhaqanga has undoubtedly changed and is adapting to changing times.

some changes under the impact of modern culture.

in examining these factors and how they have influenced the

In order to achieve the purpose of this study, a number of methods were

employed. The primary method used was the interview method.

method was employed in the study. In the interview stage, the researcher

used to describe the characteristics and development of mbhaqanga music.

system.

4.3 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE STUDY

After that, the researcher used the interview method to collect

primary data from the participants. The researcher used the interview

method to collect data from the participants. The researcher used the

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY USED IN THE PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study, as explained in Chapter 1, is to examine the performance principles involved in mbhaqanga music. Moreover, this tradition has undergone some changes under the impact of various influences. This study therefore purports to examine these factors and causes which led to this metamorphosis.

To obtain data pertinent to this study, a survey of literature was taken as my point of departure. Descriptive and historical method was adopted in this study. Historical method was employed in the collection of historical data. Descriptive method was used in describing disparities and similarities between this genre and other musical styles.

4.2 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS USED IN THE STUDY

Apart from literature review done in this study, it was necessary to obtain data from primary source material such as interviews and recordings. Observation of mbhaqanga music was also vital for analysis and description of this musical style.

4.2.1 Interviews

An interview is one of the vital tool which can be used in a research for data collection. It seems worthy however, to point out that this tool has its advantages and disadvantages. Isaac and Michael (1995:145) argue that the interview "permits probing to obtain more complete data". On the other hand they argue that "interviews are costly, time consuming, and inconvenient (Isaac and Michael, Ibid.).

Interviews may be structured or unstructured Isaac and Michael (Ibid.) further assert that one of the advantages of unstructured interview is that it gives respondents "broad freedom to express themselves in their own way and in their own time." However, they also caution that in this interview "usually the information involved is of highly personal and potential threatening nature." One of the advantages of structured interviews according to Isaac and Michael (Ibid.) is:

The interviewer follows a well-defined structure resembling the format of an objective questionnaire, allowing clarification and elaboration within narrow limits.

In this study structured and unstructured interviews were used. Interviews were conducted by the researcher with the appropriate musicians. These interviews were administered at the studios, where musicians spend most of their time. Although the interview questions were originally in English, my informants preferred switching from English to isiZulu. The researcher had to adopt non-standardized interviews whenever appropriate. This meant that sticking exactly to the order of questions was discarded. The informants preferred a "conversational" type of an interview. This led to a good rapport being established between the interviewer and the respondents. However, it was vital to tactfully control the course of these conversations to avoid irrelevancies. These interviews were recorded verbatim by tape-recorder for the purpose of analysis.

4.2.2 Recordings and observations

Recording of this music was done. These recordings took two forms, audio recording and visual recording. Certain mbhaqanga songs were recorded on video cassette and others on audio cassette. Mbhaqanga performances on these songs were carefully observed by the researcher. Eichelberger (1989:130) mentions the importance of observation in research:

Observation has three primary uses in research, as,

- (1) initial exploration of a setting or problem, (2)
- supplementary information in a study, and (3) primary

data in a study.

A selection of songs were made by the researcher from various recordings made by South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Most songs compiled in the video cassette are those of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens. There are ten songs from Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens. Four other mbhaqanga songs were taken from various mbhaqanga groups. Other songs were included for comparison. These include, one song from African Jazz, disco music "buble gum", maskanda, isicathamiya and kwaito music. This video cassette thus has nineteen songs. The audio cassette has twelve songs of which nine of them are mbhaqanga songs, one African jazz, maskanda and isicathamiya. The purpose of this compilation is to clarify some of the things discussed in this study.

4.3 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN OBTAINING DATA

Some problems were encountered by the researcher during the process of data collection. Choosing and selecting a sample depended entirely on the availability of informants. Getting hold some of the informants was extremely difficult because of their tight schedules. Appointments were made telephonically, and the researcher had to go to Johannesburg to conduct these interviews. In Johannesburg I had to phone them to confirm these appointments. Other informants required my physical appearance prior to being interviewed.

Other informants referred me to the people they regarded as "creators" of mbhaqanga. Some of them were reluctant to engage in these interviews, stating that they were not well versed on this subject. However, I managed to get hold of these informants, one of whom was selected in my sample. Some of the informants who were willing to be interviewed, could not be interviewed because of time constraints and tight schedules. Apart from these problems, I did not experience any difficulty in communicating with any of my informants. A good rapport was established with my informants. Because of time I had to interview two informants at the same time. Moreover, they preferred to be interviewed simultaneously so as to give me accurate data. This required the researcher to be flexible and at the same time more careful in conducting this interview.

On the whole, I found my informants extremely frank, affable and well versed on this subject. Most importantly, two of my informants were the people who are regarded as creators and bearers of this tradition.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

4.4 RESUME

This chapter dealt with the method which was used in this study. Research instruments employed in the collection of data are also mentioned. General comments on how fieldwork was conducted, sample and impediments encountered during data collection is also succinctly given.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we will focus on the findings and analysis of data. These findings will be based on data collected during fieldwork and partially on literature review.

Analysis of data will serve to illuminate what mbhaqanga is, its harmonic structure, performance principles involved in its performance, changes which manifest in this tradition and disparities which exist between this musical style and other styles such as isicathamiya, maskanda music, African Jazz and kwaito music.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF DATA

5.2.1 What is mbhaqanga music?

In chapter 1 various definitions of the term "mbhaqanga" were given by various scholars. The synthesis of these definitions seemed to confirm that "mbhaqanga" is a musical genre, a hybrid style, made up of various ingredients. This musical style is deeply rooted in the African culture. Above all, it is music that was created by African people. This music is more associated with the migrant workers than the educated elite. In the mines

people from various ethnic groups and tribes worked and lived together. Informant C, in an interview explains:

They (the migrants) had no language. Their language was dialects from particular regions where they came from. In order for them to understand each other, they had to play the music. The music did all the interpretation for them, it became their mouthpiece.

It is obvious therefore, from the above statement that these circumstances seems to have led to the emergence of this genre. In chapter 1, it was mentioned that the antecedents of this genre, were kwela and marabi music. Mbhaqanga music is said to have evolved from these styles. Informant A and B stated that this music evolved from kwela and marabi music. They emphasized that this music was termed "mbhaqanga" because it is a combination of various musical styles, a mixture of various ingredients. In the words of informant C:

Mbhaqanga was the osmosis of different tribes and cultures that developed it.

Mbhaqanga music emerged in the shebeens and stokfels in various forms. This music provided an alternative, especially for people coming from rural areas who could not comprehend sophisticated music of the educated elite. As

indicated earlier, the people who could read and write music, were those coming from the mission schools. They were trained in Western music and were not encouraged to play their own music. Among these, Enoch Sontonga wrote "Nkosi sikelela i-Afrika" in a choral sense, using tonic solfa which was taught in the mission schools. Mbhaqanga thus appears to have been a sanctuary for those who could not comprehend Western music.

Since mbhaqanga music is a hybrid music, born out of a marriage of various styles, it becomes difficult to say when it started. On this issue, informant C had this to say:

It is difficult to state when this music started. Only the documentation of it started in the late 20's because these were means of recording, but it was already in existence.

Whether this is true or not seems to be a debatable issue. The comments made by the other informants seems to affirm the above. According to these informants, Dark City Sisters started recording this music in the late 50's and the name mbhaqanga only appeared in 1964. The issue of dates accuracy therefore seems to a larger extent, a matter of speculations.

On the whole, the people who are reported to be the creators of this music, are the likes of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens and Dark City Sisters. Although this may be disputed, the point is that this music was made popular

5.2.1 especially by Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens.

5.2.2 The structure of mbhaqanga songs

In chapter 3, African and Western elements in mbhaqanga music and its structure were briefly discussed. It was revealed that this music exhibits Western and African features. African music in general, is characterised by **melody, harmony and rhythm**. **Rhythm** is an important element in African music.

Mbhaqanga music is often characterised by **repetitive** lines sometimes overlapping in a **call and response** with the vocal. Most of mbhaqanga songs include a male "groaner" who leads the song. This is explicit especially in Mahlathini's songs. (See, accompanying tapes). However, not all mbhaqanga songs include this groaning style. Textures of choral music are also manifest in this music. Mbhaqanga music usually employs the four part harmony and chord progression which is often I IV V I. This shows the influence of Western music, especially church music or hymns, where the use of primary chords dominates. The lyrics in mbhaqanga songs are usually short couplets and repetition of melody and chorus occurs. In most cases there is a constant repetition of harmonic cycle of usually 4 or 8 beats.

Examples of the structural format of mbhaqanga songs will be given under the performance principles of this style.

5.2.3 Performance principles of the style

At this stage, it is vital to discuss some songs with regard to text, elements of form and principles involved in the performance practice of mbhaqanga music. Few examples will be given to illustrate these elements. For further illustrations and clarification, performance of these songs are included in the accompanying video and audio cassettes.

It should be highlighted that the video cassette comprises nineteen songs. Fourteen songs are mbhaqanga songs. Two of these songs are repeated. The remaining five songs are only included to give a vivid picture between mbhaqanga music and other styles such as, **African Jazz**, "**bublegum**" music, **kwaito**, **isicathamiya** and **maskanda** music.

On the other side, the audio cassette comprise twelve songs. Eight songs are mbhaqanga songs while the remaining four are examples of other musical styles. In this discussion analysis of mbhaqanga songs will be made with reference to both audio and video cassettes.

In chapter 2, a brief discussion of the performance practice of this style, instrumentation and choreography involved in the performance practice was given. This therefore necessitates a closer look at these songs and what is involved in their performances.

Mbhaqanga songs can be categorised into vocal and instrumental. In instrumental mbhaqanga, saxophone is usually a prominent instrument. This mbhaqanga style is usually referred to as **Sax Jive**. Other jive styles include: **accordion jive, organ jive** and even **vocal jive**. Ewens (1991:196) points out that:

This hot new music coincided with the introduction of 45 rpm singles in the heyday of the South African record market. One of the labels, on which jive music was released was Smanje Manje, meaning "now, now" or "things of today", which became the generic name for the jive style popular through the Southern Africa.

One of the popular jive artist, is West Nkosi. West Nkosi released several sax jive songs. Graham (1989:266) described this music in the following words:

The music utilised a simple, repetitive and muscular rhythm section with distinctive South African saxes, paralleled by violin and accordion jive styles - both more rustic sounding varieties of the same three-minute hit format favoured by Sax Jive.

Among several songs by West Nkosi are songs which became popular during early seventies. One of these songs is "Two Mabone". This song has a short spoken introduction: "Ladies and gentlemen, the FGB label present something

wonderful. The light... The light... The light... Two lights. Mavukutho. Iqanda... one, Iqanda... two. Mabone mabedi...".

The introduction is played by accordion and other instruments, four times before the saxophone comes in. As the song proceeds, hilarious spoken words are uttered. Examples of these songs are included in the accompanying audio tape, side one from song no. 1-5.

Performance principles of vocal mbhaqanga embraces various aspects. What crystallizes however, is that the text in most cases is in African languages. However, some songs are sung in English and other African languages. In most cases, in the opening section, a lead guitar plays a vital role. The lyrics are usually short. Repetition occurs often.

A lot of movement is exerted by the musicians during performance. Dance and gesture are important and vital to enliven these performances. In other songs, the organ sound is more prominent and sometimes electric drums are used by other mbhaqanga bands. The "groaning" style however is only heard in Mahlathini and Mahotella Queen's songs. Some musicians appear in Western costume, while others appear in traditional costume. In most performances, Mahlathini for instance, appears in animal skins and Mahotella Queens appear in traditional attire. However, it seems that most recent groups tend to wear western clothes. (See, accompanying video cassette).

The following are examples of some of these mbhaqanga songs:

1. Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens:

Song title: Re Ya Dumedisa

Key : G Major

Chord Cycle : G / G / D⁷ / G

Language : Sotho

(See transcription, appendix A)

(also on audio tape, example no. 8 side 1).

2. Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens

Song Title: Stoki Stoki

Language : Sotho and English

Stoki, Stoki a mother-in-law's child. Where are you taking me to
your mother's house? **TEXT** mother is a witch, did she use a witch

Stoki, Stoki ngwana - wa Mmatsale

O nkisa kae lapeng la mmago

Mmago o a loya (O loya ka eng, ka eng nna?)

Ka chirichiri, sehlare sa baloi

Stoki, Stoki ngwana mmatsale

O nkisa kae lapeng la mmago

Mmago oa loya (Oloya ka eng, ka eng nna?)

Ka chirichiri, sehlare sa baloi

Nna ga ke je hlapi, hlapi ke noga

Noga ya meetse, yalelesela

Nna ge ke je hlapi, hlapi ke noga

Noga ya meetse, yelesela

Stoki ngwana mme kea go rata

Ke utlwa mohlolo, ke ka lapeng

Mmago o makaditse batho

Ka chirichiri sehlare sa baloi x 2

General translation

Stoki, Stoki a mother-in-law's child. Where are you taking me to, to your mother's house. Your mother is a witch, and she uses a certain herb (umuthi) used by witches.

I don't eat fish, fish is a water-snake
and it is slippery

Refrain: Stoki I love you, but something is sinister in this house.

Your mother has surprised people with this herb, used by

witch-doctors.

SONG STRUCTURE

Intro / MI MI Q MI / REFRAIN 1: QI QI M Q / M2 M2 /
 REFRAIN 2: Q2 M Q2 M / Q2 M Q2 M / INSTRUMENTAL (3
 cycles) REFRAIN 2: Q2 M Q2 M/ Q2 M Q2 M/ M2 M2/ M2 M2/
 REFRAIN 3: Q2 M Q2 M (FADE OUT) (See, accompanying audio-
 tape).

MI = Mahlathini's melody no. 1

QI = Queens melody no. 1

M = Mahlathini > call

Q = Queens > response etc.

In the above example, the structure of mbhaqanga, western elements, African elements and instrumentation of mbhaqanga is vividly portrayed. Call and response is evident for instance in the first section of this song and even in the first refrain. Mahlathini sings a melody twice (call) and the Queens come in (response) immediately after this melody. For instance, Mahlathini sings "Mmago o a loya": Queens: "O loya ka eng?" (See, accompanying videotape).

The use of four-part harmony is also apparent in this song. Mahlathini who is a lead singer is accompanied by three females. The text is in Sotho and

English. In chapter 3, it was mentioned that during performance a lot of body movement and gesture is involved. This is quite visible especially in the performance of this song. (See, video-tape song no. 7).

With regard to instrumentation, comparison of all mbhaqanga songs reveals slight variations. In Mahlathini and Mahotella Queen's, the lead guitar plays a vital role in almost all the songs. If we look at the other groups, the organ is prominent and it dominates the music. (See, accompanying tapes). With regard to instrumentation, informant A argued:

Guitars are very important in this music. They fit very well in this style of music. Other instruments are used to "modernise" mbhaqanga.

It can be concluded at this point that analysis of these mbhaqanga songs display features of Western and African music. The structure of these songs reflects cultural exchange, traditional, indigenous and Western sounds.

5.2.4 **Tradition and change**

In chapter 3, it was pointed out that mbhaqanga music, like any tradition is prone to some changes. Any tradition keeps on growing with the passing of time. During the course of its growth some innovations inevitably occurs. These innovations are thus manifest in mbhaqanga tradition. Changes in this

tradition can be attributed to numerous factors, conditions and influences under which mbhaqanga evolved. As indicated earlier in chapter 3, these changes reflect in the performance, structure and instrumentation of this tradition.

Technological development, socio-cultural and political changes undoubtedly had a gigantic impact on various musical styles in South Africa. Transformation of African music can be related to the mass production of hardware. This production included: musical instruments in the 1840s, gramophones in the 1880s, radio in the 1920s, television in the 1940s and cassette recorders in the 1970s. As indicated earlier, in chapter 3, changes in African music were caused by internal and external factors. Cultural interaction in the mines and other working places resulted to internal influences on musical styles as well.

Changes in mbhaqanga tradition are apparent in instrumentation and performance. On the issue of changes in this tradition, all my informants agreed that changes have occurred, especially in the instrumentation and performance practice of this music. Informant A argued that there are changes and improvements in this music, but quickly emphasized that this music is still the same mbhaqanga. A brief comparison of emerging mbhaqanga groups with older groups, gives a vivid picture of these changes. Mbhaqanga of the Soul Brothers, compared to Mahlathini's, clearly illustrates this point. The recent mbhaqanga songs shows much use of keyboards and organ sounds. If we compare Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens and recent groups, the organ

sound is prominent in most of the songs. Moreover, electric drums are usually incorporated by recent mbhaqanga groups. During performances, body movement, gestures and dance still characterize this music. However, it should be noted that today, most groups tend to move away from traditional dance to Westernised dance movements. Another important aspect to mention, is the shift from traditional clothing to Western clothing. (See, video-tape).

It is obvious that this tradition has undergone some changes in its performance principles. In spite of these changes, it still retains most of its features. According to informant C, changes in any tradition can be attributed to "evolution and growth of human mind". From this discussion, it can be concluded that this tradition progressed from the earlier mbhaqanga of the Dark City Sisters, Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens to the recent mbhaqanga of the Soul Brothers and other emerging groups.

5.2.5 Mbhaqanga and other musical styles

At this point it is vital to look briefly at other musical styles, such as **maskanda**, **isicathamiya**, **disco** or "**bublegum**" music and the recent **kwaito** music. My intention is not to discuss these styles in depth, but to highlight discrepancies that lie between them and mbhaqanga music. These styles played their roles in the South African music arena. Musical style which emerged recently in the 90s, "kwaito" music is probably the most commercial music in the market these days.

Disparities between isicathamiya and mbhaqanga music are clearly observable in performance and structure. Isicathamiya music is a capella music. It is vocal music sung by male voice choirs. During performance, performers stand in a row and they wear identical clothes. The number of singers vary, but in most cases they are \pm ten. Movement occurs during performance which include a variety of dance steps. There is always a leader who leads the group. The use of four part harmony, call and response is quite distinct in this music. The group which popularised this genre is Ladysmith Black Mambazo. (See, accompanying tapes).

In maskanda music, like in mbhaqanga music, instruments are used to create music. According to a Dictionary of South African English (1996:446) maskanda refers to "Zulu traditional music played on Western instruments, such as the combination of a guitar with concertina or violin." Mthethwa (1979:11) states:

The word "maskanda" is not a Zulu word but is derived from the Afrikaans **musikant**, meaning musician. The word used in Zulu to refer to the self-accompanying soloist on a guitar or concertina. The present trend shows a great tendency towards the guitar.

Mthethwa in the Dictionary of South African English (1996:446) further argues:

The marriage of Western instruments with African music has become known as **maskanda** music... Maskanda music is not Western music nor does it have any Western influences. The **maskanda** resulted as an interaction of the Zulu musicians with the Western instruments.

In maskanda music, acoustic guitars are used in making this music. Tuning of these guitars differs according to various styles and songs. In most cases guitars are clipped which is rare in mbhaqanga music. According to informant B, there are different styles of maskanda. There is "a **maskanda** who plays guitar alone and maskanda who leads girls in a wedding." According to this informant, he was a maskanda musician who played in the streets in the townships before turning to mbhaqanga music. One of the features of maskanda music which makes it more distinct from mbhaqanga is that during the middle of the song, the singer **introduces** himself. During this introduction his home district, local chief and in most cases the river from which he drinks is stated. (See, accompanying video-tape, song no. 15; audio tape song no. 11).

African jazz is sometimes used to refer to mbhaqanga music. African jazz however reflects to a larger extent the influence of jazz and was associated with literate musicians. Traditional melodies, jazz with strong African accent, sophisticated chord progression characterize this music. Musicians who popularized this music globally, includes people like Hugh Masekela, Miriam

Makeba, Gideon Nxumalo and countless others. (See, accompanying video-tape song no. 16) (Also on audio-tape, song no. 10).

Disco or "bublegum" music swept the country during 1970s till 1980s. This music was regarded a "bublegum" music because it had lost the mbhaqanga beat and rhythm. It was regarded as ephemeral music. It was often referred to something that was chewed and immediately spat out. According to informant C, this music was for "teeny-boppers". It was music for the youth because of its simplicity. Among several musicians of this style are people like Brenda Fassie and Chico Twala. (See accompanying video cassette, song no. 17):

Kwaito music is a recent genre that is popular especially among the youth. According to informants, this genre is associated with the youth. The younger generation could not understand music like mbhaqanga, maskanda, African jazz etc. According to informant C, younger generation mixed certain elements from jazz, funk music, mbhaqanga and other styles and came out with the genre called "kwaito". It is however, interesting to note that all my informants pointed out that **kwaito** music can be regarded as "mbhaqanga on its own". It should be pointed out that this music is to a great extent programmed music. During its performance, live instrumentation is a rare occurrence. (See, accompanying video-tape, song no. 18).

It can be concluded at this point that mbhaqanga music as compared to other musical styles, shows its distinct qualities. This is apparent in its performance, structure and instrumentation.

5.3 RESUME

A close study of mbhaqanga tradition shows that changes have occurred in this musical genre. These changes can be attributed to the changing patterns in the lives of the people in South Africa. These changes were brought by various factors, such as economic, political, social and technological development. Since music is a social thing in African societies, changes in their life-patterns and culture manifest in music.

CHAPTER 6**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION****6.1 INTRODUCTION**

African musical traditions, in the entire African continent, were subjected in various ways to European influences. Cultural contact among the African diverse cultural groups also contributed to some changes in musical traditions in South Africa. The growth of mining and urban centres, brought together African people of different cultural backgrounds. These circumstances, inevitably led to sharing and learning of various things, such as customs and music. New forms of music, drawing on several African traditions and reflecting European influences therefore emerged. Mbhaqanga tradition as one of the South African tradition is firmly rooted in African culture. Discussion of this genre thus necessitated consideration of political, economic and socio-cultural changes in South Africa.

6.2 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this investigation an attempt was made to examine the performance principles involved in this tradition. Changes that have occurred in this tradition over the years were also examined. This study has revealed that mbhaqanga tradition has been adapting in response to the changing social environment in South Africa.

Colonisation, urbanisation, westernization, industrialization and technological development contributed to the transformation of African traditions.

Changes in African traditions, in this case in mbhaqanga music were caused by internal and external influences. Internal influences took place in the mines and urban centres where people from different cultural backgrounds met. European influence had tremendous effects on this music. Missionaries had a profound influence on African music in general. Xulu (1990:7) remarked on the influence of the missionaries on Zulu music in the following words:

When the missionaries came to South Africa, they sought to stop all African, and in this case, Zulu music practices and social life. To the missionaries, the traditional song was a symbol of barbarism and was guided by the power of the devil. Zulus who were admitted to the church and, therefore, christianized were prohibited by the church authorities to sing their traditional songs.

This was the case with most Africans who were taught in these mission schools. They were taught Christian hymns and choral music. These influences reflect in most African musical genres. In this study it has been revealed that although mbhaqanga is essentially African, it is however performed on foreign instruments. Influence of American styles such as rock 'n roll, twist and soul music is discernible in mbhaqanga music. It was noted, however, that basic instruments used in this tradition include: bass guitar, electric guitars, drum-set and organ or keyboards.

On the basis of comparative analysis, this study has revealed changes in instrumentation, for instance, the shift from lead guitar being the prominent instrument to the new dominating organ sound. This shift is observable in new emerging mbhaqanga groups. There is a tendency, especially among recent groups of moving away from traditional costumes to Western clothing.

Finally, it should be noted that mbhaqanga tradition is still undergoing some changes and will continue to do so. According to subjects interviewed, any tradition is prone to some changes and new generation comes to the scene with various interpretations of this music. The most important thing is that the groove of mbhaqanga remains intact in the music. Since this tradition is a mixture of ingredients, its features reverberate in most African musical genres as well. Whether this is true or not remains a challenge to more extensive research on South African musical genres.

APPENDIX : A

Re Ya Dumela (1)

Guitar Introduction



Queens Pattern A



Queens Pattern B



Du-me-la Du-me-la Du-me-la

Mahlathini I



Re ya Dumela (2)

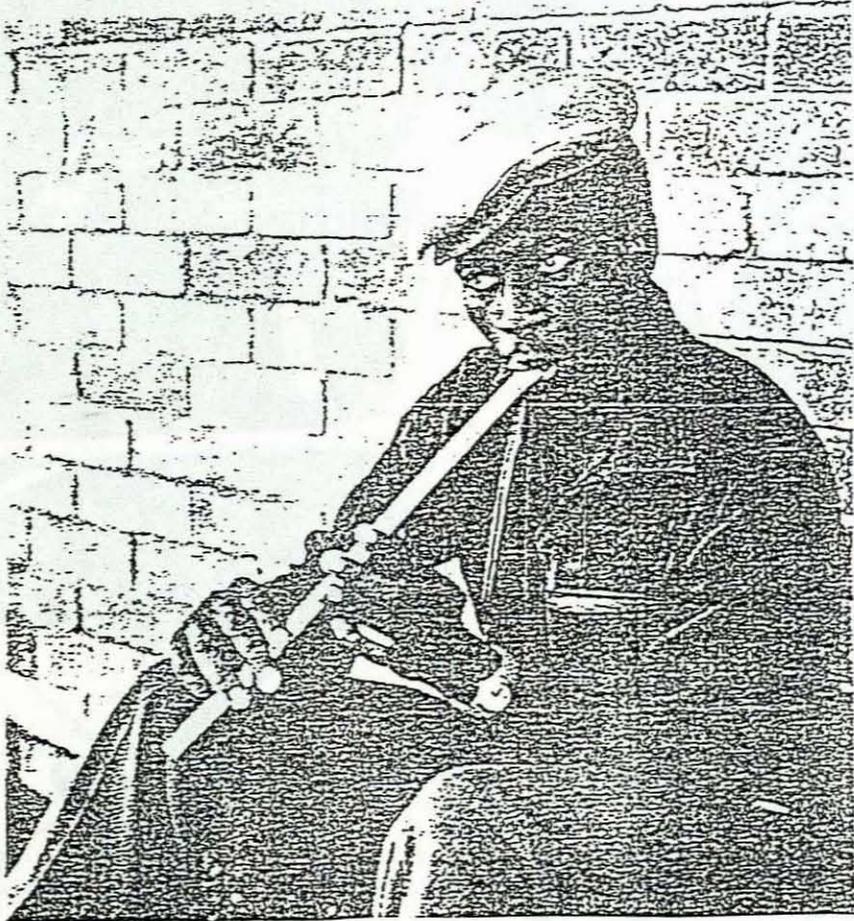
Queens Bv



Mahlathini Iv

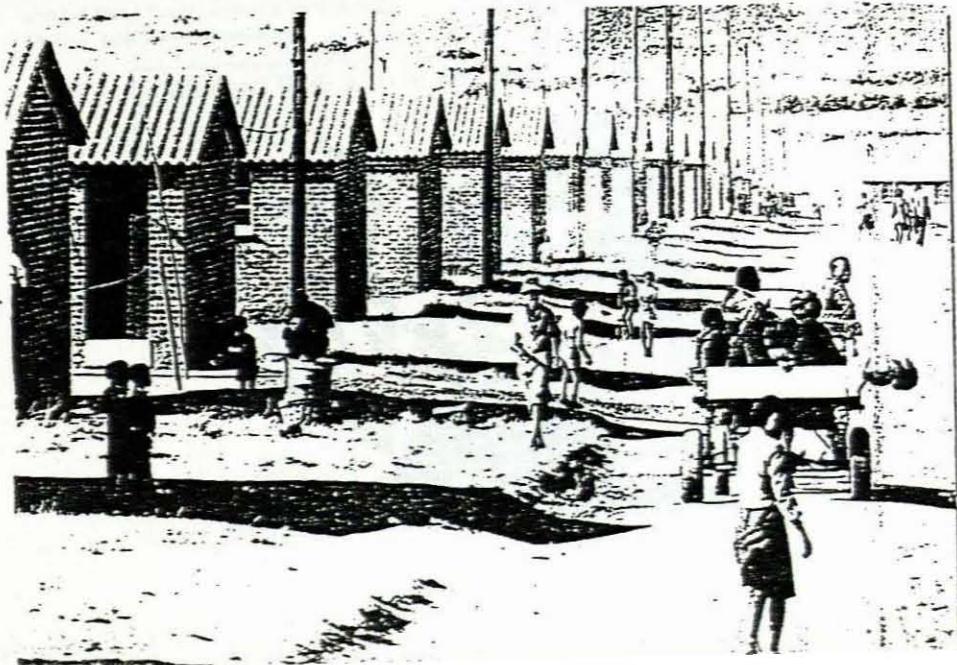


APPENDIX: B



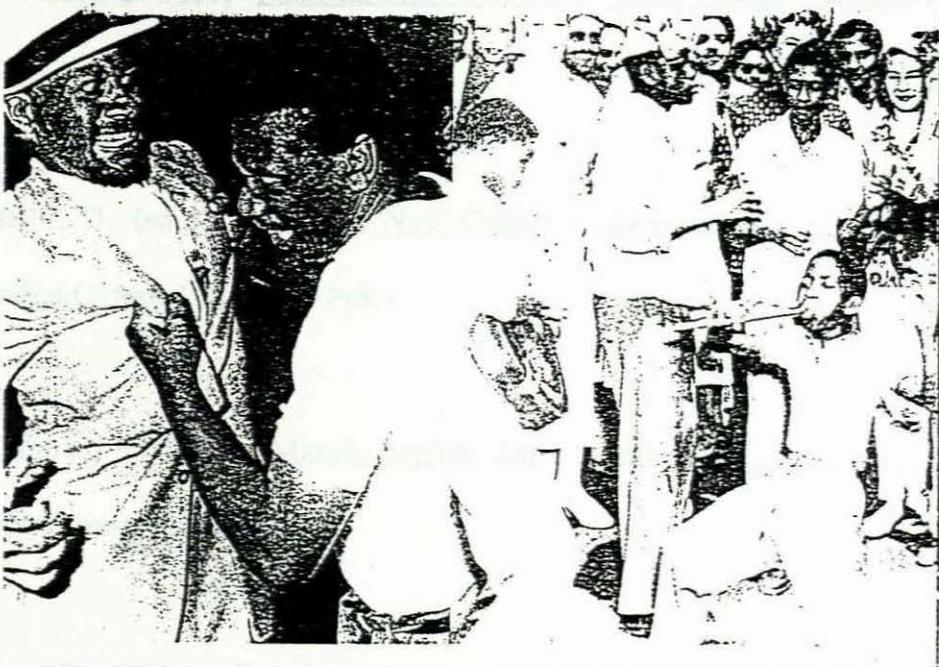
A houseboy plays pennywhistle against the brick wall of his white employer's home in Johannesburg.

Soweto: a view of the prison-like housing of the migrant single men's quarters



Hugh Masekela, internationally successful trumpeter

Cont/....



Nathan Mdebele (right) in the title role of the musical King Kong, rehearses with Stephen Mallow, who plays his manager

Famous at ten years old: Lemmy Mabaso, penny whistler in King Kong

MAHLATHINI AND MAHOTELLA QUEENS :



7. **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

Allen, L. 1993. Drumbeats, Pennywhistles and all That Jazz: The Relationship Between Urban South African Musical Styles and Musical Meaning. In C. Muller (ed.) Papers Presented at the Eleventh Symposium of Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown:International Library of African Music, pp. 1-5.

Anderson, G. 1990. Fundamentals of Educational Research. London:The Falmer Press.

Arnold, D. (ed.) 1983. The New Oxford Companion African Music (Vol. 1). London:Oxford University Press.

Ballantine, C. 1993. Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville. Johannesburg:Ravan Press.

Best, J.W. 1970. Research in Education (2nd ed.). London:Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Chernoff, J.M. 1979. African Rhythm and African Sensibility: Aesthetics and Social Action in African Musical Idiom. Chicago:The University of Chicago Press.

Collins, J. 1985. African Pop Roots: The Inside Rhythms of Africa. London:W. Foulsham & Co. Ltd.

Coplan, D.B. 1979. The African Performer and the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry: The struggle for African culture on Witwatersrand. In B. Bozzoli (ed.) Labour, Townships and Protest. Johannesburg:Ravan Press.

Coplan, D.B. 1980. The urbanisation of African Performing Arts in South Africa. Indiana University:University Microfilms International.

Coplan, D.B. 1985. In Township Tonight:South Africa's Black City Music and Theatre. Johannesburg:Ravan Press.

Davies, M. 1993. From Bows to Bands: On Historical Development of Maskanda Tradition. In C. Muller (ed.) Papers Presented at the Eleventh Symposium of Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown:International Library of African Music.

Dore, W. et al (eds.) 1996. A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles: African Words and their Origins. USA:Oxford University Press.

Eichelberger, R.T. 1989. Disciplined Inquiry:Understanding and doing Educational Research. New York:Longman Inc.

Erlmann, V. 1985. African Pop and Good Time Kings:Singing Brings Joy to the distressed. Dorsad:Blandford Press Poole.

Erlmann, V. 1991. African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance. London:University of Chicago Press.

Ewens, G. 1991. Africa O-Ye!:A Celebration of African Music. London:Guinness Publishing Limited.

Fage, J.D. 1971. Music and History in Africa. In K.P. Wachsmann (ed.). Evanston:Northwestern University Press.

Graham, R. 1989. Stern's Guide to Contemporary African Music. London:Pluto Press.

Illustrated Encyclopedia of Essential Knowledge, 1996. Cape Town:Reader's Digest Association (Pty) Limited.

Isaac, S. and Michael, W.B. 1995. Handbook in Research and Evaluation: A Collection of Principles, Methods, and Strategies useful in the Planning, Design, and Evaluation of Studies in Education and the Behavioural Sciences (3rd ed.): University of Southern California:University of Southern California.

Manuel, P. 1988. Popular Music of the Non-Western World:An Introductory Survey. USA:Oxford University Press.

Mthethwa, B.N. 1979. Zulu Folksongs: History, Nature and Classroom Potential.

A Paper handed into the Department of music in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree B.Mus. Durban:University of Natal.

Nowotny, N. 1983. Mbaqanga and Mahlathini. In C. Muller (ed.). Papers Presented at the Eleventh Symposium of Ethnomusicology. Grahamstown: International Library of African Music, pp. 105-107.

Spiegel A. and Boonzaier, E. 1988. South African Keywords:The uses and abuses of political concepts. Cape Town:David Philip, Publisher.

Stapleton, C. and May, C. 1987. African All-Stars:The definitive guide to the music of Africa. Britain:Quartet Books Ltd.

Xulu, M.K. 1990. Changing style in Mzilikazi Khumalo's choral compositions: Notes for B.A. Music II. Department of Music:University of Durban Westville.