MUSIC AS CULTURE, MUSIC IN CULTURE: AN ANALYTICAL STUDY OF THE HISTORY AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF MBAQANGA MUSIC IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

GOODWILL MFUNDO NTAKA

In fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of IsiZulu Namagugu at the University of Zululand.

KWADLANGEZWA

SEPTEMBER 2007

Supervisor: Dr P.M. Lubisi

DECLARATION

I declare that this research study: *Music as Culture, Music in Culture: An Analytical Study of the History and Cultural Context of Mbaqanga Music in South Africa*, except where specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own work both in conception and execution. All the sources that have been used or quoted have been duly acknowledged by means of complete references.
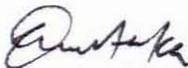
Goodwill Mfundo Ntaka

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father, Godwin Mandlakhe Ntaka, and my mother, Nomusa Ntaka. Moreover, to my sons, Luyanda and Leroy, for their loving support, encouragement and inspiration during the course of this study.

ABSTRACT

Music plays a vital role in African cultures and permeates all the spheres of life. Music is part and parcel of culture in African societies. Music informs culture, and culture also informs music. The study of African music using the comparative approach was fraught with numerous pitfalls and shortcomings. Music was studied in isolation, which led to a misconstrued picture of African music.

This study has thus employed the ethnomusicological approach. The ethnomusicological approach ensures that music is analysed taking into consideration the cultural context of music. This study looks at *mbaqanga* music as culture and in culture. The history of *mbaqanga* music is, thus, analysed taking into account all the factors that impacted on its evolution.

The first chapter serves as a background to this study. It deals with the aims of this research and the definition of terms. It also deals briefly with the research methodology employed in this study.

The second chapter focuses on a literature review and analytic models. It also looks at the emergence of ethnomusicology as a discipline. It focuses on music as culture and music in culture, and, moreover, it looks at the types of popular music.

The third chapter deals with the historical background of *mbaqanga* music. Genres such as *marabi* and *kwela* music are briefly discussed. The political and socio-cultural context of *mbaqanga* music is discussed. The role of musicians and the media in the development of *mbaqanga* music is also discussed.

The fourth chapter deals with research methodology in detail. This chapter also focuses on the details related to data collection.

The fifth chapter deals with the analysis and interpretation of data. It looks at findings from interviews conducted and the analysis of song texts.

The sixth chapter offers recommendations and a summary of the findings.

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CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1   INTRODUCTION

Music plays a vital role in African societies. Various writers involved in the study and research of African music have reiterated this. Various findings emphasize that African societies cannot be divorced from culture. In Africa, music and culture are interrelated. African music cannot be fully understood if it is studied in isolation from the culture that influences it. Warren (1970:2) explains this clearly when he states that, for the African, music is not a luxury, but a part of the process of living itself. Warren's statement clearly shows that, in Africa music does not exist by and of itself. It is a part of the totality of human behaviour. Music is, therefore, part of culture. It is part of people's learned customs and traditions and part of their social heritage.

Mbaqanga music is one of the black South African musical styles which continues to contribute immensely to the cultural heritage of South Africa. This genre has served as a mode of cultural expression over the years. Music, like culture, is not static, but dynamic. *Mbaqanga* has undergone some changes because of various factors. These changes were brought about by internal and external influences. It is important to note that these changes have been explored in the extensive research that has been done on African music in general and South African music in particular. Various scholars have dealt with the history and development of various South African music genres.

Ballantine (1993), in his book *Marabi Nights,* focuses on the historical perspective of South African popular music. This book also focuses on such issues as the exploitation of black musicians, the role of music in the liberation struggle and the birth of *mbaqanga* music. On the other hand, Coplan (1985), in his work entitled *In Township Tonight,* focuses on what Coplan terms the "history a of the black people in Johannesburg and the

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social history that informed the urban black performing arts". The history of *mbaqanga* music and its pioneers is also given.

Erlman (1985), in his work *African Pop and Good Time Kings*, focuses on the historical background and development of various styles of African music. In this book the history and development of *mbaqanga* music is vividly given. Ewens (1991), in his book *African-O- Ye!*, deals with the history of *mbaqanga*. He also mentions musicians and other individuals who contributed to the development of this genre.

Graham (1989), in his work *Stern's Guide to Contemporary African Music*, focuses extensively on music in Africa. He discusses the history of various musical styles in South Africa. The development of *mbaqanga* music and various *mbaqanga* groups is given. Manuel (1998), in his work *Popular Music of Non-Western World*, briefly discusses popular music in South Africa. Manuel discusses the history of *mbaqanga* music and other musical styles in South Africa. Stapleton and May (1987) in *African All Stars*, deal with the evolution of various South African musical styles. The emergence and evolution of *mbaqanga* music is dealt with in their work.

Although the above works touch on the history of *mbaqanga* music, *mbaqanga* as culture and in culture is not discussed. Therefore, this study seeks to look more deeply at the cultural value of *mbaqanga* music. It will look at how *mbaqanga* music serves as a vehicle for cultural preservation and cultural transmission.

Moreover, *mbaqanga* music has not been thoroughly studied in relation to its cultural context. This study thus aims at bridging this gap. *Mbaqanga* music will be discussed taking into consideration the following aspects:

- Why and where is *mbaqanga* music performed?
- Who performs this kind of music?
- Which musical instruments are used in its performance?
- How and when is this music performed?

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1.2   AIMS OF STUDY

It is envisaged that this study will:

- Outline how *mbaqanga* music evolved, and the contributions made by various musicians.
- Clarify the interrelationship between music and culture in African societies.
- Examine in depth the cultural context of this genre.
- Explain the relationship to and influences of other South African musical styles to *mbaqanga*.
- Look at the role played by the media in the growth and development of this genre.
- Examine the cultural, political, and social issues addressed by this genre.
- Explain the performance principles involved in the creation and presentation of *mbaqanga*.

1.3   HYPOTHESES

In agreement with the above aims of study, relevant hypotheses will be formulated. The main hypotheses of this investigation are as follows:

- *Mbaqanga* music has contributed extensively to the sustainability of South African culture.
- *Mbaqanga* music as a tradition has undergone some changes over the years. These changes manifest themselves in the performance principles of this genre.
- An historical analysis of *mbaqanga* reflects political, social, and economical changes in South Africa over the years.
- *Mbaqanga* music mirrors the black South African way of life. It reflects the beliefs, traditions, customs and values of South African black societies.
- The influence of Zulu culture in *mbaqanga* music appears to dominate over the cultural influences of other ethnic groups in South Africa.

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1.4   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research methods that were used in this study are: historical method and descriptive method. To obtain data, research tools that were used are: interviews, observations and recordings.

1.4.1   HISTORICAL METHOD

Historical method is vital and indispensable for obtaining historical data for *mbaqanga* music. Anderson (1990) points out that historical research involves the collection of data from the past. Isaac and Michael (1995:48) state that the purpose of historical research is:

> To reconstruct the past systematically and objectively by collecting, evaluating, verifying, and synthesizing evidence to establish facts and reach defensible conclusions, often in relation to particular hypotheses.

Isaac and Michael (1995) further argue that historical research depends on data observed by others, rather than the investigator. Historical research depends on primary and secondary sources.

1.4.2   DESCRIPTIVE METHOD

Isaac and Michael (1995:50) assert that the purpose of descriptive research is to describe systematically the facts and characteristics of a given population or area of interest, factually and accurately. This method is important in describing events or situations. Best (1970:15) asserts that this method involves the description, recording, analysis and interpretation of conditions that now exist. Eichelberger (1989:71) explains that descriptive research is done in the present, but no variables are manipulated. Relationships among variables that occur naturally are simply described.

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1.5   RESEARCH TOOLS

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

1.5.1   INTERVIEWS

Formal and informal interviews were conducted with the following musicians: Ray Phiri, Hugh Masekela, and Moses Ngwenya (Soul Brothers). Other people that were interviewed were Welcome 'Bhodloza' Nzimande and Duma Ka Ndlovu. In 1997, the researcher interviewed the late Simon 'Mahlathini' Nkabinde and Marks Mankwane.

1.5.2   OBSERVATION

The researcher observed some performances of *mbaqanga* music. This observation was based on DVDs and music videos of *mbaqanga* music.

1.5.3   RECORDINGS

Audio and visual recordings of *mbaqanga* songs were made. A compilation of selected *mbaqanga* songs was made. Moreover, some songs were selected from other genres, such as *maskanda* music, for the purpose of comparative analysis.

1.6   DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

In this study, the researcher focused on the historical development of *mbaqanga* music in South Africa. The researcher looked at the evolution of *mbaqanga* music from 1960 to 2005. The focus was also on the contributions made by *mbaqanga* veterans in this era.

1.7 THEORIES

This study took an ethnomusicological approach, looking at music as culture and music in culture. There are numerous definitions of ethnomusicology given by different scholars, and many debates and discussions about ethnomusicology as a discipline.

This study will focus on music as culture and music in culture. Music in African societies is part and parcel of culture. Music does not exist in isolation, but it is part of the totality of human behaviour. Music is a creative human phenomenon that functions as part of culture. Middleton (1990:127) emphasizes this when he says that since music comes to us through the 'grapevine' of culture, it is, as we have seen, vital to study it 'as culture' and 'in culture'.

Another area of focus is the historical development of *mbaqanga* music in its cultural context. History of music cannot be accurate if this music is not studied in its cultural context. Various definitions of ethnomusicology emphasize this point. Hood in Msomi (1975: 9) puts this clearly when he argues that "ethnomusicology is an approach to the study of any music, not in terms of itself, but also in relation to its cultural context".

The above definition by Hood (1975) clearly emphasizes the need to study African music, in this case, *mbaqanga* music in its cultural context. This implies that in order for us to fully understand this music depends largely on understanding the culture of the people who produced it.

1.8 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.8.1 CULTURE

Cluckhohm, in Zibani (2002:2), defines culture as follows:

> Culture is one facet of human life. It is that part which is learned
> by the people as a result of belonging to some group, and it is part

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of learned behaviour which is shared with others. It is the main factor which permits us to live together in a society. Giving us solutions to our problems, helping us to predict the behavioral of others, and permitting others to know what to expect from us.

Haviland (1996:32) defines culture as:

> A set of rules or standards shared by members of a society, which when acted upon by the members, produces behavior that falls within a range of variation the members consider proper and acceptable.

Harris (1987:6) defines culture as "the learned, socially acquired traditions and life-styles of the members of a society, including their patterned repetitive ways of thinking, feeling, and acting (i.e. behaving)".

There is a wide range of definitions of what culture is, but what is prominent in those definitions is that culture is a way of life typically of a group.

1.8.2   MUSIC

The New Book of Knowledge (1987:530) defines music as "the art of organizing sounds and silences into meaningful patterns". According to The World Book Encyclopedia (2000: 946), music is defined as "sound arranged into pleasing or interesting patterns". Music comprises elements such as melody, rhythm, harmony, pitch, form, and tonality.

1.8.3   TRADITION

The term 'tradition' refers to the practices of a society that are passed on by older members of that society to the younger generation. Spiegel and Boozaier (1998:40) state 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.

1.8.4 TRADITIONAL MUSIC

In this study, traditional music refers to music that is not performed 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.

1.8.5 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.

1.8.6 MASKANDA

According to Mathenjwa (1995:1) the word "*maskandi / maskanda* is said to be from the Afrikaans word '*musikant*' meaning music maker. These two words are used synonymously...". The word *maskanda* will be used to refer to the type of music and *maskandi* to the musician who plays this type of music.

1.8.7 MBAQANGA

According to Graham (1989: 266), *mbaqanga* is "the unique blend of South African traditional music with urban influences, which took on record in the 1960's". Dibango, in Ewens (1991:186), states that "the music of the South African township, commonly known as *mbaqanga* the poor 'man's soup' is like other African urban styles, a broth cooked up from available ingredients".

Coplan (1985:16) mentions that *mbaqanga* originally referred in Zulu to:

> A kind of traditional steamed maize bread. Among musicians it meant that the music was both Africa's own, the homely cultural sustenance of the township, and the popular working-class source of the musicians' daily bread.

According to the Illustrated Encyclopedia of Essential Knowledge (1996:351), *mbaqanga* refers 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 electronic guitars, saxophones, violins, accordions and drums.

The common aspects drawn from these definitions are that *mbaqanga* music was developed for entertainment purposes. It is a hybrid style, drawing from other musical styles.

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study is made up of six chapters:

Chapter One is an introductory perspective of this research. It deals with the aims of the study, research methodology and definition of terms.

Chapter Two focuses on a literature review, analytical models, definitions and theories of ethnomusicology, types of popular music and reviews and summaries of works parallel to this study.

Chapter Three looks at the historical background of *mbaqanga* music. It focuses on various musical styles, such as *marabi* and *kwela* music. It also looks at the role of

musicians and the media in the development of *mbaqanga* music. Finally, it focuses on *mbaqanga* music as culture and in culture.

Chapter Four deals with the research methodology in detail, and the procedures used for collecting data.

Chapter Five focuses on the analysis and interpretation of data.

Chapter Six deals with recommendations, findings and the conclusion of this research. This is followed by the Bibliography and sources used in this research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on a literature review. The in-depth scrutiny of ethnomusicology as a discipline is the focus of this study. The definition of music within the context of culture is looked into. A review of various books relevant to this study is discussed, and summaries are made. This includes books about culture, and *mbaqanga* music. Analytical models or concepts such as syncretism, westernization, acculturation, urbanization, assimilation and modernization are defined.

2.2. ANALYTICAL MODELS

For clarity and operational definitions, the following concepts are defined in this study.

2.2.1. SYNCRETISM

According to the Encyclopedia Britannica in Nettl, (1983:353), syncretism is defined as "fusion of elements from diverse cultural sources". Nettl (1983:354) asserts that syncretism results when two musical systems in a state of confrontation have compatible central traits. Syncretism is therefore a blending of cultures. It is a synthesis of elements from two cultures or musical systems in confrontation. From the religious perspective, syncretism is described as "the process by which elements of one religion are assimilated into another religion resulting in a change in the fundamental tenets or nature of those religions" (www.mb-soft.com /syncreti.htm). In this regard, syncretism is viewed as the union of two or more opposite beliefs, so that the synthesized form is a new thing. It is not always a total fusion, but may be a combination of separate segments that remain identifiable compartments (www.mb-soft.com /syncreti.htm).

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2.2.2 WESTERNIZATION

Wikipedia Encyclopedia describe westernization as "a process whereby traditional, long-established societies come under the influence of Western (European or American) culture in such matters as industry, technology, economics, lifestyle, food and moral and cultural values"(http:// en. wikipedia.org/wiki/westernization). Nettl (1983:354) explains that Westernization occurs when non-Western music incorporates central, non-compatible Western traits. Nettl (1983:353) further points out that some societies appear to have changed their traditional musical culture in the direction of the Western styles of music by taking from the latter those elements they consider to be central to it; this is Westernization. In a musical context, Westernization refers to the adoption of Western musical traits and elements. The adoption of Western instruments in place of traditional instruments can also be seen as Westernization.

2.2.3 ACCULTURATION

Merriam, in Shelemay (1990:90), defines acculturation as an "interchange of musical traits and ideas between two cultures in which the systems have a considerable number of characteristics in common". Merriam, in Shelemay (1990:84), elaborates:

> When two human groups, which are in sustained contact, have a number of characteristics in common in a particular aspect of culture, exchange of ideas therein will be much more frequent than if the characteristics of those aspects differ markedly from one another.

Spindler (1977:31) concurs with Merriam when he asserts that acculturation refers to the "reciprocal modifications that occur when individuals from two or more different sociocultural systems come into contact". On the other hand, Ferraro (1995:333) asserts that acculturation is a special type of diffusion that takes place as s result of sustained contact between two societies, one of which is subordinate to the other. Acculturation is also defined as "the process of assimilating new ideas into an existing cognitive structure" (www.cogsci.princeton.edu).

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Murphy (2005) examines Kroeber's explanation of the process of acculturation in the following words:

> Acculturation comprises those changes in a culture brought about by another culture and will result in an increased similarity between the two cultures. This type of change may be reciprocal; however, very often the process is assymetrical and the result is the (usually partial) absorption of one culture into the other. Kroeber believed that acculturation is gradual rather than abrupt. He connected the process of diffusion with the process of acculturation by considering that diffusion contributes to acculturation and that acculturation necessarily involves diffusion. He did attempt to separate the two processes by stating that diffusion is a matter of what happens to the elements of a culture; whereas acculturation is a process of what happens to a whole culture (www.as.ua.edu/murphy).

2.2.4 ASSIMILATION

Seymour-Smith (1986:18) views assimilation as one of the outcomes of the acculturation process, in which the subordinate or smaller group is absorbed into the larger or dominant one and becomes indistinguishable from it in cultural terms. Assimilation is also defined as a social process of absorbing one cultural group into harmony with another (www.cogsci.princeton.edu). In the Sociology, assimilation is the process of integration whereby immigrants, or other minority groups, are 'absorbed' into a generally larger community. This presumes a loss of all characteristics, which makes the newcomers different. A region where assimilation is occurring is sometimes referred to as a 'melting pot'. Acculturation means the process of taking on the cultural traits and characteristics of another distinct group; absorption of a new or different culture into the main cultural body; to make like; to cause to resemble (www.dhs.state.mm.us). The process by which these individuals enter the social positions, as well as acquire the political, economic and educational standards, of the dominant culture is called assimilation (www.as.ua.edu./murphy). In the South African context, assimilation is evident in various musical genres.

2.2.5   MODERNIZATION

Modernization is the process of changing the conditions of a society, an organization or another group of people in ways that change the privileges of that group according to modern technology or modern knowledge (www.housing.gov.za). On the other hand, Haviland (1996:437) defines modernization as "the process of cultural and socioeconomic change, whereby developing societies acquire some of the characteristics of Western industrialized societies". The process of modernization is further explained in the following words:

> The modernization of a society requires the destruction of the indigenous culture and its replacement by a western one. Technically modernity simply refers to the present, and any society still in existence is therefore modern. Proponents of modernization typically view only Western society as being truly modern arguing that others are primitive or unevolved by comparison (www.housing.gov.za).

2.2.6   URBANIZATION

According to Seymour-Smith (1986:283), the concept of urbanism and urbanization denotes the predominance and the growth of urban centers in society. On the other hand, Gould and Kolb (1964:739) argue that "urbanization may denote a diffusion of the influences of urban centres to a rural hinterland. The influence diffused usually refers to the customs and traits of these urban centres". Modernization is the process of changing the conditions of a society, an organization or another group of people in ways that change the privileges of that group according to modern technology or modern knowledge (www.housing.gov.za).

2.3 DEFINITIONS AND THEORIES OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

Since this study is approached from the ethnomusicological point of view, it is vital to look briefly at some definitions and theories, as well as the background of ethnomusicology as a discipline.

2.3.1   DEFINITIONS OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

There are numerous definitions of ethnomusicology given by various scholars in this
field. Close scrutiny reveals, however, more or less the same meaning with definitions
differing only in the subtleties of wording. Various debates in the field of music led to
the growth of ethnomusicology as a unique field of study. In this study, however, it will
suffice to give a cursory glimpse of ethnomusicology for insight, and not to focus on
those debates, since literature thereon is available.

Nettl, in Msomi (1975:8), defines ethnomusicology as "the science that deals with the
music of peoples outside of Western civilization". On the other hand, Merriam, in
Msomi (1975:13), defines ethnomusicology as "the study of music in culture".

What is prominent in these definitions is that ethnomusicology is viewed as a discipline
concerned with the study of music and culture.

2.3.2   EMERGENCE OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY AS A DISCIPLINE

Nettl (1983) discusses the evolution of ethnomusicology as a discipline at length. The
forerunner of this discipline was what was known as 'comparative musicology'. Nettl
(1983:2), comments as follows about this evolution of ethnomusicology:

> In the century in which ethnomusicology can be said to have existed,
> since the first pioneer works of Ellis (1985), Baker (1882), and
> Stumpf (1886), attitudes and orientations have changed greatly. So
> has the name from something very briefly called "Musikologie" (in
> the 1880s), to comparative musicology (through about 1950), to
> ethno-musicology (1950 to ca.1956), quickly to ethnomusicology
> (removing the hyphen actually was an ideological move); and if we
> are not careful we may end up with ethnomusic-ology. The changes
> in name are indicative of even more changes and greater diversity of
> definitions.

The shift from comparative musicology emanated from the various debates amongst scholars. Comparative musicology had some pitfalls and portrayed some 'musics,' such as Western classical music as superior to others. 'Other musics', which were not Western, were judged on the pre-determined yardstick of a 'superior music'. Nettl (1983:7) states:

> After all, for some five decades, until ca. 1950, the field was called comparative musicology. Merriam (1977a: 192-93) believes that the change to "ethnomusicology", came from the recognition that this field is no more comparative than others, that the comparison can be made only after the things to be compared are well understood in themselves, and that in the end, comparison across cultural boundaries may be impossible, because the music and cultures of the world are unique.

It appears from the above quotations that comparative musicology was fraught with deficiencies, and thus inappropriate for studying 'other musics'. It was not possible to compare cultures without adequate understanding of those cultures. Ethnomusicology took over from comparative musicology because of criticisms levelled against it. Jaap Kunst is credited as the father of ethnomusicology. Nettl (1987:7) affirms this when he asserts that Jaap Kunst is generally regarded as the first to have used the new term prominently in print.

2.3.3 MUSIC AS CULTURE

Ethnomusicology as a discipline is concerned with the study of music as culture and music in culture. To fully understand music of the people, especially African music requires one to understand the culture of the people concerned. Pewa (1997:15), attests to this when he points out that 'the process of music cannot be fully understood if the culture of the people who produce music is not understood'. In the study of music as culture, Nettl (1983:132), comments as follows:

> The study of music as culture would make an attempt to seize the general nature of a society's culture and show how music

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accommodates its structure. It might identify certain central values of a society such as hierarchy or individualism and show how these are reflected (or perhaps violated) in musical conceptualization, behavior and sound.

Music has various roles in various societies, and plays a paramount role in African societies. It is used to teach people important things about their own culture. In African societies, cultural behaviour patterns are reflected in music. Sithole (1968:118) emphasizes that the music will express and reaffirm the culturally determined values of a society. If the values change and new values are adopted, the music will express new values or social situations. The African learns about life, and is disciplined through, music. Gcabashe (1995:90) attests to this when he says that most black societies do not regard music merely as entertainment, but as an embodiment and expression of beliefs and societal norms. This shows that music is part and parcel of culture. In the South African context, music plays a vital role as a vehicle for cultural transmission. Nkabinde (1997) attests to this when he stresses that South African music is well received by people because in most cases it deals with everyday life, at times with themes reflecting the traditions, beliefs and customs of, and current events in, the society. Nketia, in Msomi (1975:27), puts this well when he says:

It has been said that for the African, music and life are inseparable, for there is music for many of the activities of everyday life as well as music whose verbal texts express the African's attitude to life, his hopes and fears, his thoughts and beliefs.

Nketia's statement reaffirms the notion that music in African societies cannot be studied in isolation. Music is culture itself, and to understand African music entails understanding the culture of African societies. Nettl, in Pewa (1997:15), argues that music must be understood as part of culture and as a product of human society. The above reveals the notion that music and culture in African societies are intertwined and interwoven.

2.3.4   MUSIC IN CULTURE

Another approach in the study of ethnomusicology is the study of music in culture. This has been discussed in the works of scholars such as Nettl (1983), Merriam (1977) and many others.

Nettl (1983:136) has this to say about the study of music in culture:

> Most approaches to the study of music in culture use a static conception of culture.   Music in or as culture implies a relationship....   In all cases, there is at least the implication of influence of one on the other, normally of culture on music, or of a time sequence, normally of music following culture.

Nettl (1983) mentions four models or approaches to the study of music in culture:

- Enumerative approach: Based on the proposition that culture consists of a large number of separate components, interrelated to be sure, but a group of more or less separable domains e.g. Components such as marriage, puberty, death etc. (Nettl, 1983:136).

- Functionalist or structural-functionalist view of culture: Culture is like a human or animal organism, with parts or organs interrelating and contributing something to the whole.   The interrelationships and interdependencies of organs are paralleled by the same kind of relationships among the domains of culture (Nettl, 1983:137).

- A second kind of functionalist approach involves the hypothesis that there is for each culture a core or center, a basic idea or set of ideas, whose nature determines the character of other domains, including music (Nettl, 1983:138).

- A fourth model, subsumed in part under the foregoing three but yet worthy of special mention, envisions a line of relationships leading from a major value of culture to music. This model uses Merriam's tripartite model of music (concept, behaviour, sound) (Nettl, 1983:140).

The above approaches emphasize the vital role played by music in culture. In African societies, contrary to Western societies, music is not seen as a separate entity. Nkabinde (1997:1) argues that "In Western society, in contrast, there is a tendency to compartmentalize the arts and to divorce them from aspects of everyday life; thus we have 'pure' arts as opposed to 'applied' arts".

In African societies, music is indispensable in almost every aspect of life. Weinberg (1979:30) maintains that music-collection is an integral part of Zulu life, and children are taught to dance and sing at an early age. Nzimande (1993:24) also attests to this when he says that "through traditional songs and dances, young men and young women receive instructions in family life, customs and practices".

It is evident, that music in African societies has always been an integral part of society, an important part of life cycles, and often performed at births, death, harvesting etc. The importance of music in African societies is also depicted in the words of Ramsayer, in Nettl (1983:323), who states that "in many societies ... children and young people learn the important elements and values of their own culture through musical experience". Music plays a vital role in African societies, from the moment of birth until death. Bebey (1975:134) agrees when he states:

> Music is born in each child and accompanies him throughout life. Music helps the child triumph in his first encounter with death – the symbolic death that precedes initiation; it is reborn with the child who is now a man and it redirects his steps along the path of law and order that has been laid down by community.

It is evident from the above statements by various scholars that music is part and parcel of culture for African societies. Music permeates every sphere of African life. Music is part of the process of living itself and is not a luxury. It is virtually integrated into all the life patterns.

2.3.5   MUSIC IN ITS CULTURAL CONTEXT

In the study of African music, it is imperative to study music in its cultural context. Hood, in Apel (1969) as cited by Nettl (1983:131), points out that ethnomusicology is the study of music "not only in terms of itself but also in relation to its cultural context". Studying music in its cultural context provides us with historical and ethnographical data regarding the production, performance and experience of music (Nettl, 1983:132). Studying music in its cultural context is vital; it provides understanding of culture in the past and present.   According to Nettl (1983:135), "the study of music in its cultural context approach seems not to pose a major theoretical problem, although one should not make light of the problems of data gathering, sampling, and interpretation".   Music for Africans serves as a vehicle for the expression of sentiments and emotions.   To understand the music of African people entails understanding their culture and the context in which music takes place.   Xulu (1990:20) rightly expresses the importance of studying music in its cultural context when he states:

> Two major gaps in the academic study of African music include the lack of a unifying framework for evaluating the information collected about African music and the lack of a theoretical perspective for integrating musical analysis with social analysis. It is still common for anthropologists to give a detailed study of an African event in which music was performed, without paying any attention to the significance of music.

Initial approaches to the study of music focused on the study of music in isolation.   Other aspects, such as social and cultural settings, were ignored which contributed to a misconstrued understanding of African music.   Xulu (1990:21) further asserts:

> A social scientific approach should be useful in analyzing how the music works as an integrative force within its context as well as for describing the music in terms of those qualities of social interaction and participation which music elicits.

If we look at some definitions of ethnomusicology it becomes apparent that African music as or in culture should be analyzed, taking into consideration the social and

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cultural context. Merriam's tripartite model of music (concept, behaviour and sound) seems appropriate in the study of African music.

2.4   POPULAR MUSIC

Before we look at various cultures and subcultures in general, it is vital to look briefly at some definitions of popular music. *Mbaqanga* music is one example of modern popular music in South Africa.

Nettl (1985:84) defines popular music as follows:

> It is the music disseminated by radio, records, perhaps film and TV, the music of the large urban populations, performed at myriads of tiny night clubs and a few vast stadiums. It is urban music, but also available in small towns and even villages.

Commenting on the definition of popular music, Gxowa (1996:2) states:

> Popular music is the term applied without much precision to a wide variety of music. It suggests not only that the type of music described had a wide appeal (at some time and place), but also that it was not too demanding or innovatory and was not serious in intention in the sense that classical genres (symphonies, sonatas, operas, etc.) are serious.

Gxowa (1996:3) further points out that through the radio and record player, and later through films and television, composers and performers achieved international popularity. On the other hand, Middleton (1990:4) gives various definitions of popular music such as the following:

- Narrative definition: Popular music is an inferior type.
- Negative definition: Popular music is music that is not something else (usually 'folk' or 'art' music).

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- Sociological definition: Popular music is associated with (produced for or by) a particular social group.
- Technologico-economic definition: Popular music is disseminated by mass media and / or in a mass market.

According to Reader's Digest Illustrated Oxford Dictionary (1998: 636), popular music refers to "music appealing to a wide public". The term 'popular' refers to something liked or admired by many people or by a specified group. Nettl (1985), in his definition of popular music, highlights the role of the media in the transmission of popular music. On the other hand, Middleton's sociological and technologico-economic definition embraces the media as a tool for transmission, but also includes consumers of popular music.

In the opinion of the researcher, popular music can be defined as music disseminated by mass media and appealing to the wide public. In South Africa, *mbaqanga* is classified as one example of modern popular music. Xulu (1990:5) explains that modern popular music has appeared in different forms in Africa, and takes place alongside Western music. A good example is South Africa's *mbaqanga* and 'highlife' of West Africa.

2.5   POPULAR CULTURE

To fully comprehend the concept of popular music entails looking at the concept of popular culture and other cultures such as youth culture, club-culture and their sub-cultures.

According to Hall in Storey, (1993:5), popular culture can be defined as "a site where collective social understandings are created". Storey, on the other hand, defines popular culture as "culture which is widely favoured or well liked by many people". Storey (1993:12) further states that popular culture originates from the people; it is a culture of the people for the people. Storey (1993:16) mentions that popular culture only emerged following industrialization and urbanization.

When we look at Storey's definition of popular culture, where he viewed popular culture as a culture widely favoured or well liked by many people, it clarifies the definition of popular music, which can also be viewed as music favoured or well-liked by many people. Popular culture embraces popular music and other cultures such as youth culture, club-culture and their subcultures.

2.6 YOUTH CULTURE

Youth culture embraces certain types of popular music such as rock 'n' roll, punk music, rap music and other styles. In the South African context, 'kwaito' is part of South African youth culture. It appeals more to the youth than other genres such as *mbaqanga*, *isicathamiya*, African jazz and other styles. Youth culture reflects the way of life, and reinforces the identity, of the youth. Brake (1985:3) asserts that "our social identity is constructed from the nexus of social relations and meanings surrounding us, and from this, we learn to make sense of ourselves including our relation to the dominant culture". Brake (1985:191) further maintains:

> Youth culture offers a collective identity, a reference group from which youth can develop an individual identity. It provides cognitive material from which to develop an alternative script, kept secret from and in rebellion with, adult authority. It represents a free area to relax with one's peers outside the scrutiny and demands of the adult world.

Youth culture provides the youth with an opportunity to construct their social identity apart from the dominant culture (parent culture). Youth culture also comprises subcultures; for instance, we have rock music, heavy rock, punk music and so forth. Brake (1985:67) argues that subcultures try to retrieve the lost, socially cohesive elements in the parent culture; they attempt to relocate 'in an imaginary relation' the real relations, which those in subcultures cannot transcend. Youth cultures, whether American, British or South African, share certain common features, such as male domination. Brake (1985:29) emphasizes that youth culture has been male dominated and predominantly heterosexual, thus celebrating masculinity and excluding girls to the

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periphery. Through popular music, youth culture is perpetuated and practiced. Western popular music such as rock'n'roll, hip-hop and house music, seems to draw much of its African audience from the youth. In the South African context, *kwaito* appears to have a large audience from the youth. According to Brake (1985:41) "popular music was a central feature of youth culture, in particular the consumption of disc aimed at specific age groups".

2.7   TYPES OF POPULAR MUSIC AND SUBCULTURES

Western music comprises various types of popular music and underlying subcultures. In this section, we are going to look briefly at British and American popular music. British and American music has a profound influence on South African musical styles, and on the African continent as a whole. Through colonialism, Christianity and missionaries, the traditional way of life for the Africans changed dramatically. This metamorphosis is reflected in various aspects of African life. The rationale for discussing British and American popular music is its contribution to the evolution of urban and hybrid musical genres in South Africa. The influence of European music in Africa is manifested in Merriam's words, as cited by Herskovits and Bascom (1959:83):

> These two factors - the mission influence and the urban movement
> with its attendant results - seem to be the most important sources of
> change in African musical patterns as far as Western influences are
> concerned, and brought some striking alterations in the musical face
> of Africa.

The following types of Western popular music are discussed below to render a vivid picture of the evolution of *mbaqanga* music in South Africa.

2.7.1 COUNTRY MUSIC AND FOLK MUSIC

Country music evolved from folk music, and its evolution can thus be attributed to folk music. Cripps (1988:31) reveals that country music is another branch of American popular music that developed during the 20th century from the music of the 'poor white'.

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It began as folk music and finally become country music. Middleton (1990:129) remarks that it is impossible to write a history of popular music or an analysis of virtually any nineteenth or twentieth century genre without an awareness of what is commonly regarded as folk music.

Cripps (1988) further explains that folk music was the music with which people entertained themselves and each other. It was seldom written down and both tunes and words were passed down through generations, changing slightly all the time. Cripps (1988:31) further argues:

> 'White' folk songs were based on melodies and storylines. The dramatic stories they told were often long, and were about lovers, deceived husbands, sailors and soldiers gone away to war, the cycle of the seasons, magical character and events. These songs were called ballads.

Cripps (ibid) also mentions different types of folk dance, such as the following:

- The jig: which was in 6/8 time.
- The reel, the strathspay and the rant: in 4/4 time.
- The hornpipe and polka: in 2/4 time.
- The waltz: in 3/4 time.
- The slip jig in 9/8 time.

Cripps (1988:32) also mentions that the melodies of folk ballads and dances were based on a set of scales called modes, which had been in use for centuries. Country music developed from folk music, embracing features of folk music. Cripps (1988:34) explains that American country music is at present the main form of popular music this day in the Southern States. It has developed throughout the century taking elements of all the other forms of folk music.

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2.7.2   ROCK 'N' ROLL

Rock 'n' roll emerged bringing together various elements and threads of popular music.
It evolved as a mixture of various styles of popular music. Commenting on the evolution
of rock 'n' roll, Jewell (1980:12) explains:

> Rock did not emerged or exist in a vacuum. It was (and is) part of
> the evolution of twentieth-century popular music, not somehow
> separate from it. It wouldn't have happened at all without blues,
> rhythm and blues and American country music from which it derived
> and they themselves were just some of the many different popular
> forms which flowed from the meeting of European and African
> musical cultures in the United States during the nineteenth century.

However, rock 'n' roll was perceived negatively by the older generation. They viewed
rock 'n' roll as 'Satan's' music. It was associated with drugs, alcohol and other devilish
activities. Middleton (1990:18) states:

> At first rock 'n' roll was generally seen in terms of rebellion. It was
> viewed positively, by fans and fellow travelers, or negatively, by
> outraged defenders of established cultural interests, in any case, it
> was new music, set against existing popular types.

Cripps (1988: 41) concurs with the above when he asserts:

> When rock 'n' roll first came to a mass audience in 1955 the reaction
> was incredible hysterical. Rock 'n' roll stars were screamed at and
> mobbed. Parents thought the music was corrupting their children.
> Campaigns against rock 'n' roll appeared on televisions. Preachers
> taught that rock 'n' roll was evil.

Chambers (1985:18) agrees with Middleton and Cripps and depicts the British perception
of rock 'n' roll as follows:

> The musical language of rock 'n' roll was foreign compared to what
> had previously dominated British tastes. The majority of objections
> raised by the popular music establishment insisted that rock 'n' roll

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was loud and harsh, that quite simply it was not music but noise, and
worse still, a vulgar commercial noise.

Commercially, rock music provided music industries with opportunities to target the youth as prospective consumers. New markets were created by rock music. Groups such as the Beatles played a vital role in popularizing rock 'n' roll. According to Cripps (1989:39) Chuck Berry was one of the first black rock 'n' rollers to achieve success nationally. Cripps (ibid) further asserts that Berry gave rock 'n' roll a lot of its 'teenage' lyrics. He sang with style and humour about the things teenagers were interested in, and for the first time created a music that was all theirs. Other styles of rock 'n' roll also emerged, such as heavy rock and psychedelic rock and other styles.

Cripps (1988:61) argues that "psychedelic rock was the name given to music which attempted to re-create or portray, by means of words and sounds, LSD drug experience". Cripps (1988:68) further points out that "heavy rock is high energy music. It is based on the image of the guitar hero and had its roots in blues guitar and blues scales". However, it is interesting to note that this style is associated with alcohol abuse, and but most particularly with drugs. This is a contributing factor to the negative attitude that this style encountered over the years.

2.7.3   PUNK MUSIC

Punk music is another style, which evolved in the nineties. This genre had its own culture visible in the dress code and hairstyles of musicians and fans. Chambers (1985:178) remarks:

> During the extreme summer of 1976, the wan body of punk - clothed
> in tatters held together by chains, safety pins and sticky tape became
> temporary stage of crisis, its sartorial breakdown the apparent mirror
> of a moral one.

In his description of 'punks', Brake (1985:77) states that "hair was shaved close to the head, dyed outrageous colors, then later, spiked up into cockatoo plumes of startling

designs, individual to each person". Chambers (1985:178) also argues that punk music was strikingly 'ethnic' music. Its crude, 'home-made' sound produced a white 'noise' that was offensive to more normal pop, as the indecipherable 'monotony' of reggae's rumbling bass and choppy rhythms was mysterious. Like rock 'n' roll, punk music became the youth's medium of expression. It had its own culture which bound its followers. Cripps (1988:70) maintains that "punk put into words the feelings of ordinary young people. The lyrics expressed disgust with the society they were part of". It appears from the above statements that through punk music, the youth were rebelling against the parent culture, and now had their own subcultural style.

2.7.4 RAP MUSIC

Rap music evolved in the USA, particularly in New York. Rap music is associated with the black youth in America. Even today, rap music is linked to African - Americans. Most rappers are not white, and to date we have few exceptions, for instance, Eminem who is famous amongst the youth globally. Chambers (1985:190) remarks on how rap music evolved, in the following words:

> Rap is New York's 'sound system'; the black youth culture of
> Harlem and Bronx successfully twisting technology into new
> cultural shape. Rap is sonorial graffiti, a musical spray that marries
> black rhythms and the verbal gymnastics of hip street talk to a hot
> DJ patter over an ingenious manipulation of turntable.

According to Reader's Digest Illustrated Oxford Dictionary (1998:679), rap music is described as "a style of black popular music with a pronounced beat to which words are recited rather than sung". Rap music, like other styles, has its distinguished culture and is sometimes imbued with profanity, which is unacceptable to the dominant culture.

2.7.5 REGGAE MUSIC

The origin of reggae music can be traced back to Jamaica in the 1960's. However, the predecessors of reggae in Jamaica were ska music and rock steady. Commenting about 'ska music', Cripps (1988:77) asserts:

> Jamaican musicians began playing their own style of R 'n' B, mixing ideas from the original Afro-American music with rhythms from their own Jamaican folk music. It was from this mixture that ska was eventually formed. Its early stars were Jimmy Cliff and Desmond Dekker.

Cripps (1988) also mentions that around 1966 rock steady, which was similar to ska music but slow, took over. The lyrics of ska music were mainly about love, whereas in rock steady they were about hungry children, police and politics. Reggae came after rock steady in Kingston in Jamaica. Cripps (1988:80) remarks as follows on the evolution of reggae:

> Rock steady was a transitional music and by 1968, it was replaced by reggae. Reggae is the music of the 'rude boys', the outlaws of Kingston, Jamaica's capital. Rude boys are street punks and were often members of criminal gangs. Reggae is also the music of another set of outlaws in Jamaica, the Rastafarians. Rastas believe that one day black people will return to their promised land, the country of Ethiopia in Africa.

Some reggae stars amongst others were Peter Tosh and Bob Marley. Bob Marley was one of reggae's first international stars, who played a vital role in popularizing this genre.

2.7.6 RHYTHM AND BLUES (R&B)

Rhythm and Blues is another popular style, which drew many fans internationally. This genre evolved in the 1950's.

Cripps (1988:46) comments on the evolution of Rhythm 'n' Blues as follows:

> In the 1950s, completely within the back or 'race record' market, gospel singers like Sam Cooke had been mixing their gospel style with the city-blues instrumentation. The vocal-harmony and singing style were pure gospel, but the rhythms were a blues and gospel mix and the lyrics were close to sexual explicit blues. Songs like 'Have Mercy Baby' by, the Dominoes, had changed 'Lord' to 'Baby' and the song had shifted the object of passion from God to woman. Rhythm 'n' Blues or R 'n' B was born. Its best-known group is the Drifters.

The roots of R 'n' B music can be traced to African-Americans. In British R 'n' B, The Rolling Stones played a paramount role in its popularization. According to Cripps (1988), the British R 'n' B was based in the London pubs and clubs. Besides popular styles mentioned here, there are various other styles such as disco, hip-hop, blues, jazz, funk, soul and other subcultural styles. However, in this study, the intention is to give an overview of these styles and not to discuss them in details. Several works have been produced by different scholars on these styles.

2.8 REVIEWS AND SUMMARIES

Several scholars have written works, which runs parallel to this research. Therefore, it is important to review some of the work done in this regard.

1) Bruno Nettl (1983) in his work, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts*, focuses extensively on ethnomusicology and other related issues. Nettl explains the evolution of the concept 'Ethnomusicology'. He also looks at various definitions by renowned scholars, such as Merriam and others. Nettl also focuses on various aspects of the study of music in culture. He focuses on music as culture and music in its cultural context. Nettl discusses uses and functions of music in detail. Nettl (1983:147) points out that "much literature on the study of music in culture involves the ways in which humans use music, which is therefore said to carry out certain functions in human society...." Nettl also looks at several theories

relating to the origins of music. In his work, Nettl focuses on the study of music as symbol and as a system of symbols.

Furthermore, Nettl discusses the aspects of fieldwork and the contract between the 'outsider' and the 'insider' of a culture. He also touches on the relationship of fieldworker and informant, and some of the issues related to the concept of ethnomusicology as the study of all the world's music. Nettl reveals the importance and role of music in the transmission of culture. Nettl also discusses the impact of Western music on non-Western music. He discusses concepts such as syncretism, westernization and modernization. In his conclusion, Nettl deals briefly with some broad trends in the history of ethnomusicology. Although Nettl's work does not focus on *mbaqanga* music as such, it explains the relationship between music and culture, and the study of music in its cultural context.

2) Bruno Nettl (1985), *The Western Impact On the World Music*. This work is a compilation of essays by Nettl and a few other articles by other writers. In this work, Nettl discusses the effects of Western musical culture on the musical tradition of the non-Western world. Nettl argues that the imposition of Western music was initially brought by the church. When we look into *mbaqanga* music, it will be vital to look at some influences brought by church music. Nettl gives examples, for instance, Sun Dance by the North American Indians, where some ceremonial aspects are abandoned and social ones kept. This can be interpreted as modernization. Nettl also shows the effects of Western music by comparing two cities, Tehran and Madras. Although the music of these two cities had much in common, they however reacted differently to the impact of Western music. Nettl (1985:143) reveals this when he states that in another respect, what has happened in Madras comes down to modernization, and in Tehran, to Westernization.

Nettl also highlights the tendency for traditional instruments to decrease in number as more instruments that are Western were adopted. In the South African context, this took place when Western instruments were introduced. Nettl discusses the impact of

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technology on non-Western music. The introduction of records, cassettes, and radio also impacted on South African music extensively. Waterman, in Nettl (1985) discusses briefly Juju music, which is Nigeria's popular music. Waterman also stresses the importance of the media in the dissemination of this genre, which contributed to its popularity.

3) Christopher Waterman (1990), *Juju: A Social History and Ethnography of An African Popular Music*. In this work, Waterman provides a detailed account of the evolution and social significance of a West African popular music. He describes the origins of this genre in the early 1930s in Lagos, the capital city of Nigeria. Waterman shows the effects of Nigeria's political economy on this music. Waterman gives a vivid picture of Nigeria's independence and oil boom years in the 1980s. He further portrays the symbolism of juju in the city of Ibadan. He looks at the issue of continuity and change, ideology in popular culture and style as a medium for publicly presenting and negotiating identity. Waterman also suggests that a musical practice can play a powerful role in the reproduction and transformation of social order.

The evolution of juju music can be equated to the evolution of *mbaqanga* music in South Africa. Conditions that transpired in Nigeria, and the impact of Westernization, can be closely linked to conditions that took place in South Africa. Features of Western music, especially the influence of Christian hymns, which characterized juju music, also characterize *mbaqanga* music.

4) Francis Bebey (1975), *African Music: A People's Art*. Bebey's work focuses on traditional African music in general and gives some comparison between African music and Western music. He emphasizes the need to study African music in its cultural context. Bebey (1975:3) emphasizes the role of music for Africans when he points out that "African musicians do not seek to combine sounds in a manner pleasing to the ear. Their aim is simply to express life in all of its aspects through the medium of sound".

Bebey also looks at traditional African musical instruments, and the role these instruments play in African life.

5) William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits (1959), *Continuity and change in African Cultures*. This work is a compilation of essays by different writers. Herskovits and Bascom look at the problem of stability and change in African culture. They look at some definitions of culture and draw commonalities amongst them. Herskovits and Bascom (1959:1) argue that although many definitions of culture have been suggested, differing in wording and in emphasis, it is generally agreed that these ways of thinking and acting are patterned, so that behavior in any society is not haphazard or random. Merriam, in Herskovits and Bascom (1959), looks at African music and emphasizes that music in African societies plays a part in all aspects of culture. Merriam also looks at the impact of missionaries on African music. There are also several other articles in this work, but most of them focus on change in African cultures, particularly in music, brought about by contact with European cultures. In South African context, European contact has brought changes, not only in music, but also in almost all aspects of life.

6) Henry Weman (1960), *African Music and the Church in Africa*. In this work, Weman focuses on African music in general. He looks at the role of music in African societies. Weman discusses the introduction of choral music by missionary schools. He also highlights the negative attitude exhibited by these missionaries towards African music, which they perceived as heathen. Weman (1960:116) presents this vividly when he states that folk music, its song and its instruments, was treated as dangerous, and was firmly excluded from the Christian scheme of things.

African people, especially churchgoers, became brainwashed and started looking down upon their own music because it was associated with heathenism. Weman concluded his work by tabulating recommendations about the inclusion of African compositions, folk instruments such as mbira and the musical bow, in the church.

7) Peter Kallaway and Patric Pearson (1986), *Images and Continuities. A History of Working Class Life through Pictures 1885 - 1935*. Kallaway and Pearson's work focuses mainly on the history of South Africa from 1885 to 1935. They look at the emergence of mine labour. They look at the social lives of migrant workers and the conditions they lived under in the compounds. History is told in the form of pictures in this work. *Mbaqanga* music evolved in these conditions in South Africa during the apartheid era.

8) Sarah Thornton (1995), *Club Cultures. Music, Media and Subcultural Capital*. Thornton's work focuses on popular culture, especially in Britain. She looks at dance cultures, raves, youth cultures, club cultures, rock 'n' roll, house, techno, hip-hop, raga, funk, disco, reggae etc. Thornton highlights the values of authenticity and hipness and explores the complex hierarchies that emerge within the domain of popular culture. She also paints a picture of club culture as 'taste cultures' brought together by micro-media (like flyers and listings), transformed into self-conscious 'subcultures' by niche media (like the music and style press). Thornton further analyses the changing status of the medium of recording, from a marginal second-class entertainment in the 1950s, to the much celebrated, dominant form of clubs and raves in the 1990s.

9) Ian Chambers (1985), *Urban Rhythms. Pop Music and Popular Culture*. Chambers focuses on popular culture in Britain, but also makes some references to American popular culture. Chambers discusses and describes the nature of contemporary popular culture, and the place of leisure, youth and pleasure within it. He presents a history of British pop music, from its beginnings in the mid - 1950s to the present time. By following the emergence and diffusion of pop's numerous musical language, rock 'n' roll, British beat and R&B, soul, progressive rock, reggae, disco, punk, and rap. He examines the way that this music profoundly occupies the fabric of popular culture and everyday life.

10) Collins Cripps (1988), *Popular Music in the 20th Century*. Cripps introduces this work by describing slavery in the USA, which contributed immensely to the development of various musical styles. Cripps explains that slaves, who were kidnapped expecially from the West African coastal area, were shipped to America in slave ships. New styles evolved when these slaves mixed their own African tradition with European music. Examples of these new styles were found in their work songs and spirituals. Cripps (1988:7) explains that "work-songs and spirituals – the music of slaves – resulted from the mixture of African and European musical ideas. Later, this mixture gave rise to jazz and 20th century popular music".

Cripps discusses various popular styles such as ragtime, blues, traditional jazz, be-bop, R 'n' B, rock 'n' roll, punk, gospel, soul and several others. Cripps's work focuses on various styles of popular music in the 20th century. He discusses the related groups of musical styles, their evolution, social background, distinctive musical characteristics and central techniques.

11) Richard Middleton (1990), *Studying Popular Music*. Middleton in his work, starts by looking at various definitions of popular music. He looks at popular music and mass culture. Middleton also focuses on popular music and musicology and looks at the 'culturalist' approaches to popular music. He also looks at the analogies between music and language. Middleton additionally turns to the analysis of popular music, looking at various approaches drawn from musicology, folklorist, anthropology and cultural studies, from structuralism and semiology, and from aesthetic, ideological analysis and psychoanalysis.

12) Derek Jewell (1980), *The Popular Voice. A Musical Record of the 60s and 70s*. Jewell in his work focuses on popular music from the 1960s to the 1970s. He looks at various musicians and contributions they made during this era. Jewell explains that for popular music, this period (1960s and 1970s) was a golden age. Jewell also looks at the evolution of jazz and rock 'n' roll. Jewell comments on the lives and works of these musicians and groups. Amongst these musicians, he mentions, The Beatles,

Duke Ellington, Charlie Parker, Louis Armstrong, The Stones, Supremes, David Bowie, Bob Dylan, Mike Oldfield, Benny Goodman, Sonny Rollins, Ornette Coleman and countless others who contributed to musical history in various styles of popular music.

13) John Storey (1993), *An Introductory Guide to Cultural Theory and Popular Culture.* Storey looks at the changing relationship between cultural theory and popular culture; mapping the relationship between the production of theory, and the consumption and production of culture. Storey presents a detailed critical survey of competing theories and approaches to popular culture. Storey discusses theories such as structuralism, culturalism, poststructuralism, feminism, postmodernism and Marxism. Using examples of popular cultural texts and practices, this book assesses each approach in terms of its contribution to the study of popular culture. Storey concludes with an examination of recent developments and debates, including both the claims and counter-claims of political economy and cultural populism.

14) Michael Brake (*1985), Comparative Youth Culture. The Sociology of Youth Cultures and Youth Subcultures in America, Britain and Canada.* Brake focuses on youth culture in Britain, the USA and Canada. He suggests that these subcultures develop in response to social problems which a group experiences collectively. He emphasizes that the main problem that affects young people in the West today is unemployment. Brake looks at post-war youth culture, and compares the minority cultures and collective identities they generate, showing how individuals draw on these to define their own identities outside the limits imposed by class, education and occupation. He also looks in detail at the cultures of ethnic groups, girls and gays, and at prejudices these groups have to contend with. Brake also explores the celebration of masculinity, relating it to gay youth and to the possible emancipation of girls from the cult of romance and marriage.

15) Emile Boonzaier and John Sharp (1988), *The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts.* Boonzaier and Sharp look at the concept of culture and community with special

reference to South Africa. They also look at the concept 'tradition'. They analyze this term particularly as it was used in the South African context. Boonzaier and Sharp also focus on the issue of race and the race paradigm. In addition, they look at other terms such as 'ethnic' and 'nation', and, most importantly, the evolution of apartheid in South Africa. Other issues discussed in this book are the introduction of various acts by the apartheid regime, such as the Group Areas Act. This book, in short, focuses on a number of concepts that are employed in the South African context.

2.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter dealt with the review of literature, focusing on various issues of ethnomusicology. Definitions and theories of ethnomusicology were given. The concept of music as culture, music in culture and the study of music in its cultural context were discussed. Popular music, popular culture, youth culture, types of popular music and its subcultures were also discussed. Above all, reviews and summaries of work parallel to this study were given.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF MBAQANGA MUSIC

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with an analysis of the historical background and development of mbaqanga music. Research done on mbaqanga music does not, however, specify the exact dates pertaining to the evolution of this genre. Speculations by various scholars seem to point to the 1940s, and the crystallization of *mbaqanga* music in the 1950s. When we look into the history of *mbaqanga*, it is crucial to look at its predecessors, such as *marabi* and *kwela* music.

Marabi and *kwela* music played a vital role in the development of *mbaqanga*. It is important, therefore, to discuss these two styles before we embark on the history of *mbaqanga* music.

3.2 PREDECESSORS OF MBAQANGA

3.2.1 MARABI MUSIC

The evolution of *marabi* music can be traced back to the 1920s. This genre grew and flourished under social and political conditions that prevailed in those times. Sophiatown in Johannesburg became a breeding ground for this subculture. Sophiatown originally was intended for low-income whites by H. Tobiansky who was an investor in 1897. However, because of various pitfalls, for instance, being far from the city, it could not attract buyers and tenants. Consequently, buyers and tenants were not discriminated against on the basis of race. Sophiatown, as a result, ended up being a racially mixed area. It drew a number of migrant workers who made it their home through the process of urbanization and industrialization. Sophiatown became a home for both the elite and proletarians.

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Coplan (1980:316) elaborates:

> Shebeen society, primarily a working-class innovation, flourished among all of Sophiatown's varied population. Some drinking houses (e.g., Aunt Babe's, The House on Telegraph Hill, and The Back of the Moon) became genuine night-clubs.

The introduction of gramophone records led to various musicians starting to imitate American jazz. Jazz, therefore, became an integral part of urban black music in Sophiatown. Black musicians associated themselves with African-American musicians. Among African jazz bands that popularized jazz, were the Jazz Maniacs and Merry Blackbirds. Coplan (1980:331) explains how *tsaba-tsaba*, which was dance music, evolved:

> By the 1940's the latest popular working-class dance music combined African melody and rhythm with the rhythms of American rumba and conga. Developed by Black South African bandsmen, the new style was called *tsaba-tsaba*.

Tsaba-tsaba accommodated migrant workers and the proletarians. This dance music was usually performed in 'rough' venues, and thus received a negative reputation especially amongst the elite. *Marabi* culture evolved in these conditions in Sophiatown. It was performed in shebeens and stokvels which were venues for social and recreational activities. Erlman, in Ntaka (1997:11), argues that in shebeens, workers "would play music on whatever instruments were at hand, old guitars, pianos, concertinas and home made percussion". He further explains that the result was called *marabi* music. Manuel, in Ntaka (1997:11), concurs with Erlman when he states that "the music that emerged in 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".

Therefore, *marabi* music provided entertainment in urban centres. This genre drew from various sources such as ragtime, Pedi and Tswana tribe brass music and keyboard adaptations of Xhosa folk melodies. Amongst people who contributed to the

development of this genre, is Reuben Caluza. Manuel, in Ntaka (1997:12), has this to say in this regard:

> 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.

It is crucial to note that conditions that prevailed in Sophiatown for migrant workers, who were alienated from their families and found solace in the recreational activities, played a vital role in nurturing *marabi* music. As time went on, however, the elite blacks started to look down upon *marabi* and associated this music with ghetto life, gangsters and moreover, the poor working-class. Manuel, in Ntaka (ibid), affirms to this when he says:

> 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.

Shebeens and stokvel venues were often subject to continuous police harassment and the police perceived marabi music as nothing but 'noise'. These were just few instances that created a negative attitude towards *marabi* music.

Gradually, these negative attitudes especially towards *marabi* and jazz began to fade amongst the black elite. They began to tire of *makwaya* concerts. They developed a taste for dance band-music. This change might have been brought about by the rising status of jazz musicians within African-American culture. These jazz musicians became influential figures in the twenties and early thirties. According to Manuel, in Ntaka (1997:13), "in urban South Africa, 'township jazz' arose as a dance-band style, big band swing". Musicians were, however, faced with the problem of acquiring musical instruments. These instruments were expensive and they could not afford them. Some musicians therefore opted for cheaper instruments such as concertinas, guitars, and penny whistles.

Coplan (1980:341) puts this well when he states:

> The penny-whistlers were brought up on *marabi* and on the solo clarinet playing of Americans like Artie Shaw and Benny Goodman and locals such as Zakes Nkosi. They developed an authentic, highly vocal style of jazz improvisation within syncretic African urban music. They drew from available materials in much the same as the shebeen musicians did and styles in new directions. Ultimately they blended indigeneous and imported musical elements into a unified form based on African principles. This form developed from an improvisational "street music" to a staple of the South African recording industry - the first distinctively South African style to achieve international recognition.

This new style came to be known as *kwela* music. Manuel, in Ntaka (1997:13) affirms this when he states that in the forties and fifties a more grassroots version of township jazz developed which came to be known as *kwela*. Therefore, *marabi* music gradually gave way to this new style, which became popular and even spread to neighbouring countries.

3.2.2   KWELA MUSIC

Marabi style was gradually replaced by *kwela* music, especially during the 1940's. Arnold, in Ntaka (1997:14), argues that *kwela*, or Afro-jazz is the popular urban style of Southern Africa. Various factors led to the emergence of *kwela* music. The affordability of the penny whistle seems to be one of these reasons. Most black musicians could not afford expensive instruments and the penny whistle became an alternative. *Marabi* musicians and the black middle class did not take the penny whistle seriously at first, because it was associated with the children busking at the street corners. Allen, as cited by Ntaka (1997:14), points out that in the forties, a penny whistle was considered to be a child's toy; what small boys played because they could not afford 'real' instruments. Ballantine, in Ntaka (1997:14-15), concurs with Allen when he describes *kwela* 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...."

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These negative attitudes towards *kwela* music began to change and this style eventually gained acceptance amongst the black elite and even amongst white people. Factors which led to *kwela's* popularity, were amongst others, the media, the recording industry, and talent scouts. Rycroft, in Coplan (1980:342), explains:

> Recognition by the entertainment media greatly increased the respectability of pennywhistle music among urban Africans, who began to regard it as an authentic expression of their urban culture rather than as an indolent pastime of juvenile delinquents.

Moreover, the popularization of *kwela* can also be attributed to the film '*The Magic Garden*' which used urban African actors and a location setting. Willard Cele was featured in this film, playing his own compositions in an Alexandra street. Coplan (1980:342) mentions that these were later released as 'Pennywhistle Blues' and 'Pennywhistle Boogie', highly popular with African audiences. The recording of 'Tom Hark' and its huge success internationally also led to the popularization of kwela. Some of the musicians who popularized this genre are Aaron Lerole, Spokes Mashiyane and Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso. *Kwela* music also generated its own dance style, which became known as *patha-patha* ('touch-touch'). Coplan (ibid) describes this dance style as follows:

> This was an individualized, sexually suggestive form of jive dancing for young people in which partners alternately touched each other all over the body with their hands in time with the rhythm. The dancers often shouted the word *kwela* (Zulu: 'climb on', 'get up') as an inducement to others to join in.

The feature of kwela music is the rhythmic ostinato chord sequence of C-F-C-G7 (I IV I V). Instruments that were usually used were a string bass, and guitar and a standard drum set. Several pennywhistles usually played a strong repetitive melodic line divided into the antiphonal two-phrase, four-bar sequence.

Gradually, the popularity of *kwela* began to decline. Most pennywhistlers had to switch to saxophone, which started to replace pennywhistle. These changes were brought about

by several factors. Coplan (1980:346) notes that during the 1950s, studios used professional musicians to back the pennywhistlers, adding saxophone and piano to *kwela* instrumentation. Most of these professional jazz musicians developed interest in the pennwhistle soloist. Coplan (ibid) further elaborates:

> *Kwela* was recognized as the basis of local style that could compete commercially with imported music. Musically illiterate jazz players who had performed *marabi* on the pennywhistle as youngsters readily adapted to the new style, creating a *kwela*-jazz in which the pennywhistle was replaced by saxophone.

As a result, many penny whistlers abandoned their pennywhistles in favour of the saxophone. This includes great pennywhistlers such as Spokes Mashiyane and many more. *Kwela* music was now being replaced by this new jazz-*kwela* style in the 1950s. Among the innovators of this new style were Ntemi Piliso and his Alexandra All-Star Band, as well the versatile Jazz Maniacs. The recording of the Jazz Maniacs 'Majuba', which became popular, became the generic term for this new style.

This abridged historical background of *marabi* and *kwela* music in this study, serves to give a vivid picture of the evolution of *mbaqanga* music. These two musical styles contributed greatly to the evolution of the *mbaqanga* tradition.

3.3 EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MBAQANGA

The development, origin, and history of *mbaqanga* can be traced back as far as the twentieth century. Literature on *mbaqanga* music seems to speculate on the dates of when this genre evolved. *Mbaqanga* music might have existed centuries back, but was not given a name by then. According to Ray Phiri, *mbaqanga* music was already played before the 1920s, and the documentation only started in the 1920s (Interview, October, 1997). However, most scholars concur with the notion that *mbaqanga* music descended from jazz, choral, *marabi* and syncretic music. It is a hybrid style resulting from various musical styles. Another contributory factor to the emergence of *mbaqanga* style was the

launching of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) in the early 50s. Coplan (1985) mentions that the SABC had regular programmes on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays where a variety of African musical styles were presented. Coplan (1985:161) states that this programme increased cultural communication by exposing urban Africans to traditional music and migrants to African 'township jazz'. Commenting on how the term *mbaqanga* was coined, Coplan (ibid) elaborates:

> By the early 1950s the SABC was presenting different African languages and musical styles on separate days. Once a week jazz pianist-composer Gideon Nxumalo entertained urban Africans with his regular feature, 'this is Bantu Jazz'. He was principally responsible for the wide distribution of a new term for the *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. Among musicians, it meant that the music was both the Africans' own, the homely cultural sustenance of the townships, and the popular working-class source of the musicians' 'daily bread'.

When *mbaqanga* music evolved, various terms were used to refer to it. *Msakazo* was one of the terms used for *mbaqanga*, meaning broadcast. The term *Msakazo*, was, however, perceived as derogatory. This negative perception can be attributed to the fact that, since the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) was a government institution, *msakazo* was regarded as a tool to promote and perpetuate separate development among black ethnic groups. *Mbaqanga* was also known as jive, commonly known as 'township jive'. Another term that referred to *mbaqanga* was *mgqashiyo*. *Mgqashiyo* refers to a style of *mbaqanga* that was developed by Mahlathini and the Mahotella Queens. Mahlathini and Marks Mankwane explained that *mgqashiyo* referred to a kind of maiden dance, *izintombi ziyagqashiya* (Interview, October 1997). Another term that was used that also referred to *mbaqanga* was African Jazz.

The above terms suggest that *mbaqanga* music masqueraded as various forms that eventually took the name *mbaqanga*. *Mbaqanga*, as a tradition, did not evolve in a vacuum. It was a product of various forces and factors. It was born out of the unique

experiences of the South African black people. Ray Phiri puts this briefly when he explains that "*mbaqanga* was an osmosis of different tribes and cultures that developed it" (Interview, October 1997). *Mbaqanga*, as a tradition, therefore, cannot be studied in isolation but must be understood in relation to the socio-cultural and political factors that helped to shape it. It is vital, therefore, to discuss the evolution of *mbaqanga* within its cultural context.

3.3.1   POLITICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF MBAQANGA

Mbaqanga music is one amongst many musical styles that are part of the South African heritage. It is one of South African's traditions. *Mbaqanga* music has been categorized under neo-traditional music, which implies that it is traditional music played on Western instruments. As a tradition, *mbaqanga* plays a vital role in the transmission of culture. Understanding this tradition demands looking at the political, social, historical and cultural context of this genre. This music was a product of various conditions and circumstances. Therefore, *mbaqanga* music cannot be studied in isolation but must be understood in relation to the historical and cultural context. Fage (1971:260) expresses similar sentiments when he states:

> 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.

Chernoff (1979:33) concurs with Fage when he says that "one feature which African musical traditions seem to have in common, therefore, is the depth of their integration into various patterns of social, economic, and political life". The evolution of *mbaqanga* in South Africa was influenced by circumstances of the time. In South Africa, dating back as far as early twenties, numerous social, economic and political changes swept the country. These changes led to the development of various musical styles.

Graham, in Ntaka, (1997:18) stipulates that:

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

The arrival of Europeans in Africa impacted greatly on African music. In the South African context, urbanization, colonization, westernization, Christianity and missionaries transformed the traditional way of life among the Africans. This condition was exacerbated by the discovery of gold in the Johannesburg area in 1886. Black people were circumstantially compelled to seek work in the mines, mainly because of changed economic conditions that mushroomed as a result of the discovery of gold. The government also introduced taxation, and this coerced black people to find work. Moreover, in 1867 diamonds were discovered at Kimberly. There was great demand for manual labour in these mines, and black people provided cheap labour.

Coplan (1985:11) points out that cattle diseases, land scarcity and colonial taxation intensified the economic motivation of migrants. These conditions led to urbanization, where people migrated from rural areas to settle near places of work. Coplan (1985:12) elaborates:

> Africans had already begun to experience urban life in towns of the Cape and Natal. But the size, diversity, and rapid expansion of Kimberly, along with the labour conditions of mining in the late nineteenth century, set a pattern for African urbanization. The Africans in Kimberly either did not have or soon lost any intention of returning home.

Migrant workers were housed in compounds under appalling and inhumane conditions. Scarcity of dwelling places led to the development of urban environment of the townships, hostels and slums. In these mines people from divergent ethnic groups came to live together. People from diverse cultures intermingled, bringing with them their various folk cultures. Migrant labourers found themselves alienated from their families, and a need for recreation emerged. It was the mining compound and the migrant worker hostel which were the initial form of residential segregation in the South African city.

Compounds were an instrument of labour control, and their prison-like conditions and quasi-tribal system of discipline and authority, involving compound police, indunas and ethnic division, served to control desertion and absenteeism, and hamper the development of organization among workers. Ordered townships were created, following on this experience. Black locations were a mechanism for dividing the working class. The single-sex hostel, a variant of the compound, served to separate male migrant workers from all other urban residents. The basis of these urban patterns was a contradictory policy objective of attempting to secure labour power while minimizing the presence of labourers (http://www.colophon.be). Music served as one mechanism to fulfill this need. Consequently, places like shebeens and stokfels emerged as venues for recreation and social activities. Entertainment served to bridge a lacuna between migrant workers and their families, who were on the rural periphery.

A new social life emerged in this new urban environment. Coplan (1985:13) emphasizes that in Kimberly, Africans were exposed to a wide variety of new musical influences. This intermingling of divergent musical cultures led to acculturation and syncretism. A new social life emerged which reflected the music of black people within the urban milieu. The urban performance culture was born in these harsh conditions. The *mbaqanga* tradition evolved in these conditions, and was the product of this new urban environment.

Political conditions in South Africa played a role in nurturing and shaping *mbaqanga* music. The challenges of social and political injustice are articulated in the music. *Mbaqanga* became, therefore, a tool of expression, echoing the sentiments of black people and, in particular, urban Africans. The new government of 1948 took over the country and introduced radical drastic changes and new policies which changed the course of direction for black people. As a result of urbanization, modernization and missionary influences, class identity emerged amongst the black population in the urban environment.

3.3.2   IDENTITY AND CLASS

Mbaqanga music is a direct result of numerous factors that prevailed in South Africa. The impact of colonization, which started around 1652, deprived black people of their political authority. This situation was worsened by the arrival of the missionaries who introduced Christianity to the black population. Two groups emerged, those who were Christians and, on the other hand, those who were non-Christians. Most of the Christians came from the educated elite, and non-Christians were mostly from the working class. Through the establishment of mission schools, Europeans were able to spread Christianity amongst Africans. This led to this class of the educated elite, and those who resisted and often referred to by the missionaries as 'heathen'. The missionaries explored every avenue to perpetuate the spread of Christianity. Cape Town and Transkei appear to have been earmarked to a greater extent than the other areas. Coplan (1985:26) explains:

> Missionary effort in the Cape and the Transkei concentrated on education. The intention was to produce African teachers and evangelists who would serve the expanding mission field and also teach 'useful arts' of printing and building. This training of disciples would then actively spread the gospel along with European cultural values. Joined by solitary wandering blacks from other areas and a variety of outcasts from local Xhosa communities, the Mfengu converts paid for their economic and social security with compulsory participation in an alien way of life, isolated from the surrounding traditional communities. Establishing their own courts, mission churches penalized participation in 'revolting' traditional communal dances, beer drinks, feasts, and 'other customs inconsistent with Christianity', which were their only means of maintaining social contact and reciprocal obligations with non-Christian kinsmen. Expulsion from the stations for such participation was frequent, and some who could not accept the restrictions left voluntarily.

Coplan's statement renders a vivid picture of how missionary schools manipulated conditions that existed to further their aims. To the missionaries, Africans were barbarians who needed to be converted and civilized. They regarded Africans as 'godless' beings engrossed in odd ways of ancestral worship. This is a ludicrous

understatement, because Africans had their own way of life and they believed in God. In fact, the missionaries wanted Africans to 'see through their eyes'. They wanted African people to alter their philosophy of life and adopt a Western philosophy of life.

However, the researcher believes that missionary schools had merits and demerits. One of the demerits was that the missionaries aimed at ridding Africans of their traditional ways of living. However, one of the unintended merits is that through these mission schools, in the South African context, great leaders such as Nelson Mandela were educated, and were able to utilize knowledge, directly or indirectly obtained, to emancipate themselves from mental slavery, and thereby emancipating the whole nation. Other renowned composers and musicians blossomed in these conditions. In these mission schools Africans were taught choral music. They had to abandon their traditional music, which was perceived as barbarous in the eyes of the missionaries. Coplan (1985:28) further explains:

> Most missionaries were culturally unequipped to recognize or appreciate the subtle complexities beneath the apparent simplicities of traditional song. Moreover, their concern was to eradicate music associated with pagan dancing, beer-drinking, and ritual. They adopted nothing from indigenous culture in their African hymns except the vernacular language.

Africans in these mission schools were taught Western music and brainwashed to associate their traditional music with paganism. They sang choral music and hymns in the church. However, through the passage of time, the significance of traditional music dawned on some Africans in these mission schools. Coplan (1985:29) elaborates:

> Towards the end of the nineteenth century, however, a small but influential group of cultural leaders began to question the wisdom of abandoning the heritage they shared with all Africans in favour of a poorly integrated Westernism whose benefits were doubtful in the context of South African racialism.

These influential mission cultural leaders include Rev. Tiyo Soga and Rev. William Gqoba. They began to reassess the value of the Christian way of life for Africans (Coplan, 1985). Coplan (op.cit) mentions that under the influence of men such as Soga and Gqoba, Bokwe came to recognize the ministry as the most powerful platform for expressing African social aspirations. In the 1880s, John Knox Bokwe pioneered a new South African choral style widely known as *makwaya*. He strove to achieve a marriage of African and European compositional principles. The South African National Anthem, Nkosi Sikeleli Africa, is an excellent example of this idiom (http://www.colophon.be). The use of tonic solfa notation emerged as the basis of education and was used by African choirs. African melodies and performance practices intermingled with African choral singing. Coplan (1985:136) asserts that "converts who left the mission stations to set up Christian farm communities of their own revitalized traditional musical practices as part of their new style of African communal life".

Mission Africans came to Kimberly bringing with them the heritage of Western musical culture. Brass bands, which were the product of mission schools, flourished. It is evident that in the mines Africans were exposed to a myriad of musical styles or hybrids. Missionary influence played a vital role in the creation of these new urban styles. The scarcity of accommodation in the cities led to the development of slums and townships. In these townships various musical styles evolved as people from different cultural backgrounds flocked into these townships and slums. This resulted in the blending of musical styles, leading to the development of new styles. Coplan (1985:99) comments as follows:

> Like the brass bandsmen, keyboard artists often became
> professionals, indispensable to the social and economic life
> of the slum yards. Shebeen musicians appealed to a broad
> mass of working-class people from every ethnic and regional
> background, whose only tie was their common experience of
> urban life conditioned by racial oppression. To please them,
> musicians had to assimilate elements from a variety of
> musical traditions into a flexible, characteristically urban
> style.

Mbaqanga music evolved under those conditions. It was the product emanating from the fusion of various elements of music drawn from the divergent musical traditions.

Ray Phiri remarked as follows in an interview (October, 1997):

> *Mbaqanga* was developed by migrants when they came to the mines. They had no language; their language was a dialect of that particular region they came from. In order for them to understand each other, they had to play their music and music did all the interpretations.

It is evident from the above remark that music became a 'language' for communication for these migrant workers. Music catered for the migrants who had to move from their traditional home bases into modern urban conditions. Among different townships, locations, and slumyards where migrant workers lived, Sophiatown, which was a suburban location, appears to have been the melting point of various urban styles. A brief history of Sophiatown was discussed earlier in this chapter. What is outstanding about Sophiatown is that it accommodated people across racial boundaries and ethnic backgrounds. Sophiatown was a black freehold suburb at the edge of Johannesburg in the 1950s. In South Africa, it was the centre of vibrant cultural, social, and political world. The history of various urban styles can be traced back to Sophiatown.

However, life in Sophiatown was short-lived, when the National Party took the reigns of government in 1948. The National Party altered the very fibre of South African society with the apartheid policies. It came with a plethora of Acts, which infringed on the human rights of black people. Amongst these Acts, the Group Areas Act, which was introduced in 1950, impacted heavily on the lives of black people. By the 1950s, townships were part of a scheme of labour differentiation, which attempted to divide African urban 'insiders' from rural migrants. In terms of the Urban Areas Act of 1952, Africans could live and work in cities only through birth, long residence, or uninterrupted work for employers. The system endorsed out all others, who could not find work after mandatory registration, as work seekers.

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A web of laws controlled the movement of African people, with some having access to housing and employment, and others kept as migrants. The construction of townships took place on a large scale in the 1950s, when the state adopted a site and service approach. Now, the rhetoric of urban planning and slum clearance were added to the metaphor of disease. The Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951 sped up the institution of racialised spatial zones (http://www.colophon.be). Black settlements which were close to the areas demarcated as white areas were forced to move. Sophiatown, one of the most famous icons of South Africa in the 1940s and 1950s became the victim of this Act. Sophiatown mortalizes a symbol of what forced removals did to undermine the last vestige of community life for the black community. Sophiatown was especially targeted by the government for other reasons besides its proximity to the white surburbs.

In Sophiatown, Africans had the right to own property. The government realized that there was too much freedom and independence, and decided this had to be terminated. Don Mattera, ex gangster in Sophiatown, in a documentary, (SABC 3, 2004) commented as follows in this regard:

> Sophiatown showed blacks having an economy, showed independence, that blacks could work and be somebody and own something. That had to be destroyed. The vision of a new frontier, a new world, had to be destroyed. A vision had to be created for blacks in which, they would see themselves through 'the Afrikaner's eye'.

The National Party viewed Sophiatown as a menace that could set a bad example to other blacks. Blacks from Sophiatown were then removed to Meadowlands in the early hours of 9 February 1955. The removal process was very harsh, and people were not even given adequate time to pack their belongings. Houses were bulldozed, and canons were positioned facing Sophiatown to counteract any resistance. Cachalia and Sunner, in Mandlanzi (2003:28-29), comment as follows:

> In the early hours of 9 February 1955, 4000 police and army troops surrounded Sophiatown. The removal had begun and

there was no stopping the government. Truckloads of
families were moved from Sophiatown to Meadowlands.
Bulldozers crushed the houses to the ground.

Forced removals caused a lot of pain to and frustration for the people of Sophiatown.
The experience was shattering and devastating. Thandi Klassen, in Drum Magazine
(February, 1998) summed up this experience as follows, "I remember that everybody was
crying. That night changed our lives forever". The population that was removed from
Sophiatown was relocated to what was known as Meadowlands, which is part of Soweto.
On the ruins of Sophiatown, the Nationalist Party built a white suburb, which they called
Triomf (Truimph). In Soweto, black people were relocated especially on ethnic grounds.
Only five sections were left open for various ethnic groups. Houses that were built for
blacks in these townships were not designed for a normal family life. Rassool
(http://www.colophon.be) describes these houses, which were known as matchboxes, as
follows:

> Matchbox houses were either detached or semi-detached.
> Apart from this, they were identical. A front door was
> flanked by windows on either side, walls were unplastered,
> and roofs made of unpainted asbestos. The front door opened
> on to a living room, from which doors to two bedrooms and a
> kitchen led. The kitchen was at the back of the house, while
> the only source of water was a single tap outside next to the
> back door. Single-sex hostels on the other hand, housed
> migrant workers. While they were made by the same
> materials, their interiors were different. You entered the
> front door into a central kitchen, from which two doors led
> off to dormitories, each with eight beds. Separate ablution
> buildings housed toilets and showers.

These drastic changes impacted heavily on the lives of black people. People moving
from rural areas to urban areas had to adapt to a new life. As a result, this inevitably led
to a problem of identity. Those migrating from rural areas had to adapt to this new life
and at the same time sustain their rural lifestyle. Allen in Ntaka, (1997:22), describes this
identity crisis and argues that "people living through periods of fundamental social
change generally suffer deep crisis of identity. Their search for a way of making sense of
their existence, manifest in cultural forms such as a music style".

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Coplan (1985:50) comments as follows regarding the problem of identity and class:

> Colonialism, the missions, proletarian work experience, urbanization, and racial segregation all shaped the development of new kinds of African communities. African response to these forces led to the integration of ethnic ties into a system of social categories based on class. Social life reflected efforts to create new institutions on the one hand, and to keep them flexible on the other. The continuing tension between order and disorder was essential to African adaptation.

Music became a vehicle through which these migrant workers could construct their identities. The destruction of Sophiatown robbed the urban African community of direction, as a sense of identity that was embodied in Sophiatown. This is where a sense of community life had been forged. Life for migrant workers in urban areas was fraught with frustrations and hardships. Coplan (1985:58) shows the manner in which migrant workers were affected:

> Migrants might choose merely to exist in the city, relying on groups of kin and 'homeboys' (Zulu: *abakhaya*) for aid and comfort while away from home. Those who fell permanently into the rhythm of urban life were forced to survive on their own or to create new identities, relationships, and communities where they were allowed to live.

Differences in lifestyle between the working-class and educated elite led to the emergence of two classes, namely the working-class and the middle class (educated elites). Different styles of music reflected class categorization. The educated elite, who were the product of mission schools, tended to adopt a Westernized identity and preferred choral music, *makwaya* and eventually American jazz. They looked down upon traditional music, probably because of negative indoctrination that took place in the mission schools. On the other hand, the working-class wanted music that would reflect their urban and rural lifestyle. Graham, in Ntaka (1997:23), emphasizes that "workers wanted music that was new and exciting but still retained cultural roots". The working class, as a result, developed neo-traditional musical styles, which were an integration of

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urban and rural experiences. Coplan, in Ntaka (1997:23), points out that in so doing they extended the principles of traditional performance to Western instruments and to the integration of various musical and dance influences of the industrial workplace. *Mbaqanga* music emerged as an end product of these circumstances and conditions. Ray Phiri, in an interview (October, 1997), comments:

> Those who could not go to school developed their own style
> based on what they felt, which later graduated to *mbaqanga*.
> It was music for the country bumpkins. If you were living in
> a cosmopolitan area such as Johannesburg, you were much
> more exposed to European culture and if someone came from
> the rural area, they could not converse in the same musical
> idiom. The majority of the people were those who were
> illiterate as far as music was concerned. Instead of listening
> to bourgeoisie music, they developed their own kind of music
> '*mbaqanga*', played at stokvels, gatherings and shebeens.

The above comment indicates that *mbaqanga* music was fundamentally developed by the working-class and as such reflected their culture. On the other hand, choral music was identified with the middle-class. According to Coplan (1985:116), "the Eisteddford became a setting for middle-class African interaction and sharpened the definition and consciousness of their class identity". Soweto appears to have been a nurturing ground for mbaqanga music after the annihilation of Sophiatown. A proportion of the population from Sophiatown was resettled in Meadowlands, which is part of Soweto. In the late 1970s, a few discos, a nightclub, Jabulani Amphitheatre and Orlando Stadium were established in Soweto. These establishments became venues for recreation and music concerts.

Therefore, Soweto became instrumental in promoting urban black culture. Coplan (1985:183) also points out that the year 1960 witnessed the end of Sophiatown, the departure of King Kong, and the massacre at Sharpeville. The bleak dusty subdivisions of Soweto took centre stage in the struggle for urban black culture in South Africa. Numerous mbaqanga shows took place in these venues in Soweto. *Mbaqanga* shows were extensively supported by the working-class, which reinforced the demarcation between these two classes. Coplan (1985:184) argues that "class is expressed in lifestyle,

particularly in modes of recreation and entertainment, and the celebration of family events such as weddings and funerals, as well as in material possessions". *Mbaqanga* music thus embodied the sentiments of the working-class. Through this genre, the construction of identity is well-manifested. *Mbaqanga* music became a medium of expression and reinforced working-class identity. Besides *mbaqanga* music, there are other styles, which were associated with migrant workers such as *isicathamiya*, which also forged the identity of the working-class. The development of townships and slumyards despite the often inhumane conditions which prevailed, became fertile ground for development of different musical genres, and identity formation for black people. Rassool (http://www.colophon.be) has this to say in this regard:

> Many of these initiatives draw on forms of cultural expression and social experience, which were features of the development of townships. Slumyards might have been overcrowded places of poverty and despair, but they were the setting for the development of a vibrant music and dance culture, particularly around shebeens and dance halls. A specifically urban culture had developed in places like Sophiatown and Marabastad, centred on music, dance and literature. A place like Sophiatown contained a world of shebeens and gangs as much as it was the home of writers and intellectuals. Townships like Langa, Sharpeville and Soweto were the setting for dramatic challenges to the authority of the apartheid order. In the process, townships have also been sites of community formation and identity construction as people fought against the odds for a place called home.

The above discussion reveals class formation amongst urban dwellers that were confronted by drastic socio-economic and political changes. Despite those conditions, they found solace in music, such as mbaqanga, which played a vital role in the construction of identity. This style flourished, despite criticisms and the negative response it received from the middle-class.

3.4   THE ROLE OF MUSICIANS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MBAQANGA

At this point it is vital to look at the role played by musicians, and the contributions they made in the evolution of *mbaqanga* music. We shall also look at talent scouts who were instrumental in the promotion of this genre.

Musicians played a huge role in the creation of music in South Africa. Through their work, the heritage of South African culture was kept alive and rescued from extinction. Coplan (1985:237) asserts that "... performing artists have been among the most visible cultural brokers in urbanizing African communities in South Africa". Coplan (ibid) further elaborates:

> Urban black performers have been at the centre of the processes of cultural communication and reinterpretation, creating original combinations, reinventing old forms in new contexts, and transforming performance materials in ways, which reflect social forms and objectify new meanings. Performers function as cultural brokers because they provide social commentary not only in music, dance, drama, but also in their expressive styles of dress, speech, and social interaction.

There are numerous *mbaqanga* musicians who created and popularized *mbaqanga*. However, it is vital to note that behind the scenes we had talent scouts, who were the driving force in this development. Amongst these talent scouts, Cuthberth Matumba and Rupert Bopape are regarded as the pioneers who played a huge role in the promotion of *mbaqanga* music. There were other talent scouts who came before Matumba and Bopape, such as Griffiths Motsieloa, the Gallo talent scout and his successor, Walter Nhlapo. In the early 1950s, Matumba, who was hired by Troubador Records, sought for common denominators between migrants and urbanites. Matumba wanted music that would cater for both the middle-class and the working-class. To achieve this, Matumba utilized both literate and illiterate musicians. Coplan (1985:167) elaborates:

> Matumba shifted his musicians around in different recording combinations.   Using a standard musical formula, he

produced numerous *msakazo* (African jazz) recordings popular with urban working-class Africans. Troubador and other companies bought rights to the names of popular bands, so that troublesome members could easily be replaced. For the migrants, Matumba hired neo-traditional players such as John Bhengu ('Phuzushukela'), and urbanized their style by backing them with studio sidemen.

This created problems for some musicians who were against this move. However, these professional musicians had few options. Coplan (ibid.) further elaborates:

Matumba had little use for the literate Sophiatown jazzmen. The jazz audience, declining in an age of American 'bop' and 'cool' in any case, preferred imported recordings. Skilled professional jazz players and singers had three alternatives. They could leave the studios and the professional music world, adapt to the *mbaqanga* trend in popular music, or seek a wider multi-racial and international audience. Many retired, especially members of stage song and dance companies who had depended so greatly on swing orchestral music and live performances. Those who remained in the studios were told to stick close to superhits like Pola Rapopo (Sit Down Old Man) a monotonous, formulaic *msakazo* released by Kenneth Mangala in 1955 (Troubador AFC 30) . In response, jazzmen combined *msakazo* with jazz improvisation, much as they had formerly done in dance halls. They created an authentic and complex *mbaqanga* or Africanized jazz that appealed broadly to all classes of Africans.

Rupert Bopape also played a vital role in *mbaqanga* development. He is regarded as the one who developed *mbaqanga* maestros such as Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens. He substituted the middle-class players with the working-class and migrant performers. Coplan, in Ntaka (1997:25-26), asserts that Rupert, one of the most famous talent scouts of the 1960s and early 1970s, was in the forefront of the record company policy of tightly controlling new *mbaqanga* bands. Under Rupert's wing, Mahlathini's *mbaqanga* became popular and he was in great demand. Coplan (1985) stresses that Rupert's intervention played a huge role in making Mahlathini famous. Graham (1989:269) concurs with Coplan (1985) when he states that Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens were the premier *mbaqanga* harmony group especially through the 1970's. They called their style of

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mbaqanga music '*mgqashiyo*' - the 'Indestructible Beat'. Following the trend of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, several groups emerged. This style was characterized by a group comprising a female quartet and a leading male groaner. This style drew a lot of support, and appealed to both urbanites and the migrant working-class. Mahlathini's success can be attributed to his success in striking equilibrium between urban and rural demands. Coplan (1985:179) describes this music as follows:

> This was music for people who were urbanizing but not westernizing, as well as for migrants and even rural listeners influenced by urban culture. The new *mbaqanga* sold well in both urban and rural South Africa and in other countries of Southern and Central Africa.

Mahlathini's groaning style became the trademark of male *mbaqanga* or '*simanje-manje*' (now-now) solo singing. Coplan (1985:269-270) describes '*simanje-manje*' as follows:

> A recent style of *mbaqanga* usually featuring a male lead singer and a four-member female chorus, performing blends of urban neo-traditional and *marabi* vocal music backed by Western instruments at stage shows and on records. It is directed specifically at urban workers, migrants and rural Africans.

Coplan (1985:178) further describes '*simanje-manje*' as "a new style dance routine based on traditional steps and urban jive". Migrant workers could easily associate themselves with this music. The success of *mbaqanga* can therefore be attributed to the way it appealed to the migrants. It reminded them of their rural connections. *Mbaqanga* was an embodiment and reflection of their culture. Coplan (1985:179) elaborates:

> Mahlathini sings nostalgically of the rural superiority and social security of traditional society, and reminds audience of their rural roots. In the midst of urban hardships and insecurity, this musical glorification of African traditions appeals strongly to the landless proletarians. For them, Nkabinde is *Indoda* ('Mahlathini The Man'), and his deep groaning voice embodies all the masculine power of the traditional Nguni *imbongi* (praise poet).

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Besides Mahlathini, various musicians contributed to this genre. Amongst these musicians we could mention John Bengu (Phuzushukela), Amaswazi Emvelo, Abafana Besishingishane, Soul Brothers and many more. Juluka, which was created by Johnny Clegg and Sipho Mchunu fused Zulu music and dance, *mbaqanga* and Western folk guitar music. Juluka was famous across racial boundaries. It had a large audience from blacks and whites. Other groups such as Harari, originally known as the Beaters, became popular in the 1970s. It was one of the most influential of the fusion *mbaqanga* bands in the 1970s. Coplan (1985:197) describes this group's music as an exciting and accessible combination of Black American funk, progressive rock and African traditional and *mbaqanga* music.

Other groups developed *mbaqanga* that was soul oriented. They were influenced by American soul music. Coplan (1985:195) says:

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

Amongst these groups, the Soul Brothers are reputed to be the best soul *mbaqanga* group. Graham (1989:272) asserts 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". Ewens (1991:202) mentions that the Soul Brothers were known before as Groovy Boys but 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' (keyboardist). The Soul Brothers, who grew up together and worked together in a textile factory in Hammersdale, Natal, drew a lot of support from *mbaqanga* lovers. They are reputed as the first group who sold *mbaqanga* records in the millions.

Commenting on the popularity of Soul Brothers, Ray Phiri (Interview, October, 1997) had this to say:

> The Soul Brothers are playing *mbaqanga*, but now it is much more popular than that of Mahlathini.... Mahlathini's *mbaqanga* was more sophisticated than the Soul Brothers. The Soul Brothers caters for a certain generation.... It is a groove thing.

Moreover, there were numerous other musicians who played a huge role in *mbaqanga's* evolution. However, these musicians played *mbaqanga* that was more jazz-oriented. Amongst these musicians are Philiph Tabane and Gabriel 'Mabee' Thobejane, Victor Ndlazilwane and Jazz Ministers, Todd Matshikiza, Spokes Mashiyane, a penny whistler turned *mbaqanga* saxophonist, Kippie 'Morolong' Moeketsi, Malombo Jazz Men and countless others. On the other hand, we had musicians who popularized this music in exile. Amongst these musicians we had such luminaries as The Manhattan Brothers, Mirriam Makeba, Letta Mbuli, Hugh Masekela, Dollar Brand, Jonas Ngwanga, Louis Moholla, Dudu Pukwana, Julian Bahula and many others. Most of these musicians mixed *mbaqanga* with jazz improvisation. Coplan (1980:361) maintains that "they created an authentic and complex *mbaqanga* or Africanized jazz that appealed broadly to working-class and middle-class Africans". Coplan (ibid) further elaborates:

> Vocal groups also participated in studio-sponsored "indigenization" of jazz. One of the many was Mirriam Makeba, later internationally recognized. She first built her local reputation as lead singer with the Manhattan Brothers (Tula Ndivile, Gallotone GB2034) and later with her own female quartet, the Skylarks (Lalelani Bantwana, Gallo-New Sound GB2999).

Exiled musicians contributed extensively in popularizing *mbaqanga* music globally. The likes of Hugh Masekela and Mirriam Makeba, for instance, are world renowned and respected musicians. Therefore, South African musicians and talent scouts, played a vital role in the growth and development of *mbaqanga* music as we know it today.

3.5   MBAQANGA MUSIC AND THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

The previous discussion focused on the role of musicians and talent scouts in the evolution of *mbaqanga* music. At this point, it is vital to look at the role of the media, such as radio, television and newspapers, and how they contributed to the growth and promotion of this genre. The part that was played by record companies also demands scrutiny.

The popularization and promotion of *mbaqanga* tradition in South Africa depended largely on the media. Even the predecessors of *mbaqanga*, such as *marabi* and *kwela*, depended extensively on the media. In the context of this study, the media includes record companies, newspapers, magazines and television. The introduction of gramophones and records in South Africa had an extensive influence on *mbaqanga* and various other styles. The production of gramophones took place in the 1880s, followed by the radio in the 1920s, television in the 1940s and cassette recorders in the 1970s. These innovations facilitated the wider dissemination of music across the globe. The radio played a vital role in promoting music because of its affordability and accessibility.

Before the launch of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), records seem to have played the most prominent role in promoting music. Before then, music was only accessible through live performances. Coplan (1980:317) points out that gramophone recordings became a widespread source of entertainment and status in urban African homes. Collins (1985:115) reveals that the African record business goes back to 1907, when the records were first sold in South Africa at two shillings each. Record companies took an interest in South African music as early as in the twenties. Collins (1985) maintains that record companies, such as His Master's Voice (HMV), Zonophone and Brunswick, started recording in the twenties. In the thirties, EMI record company recorded some South African ragtime groups. Gallo-Africa, which was recognized as the first African record company, was established in the forties.

Collins (1985:115) elaborates:

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

Coplan (1985:136) concurs with Collins (1985) when he states that "in 1932 Gallo set up the first recording studio in Johannesburg and other companies quickly followed suit". The 1960s saw the demise of African jazz that was popular among black urban class. Coplan (1979) maintains that the era of massive state repression starting in 1960 coincided with the launch of ethnic divisive black radio services. Radio broadcasting for Africans started in the late 1940s and 1950s. Coplan (1980:347) asserts that it further increased the record companies' control of the African musical profession. Coplan (ibid) explains how radio broadcasting for Africans started, as follows:

> African broadcasting began in Durban in 1941 with a five – minute report of war news in Zulu by K.E. Masinga. This service was extended in Johannesburg and Eastern Cape and was increased to fifteen and then thirty-five minutes and made available to migrants workers through the rediffusion hookups to their hostels. Masinga, a talented writer, introduced African radio drama with the help of broadcaster-ethnomusicologist Hugh Tracy.

K.E. Masinga also introduced musical dramas, which became popular particularly amongst migrant hostel dwellers. Coplan (1980:347-348) argues that town music forms dominated the SABC programs, while the rediffusion hookups emphasized neo-traditional and syncretic forms, such as 'ingoma ebusuku' (night music) that were popular with the migrant and non-literate urban workers. Although the stations were demarcated along divisive ethnic grounds, Masinga started introducing music from other African ethnic groups. Coplan (1980) notes that Zulu hostel dwellers initially complained when Masinga included other African ethnic groups on 'their' service, but gradually accepted and enjoyed this variation. However, these different stations were perceived, particularly

by some members of the educated elite, as the government plan to enhance and promote ethnicity. However, regardless of the evil intentions of the government, these services played a huge role in promoting various African musical styles. Coplan (1980:348) asserts that "it also increased cultural communication among diverse groups, exposing urban Africans to traditional music, and migrants to African township jazz". The SABC contributed to the evolution of divergent urban musical styles. The *mbaqanga* tradition became popular through this medium. Coplan (1985:161) comments as follows:

> By the early 1950s the SABC was presenting different African languages and musical styles on separate days. Once a week jazz pianist-composer Gideon Nxumalo entertained urban Africans with his regular feature, 'This is Bantu Jazz'. He was principally responsible for the wide distribution of a new term for the *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. Among musicians, it meant that the music was both the African's own, the homely cultural sustenance of the townships, and the popular working-class source of the musicians' 'daily bread'. Another name for this blend of African melody, *marabi*, and jazz was *msakazo*, a derogatory term meaning 'broadcast'.

The SABC opened avenues for record companies who utilized the commercial possibilities of the radio, and recorded and mass-produced music in their studios, directed by what was demanded by the market. However, the SABC, because of political agendas by the Nationalist government determined what music was to be heard by the audience. This censorship inhibited and interfered with musicians' creativity. Coplan (1985:194) gives the following account of this situation:

> 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 airtime, the producers and performers pre-censor themselves or risk rejection by the SABC.

The above account reveals rigid conditions which musicians faced. Music censorship infringed on the musicians' freedom of expression. They had to censor their own music if they wanted to be accepted by record companies, which were working in cahoots with SABC. This frustrated musicians and those who could not adapt to these circumstances opted for exile. These include musicians, and groups such as The Manhattan Brothers, Hugh Masekela, Mirriam Makeba and countless others. Those who remained behind had no alternative but to adapt to this situation or pack their instruments. The SABC continued to control the air-waves and promote apolitical music.

The direction and development of *mbaqanga* music hung upon the producers, record companies, and the rigid control in the studios coupled with the SABC. Producers aimed at promoting music that had a commercial appeal to ensure profit for their respective companies. *Mbaqanga* music spelt quick money for the producers and record companies who produced new bands at a phenomenal rate. Rupert Bopape is regarded as one of producers who masterminded recording of mbaqanga in the studios. Bopape scouted for *mbaqanga* musicians in the mines and hostels. Mahlathini, who started as a *maskanda* musician, is one example of Bopape's product. Several *mbaqanga* groups mushroomed, and recording studios selected certain prospective groups for recording purposes.

These *mbaqanga* groups were often regrouped according to the producers' choice. Coplan (1985:185) points out that those new groups were given copies of recent mbaqanga hits to imitate, and rehearsed for a year before they could go on tour. Remarking on the formation or nature of *mbaqanga* groups, Coplan (ibid) says:

> Groups tend to be multi-ethnic, reflecting the blending of various local African musical traditions in the urban areas over the past several decades, as well as producers' effort to find musical common denominators among the heterogeneous urban audience. Vocalists are kept as a unit for all performances. Instrumentalist, on the other hand, are used independently according to the demands of a particular recording or live show. The months of practice that go into the most polished acts encouraged producers to keep groups

together, particularly once they have become popular and recognizable to the public.

This formation of groups reveals the extent to which producers maneuvered musicians. Musicians were circumstantially compelled to do what they were told, and any resistance meant expulsion. This depicts a minute portion of hardships and tribulations with which the musicians had to cope. Although *mbaqanga* music was prospering and growing at an alarming rate, musicians were grossly exploited. Record companies exploited them, and at the same time promoters paid them low wages. Record companies made a lot of money out of musicians. Coplan (ibid) states:

> An average pay in the late 1970s for mbaqanga performers was $12, 10s per show for women and $19 for men, with $10 flat fee plus 2.5 per cent royalties and $8, 10s monthly allowance, with no pay for rehearsals.

This reveals how musicians were manipulated for financial and ideological gain by white-owned record companies and by the state-controlled media. Record companies seldom paid royalties to musicians and preferred to operate on the basis of single session fees. This meant that most *mbaqanga* musicians heavily depended upon earnings from live performances. The exploitation of musicians is also expressed by Graham (1989:259) when he argues that "the record companies paid a pittance to stars of the time; royalty payments were virtually unheard of until the 1960s". Coplan also concurs with Graham (1989) when he maintains that producers often put their own name on the studio musicians' compositions and collected their royalties themselves.

Above all, some musicians did not comprehend the technicalities involved in the record industry. They did not understand the business part of recording. Dolly Rathebe, in the documentary X Pression (SABC 3, 2004), says: "We did not know about any royalties. You make a record and off you go". Thandi Klassen, also in this documentary, adds: "As long as they pat your back you were happy". Some musicians even thought that record companies were doing them a favour by paying them. Besides the financial exploitation by record companies, lack of venues for live performances became a

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problem for musicians. Segregation and press laws worsened this situation. Coplan (1980:406) explains:

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

Besides censorship of music, this is possibly another reason musicians were driven to exile. As time went on, musicians were exposed to international audiences through theatrical productions such as *King Kong*. Dorkey House, in central Johannesburg, served as a venue for both black and white musicians and mixed audiences. Although this intermingling of races was contravening the apartheid policy, Dorkey House provided musicians with a secure venue. The show *King Kong*, a musical play, was created at Dorkay House in 1959. Coplan (1985:173-174) elaborates:

> King Kong was based on the tragic career of South African black heavyweight boxing champion Ezekial 'King Kong' Dhlamini. Its creators intended it to be a model of fruitful cooperation between blacks and whites in the international entertainment field. With production, direction, script, and musical direction by whites, but using black musical actors and musicians and a score by Todd Matshikiza, the show proposed to combine the polish and the style of Broadway with the cultural vitality and resources of the townships. The musical actors included the members of the Manhattan Brothers and Woody Woodpeckers vocal groups, with Nathan Mdledle as King Kong and Mirriam Makeba as his lady love, Joyce. The fiery Jazz Dazzlers Orchestra, led by Mackay Davashe, included members of the Shantytown Sextet, Harlem Swingsters and Huddleston Jazz Band. The music was big band, but ten-year-old Lemmy Mabaso was also on hand, electrifying audiences with his penny whistle kwela solos.

The show toured all over South Africa before moving to London. King Kong became an immediate success in Johannesburg across racial boundaries. This show was heavily criticized by critics, both black and white, for its lack of political content.

Coplan (1985:174) explains:

> Politically, King Kong is about as dynamic as a bag of laundry. Everything, including the gangsters and the social misery, has been agreeably prettified... a full-blooded entertainment this may be but a whistle and wiggle are no match for the policy of apartheid. One swallow of black and white collaboration doesn't make a summer of South Africa's bleak shame.

The above criticism reveals how critics interpreted this musical production. It is evident that *King Kong* did not reflect the full picture of what was happening in South Africa. Nevertheless, it is an undisputable fact that *King Kong* played a vital role in exposing South African musicians and their music to the outside world. *King Kong* also provided musicians with opportunities to pursue their careers overseas where doors were not closed on racial grounds. Most musicians who went into exile after the return of *King Kong* were musicians who took part in *King Kong*. People like Mirriam Makeba, The Manhattan Brothers, and scores of other musicians went to exile immediately after the *King Kong* musical production disbanded.

Notwithstanding these harsh conditions, the *mbaqanga* tradition continued to grow. Those musicians who remained in the country continued to nurture and develop this style. Despite restrictions and rigid apartheid laws, the performance culture carried on. Juluka managed to inculcate a love of *mbaqanga* amongst several musicians and across racial barriers. Graham (1989:275), for instance, reveals that Sipho Mchunu and Johnny Clegg of Juluka "rose above racial barriers and harassment, gradually gaining acceptance at large venues and festivals". Juluka attracted large audience from both black and white people.

In summary, one might say that the media played a huge role in the development of mbaqanga. It had both positive and negative effects on this genre. Through the media, dissemination of this tradition to a wider society became easier. On the other hand, musicians suffered exploitation and censorship, which suppressed and inhibited their

creativity. *Mbaqanga* music evolved under various socio-economic and political circumstances, which contributed extensively to shaping this genre.

3.6 MBAQANGA MUSIC AS CULTURE AND IN CULTURE

Before we focus on *mbaqanga* music as culture and in culture, a review of some definitions of culture is vital as a point of departure. Amongst numerous definitions by eminent scholars, Herskovits and Bascom (1959:1) define culture as "the way of life of a people, to their traditional behaviour, in a broad sense, including their ideas, acts, and artifacts". Members of a society share culture, and it serves as a mechanism for collective thinking. Culture is acquired through the process of socialization, education and experience. It is learned, shared and transmitted amongst the members of the society. Culture is transmitted from generation to generation in various modes, such as oral tradition. If we take a closer look at the social definition of culture, culture describes a particular way of life for a group or society. Culture is transmitted through a medium, such as language or music.

Music is part of culture, especially in African communities. In fact, music is culture and these two concepts cannot be divorced from each other. In the South African context, mbaqanga music is part and parcel of culture. Looking at music as culture, therefore, entails seeing what music does and what it contributes to the complex whole of culture. This prompts a question of what causes a society to have a particular musical style. In South Africa, for instance, we have different musical genres such as *isicathamiya*, *maskanda* and, recently, *kwaito*. These styles evolved to serve the needs of South African society, or rather, a certain portion of a society. In other words, the researcher believes that they can be classified as subcultures of South African society.

A comparison can be drawn with Chapter two, which dealt with American and British subcultures. These subcultures emerged to serve the needs, and fill the gaps, within those societies. However, it should be noted that these subcultures revolved around the parental culture, which the researcher interprets as 'mother culture'. Before colonization

engulfed the African continent, Africans had traditional music that was free from adulteration, especially from European or Western elements. Neo-traditional traditions were a direct result of the process of interaction between Western culture and African culture. *Mbaqanga* music as neo-traditional music depicts the continuity of traditional musical expression in a changed environment. It is partially urban and partially traditional. Some of the changes inherent in mbaqanga were probably caused by adaptation to new forms of social organization in urban settings. Westernization, missionization, and urbanization impinged upon African cultures, resulting in syncretism, assimilation, and acculturation. *Mbaqanga* music is a reflection of black urban culture.

As a result of labour migration, a cultural vacuum was created in the cities. Alienated from their traditional rural setting, migrant labourers wanted to construct their culture in a heterogeneous urban setting. However, the urban population comprised culturally distinctive communities. Fusions of elements from these divergent cultural groups are manifested in *mbaqanga*. *Mbaqanga* as a musical style, therefore, articulated and defined communal values in this heterogeneous urban community. It reflected the way of life of particularly, this urban population. Chernoff, in Waterman (1980:8), states:

> Music is essential to life in Africa because Africans use music to mediate their involvement within a community…. As a style of human conduct, musical participation characterizes a sensibility with which Africans relate to the world and commit themselves to its affairs…. In the midst of change musical values characterize a culture's continuity from generation to generation, suggesting the underlying strengths, which vitalize the efforts of individuals and communities as they meet the realities of new situations.

Chernoff emphasizes the role of music as culture and in culture. Culture is dynamic and not static. Music as culture is also dynamic. Changes that were brought about by internal and external influences became embodied and crystallized in music. The way of life of the African people was transformed, and music had to adapt to these modern conditions. Some aspects of culture are abandoned and replaced by the foreign elements. However, this is inevitable in a modernizing society.

Mbaqanga music as culture is always evolving. Mahlathini and Marks Mankwane, in an interview, (October, 1997), had this to say about *mbaqanga* and change: *"Mbaqanga is still mbaqanga but it is always changing and improving"*. *Mbaqanga*, as a performance culture, embodies various changes which took place in South Africa.

The instrumentation in *mbaqanga* music also reveals changes, which were brought about by the impact of external forces, such as Westernization. The advent of electric guitar brought some changes in this music. Western instruments, such as accordion, guitar, banjo and saxophone, gradually replaced traditional instruments. Technological advancement had a profound impact on *mbaqanga* music. The guitar plays a prominent role in this style. During the actual performance, elements of Western culture and African culture are generally reflected through traditional attire and sometimes Western clothing. Above all, through song texts, sentiments of individuals, groups, communities, or society are expressed. Nkabinde (1997:3) elaborates:

> Song text plays various roles, they frequently allow the expression of thoughts which might otherwise be repressed, at the same time they may express underlying themes or configurations of the culture at hand.

Song texts can reveal much about the culture of which they are part. They reveal the history, values and convictions of the group. Gxowa (1996:12) comments on the role of text:

> *Mbaqanga*, like most African music, relates to social life. The performers are actually telling a story in the form of music. There are songs of happiness and sadness, songs of hope, as well as the songs of protest. The text plays a very significant role because it is the text that makes us understand *mbaqanga* music.

The other aspect of *mbaqanga* performance is dance. Commenting on this important aspect of music, Ghebo, in Weman (1960:198), argues that "the most serious aspect of our music is dance. It is through music and dance that we express our deepest emotions. The African dances for joy, and he also dances for sorrow or even for anger". In

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mbaqanga some dances become a mode of expressing sentiments or sending a message. Some dances in *mbaqanga* portray dances found in various ethnic groups. Traditional dances, which are part of culture, are thus reflected through mbaqanga performances. Coplan (1985:178) points out that "Mahlathini performed in traditional animal skins as well as in Western costume, and with the help of a female group, the Mahottela Queens, innovated new stage dance routines based on traditional steps and urban jive". Mahlathini's *mbaqanga* reveals a fusion of Western and African elements. The nature of a song determines the type of costume to be worn.

Mbaqanga music reflects culture, and also serves as a mode of preserving some cultural traits of black people in South Africa. Waterman (1990:7), for instance, emphasizes that music is both a species of culture pattern and a mode of human action in and upon the world. Through music, some aspects of African cultures could best be understood. South African music is still evolving and will continue to do so. This implies that *mbaqanga* as culture, has not reached the point of demise. Various influences will continue to impact on this tradition, resulting in the transformation of certain traits. It will still mirror the values, norms and customs of black people. It should also be noted that assimilation of Western cultural traits does not mean that African customs pass into oblivion.

In conclusion, Bebey (1975:33) summarizes the state of African music and the role of musicians as cultural brokers in the following words:

> The African continent is developing rapidly, and attractions of urban life have set it in motion an ever-increasing rural exodus. Each year, hundreds of young people leave their traditional environment, where music has such a special meaning, and are engulfed in towns where only a handful of individuals attempt to keep alive some of the customs of village life. The process of development cannot be halted and it will not spare traditional music or its exponents. Traditional musicians must, therefore, prepare to defend themselves against the inroads of modern times and try to ensure that the music will evolve in a way that will safeguard its authenticity.

3.7 CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed the historical background of *mbaqanga* music and various factors which contributed to its development. Another crucial focus was on *mbaqanga* music as culture and in culture, and its role in the South African context. The following chapter focuses on research methodology and procedures utilized for data collection.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Methodology is the most crucial part of this study. Methodology pertains to a carefully planned way of approaching a problem so that one can understand it better. It reveals clearly what the researcher wants to do and how he proposes going about it, to ensure that the tools he / she has employed yield the desired results. Methodology is the researcher's information and data gathering tool, which is also used to analyze and synthesize the findings in a manner that stimulates further research of the phenomenon in a particular field.

The purpose of this chapter is, therefore, to give a description of the method of research and the application of research instruments, in the gathering of data.

4.2 RESEARCH METHOD

In chapter one it was stated that historical method and descriptive method would be used in this study for the purpose of gathering data. Anderson (1990:113) asserts 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. Huxley, in Isaac and Michael (1995:48), explains the purpose of historical research as follows:

> To reconstruct the past systematically and objectively by collecting, evaluating, verifying and synthesizing evidence to establish facts and reach defensible conclusions, often in relation to particular hypotheses.

Historical method focuses on and describes past events. Huxley, in Isaac and Michael (1995:49), further mentions some characteristics of historical research:

(a) Historical research depends upon data observed by others, rather than by the investigator. Good data results from painstaking detective work, which analyses the authenticity, accuracy, and significance of source material.

(b) Historical research depends upon two kinds of data: primary sources, where the author was a direct observer of the recorded event; and secondary sources, where the author is reporting the observation of others and is one or more times removed from the original event. Of the two, primary sources carry the authority of firsthand evidence and have priority in data collection.

Since this study focuses on the historical aspect of *mbaqanga* music, the researcher employed historical method to comprehend the present state of this genre, and to look at the past of how and when this genre evolved. Based on the past events surrounding this genre, the researcher is enabled to predict the direction of future developments with some degree of confidence. In the collection of data, the researcher depended mostly on primary and secondary sources. Verma and Beard (1981:55) assert thus:

> Primary sources are first hand, original data related for events in the past. The sources for data are documents such as diaries of eye-witnesses, court records and statistics, artifacts, such as the tools and art objects of the past; and on the spot records such as files and photographs.

Verma and Beard (ibid) also explain secondary sources as follows:

> Secondary sources of information include the accounts of a person who relates the testimony of an actual witness of an event. Common examples of secondary sources are history textbooks, newspapers, reports of an event not written by an eye-witness, biographies and other secondhand descriptions.

This study also focuses on music as culture and music in culture. This necessitated utilization of another method known as descriptive method. Huxley, in Isaac and Michael (1955:50), points out that the purpose of descriptive method is "to describe systematically the facts and characteristics of a given population or area of interest factually and accurately".

Huxley, in Isaac and Michael (1955:50), mentions some characteristics of descriptive research:

(a) Descriptive research is used in the literal sense of describing a situation or event. It is the accumulation of a data base that is solely descriptive. It does not necessarily seek or explain relationships, test hypotheses, make predictions, or get at meanings and implications, although research aimed at these more powerful purposes may incorporate descriptive methods.

Lovel and Lawson (1970:31) elucidate on descriptive research as follows:

> Descriptive research, then, describes and interprets what is. It is concerned with conditions that exist, practices that prevail, beliefs and attitudes that are held, processes that are on-going, and trends that are developing.

Verma and Beard (1981:57) maintain that historical method describes past events while the descriptive method of research is primarily concerned with portraying the present. Verma and Beard (1981:58) further explain:

> The process of descriptive research goes beyond mere collection and tabulation of factual data. It is not only a structural attempt to obtain facts and opinions about the current condition of things, but it involves elements of comparison, and of relationships of one kind or another.

In this study the researcher also used both qualitative and quantitative research techniques to solicit the necessary information from the respondents. Ary et al (1996:20-21) clarifies the distinction between quantitative and qualitative data as follows:

> Quantitative research uses objective measurement and numerical analysis of data to try to explain the causes of changes in social phenomena. This type of research usually begins with hypotheses that will be supported or not supported by data. Qualitative research, on the

other hand, seeks a complete understanding of a social phenomenon through the researcher's total immersion in the situation. Qualitative research does not usually begin with hypotheses, although the research may generate them as events occur. It may be said that quantitative research seeks explanation, while qualitative research is more concerned with understanding.

Sherman and Webb (1990:5) state:

The aim of qualitative research is not verification of a predetermined idea, but discovery that leads to new insights. Thus, qualitative researchers focus on natural settings.

Edson, in Sherman and Webb (1990:45), argues that qualitative research is context-specific, that is, it posits that ideas, people, and events cannot be understood if isolated from the context.

The quantitative approach in the study seemed appropriate especially in the description of opinions and attitudes, and also in analyzing the effects of events or variables against one another. Qualitative method, on the other hand, seemed appropriate, since the problem that was being investigated concerned issues of human behaviour, beliefs, attitudes, perceptions, feelings and experience.

4.3   PROCEDURES FOR COLLECTING DATA

Procedures for collecting data comprised literature review, interviews and observation. Literature review is crucial in data collection and it forms the basis of any study undertaken. This is emphasized by Neuman, in Mgobhozi (2002:32), when he suggests that it is an essential early step in the research process, and is based on the assumption that knowledge accumulates and the scholars learn from and build on what others have done.

Walker (1985:12) concurs with the above notion when he states:

> The research literature provides a starting point for much research. Typically the task emerges from a careful reading of available studies in a particular field or sub-field or in reading around on a particular topic, theme or problem. And usually it emerges from a gap or gaps that are perceived in the available literature.

4.3.1 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

Instruments that were used to collect data in this study consisted of interviews and observation. The questionnaire was also designed prior to the actual fieldwork, but was not used because the interviewees preferred interviews.

4.3.1.1 INTERVIEWS

Cohen and Manion (1978), and Wiersma (1980), in Ponnusamy (1995:151), define an interview in the following words:

> The interview is a face-to-face conversation, and oral exchange, between an interviewer and an individual or a group of individuals. It is initiated by the interviewer for the specific purpose of obtaining research-relevant information and focused by him/her on content specified by the researcher's objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation.

Walker (1985:90-91) expands on the interview as a research instrument as follows:

> In essence the interview relies on the fact that people are able to offer accounts of their behaviour, practice and actions to those who ask them questions. The interview is, in this sense, a method or a group of techniques specific to the social and human sciences. It includes a wide range of techniques, from the structured questionnaire through to the 'unstructured' conversation, but all hinge on the assumption that

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people are to some degree, reflective about their own actions, or can be put in a position where they become so.

Formal interviews (structured) and informal interviews (unstructured) were utilized in the study for the purpose of collecting data. In this study, the researcher regarded utilization of an interview appropriate since the sample was small.

4.3.1.2 ADVANTAGES OF THE INTERVIEW METHOD IN THIS STUDY

Interviews, if carefully conducted, enable a researcher to elicit deep-rooted information from the interviewees. Conversation that takes place between the interviewer and interviewee sometimes leads to crucial questions that were not prepared by the interviewer, but emanated from the conversation. According to Shezi (1994:87), an interview is a useful instrument to obtain in-depth data on personal information, perceptions and attitudes.

Shezi (1994:88) further argues:

> The interviews present an interviewer with an opportunity to observe verbal as well as non-verbal behaviours of the interviewee. It becomes easy for an interviewer to make a follow-up to the interviewee by probing leads for additional information and to ascertain that the interviewee understands the questions.

Data that is collected through interviews is usually more detailed. Ambiguities in questions are easily detected through the interviewees' response, which leads to acquiring pertinent data. However, it should be noted that there are also disadvantages in the utilization of an interview method.

4.3.1.3 DISADVANTAGES OF THE INTERVIEW METHOD IN THIS STUDY

The interview method has its disadvantages. One of these disadvantages is that it is time-consuming. The researcher had to go to Johannesburg where most of his interviewees were stationed. For commuting, the researcher had to use a private car because public transport is sometimes not reliable, especially if some of the interviewees reside in remote places where public transport is scarce or non-existing. During the interview, notes are usually taken by the researcher, which sometimes hinders the smooth flow of an interview. Shezi (1994:89) states:

> Note taking while the interviewee is responding to a question, might present some problems. For example, the attention of the interviewee might be distracted and some might be curious to know what is being written.

While taking notes, some important data is usually missed by the researcher. To avoid concentrating on note-taking, most researchers often opt to use a tape recorder or use it simultaneously with note taking.

Shezi (1994:89) further caution against this tendency:

> Using a tape recorder is equally not a good method because some interviewees, owing to certain beliefs, might object or even suspect that the information will be used for purposes other than education.

Walker (1985:109) concurs with Shezi (1994) when he states:

> An early decision that faces most interviewers is how to record. It is tempting to use a tape recording in order to obtain the fullest and most accurate record; on the other hand many people find tape recording intrusive and cumbersome.

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In this study, tape recording was utilized to obtain accurate information from the interviewees. The researcher asked for permission from the interviewees and explained the need for using a tape recorder. The researcher emphasized to the interviewees that data was only for research purposes and there were no hidden agendas. Permission was granted by the interviewees and this was an added advantage for the researcher for data analysis.

4.4   INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Both the unstructured and structured interview were employed in this study. According to Fraentel and Wallen (1991:105), the structured interview technique requires that the interviewers ask the questions exactly as they are worded. However, they may be allowed some latitude, in clarifying terms. Fraentel and Wallen (1991:105), further suggest that when a researcher conducts an interview, an interview schedule (a carefully designed set of questions) is prepared and administered orally to one or more groups of subjects. According to Valliant and Valliant (1997:13), an interview schedule is a set of questions which are asked and recorded by the interviewer in face-to-face situations with the person being interviewed.

In this study, data was also collected using audio-visual materials. Creswell (2002:210) elaborates:

> Audio-visual materials consist of images or sounds that are collected to help the qualitative researcher understand the central phenomenon under study. Images or visual materials are being used more and more often in qualitative research. Photographs, videotapes, digital images, paintings and pictures, and physical traces of images (e.g., footsteps in the snow) are all sources of information for qualitative inquiry.

The researcher compiled video and audio songs of *mbaqanga* music for the purpose of analysis. This compilation comprised various *mbaqanga* veterans such as Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, The Soul Brothers and various other artists. These audio and video

songs provided the researcher with data pertaining to attire, performance practice, instrumentation, messages and meanings embedded in the song lyrics. For copyright purposes, permission was granted by musicians whose music was selected, on condition that the music is utilized for the purpose of this study and not for monetary gains.

4.5   POPULATION AND SAMPLE

In this study the researcher chose non-probability sampling as an appropriate sampling method. Creswell (2002:167) argues that it is not always possible to use probability sampling in educational research. He mentions that in some situations, you may need to involve participants who volunteer and agree to be studied.

Amongst various forms of non-probability sampling, the researcher, for the purpose of this study, opted for convenience sampling. Creswell (2002:167) explains convenience sampling as follows:

> In convenience sampling the researcher selects participants because they are willing and available to be studied. Because these participants have not been systematically selected, the researcher cannot say with confidence that they are representative of the population. However the sample can provide useful information for answering questions and hypotheses.

The semi-structured interview was utilized in this study. Ary et al (1996:448) states:

> Interviews can be more or less structured. In a less structured interview, the same questions are asked of all respondents, but the interview is more conversational and the interviewer has more freedom to arrange the order of questions or to rephrase the questions. If comparable data are obtained, however, the interviewer must standardize the procedures by using a structured interview schedule.

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Arrangements for the interviews in most cases were made telephonically. The date and the time of the interview was diarized a day before the interview. Each interviewee was reminded of the interview a week and two days before. At the interviews, each interviewee was made to feel at ease and was assured of the strictest confidence. A brief, casual preamble was undertaken to get the interviewee involved in the interview. As the interviewees responded to the questions, the researcher, with efforts to interfere as little as possible with the flow of conversation, recorded the responses tersely. With the help of the tape-recorder, note taking was minimized. After the conclusion of the interviews, the researcher reviewed the notes, listened to the tapes and wrote out more comprehensive accounts of the interviews.

4.6 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN DATA COLLECTION

The researcher encountered various problems during the actual process of data collection. The selection of informants depended entirely on the availability of informants. Another major problem was getting hold of informants. However, the researcher was eventually successful in getting hold of the intended informants with the exception of one interviewee.

Initially, the intended interviewees were Hugh Masekela, Moses Ngwenya (Soul Brothers), Mirriam Makeba and Ray Phiri. The researcher could not get hold of Mirriam Makeba who was often out of the country. Some of the interviewees referred the researcher to other informants that were relevant to data required by the researcher. Additional informants included Duma Ka Ndlovu and Welcome "Bhodloza" Nzimande. Because of time constraints, a telephone interview was made with Ray Phiri (Stimela).

Most interviews were conducted in Johannesburg, with only one in Durban. Although most appointments were made a month before, communication barriers became one of the obstacles. It was impossible to communicate directly with some of the musicians because the researcher had to communicate with their managers. This often led to communication breakdown. In some cases the researcher discovered that the information

was not passed to the interviewees. In most cases, managers were initially hesitant to give the researcher the interviewees' personal numbers, because of protocols involved. However, the researcher was eventually able to get these contact details. Time and financial constraints also impacted heavily on the researcher, who had to drive long distances. Sometimes other appointments ended up being postponed because of tight schedules for some interviewees. The researcher had to remain in Johannesburg for a longer duration to successfully conduct these interviews. Apart from these problems mentioned above, the researcher did not experience any problems when interviewing the informants. All my informants were frank, affable and well-versed on this subject.

4.7   OBSERVATION

In this study, observation as a technique for collecting data was utilized. This technique commonly involves sight or visual data collection. Gay (1981:169) explains that the major types of observational research are nonparticipant observation, simulation, observation, case study and content analysis. In this study nonparticipant observation was used. Gay (1981:169) argues:

> In nonparticipant observation, the observer is not directly involved in the situation to be observed. In other words, the observer is on the outside looking in and does not intentionally interact with, or affect, the object of the observation.

Most interviewees chosen in this study were selected on the basis of availability and, most of all, expertise and years of experience in the music industry, particularly in *mbaqanga* music. Some of these musicians are regarded as primary sources in term of the evolution of this genre. The researcher had previous interviews conducted in another study related to this study. The researcher was fortunate to interview musicians such as the late Mahlathini Nkabinde and Marks Mankwane in 1997. These musicians were able to furnish the researcher with invaluable data pertaining to the historical aspects of this genre.

4.8   CONCLUSION

In concluding this chapter, it seems appropriate to reiterate that the research methodology is the most crucial part of any research study. It maps out what the researcher wants to investigate. It also reveals how the researcher proposes going about investigating a particular phenomenon. Techniques and tools that were used in data collection are revealed through methodology. Methodology also offers an explanation as to why certain techniques were preferred over others. The following chapter focuses on the analysis and interpretation of data gathered.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

5.1   INTRODUCTION

In Chapter four, the procedures for data collection in this study were described. In this chapter, the data that was collected will be analyzed, findings will be interpreted, and some comments will be given.

5.2   PROCESSING OF DATA

In this study, procedure for collecting data, as mentioned in chapter four, consisted of literature review, interviews and observation. Most interviewees preferred interviews over questionnaires, which led to some problems for the interviewer, especially that of time and financial constraints.

5.3   FINDINGS FROM INTERVIEWS

The researcher was able to interview the following people in this study:

A. Moses Ngwenya of Soul Brothers

B. Duma ka Ndlovu

C. Hugh Masikela

D. Welcome Bhodloza Nzimande

E. Ray Phiri

In the study that was undertaken by the researcher in 1997 on *mbaqanga* music, the researcher interviewed Mahlathini Simon Nkabinde and Marks Mankwane. Although the topic was different, some of the issues are also relevant to this study.

In chapter four, the researcher mentioned the problems encountered during data collection, especially the availability of the interviewees. The interview schedule (Appendix B) comprised closed and open-ended questions. The procedures followed in data analysis were to examine responses to a particular question and then to compare the similarities and differences as reflected by data. Responses to questions were as follows:

5.3.1   How does music contribute to the development of culture?

Analysis of various responses from the interviewees pointed out that music, not specifically *mbaqanga* music, contributes in various ways to the development of culture. The responses of interviewees affirm that music plays a vital role in the development of culture. Music and culture cannot be separated. Through music, people are able to express their culture. Interviewee (B) responded as follows:

> Culture is an expression of a people's way of living. In our ancient cultural days, culture will be expressed largely through festivals e.g. dance and singing. Music is the best form of expressing people's culture.

Interviewee (E) explained that music is communal in African society. Music is also ceremonial and a communication tool. This is evident in African societies where music plays a huge role in people's lives. Through music, culture is developed in various ways. Some of the songs in various genres of music showcase the importance of culture. South African society has rich diverse cultures. Through music, certain aspects of culture are shared and various cultures adopt certain traits and elements of culture from each other. This leads to the growth and development of culture.

5.3.2   It is alleged that *mbaqanga* music reflects the urban as well as the rural culture of the South African black community. What is your opinion on this view?

The responses from the interviewees suggested that *mbaqanga* music does reflect the urban as well as the rural culture of the South African black community.

Responding to this question, interviewee (B) had this to say in this regard:

> *Mbaqanga* music is a hybrid of traditional Zulu art form that was brought into the township and then infused with Western cultures. It does not necessary reflect rural culture, except from its origin in terms of Zulu music particularly, and there ends the rural element of *mbaqanga* music. Musicians from Zululand came to the township, took Western instruments adopted the Western ways of dancing and created a new form of music.

Interviewee (A) seems to concur with the above. He argued that before, *mbaqanga* was seen as rural music, especially from KwaZulu-Natal, but it was filled with urban

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instruments like the organ. According to interviewee (E) *mbaqanga* music is a mixture, it is fusion, and it reflects both rural and urban culture. *Mbaqanga* musicians utilized Western instruments and integrated them into their musical styles. The adaptation of Western instruments is also made clear in the following statement:

> The development of a black urban proletariat and the movement of many black workers to the mines in the 1800s meant that differing regional traditional folk musics met and began to flow into one another. Western instrumentation was used to adapt rural songs, which in turn started to influence the development of new hybrid modes of music-making (as well as dances) in the developing urban centers (http://www.southafrica.culture/).

5.3.3 It is said that *mbaqanga* music is a hybrid style (a combination of different styles). Do you agree? Please explain.

The responses from interviewees suggested that *mbaqanga* music is a hybrid style; a mixture of various styles.

Interviewee (B) explained the concept '*umbaqanga*' in the following words:

> If you go back to our grandmothers earlier on... they will take *ubontshisi* (beans) and *impuphu* (mealie-meal) and mix them together. In other countries they will call that *umbaqanga* which basically means a mixture of different things that you don't usually mix. *Mbaqanga* is a mixture, a potpouri or a melting pot of different musical styles.

Therefore, it is evident that *mbaqanga* music is made up of different musical genres. It is the mixture of various styles; a cross-pollination. *Mbaqanga* is an urban hybrid music. Marks Mankwane and Mahlathini Nkabinde, in an interview (October, 1997), pointed out that *mbaqanga* emanates from *marabi*, *kwela* and *phatha-phatha*, and is thus a mixture of elements from different genres.

5.3.4 Many believe that *mbaqanga* music evolved under certain circumstances, such as westernization, urbanization, missionary influence, etc. What is your view on this?

Mbaqanga tradition evolved under various circumstances, and therefore, it reflects a myriad of influences. Music, as part and parcel of culture, could not escape external influences

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such as Westernization and the missionary impact. The missionary schools and boarding schools had a profound impact on traditional music. Our great African composers came from these missionary schools, where the focus was on Western music, especially choral music. The likes of Tyamzashe, Solomon Linda and scores of others were the product of missionary schools. According to interviewee (C) *mbaqanga* music is a mixture of missionary harmonic style and our traditional styles. However, these African features in *mbaqanga* seem inadequate, as interviewee (C) points out, 'there is very little that has been brought forward by South Africans that is ethnic e.g. Zulu chants, amahubo etc'. Interviewee (C) further argues:

> We have put our ethnic practices behind what Princess Magogo used to do, Zulu staff and all other staff that are ethnic e.g. war chants. Those are the things that define us that are not being put forward.... We will not be able to leave a legacy, unless we are able to promote our culture from the past.

Urbanization also impacted on this style. People had to migrate to cities and townships in search of work, and they developed this music as a form of entertainment.

5.3.5 What is *mbaqanga* music in your own view?

The interviewees described *mbaqanga* as a mixture of different genres. They referred to *mbaqanga* music as an urban hybrid style. *Mbaqanga* is described as a unique South African music. Interviewee (A) explained that *mbaqanga* music is African music that was played by our forefathers.

5.3.6 It is said that the history of *mbaqanga* music is usually linked with *kwela* and *marabi* music. What is your opinion on this?

The responses from interviewees reveal that the history of *mbaqanga* music can be linked with *marabi* and *kwela*. Interviewee (B) argued that in the late 50s there was *kwela* and *marabi*. Mahlathini came to Alexandra with the group called Alexandra Black Mambazo and they were influenced by the *kwela* and *marabi* music of those days. Marks Mankwane and Mahlathini, interview (October, 1997), emphasized that *mbaqanga* music comes from *marabi*, *kwela* and *phatha-phatha*. However, it should be noted that *mbaqanga* music

could also be linked with *maskanda* and *isicathamiya* music. According to interviewee (A), during the *umbaqanga* evolution, there was music like *marabi, kwela* and *isicathamiya,* and *mbaqanga* music is made up, or is a mixture of different kinds of music.

5.3.7 Who are the pioneers of *mbaqanga* music?

The interviewees' responses suggested that a number of people contributed to the evolution of *mbaqanga* music. It is not only the musicians, per se, but even some producers played a vital role in *mbaqanga*. Interviewee (E) explained that the period influences what could be called pioneers, who were best at that particular time. Interviewee (C) mentioned the first urban-style pioneers who started urban showbiz in South Africa. These pioneers include the likes of Griffiths Motsiela and Solomon Linda (although the latter came through *isicathamiya*). He further mentioned musicians like Dorothy Masuka, who had the biggest influence and set the style for Mirriam Makeba, Dark City Sisters and Mahottela Queens. Others include Elijah Nkwanyana, Ntemi Piliso and Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso who was influenced by Willard Cele (a pennywhistler who was featured in Donald Swanson's 1950 film, The Magic Garden). Interviewee (B) argued as follows:

> Simon Nkabinde basically should be credited as a major pioneer. However, when we look at the topical aspect of things, he did not work alone. He worked with West Nkosi as a producer. We cannot leave behind Marks Mankwane and Mahottela Queens because they contributed different elements to that. Then down the line we have Joseph Mthimkhulu and Abafana baseQhudeni. These are the people who have done a lot to develop *mbaqanga* music.

According to this interviewee, David Masondo and Moses Ngwenya only took a form of *mbaqanga* and changed it, and therefore, they are pioneers in their own way, but in terms of the original *mbaqanga* music, Simon Nkabinde can be attributed as a pioneer of *mbaqanga* music. Through these various responses, it becomes apparent that ultimately no one can be singled out as a pioneer of this tradition. Different musicians and producers etc. played their roles in their own way. It seems safe, therefore, to say that period and time determines who the pioneers are at that particular time and point in history.

5.3.8   Does *mbaqanga* music have a role to play in the new South Africa?

Mbaqanga music is part of our South African tradition. *Mbaqanga*, like any other South African musical genre, has played a role and still plays a role in South Africa. Most *mbaqanga* songs talks about our daily life experiences, some songs are educative and other songs relate to our culture and its importance. Interviewee (B) explains the importance and the role of *mbaqanga* as follows:

> *Mbaqanga* is an only music art form that could be internationalized as South African music. It has a large following. It touches a rural chord in all of us because it is unique, it is South African. Europeans want us to perform music that is unique and South African and *mbaqanga* is. When you listen to *mbaqanga*, you hear a South African sound. You cannot hear it anywhere else.

If we look at the above, the importance of *mbaqanga* and the role it plays in South Africa are explained. However, it might be argued that other genres such as *maskanda* and *isicathamiya* can also play the same role and can also be internationalized as South African music.

5.3.9   What is the relationship between music and culture in the South African context?

Music and culture are interwoven, and through music culture is promoted. In the South African context, we have different art forms, which include music of different types. Each type of music plays its part in our culture. Music is one of the tools or vehicles of cultural expression. Interviewee (D) emphasized that songs and music such as *maskanda*, *isicathamiya* and *mbaqanga* are relevant in showcasing South African culture. However, some interviewees expressed concerns about the extent to which our culture is promoted. Interviewee (C) had this to say in this regard:

> In South Africa we are not pushing our culture. Our culture is only celebrated during political ceremonies or national heritage ceremonies that are controlled by the government. We have the richest cultural diversity in South Africa but nobody knows about our culture. In South Africa we've been known through liberation culture and what is ironic is that our culture was evident during liberation struggle. It seems that the political community has sidelined culture. When people came to South Africa they came to see the

> geographical side and animals and not the people because
> we are not promoting our culture.

The music is part and parcel of culture. Culture and music compliment each other. Music is one of the art forms through which we express our culture as South Africans.

5.3.10 The media (newspapers, television etc.) played a huge role in the development of *mbaqanga* music. What is your comment on this?

The responses from interviewees suggested that the media played a role, not in the development of *mbaqanga*, but in promoting it. According to interviewees, people who played a gigantic role in the development of this tradition were the musicians, producers, record companies and the audience. Interviewee (C) argued:

> *Mbaqanga* was developed by the musicians and the
> audience. The people who popularized *mbaqanga* were the
> musicians, promoters, audiences and record companies
> even though the record companies exploited the musicians.
> It is a paradox that apartheid government promoted our
> music through *umsakazo* where South African music was
> played and a small slot of American music.

Interviewee (E) concurs with the above interviewee. He pointed out that the media did not play a role in the development of *mbaqanga*. However, the media is another form of expression. The media is a mode of cultural expression. Marks Mankwane and Mahlathini (interview, October 1997) emphasized that the media, especially *umsakazo* and newspapers, played a role in promoting *mbaqanga* music. Some interviewees expressed dissatisfaction with the role of the media in promoting this music in South Africa. This is evident in the words of interviewee (A) when he states:

> Before, the media promoted this music but not now.
> Presently the media promotes overseas music. This kills
> our culture and our youngsters won't really know what to
> play and what's theirs. They will try to copy artists from
> overseas which is a waste of time.

The same sentiments are also expressed by interviewee (D) when he states:

> If this country wish to uphold *mbaqanga* music, it will be
> important for the media to embrace that and promote this

music. If radio and television promotes our music very
consistently, it will keep our money in South Africa.

The interviewees' responses indicate that various parties, but not the media, developed the *mbaqanga* tradition. The media only helped to promote this music, but to a lesser extent. The radio, especially *umsakazo* as it was known before, seemed to play a larger role because it could reach a larger audience than the printed media.

5.3.11 Are there any performance principles involved in the creation and presentation of *mbaqanga* (i.e. composition and performance)?

According to the interviewees, there are no principles involved in the creation and presentation of *umbaqanga*. The composition of *mbaqanga* songs depends entirely on the musician at that particular time. There are no rules that are presented when someone creates a song. Interviewee (A) emphasized that the creation of songs depends on the musician and how he / she wants his / her music to sound. However, it is vital to note that during performance a lot of choreography is evident in *mbaqanga* music. Interviewee (A) explained that "our fans like to see us dancing a lot. There is a different choreography which is unique as well".

5.3.12 Can *mbaqanga* music help us to understand African culture?

The responses from interviewees suggested that *mbaqanga* music cannot help us to understand African culture entirely. Moreover, *mbaqanga* music is not purely African since it is hybrid music. Interviewee (B) explained this in the following words:

> *Mbaqanga* music has adopted too much of the Western way
> of life. It is now township music. It is not OKhahlamba,
> eMtshezi, Empangeni. It does not say anything about those
> places. It does not touch a chord in those people, but it is
> now Western, the way musicians dress, the shirts, takkies...
> it is moving away from being rural but the lyrics still talks
> about those things but otherwise, it is township music.

Mbaqanga music does not mirror African culture, but defines urban culture. It may touch, or have some connection with, rural culture, but it is basically urban music. Interviewee (C) argued that "*mbaqanga* is not different from *kwasa-kwasa*. *Kwasa-kwasa* does not define Congolese people. It defines life in the cities of the Congo". *Mbaqanga* music, like

most other South African genres, talks about social issues. Various *mbaqanga* songs talk about different issues in our societies. The lyrics in these songs express joy, suffering, love and different issues that impact on our lives.

5.3.13 It is alleged that the performances and features of *mbaqanga* music reveal the influence of European music. What is your opinion on this?

All the respondents agreed that the features of *mbaqanga* reflect the influence of European music. They pointed out that European or Western influences impacted on various musical genres in Africa as a whole. *Mbaqanga* tradition, as part of culture and a hybrid genre, was also influenced directly or indirectly by European music. During the actual or live performances, Western and African styles of dancing are apparent in the choreography. The choreography reveals a mixture of influences, including African traditional dancing, and on some occasions, European features can be seen as well. Although *mbaqanga* music is African, European features can also be found in the structure of *mbaqanga* songs. Harmonic style and chord progression, such as I IV V, reveal the elements of Western choral style. Moreover, most of *mbaqanga* musicians perform in Western clothing and African regalia, depending on a certain song and on how they want to present themselves at that particular time.

5.3.14 Is it correct to assume that *mbaqanga* music played a pivotal role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa?

Music is regarded as one mode of expression. *Mbaqanga* music, as one of the South African traditions, was and is one of the vehicles of expressing people's sentiments and emotions. There are various musical genres in South Africa and each genre could be said to have contributed in one way or the other in voicing people's emotions. Interviewee (B) explained as follows:

> There is no black form of South African music that did not play its role in one way or the other. In the 70s, we tended to look for overt political tones. Everybody that has played *mbaqanga* has never been portrayed as struggle hero. In the 70s there are groups that started playing political songs... but most of the musicians continued entertaining the masses, but secretly people always expressed what they felt.

It should be noted that during the liberation struggle in South Africa, some groups emerged who focused mainly on political songs. However, most of the musicians did not focus on songs with overt political overtones, but had some songs which expressed their anger towards an unjust regime, as well as the suffering that black people were enduring under the apartheid era. Moreover, the government censored songs that had overt political overtones and musicians faced constant police harassment. This led to some of the musicians censoring themselves, because they knew that they could not get airplay if their songs were found to be political. Therefore, most musicians did not involve themselves in politics and sang straight lyrics. *Mbaqanga* music, therefore, could not be said to have played a pivotal role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. However, as a South African art form, it contributed in some way.

5.3.15 Some people believe that *mbaqanga* music reflects a heavy influence of Zulu culture. What is your opinion?

The interviewees had divergent responses on this issue. However, it was evident that Zulu culture has some influence on this genre. According to interviewee (A), *mbaqanga* music is not influenced only by Zulu culture, but it is a mixture of African cultures. Only the lyrics are predominantly in Zulu. The whole *mbaqanga* tradition is a mixture of African cultures. Interviewee (C) argued that some of the great *mbaqanga* exponents, such as Griffths Motsieloa and Marks Mankwane, were not Zulus. Interviewee (C) further argued:

> The style of guitar playing that made *mbaqanga*, came from *maskanda*. However, even *maskanda* is not Zulu culture either, except that is a hybrid of Zulu culture and 'cow-boy' music. We cannot ignore the fact that films had the biggest influence on people's lives all over the world.

Some of the interviewees emphasized that *mbaqanga* music is predominantly Zulu culture. Interviewee (D) maintained that most *mbaqanga* songs are sung in Zulu. Interviewee (B) argued as follows:

> *Mbaqanga* music is nothing else but Zulu culture. Zulu people are the only ones who still maintained most of their forms of music. Zulus still perform the different styles of music, for instance, we have Zulu *isicathamiya*, Zulu *maskanda*, Zulu traditional, Zulu *mbaqanga*. . . it has been difficult in *mbaqanga* music for other language groups to fit

> in other languages e.g. when Mahlathini was performing
> with Marks Mankwane who was Sotho; they did try to put
> in Sotho lyrics in their songs. Both those songs had
> seminal success. Most of their big sellouts were songs that
> were sung in Zulu.

What is evident in the above arguments is that the influence of Zulu culture in *mbaqanga* music may be attributed to the lyrics which are mostly sung in Zulu. Most interviewees seemed to concur that most songs are sung in Zulu. However, it should be noted that even in other genres, such as *kwaito* and various others, lyrics are mostly in Zulu or, in other instances, a mixture of languages. *Mbaqanga* music is a hybrid genre, therefore, it reflects a myriad of cultures in South Africa. Interviewee (E) emphasized that *mbaqanga* is an urban style and can be defined as "an osmosis of different tribes and cultures" (interview, October 1997).

5.3.16 *Mbaqanga* music reflects the traditions, beliefs and customs of, as well as current events in the black community. What is your opinion on this?

The respondents all pointed out that music, regardless of the style, serves as a mode of cultural transmission. *Mbaqanga* music as culture is an embodiment of the traditions, beliefs and customs of the South African black community. Through song lyrics, issues that affect people in their everyday lives are expressed. *Mbaqanga* deals with numerous social issues that occur in these communities. Musicians are part of their communities and, therefore, they are influenced by what transpires in their communities.

5.3.17 Through music such as *mbaqanga*, a sense of solidarity, unity and identity is formed. What is your comment on this?

Respondents agreed that through any music a sense of solidarity is formed. Music also unifies people and people tend to identify with any music of their choice. Music serves various purposes. Music is one of the art forms that unify people across diverse boundaries. Through music such as *mbaqanga*, identity is reinforced. In the South African context, for instance, *mbaqanga* music is usually associated with the older generation. Our younger generation, on the contrary, is associated with *kwaito*, which is considered youth culture. *Kwaito* music in South Africa is often seen as a mouthpiece for our youth. Through this genre, the youth are able to define what takes place in their daily lives.

5.3.18 It is said that there are many social issues that are addressed by *mbaqanga* music in South Africa. What is your comment on this?

Respondents pointed out that through *mbaqanga* music, social issues are addressed. Most *mbaqanga* songs focus on different social issues that affect our society. Social issues that are concerned with morals, respect, humanity (*ubuntu*) and various other aspects are also addressed by this tradition. According to interviewee (A), most of the songs they write, talk about family issues. For instance, some of the songs talk about people suffering in rural areas from poverty. Some songs focus on the problems brought about by migrant labour, when the father had to come to Johannesburg in search of work and leave his family behind. In Johannesburg, he gets another wife and forgets about his family. Eventually, his family receives no support from him. Some songs, therefore, admonish those migrants and tell them to go back to the rural areas and support their families.

5.3.19 Are there any specific musical instruments that are used in *mbaqanga* music?

The responses of interviewees indicate that there are no specific instruments that are strictly used in the performance of this genre. According to interviewee (E), instruments are just tools of expressing our culture. Interviewee (A) explained:

> You can use any instrument but it sounds nice with an organ because before they were using rhythm guitar, lead guitar, bass guitar and accordion. We took those out and introduced the Hammond organ.

However, Mahlathini and Marks Mankwane (interview, October 1997), emphasized that a guitar is very important in *mbaqanga* music. Other instruments are used to modernize *mbaqanga*. It should be noted that the guitar plays a prominent role in *mbaqanga* music. Some *mbaqanga* musicians often use keyboards, and particularly an organ, in most recent *mbaqanga* songs.

5.3.20 Through *mbaqanga* music, important elements and values of African culture are learnt. What is your opinion on this?

Mbaqanga music seems to impart some important cultural values to the members of South African communities. These cultural values are embedded in some *mbaqanga* songs.

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Through certain songs, people learn about morals, respect, humanity and various other values. Interviewee (E) also emphasized that in African countries in general, music is communal and community building. It talks about things that you must and must not do in a society.

5.3.21 It is alleged that the history of various urban styles, such as *mbaqanga* music, have their roots in Sophiatown. What is your comment on this?

According to interviewees' responses, it is apparent that *mbaqanga* music did not evolve in Sophiatown. Interviewee (A) argued that *mbaqanga* music has its roots in rural areas. *Mbaqanga* music is an urban culture and was developed by migrant workers. Interviewee (C) pointed out that, in most cases, Sophiatown is viewed and popularized as a place where urban styles evolved, which is not true, because most people who started *mbaqanga* did not even come from Johannesburg.

5.3.22 It is said that *mbaqanga* music was developed by the working-class, and thus reflected their culture. What is your view on this?

The responses from interviewees indicate that the migrant workers created mbaqanga music. Those migrant workers came from different parts of South Africa, and others came from other countries in Africa, in search of work in the cities. *Mbaqanga* came out of different tribes and ethnic groups who brought their cultures with them.

Interviewee (C) explained as follows:

> Urban styles were the creation of basically migrant workers. They started their culture (urban styles) drawing from their roots… '*omaskandi*' (*maskanda* musicians) are the real class of *mbaqanga* because they came to work in the mines and met guys from Maputo, Angola, Congo, etc.

Interviewee (E) explained how this music evolved, in the following words, "*mbaqanga* music was developed by people coming from different places, bringing colour to a certain picture". When we look at the above interpretation by interviewee (E), *mbaqanga* is viewed as a picture with different people from divergent cultures and ethnic backgrounds bringing different colours to the picture that is being painted.

5.3.23   It is said that *mbaqanga* music is the manifestation of a fusion of elements from
         divergent cultural groups. What is your comment on this?

All respondents explained that *mbaqanga* music embodies a myriad of South African cultures. *Mbaqanga* music reflects a fusion of elements emanating from different cultural groups. Migrant workers who came to Johannesburg to work in the mines brought their traditions, and *mbaqanga* evolved as the end product of a fusion of divergent cultural traits.

5.3.24 *Mbaqanga* music is said to be not static, but dynamic. Like culture, it is always evolving or changing. What is your view on this?

Music as culture or part of culture is always changing as a result of different influences. The interviewees' responses indicated that *mbaqanga* music is also not static, but changing with the times. In this regard, interviewee (A) pointed out that what they started playing before, is different from what they are playing now. Interviewee (D) explained as follows:

> *Mbaqanga* music is not static but changing. In any music
> field we have music development e.g. new instruments
> being added. Musicians come up with certain additions that
> are important.   When you listen to those that started
> *mbaqanga* music long ago in the 60s, you may find that
> there are many instruments that have been added.

It seems that the changes in *mbaqanga* music are more visible in the instrumentation of this genre. Marks Mankwane and Mahlathini (interview, October 1997) explained:

> *Mbaqanga* music is still *mbaqanga*, but it has improved
> over the years. Before, there were no keyboards and full kit
> drums. Brass was used only in instrumental *mbaqanga* and
> not in vocal *mbaqanga*.   Brass is now used in vocal
> *mbaqanga* and we have full kit drums and keyboards.

There are various elements that have been brought into this tradition. Interviewee (B) explains as follows:

> *Mbaqanga* music changes from time to time. When you
> listen to Mahlathini and Mahottela Queens, they created a
> unique style both in performance and recording. They
> developed a groaner.   It is said that it is a behaviour
> accident because somebody's vocal chord had been
> damaged. Because it became popular, everyone started

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imitating it. Another change in *mbaqanga* art form was that Marks Mankwane, who incidentally brought his guitar to do some *'waa-waa'* and that became the main thing *'isigingci sakho siyakhuluma sithi 'awaa-awaa'* (your guitar is talking saying *'awaa-awaa'*).

Interviewee (B) further explains:

Later again it changed when Moses Ngwenya came to the picture and started developing a different thing in the organ and now most *mbaqanga* groups do that. Moreover, Joseph Mthimkhulu Nabafana baseQhudeni used to wear takkies during their performances and that influenced the Soul Brothers.

It is evident, as indicated by the interviewees' responses, that music, and in this case *mbaqanga* tradition, is prone to change as a result of internal and external influences. As culture and part of culture, these changes contribute to its development and growth.

5.3.25 Song text (lyrics) in *mbaqanga* music reveals much about the culture of Black people in South Africa. What is your comment on this?

Music serves as a vehicle or a tool for expressing culture. In the South African context, *mbaqanga* music also seems to express the culture of black people. The interviewees' responses indicate that *mbaqanga* music seems to express urban culture, since this genre is an urban style. However, it should be noted that not all *mbaqanga* lyrics express culture. There are also songs for entertainment purposes which reveal nothing about culture. Some song lyrics are about love, and others are concerned with social issues. *Mbaqanga* musicians are influenced by things that take place in the community, and through music they talk about those issues. African music is topical in nature. This is clearly expressed by Nkabinde (1997:21) when he argues that in most African societies music for various occasions include the following types:

(a) Song of childhood

(b) Song of labour and trade

(c) Song of ritual and ceremonies

(d) Love songs (Wedding songs)

(e) Drinking songs

(f) Patriotic and army songs

(g) Mourning songs

(h) Cradle songs

(i) Dancing songs

(j) Narrative songs, ballads and legends

Titon et al (2005:75) also concurs with Nkabinde (1997) when he states:

> African music often happens in social situations where people's primary goals are not artistic. Instead, music is for ceremonies (life cycle, rituals, festivals), work (subsistence, child care, domestic chores, wage labor) or play (games, parties, lovemaking).

According to interviewee (E), *mbaqanga* music talks about social issues. He further argues that there are traditional messages found in *mbaqanga* lyrics, for instance, *"Mama kaSibongile, Awuyeke ukuthi uma usuphuzile bese uyangiphoxa"* (Mother of Sibongile, stop disgracing me when you are drunk). This message is educational and conforms to the morals of African culture. However, it should be noted that not all the songs in *mbaqanga* have lyrics that reflect African culture. Interviewee (C) pointed out that "very little has been brought forward by South Africans that is ethnic". In this case the interviewee referred to songs such as *amahubo*, traditional chants etc.

The following section will focus on the song lyrics to ascertain whether cultural traits are embodied in the song lyrics in *mbaqanga* music.

5.4   ANALYSIS OF SONG TEXT

In this section some *mbaqanga* songs were selected for the purpose of analysis. The songs were selected from DVDs (Soul Brothers: The kings of *Mbaqanga*, Live in Johannesburg) and from audio-cds. The lyrics of these songs will be written and translated into English.

5.4.1   SONGS SELECTED FROM DVD

1. MAMA WAMI

Namuhla ngingedwa ngisele ebunzimeni

Akekho ongangiduduza kulolusizi,

Ngehla ngenyuka nemithwalo

Umama wehlukana nobaba wami.

Ngabe kuyoze kube nini ngikulolusizi

Mama wangiyala wehlukana nobaba.

Ngiyakukhumbula mama wami

Ngisebunzimeni namhlanje.

MY MOTHER

Today I am alone in sorrow

No one can comfort me in this sorrow.

I am wondering up and down with my belongings

My mother separated with my father.

For how long will I be in this sorrow?

Mother you did wrong when you separated from my father.

I am missing you, my father,

As I am in sorrow today.

Composers: D. Masondo and M. Ngwenya (GMVDVD012)

The above song deals with issues that are taking place in our societies. Family breakdowns bring a lot of pain in our communities. Children become victims of separation and divorce. Today, most of our children end up on the streets, which eventually leads to crime in our societies. These lyrics thus depict the pain and suffering endured by children as a result of marital problems in our communities.

2. UVALO

Sengiyazisola ngakushelelani ngidakiwe.

Mina sengizohamba la endlini usale wedwa

Ngoba sengishawa uvalo ngenxa yakho

Wena uyangihlupha nje.

FEAR

I regret proposing to you when I was drunk.

I am going to leave you alone in this house

I am afraid because of you

You are bothering me.

Composers: D. Masondo and M. Ngwenya (GMVDVD012)

The above lyrics also reveal what is happening in our societies. It warns people about the consequences of alcohol. Because of alcohol, people engage in things that they tend to regret afterwards.

3. ISIGEBENGU

Uphinde wathola omunye

Wakushiya unjalo wakubalekela

Wadlala isigilamkhuba wentombazane.

CRIMINAL

You got another one

He left you and ran away

He used you, girl.

Composers: D. Masondo and M. Ngwenya (GMVDVD012)

These lyrics also reveal what takes place in our communities, where older men abuse young girls. They think these men love them, but the men leave them afterwards. This is also prevalent in our societies, and this song cautions women or girls to be careful in love affairs.

5.4.2 SONGS SELECTED FROM CDs

4. UMUZI ONJANI?

Umuzi onjani lona njalo nje kuyaliwa?

Bahlale bedakiwe kulo muzi.

Kwaze kwasa singalele kwenzenjani na?

Kulo muzi bahlale bedakiwe.

WHAT KIND OF A FAMILY IS THIS?

What kind of a family is this?

Every time they fight.

They are always drunk in this house

I regret visiting this family.

We never slept till morning

What is happening?

In this family they are always drunk.

  Composer: M. Masondo (CDGMP30016)

If we look at the above lyrics, this is evident in some families where alcohol abuse is high. Some of these families use their homes as shebeens where people get drunk during the day and night. These are some of the issues that lead to breakdowns in the families where some of our children are raised.

5. IMALI YAMI

Utshela abantu ukuthi ngiyakuzonda,

Kodwa yini ungabatsheli ukuthi saxatshaniswa yini.

Ngihlupheka nginjena nje

Kungenxa yakho,

Wadla imali yami.

MY MONEY

You tell people that I hate you,

But you don't tell them the reason.

I am poor like this, because of you.

You ate my money.

  Cmposer: Z. Mchunu (CDGMP30016)

The above lyrics talk about money and the problems that result because of it. Some people in our communities have a tendency to borrow money from others, but they don't want to pay back. This leads to people fighting and hating each other and others even kill each other because of money. In Zulu there is a saying that says "*Imali impande yesono*" (money is the root of evil). This song thus cautions people against problems involving money.

6. EMZINI WAMI

Mama wezingane zami
Ngibona kungcono manje
Ngibuyele emzini wami.
Mama kaSibongile
Ngibona kungcono manje
Ngibuyele emzini wami.

Ngiyezwa ngomakhelwane
Bengitshela ukuthi wena
Uhlala nenye indoda emzini wami.

MY HOUSE

Mother of my children
I now think its better for me
To come back to my house.
Mother of Sibongile
I now think its better for me
To come back to my house.

I hear from neighbours
Telling me that,
You are now living with another man in my house.

Composer: M. Ngwenya (CDGMP30016)

The above song lyrics talk about family problems, especially marital problems. It talks about infidelities that happen in some marriages, where the man and his wife stay separately. This usually happens when a man is working far from home, and only comes home when he is not working. For various reasons, some people resort to cheating, which leads to problems in relationships.

7. AWUHLONIPHI
Ayikho into esingayenza isilungele
Uma singezwani sodwa la ekhaya.
Ujwayele ukungiphoxa,
Ujwayele ukungethuka,
Noma kunabantu la ekhaya.

YOU HAVE NO RESPECT
We cannot do anything and be successful,
If we quarrel amongst ourselves in this house.
You always disgrace me,
You always swear at me,
Even when there are visitors in the house.

Composer: M. Ngwenya (CDGMP30016)

These lyrics talk about respect, which is dwindling in our black society. In black communities, respect is one element that is cherished and one element of our culture. Respect is fostered at an early age when a child grows. Before marriage, a woman was instructed to respect her husband. However, nowadays we lack respect in our societies, which is against our culture.

8. INGANE YABANTU
Udlalelani ngengane yabantu?
Uma ngabe ingasakufuni uyishayelani?

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Uma ngabe ingasakuthandi uyishayelani?

Kanti kuyicala yini na?

Uma ingasakufuni.

Kanti kuyisono yini na?

Uma ingasakufuni.

ONES' CHILD

Why are you playing with her?

If she does not love you anymore, why are you beating her?

Is it wrong when she does not love you anymore?

Is it a sin?

If she loves you no more.

Composer: Z. Mchunu (CDGMP30016)

The above lyrics also talk about love relationships. The song addresses the abuse of women. Some men believe that a woman cannot stop loving you, and if she does, she will get beaten. She is forced to stay in a relationship because she will get beaten if she wants to end it. This is still prevalent in our societies when women are abused in relationships.

9. THULISILE

Thulisile ngiyakuthanda

Mntwana wabantu.

Ngithembise ukuthi angeke ungishiye

Mntakwethu.

Angikaze ngithande umuntu

Njengoba ngikuthanda mntakwethu.

Uma nginawe s'thandwa sami

Kuphela zonke izinhlupheko.

Uyizinto zonke empilweni yami

Mntakwethu.

THULISILE

Thulisile, I love you,

Child of the people.

Promise that you won't leave me,

My love.

I never loved anyone

Like I love you.

When I'm with you, my love,

All my sorrows end.

You are everything in my life,

My love.

Composer: T. Mthethwa (CDGMP31015)

The above lyrics focus on relationships about love. They express love, and the happiness that is brought about by love.

10. SIBONGILE

Sibongile, awuyeke ukuhamba ebusuku

Mntanami ngiyakukhuza.

Izolo lokhu bengikhuza umama wakho

Manje sekuqala wena.

SIBONGILE

Sibongile, stop roaming around at night.

My child, I am warning you.

Just yesterday I was warning your mother,

Now it is you.

Composer: M. Ngwenya (CDGMP31015)

These lyrics reveal the relationships within the families. It talks about the issues where the parents should act responsibly and be role models for their children. Children often look at adults, especially their parents, and often do what they do. In this case, Sibongile is doing what her mother did when she was roaming at night. Through these lyrics, morals, as part of our culture, are manifested. What is expected, and what is not expected, of the members of a community is clearly revealed in these lyrics.

5.5. OBSERVATION

The performance of *mbaqanga* music was observed to find out if there are any features that portray cultural traits in this genre. For this analysis the following material was utilized:

- Soul Brothers: The Kings of *Mbaqanga*. Live in Johannesburg. (DVD). This DVD features comprises 11 songs, which were live performances by the Soul Brothers in Johannesburg. Two bonus music videos are also included in this DVD.

- Music videos from Ezodumo Programme, SABC 1. From this music programme, six songs were compiled comprising different *mbaqanga* artists. They were the following:

- Themba Ngwenya : EniNgizimu Africa
- Ofeleba : Ungavimbi
- Soul Brothers : Umshado
- Steven Kekana : Uyangihlaza
- Soul Brothers : Idlozi
- Hamba Nobani : Ibhadi

Maskanda music videos were also added for comparison. Four music videos performed by different artists were analyzed. They were the following:

- Abagqobhi : Ngizokwenzenjani
- Lettie Chabalala : Badiramina
- Washesha : Iqiniso
- Izimbali : Emhlabeni

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5.5.1   OBSERVATION OF MBAQANGA PERFORMANCES

Data on the performance observation of *mbaqanga* songs includes live performances captured on music videos and DVDs. Through interviews, the researcher was able to obtain data regarding the performance of *mbaqanga* music. However, it was vital for the researcher to also observe and analyze performances of this genre. The main purpose of this observation was to ascertain how culture is reflected through music, in this case, *mbaqanga* music.

What is common in *mbaqanga* performance is that there is a lot of body movement. Choreography is one important element of *mbaqanga* music. Choreography comprise divergent dance styles (refer to accompanying music video). However, it should be noted that the dance styles in most *mbaqanga* songs reflect to a greater extent urban culture, and not rural culture. These divergent dance styles in *mbaqanga* music might be referred to as 'township or urban jive', because they mostly reflect the dance culture of the townships. Traditional dance forms are rarely found in *mbaqanga* music. Coplan (1985:185-186) argues that *mbaqanga* shows generally have several segments, proceeding from the most traditional in music, dance, and costume towards the more Westernized. What is evident in *mbaqanga* music is that, in live performances, few *mbaqanga* musicians wear traditional costumes. Traditional costumes usually appear in music videos. Some *mbaqanga* musicians, such as Mahlathini Nkabinde and Mahottella Queens, often performed and appeared in traditional outfits, even in their live performances.

Coplan (1985:187) further elucidates:

> Under Bopape, Mahlathini too originally performed in traditional dress, backed not by males but by an urban all-female quartet, thus originating the now pervasive *simanje-manje* style. Mbaqanga audiences enjoy traditional performance styles, but in their urban circumstances also require some psychic distance from its 'primitive' associations. Displayed on a stage backed by electric guitars and saxophones, it takes on the appearance of unreality, a satire in which the listener takes pleasure while maintaining a comfortable cultural distance.

It is evident, as Coplan (1985) asserts that some *mbaqanga* musicians often performed in traditional costumes, Mahlathini being one of them. However, it is important to note that this is not the trend in *mbaqanga* music. On the contrary, this is evident in *maskanda* performances. *Maskanda* musicians usually appear in traditional costumes during their performances. If we look at the Soul Brothers' live performance (refer to DVD), their live performance comprised eleven songs and two additional bonus tracks, which are music videos. In all these songs, the Soul Brothers are not dressed in traditional costumes. They appear wearing takkies and Afro shirts, which reflect the dress code of urban culture. If we also look at some music videos, where we have different *mbaqanga* artists, they do not appear in traditional costumes (refer to music videos). Amongst all these musicians, the most common factor in their dress code is that they all appear in takkies. Interviewee (B) argued that *mbaqanga* has adopted too much of the Western way of life. This is evident in the way musicians and performers dress, which is more Western.

However, when we look at *mbaqanga* music videos, some of them show people in the background wearing traditional costumes. Even then, the musicians themselves do not often appear in these traditional costumes. This is evident in the Soul Brothers' bonus music videos (refer, Soul Brothers DVD). If we also look at other music videos, which are compilations of various *mbaqanga* artists, the musicians appear in takkies and shirts, but not in traditional costumes. Other groups, such as 'Ofeleba', appear wearing hats, which are a trend in the townships.

On the other hand, if we look at *maskanda* musicians, most of them perform in traditional attire. If we look, for instance, at 'Abagqobhi' *maskanda* group, in their song *Ngizokwenzenjani*, they appear in traditional regalia. Their dance styles include, *ukusina*, which is usually Zulu traditional dancing. Another example is 'Lettie Chabalala' in her song *Badiramina*. This group appears in Shangaan traditional attire. Their style of dancing is Shangaan traditional dance.

'Washesha,' in their song *Iqiniso* also appear in traditional attire. Their dancing style also includes *ukusina*, which is traditional. Their music videos portray, in the background, people drinking traditional beer and women colleting wood, which characterizes African culture. Culture is also revealed in the group 'Izimbali', in their song *Emhlabeni*. They also

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appear in traditional attire. Moreover, in their music video, maidens are shown wearing traditional gear and engaged in *ukusina*. The background also reveals maidens carrying *umhlanga* (reeds) and performing the reed dance *Umkhosi Womhlanga*, which is an African ceremony common especially in Zulu and Swazi culture.

5.6 CONCLUSION

The above analysis reveals that *mbaqanga* music reflects, to a greater extent, urban culture. The analysis of song lyrics indicates that *mbaqanga* music serves as a tool for expressing urban culture and not rural culture. Messages embedded in the lyrics are about what affects, to a greater extent, the urban community. Performances of *mbaqanga* music also reflect what transpires in the urban community. The dance styles and costumes are also a reflection of urban culture. On the contrary, *maskanda* music embodies to a larger extent, the culture of rural communities. This culture is reflected especially in the dance styles and costumes of *maskanda* musicians.

CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1   INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, especially in chapter one, the researcher has stipulated the objectives of the study.   Moreover, relevant literature was reviewed.   Data has been collected and analyzed.   In this chapter, the researcher makes some recommendations based on the conclusions reached after interpreting and analyzing data gathered from the interviewees and other relevant sources.

6.2   SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

An analysis of the history and evolution of *mbaqanga* music reveals the importance and value of this genre as a part of South African culture.   Various ethnomusicological studies have emphasized the importance of studying African music in its cultural context.   The approach of studying music known as comparative musicology was imbued with numerous pitfalls.   Comparative musicology was based on studying other 'musics' in terms of the perceived 'superior' music.   Music, as a result, was studied in isolation, and this led to a plethora of shortcomings and gaps in those studies.

The ethnomusicological approach, on the other hand, focuses on the study of music taking into consideration the cultural context of that music being studied.   Coplan (1985:230) speaks of social dialectics in which social structure is treated as a network of intercommunication between variables which are both product and producers of social force.   Coplan (ibid) further argues:

> While this view deprives us of any neat hierarchy of
> independent and dependent variables, it more faithfully
> reflects the actual relationship of performance to its total
> environment.

The findings from the analysis of data in chapter five reveal that music is a vital part of the African's culture.   The cultural context, therefore, cannot be overlooked when studying African music.   In chapter two, the evolution of ethnomusicology as a discipline was

discussed. Comparative musicology focused on the structure of music, looking at aspects such as form of music, scales, chords etc. The relationship of music to its cultural setting was of little or no importance. McLeod (1971:83) expressed the differences between these two approaches as follows:

> The foremost of the premises that distinguish the ethnomusicologist from the conventional musicologist is a concern for the relationship of music to its cultural setting.

Merriam, in McLeod (1971:83), further explains:

> Music is the product of man and has structure but its structure cannot have an existence of its own divorced from the behavior which produces it. In order to understand why a music structure exists as it does, we must also understand how and why the concepts which underlie that behavior are ordered in such a way as to produce the particularly desired form of organized sound.

The above statement briefly explains the need to study African music in its cultural context. The structural form of music is of less significance if it is studied in isolation. Since music is a product of human social behaviour, it cannot be divorced from culture. Kunst, in Merriam (1960:108), also viewed the ethnomusicological approach as relevant to the study of African music. He recommended that the old discipline of comparative musicology be rechristened 'ethnomusicology', thus stressing the fact that music does not exist by and of itself, but is a part of the totality of human behaviour.

The findings in this study reveal that African music, in this case *mbaqanga* music, is part and parcel of culture. It is evident from the study that *mbaqanga* music reflects culture. It is a way of talking about life; representing common concerns of the people. Through song lyrics, the musician usually reflects upon his or her life, which may be the experience of a group. As culture, *mbaqanga* music is transmitted and shared by the members of the group. In chapter one, a definition of culture was given. However, to get a more vivid picture of the relationship between music and culture, it is essential to look at the following

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definitions by Marsella (2001) and Myers (1993). Marsella, in Samovar and Porter (2001:33), defines culture as follows:

> Culture is shared learned behavior which is transmitted from one generation to another for the purpose of promoting individual as social survival, adaptation, and growth and development....

On the other hand, Myers (1993:186) defines culture as "the enduring behaviors, ideas, attitudes, and traditions shared by a large group of people and transmitted from one generation to the next".

What becomes apparent in the above definitions is that culture is shared, learned and transmitted amongst the members of the group. Music, as culture and part of culture, is also shared, learned and transmitted. Culture is not static but dynamic. *Mbaqanga* music has also undergone some changes, and has been transmitted from generation to generation. African music, like culture, is transmitted orally through generations. Dumisa (1989:30) emphasizes this when he states:

> Traditionally, music was passed by word of mouth (orally) from generation to the other. This transmission was done informally, that is, people got to know the songs as they were sung during the appropriate festival or situation.

This is still evident in African music even today. Traditional music and neo-traditional music is learned informally. This is also the case with *mbaqanga* music and most other genres in South Africa. Chapter one of this study served as an introductory chapter, where the statement of the problem, aims of study and definition of terms were discussed. Works of various scholars who have dealt with studies parallel to this one were visited.

Chapter two focused on literature review, where sources relevant to this study were reviewed. Concepts such as syncretism, westernization, acculturation, assimilation, modernization and urbanization were discussed. Definitions and theories of ethnomusicology were also discussed. Various approaches to the study of music as

culture and in culture were also discussed. The concepts such as popular music and popular culture were discussed at length in this chapter.

Chapter three focused on the historical background of *mbaqanga* music in South Africa. *Marabi* and *kwela* music were discussed as the forerunners of this genre. This chapter also dealt with the cultural context of *mbaqanga* music. The role of the media and musicians, and music as culture and in culture was also dealt with.

Chapter four dealt with the research methodology employed in the study. It outlined procedures utilized for the collection of data.

In chapter five analysis and interpretations of data were presented. Data that was analyzed in this chapter was collected from literature review, interviews, observation and analysis of song lyrics in *mbaqanga* music.

Chapter six aims at crystallizing many of the issues and findings discussed in the preceding chapters. It is hoped that the findings will become a benchmark for further research around this topic and will provide the basics on which such research should be conducted.

The findings are presented as follows:
(a)   Interviews
(b)   Analysis of song text (audio and visual)
(c)   Observation

6.3   INTERVIEWS (See Appendix B)

The respondents were interviewed individually. A tape recorder was used to record responses. Data obtained from interviewees was then compared and analyzed. Details of the interviews are presented in chapter five and this section only serves to make a summary of these findings.

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6.3.1 THE CONTRIBUTION OF MUSIC TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURE.

Respondents felt that all types of African music, not only *mbaqanga* music, contributed extensively to the development of culture. In the South African context, this embraces various genres such as *isicathamiya*, *maskanda*, *kwaito* music and several others.

The responses from respondents also suggest that culture and music are interrelated and intertwined. Culture and music has been portrayed as two parts, which form one entity. Without another part that entity is not complete. Through music, people are able to express their way of life. Music, on some occasions, informs culture. This is evident in some songs that are composed by some musicians, which are adopted as part of culture for a society. One example is *Nkosi Sikelela i-Africa*, which was adopted as part of South African culture. Xulu (1990:21) explains:

> Music is thus an articulation of objectification of the philosophical and moral systems. These systems are brought into the music-making situation themselves. At some levels African music becomes the focus for the different value systems.

With regard to the contribution of African music to the development of culture, all respondents concur that music contributes to the development of culture. The respondents indicated that music is part of culture. It is part of the people's learned customs and traditions, and part of their social heritage.

6.3.2 MBAQANGA MUSIC REFLECTS THE URBAN AS WELL AS THE RURAL CULTURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK COMMUNITY

The respondents indicated that *mbaqanga* music is a neo-traditional style. Moreover, this tradition is an urban style and reflects more of urban culture then rural culture. *Mbaqanga* music was developed by the working-class who migrated from rural areas to urban areas. *Mbaqanga* music provided them with entertainment in these urban environments.

These migrant workers from different ethnic groups brought along some of their cultures which came into contact with other cultures. As a result, a new culture emerged. These kaleidoscopes of divergent cultures are thus reflected in most of *mbaqanga* songs. The text of some songs depicts cultural traits of African cultures. This is also evident in the choreography of *mbaqanga* music. One classical example is given by Nkabinde (1997:76) when he states:

> *Mbaqanga* resembles strong African indigenous elements...the combination of Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens is a typical arrangement of South African ethnic wedding performance. In Zulu they call them '*umbholoho*'.

Other examples which reflect culture can be observed during live performances of *mbaqanga* music. In some performances *ukusina*, which is traditional dance, is observed. The appearance on stage of Mahlathini and other *mbaqanga* musician in traditional costumes also serves to reflect and perpetuate cultures of divergent ethnic backgrounds.

6.3.3 MBAQANGA MUSIC IS A HYBRID STYLE.

All the respondents indicated that *mbaqanga* music is a hybrid style. They emphasized that it is a fusion or amalgamation of different styles. It is an urban hybrid style; a potpourri; a cross-pollination of divergent styles. The respondents all agreed with the definitions of *mbaqanga* music that were given in chapter one.

6.3.4 MBAQANGA EVOLVED UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES, SUCH AS WESTERNIZATION, URBANIZATION, AND THE MISSIONARY INFLUENCE.

Respondents felt that *mbaqanga* music evolved under various internal and external factors that impacted on its evolution and development. The missionaries, through various channels such as boarding schools, somehow infiltrated the traditional status quo of the African people, not only in South Africa but also through the whole African continent. Those who went to these schools were introduced to Western choral music

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and this is evident in the structural features of *mbaqanga* music. The harmonic aspects of this genre clearly reveal the influence of choral music. The impact of Westernization is also evident in the instrumentation of *mbaqanga* music. In most *mbaqanga* music, Western instruments are utilized.

Performance observation in chapter five also reveals that most *mbaqanga* musicians appear in Western clothing, with the exception of a few. The dress code, therefore, is mostly Western oriented. In audio-visual performances, traditional outfits usually appear in the background. On the contrary, *maskanda* musicians often appear in traditional costumes, even in live performances.

Urbanization also impacted on the evolution of *mbaqanga* music. *Mbaqanga* music was developed by migrant workers. Migration to the cities thus led to the emergence of *mbaqanga* music. Migrant workers developed this genre to cater for their entertainment needs. Erlman (1986:2) explains the effects of urbanization as follows:

> Labor migration as a major factor of urbanization seems to be one of the central mechanisms that direct the transformation of traditional performance practices in urban socio-economic environment.

In the light of the above, it is evident that Westernization, urbanization and the missionaries had a profound impact in the evolution of *mbaqanga* music in South Africa.

6.3.5 THE HISTORY OF MBAQANGA MUSIC IS USUALLY LINKED WITH KWELA AND MARABI MUSIC.

The responses from respondents indicated that *mbaqanga* music could be linked with *kwela* and *marabi* music. This is evident when we also look at the history of *mbaqanga* music. *Marabi* and *kwela* music are, therefore, the forerunners of this genre. The evolution of *mbaqanga* music and its predecessors is dealt with in chapter three. Data from the literature review appears to be congruent with that of the respondents. It is

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clear, therefore, that there is a link between *mbaqanga* music with *marabi* and *kwela* genres.

6.3.6   THE PIONEERS OF MBAQANGA.

The findings revealed that there is no one person that could be said to be a pioneer of this genre. The respondents suggested that a number of people contributed to the evolution of *mbaqanga* music. Amongst the people mentioned by respondents are people like Griffiths Motsiela, Solomon Linda, Dorothy Masuka, Elijah Nkwanyana, Ntemi Piliso, Lemmy 'Special' Mabaso, Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens, the Soul Brothers and scores of others.

Responses from the respondents suggested that the people who contributed to the evolution of *mbaqanga* music are pioneers in their own right. One interviewee emphasized that the period and time determines who the pioneer is at that particular time and point in history.

6.3.7   THE ROLE OF MBAQANGA MUSIC IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA.

The study reveals that *mbaqanga* music, as part of our culture, plays a role in South Africa. Music deals with the everyday life experiences of the people. Some *mbaqanga* songs reflect customs, traditions and beliefs of the society. Music seems to be a vehicle for expressing the feelings and concerns of a society. Gxowa (1996:12) elaborates:

> *Mbaqanga* like most African music relates to social life. The performers are actually telling a story in the form of music. There are songs of happiness and sadness, songs of hope as well as songs of protest. The text plays a very significant role because it is the text that makes us understand *mbaqanga* music.

This study has revealed, therefore, that *mbaqanga* music is vital in transmitting our customs, beliefs and other cultural traits. Song lyrics are often educative and also highlight the importance of our culture.

6.3.8 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF MBAQANGA MUSIC.

The respondents felt that the media did not play any role in the development of *mbaqanga*. They argued that the media only played a role in promoting this tradition. The respondents maintained that people who played a role in the development of *mbaqanga* music were the musicians, producers, record companies and audiences.

Some respondents also felt that the media does not promote *mbaqanga* music adequately. They felt that the media in South Africa promotes, to a greater extent, overseas music. This indicates that the media, especially radio and television, should endeavour to promote African genres above overseas music.

6.3.9 PERFORMANCE PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE CREATION AND PRESENTATION OF MBAQANGA MUSIC.

The respondents maintained that there are no performance principles involved when composing and performing *mbaqanga* music. The creation of songs depends on the musician who is expressing his/or her feelings at that particular time and point. However, the respondents revealed that choreography is important in *mbaqanga* music, especially during live performances. This is true in most *mbaqanga* performances of the Soul Brothers, Mahlathini and Mahotella Queens and a number of *mbaqanga* groups.

6.3.10 MBAQANGA MUSIC IS A VEHICLE FOR UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN CULTURE.

This study established that *mbaqanga* music cannot help us to understand African culture. The respondents emphasized that *mbaqanga* music is urban music, therefore, it reflects urban culture. However, the respondents indicated that urban people brought along some of their cultural traits to their urban dwellings. In the cities they fused their cultures from divergent ethnic backgrounds.

It appears, therefore, that *mbaqanga* music cannot be seen as a vehicle for understanding African culture in its entirety. Instead, it reflects some aspects and traits of African culture.

6.3.11 PERFORMANCES AND FEATURES OF MBAQANGA MUSIC REVEAL THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN MUSIC.

The respondents indicated that *mbaqanga* music has African features, but it also depicts a lot of influence from European music. European influence is evident in the structure of *mbaqanga* music. Western instruments are used in *mbaqanga* music. The style and the utilization of four-part harmony exhibit the western features of this genre.

6.3.12 MBAQANGA MUSIC PLAYED A PIVOTAL ROLE IN THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.

This study revealed that *mbaqanga* did not, per se, play a pivotal role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa. The respondents indicated that different South African musical genres contributed in one way or the other to the struggle for liberation in the South African context.

Music as an art form expresses the emotions and feelings of the people. Music, as one of the modes of expression, therefore, expressed the suffering that black people were

experiencing under the apartheid regime. The apartheid government censored music. Most songs across different genres did not have overt political overtones. However, some groups emerged which focused on political songs. One classical example is Blondie Makhene.

6.3.13 MBAQANGA REFLECTS A HEAVY INFLUENCE OF ZULU CULTURE.

The respondents had different views on this issue. However, most respondents indicated that *mbaqanga* music could not be said to be dominated by one culture, in this case, Zulu culture. They argued that *mbaqanga* music reflects a mixture of cultures. They based their argument on the fact that the exponents of *mbaqanga* music are made up of people from divergent ethnical backgrounds. However, all the respondents pointed out that most *mbaqanga* songs are sung in Zulu. The reason for this appears to be, amongst others, the population make-up of the South African black community. The respondents also indicated that it is not only *mbaqanga* music that is often sung using Zulu lyrics, but this is also evident in most South African genres.

6.3.14 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS USED IN MBAQANGA MUSIC.

The respondents indicated that there are no prescribed instruments for *mbaqanga* music. However, some of the respondents indicated that the guitar plays a prominent role in *mbaqanga*. Through changes over the years, some *mbaqanga* musicians have substituted the rhythm guitar for an organ. However, respondents emphasized that in most *mbaqanga* songs guitar is not substituted, but an organ is added to make *mbaqanga* sound better.

The instrumentation of *mbaqanga* usually comprises one or two guitars, bass guitar, drums, organ (or keyboard) and wind instruments, usually saxophones. This is evident in Soul Brothers' rendition of their *mbaqanga* songs (refer, DVD). This is also evident in other *mbaqanga* groups (refer, video-cassette).

6.3.15 MBAQANGA MUSIC ORIGINATED IN SOPHIATOWN.

This study established that *mbaqanga* music did not originate in Sophiatown. The respondents indicated that most of the people who started *mbaqanga* music were not from Johannesburg. They came to Johannesburg as migrant workers and settled in these urban dwellings. Some respondents maintained that the roots of *mbaqanga* music could be traced back to rural areas where these migrants came from. This is evident in some *mbaqanga* groups, such as the Soul Brothers, where most of their members came from Kwa-Zulu Natal.

6.3.16 MBAQANGA MUSIC IS NOT STATIC, BUT DYNAMIC.

This study has revealed that *mbaqanga* music has undergone some changes over the years. Respondents indicated that because of various internal and external forces, the *mbaqanga* tradition has changed, and is still prone to change. Technological advancement brought some changes to this genre, for instance, in the instrumentation of *mbaqanga* music. Some respondents maintained that during the early stages of *mbaqanga* there were no keyboards or organs. A brass section was used in instrumental *mbaqanga* but now it is also used in vocal *mbaqanga*. Some *mbaqanga* musicians today have substituted drum kits with electrical drum kits.

Mahlathini introduced the 'groaning' style and numerous mbaqanga groups adopted this style. The style of guitar vamping called *'waa waa'* created by Marks Mankwane, also became the trend of guitar playing in countless *mbaqanga* songs. Moses Ngwenya of the Soul Brothers introduced a style of organ playing, and this is also evident in numerous *mbaqanga* groups. The dress code, especially the use of takkies, is also evident in many *mbaqanga* performances. According to interviewee (B), *Joseph Mthimkhulu Nabafana baseQhudeni* wore takkies during their performances, and this became a trend for countless *mbaqanga* groups.

6.3.17 SONG TEXT (LYRICS) IN MBAQANGA MUSIC REVEAL MUCH ABOUT THE CULTURE OF BLACK PEOPLE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The respondents indicated that lyrics in some *mbaqanga* music do not reveal the culture of black people as a whole in South Africa. Most respondents suggested that *mbaqanga* music, to a greater extent, embodies and reveals township culture or urban culture. However, since people coming from rural areas brought *mbaqanga* music to urban dwellings, it does reflect some elements of rural culture. Some song lyrics talk about the importance and values of South African culture. Coplan (1985:179) mentions that Mahlathini sings nostalgically of the moral superiority and social security of traditional society, and reminds audience of their rural roots.

The findings also revealed that not all *mbaqanga* lyrics allude to culture. In chapter five, it was established that African music is topical in nature. Therefore, there are songs for entertainment purposes, such as love songs.

6.4   OBSERVATION

In chapter five, *mbaqanga* performances were observed and analyzed to establish if *mbaqanga* music embodies any cultural traits of South African black communities. Sources of data utilized were, amongst others, live performances of *mbaqanga* music as observed by the researcher, DVDs of various *mbaqanga* groups and music videos from SABC 1 television programmes, especially 'Ezodumo' which focused on African popular music, particularly *mbaqanga*, *maskanda* and *sicathamiya* music.

These cultural traits were observable especially through choreography, costumes (the appearance of musicians, what they wear during performances) and video-making (what is observable in their music videos as background to their music).

6.4.1 CHOREOGRAPHY

This study has revealed that in live performances of *mbaqanga* music very few cultural traits are discernible. Elements that reflect culture, such as *ukusina* (traditional dancing), are a rare occurrence in this genre. This is often portrayed in music videos, which serve as background to the actual performance. On the other hand, traditional dancing is more visible in *maskanda* music (refer, accompanying video). Choreography in *mbaqanga* music reflects more of urban culture. It reveals a mixture of urban styles of dance.

6.4.2 COSTUMES

This study has revealed that, in most cases, *mbaqanga* musicians do not perform in traditional costumes. They usually appear in Western clothing. Very few *mbaqanga* musicians wore traditional attire during their performances. Mahlathini, for instance, used to appear in traditional gear during his performances. Coplan (1985:178) mentions that "Mahlathini performed in traditional animal skins as well as in western costume...."

Mahlathini, was therefore, able to fuse both traditional and Western culture during his performances. Respondents indicated that today most *mbaqanga* groups tend to move away from traditional costumes to Western clothing. This is also evident in their live performances (refer, video-cassette and DVDs). They usually wear takkies, caps and tee-shirts. The type of costumes that is worn by these musicians primarily reflects, therefore, urban or township culture. On the contrary, when we look at *maskanda* performances, most *maskanda* musicians appear in traditional regalia (refer, video-cassette).

6.4.3 BACKGROUND MUSIC VIDEOS

This study has revealed that in most *mbaqanga* background music videos urban culture is reflected to a greater extent than rural culture. In most of their music videos, *mbaqanga* musicians and people in the background usually appear in Western costume. However, when we look at *maskanda* musicians, most of them appear in traditional costumes. The

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people in the background also appear wearing traditional gear, sometimes carrying traditional weapons, and predominantly reflect rural culture.

One classical example is the *maskanda* group 'Washesha' in their song *Iqiniso* (The truth). These musicians appear wearing traditional gear. In their choreography, *ukusina*, which is a traditional dance, is included. Moreover, the making of their background music video embodies and reflects African cultural traits, such as people drinking traditional beer and women collecting wood (refer, music video). These are some features of African culture that embody the traditions, costumes and values of African black society.

6.5 CONCLUSION

Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded that:

- *Mbaqanga* music is a hybrid urban style of music developed by migrant workers.
- This genre reflects a myriad of South African cultures.
- *Mbaqanga* music reflects African and Western features. It reveals a mixture of African and Western culture. African features are manifested through the text, repetitions, layering, choreography etc. Western features are also observable especially through the structural part of this genre, for instance, in chord structures and harmonic aspects of this genre.

6.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings of the study, as well as literature reviewed on the topic, the following recommendations appear to be feasible.

- A comprehensive music programme will have to be introduced in schools at primary and high school level. The Department of Education and Culture has introduced Arts and Culture as a Learning Area at schools; however, teaching of

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music is still not comprehensive. When dealing with Arts and Culture, many schools are still facing a plethora of problems. Amongst these problems, is that educators in most schools are not literate in music. These educators are expected to teach Arts and Culture and, as a result, they skip most of the aspects, especially some aspects dealing with music, such as theory of music and practical music. Moreover, there is a lack of music facilities in most schools.

- With regard to the above, the Department should introduce music programmes to upgrade music teachers. Each school should have a music teacher who is a specialist and familiar with both African and Western music.

- Musical facilities, such as musical instruments, should be provided by the Department of Education and Culture, to promote music teaching and learning in schools.

- South African popular music should also be taught in schools and even at tertiary level. African popular music is not included even at most universities. Music that is offered is usually classical music and jazz. Programmes can be developed by these universities where they can employ musicians who have expertise in these genres even on a part-time basis. This can serve to widen the scope for learners, because they will be able to choose, and become specialists in, some of these genres. Some interviewees mentioned that they are prepared to visit different institutions to teach music such as *mbaqanga* and other genres.

- The future of *mbaqanga* music lies with the youth, therefore, it is vital that they understand and appreciate this music. Love of *mbaqanga* music should be inculcated at the earliest stage in the child's life.

Thembela in Dumisa (1989:29) elaborates:

> Music should have something to do with one's life, and one is always a member of a particular society. The music taught in schools should therefore be relevant to pupil's social environment as well as to their individual lives.

This implies that the point of departure in teaching music should be from the known to the unknown. Before learning other foreign musical styles, South African children should be taught or socialized into their own music.

- The teaching of an African musical style to our youth will benefit our youth and our South African black society in many ways. Through music, the older generation will be able to transmit culture to the younger generation. This cultural transmission would include all black South African musical styles, whether they are traditional or neo-traditional styles.

- Our South African music should gain more airplay on our radios, televisions and other media. All the respondents emphasized that the media should promote local music and not foreign music. If local music is promoted adequately, the youth will develop an interest and start imitating our local musicians. Elaborating on this issue, interviewee (C) commented as follows:

> We have tried to emulate the American Blacks not only in how we sing but also how we dress and how we present ourselves. We have turned our backs on who we really are which is our greatest dilemma.

- To restore our cultural heritage and instill pride in our cultures, especially in our younger generations, our education should accommodate music and place it in its central position of preserving and transmitting South African culture.

6.7   FINAL REMARK

This study focused on the analysis of *mbaqanga* music as culture and in culture.   It looked at the history of *mbaqanga* music, taking into consideration its cultural context. *Mbaqanga* music is part of a South African tradition and it reflects a myriad of South African black cultures.   The findings revealed that, although this music is an urban style and developed in urban settings, its roots can still be traced to rural parts of South Africa.

Mbaqanga has also undergone various changes during its development, which were brought about by internal and external factors.   South Africa is still a developing country and, therefore, economic, social, and political changes also impact on our culture.   These changes, therefore, are bound to reflect on musical styles.   This study has revealed abundant evidence that musical styles such as *mbaqanga, maskandi, isicathamiya* etc. play a role in promoting, transmitting and preserving South African black cultures. *Mbaqanga* music is one of the tools for expressing the experiences and views of our communities.   Dhlomo, in Mathenjwa (1995:36), remarked about the role of poetry and music as follows:

> ...Poetry and music are the artist's reaction to comment
> upon, and view of life.   They reveal the deepest thoughts,
> feelings and aspirations of the artist himself, and reflect
> the mind, beliefs and actions of the people and age.

Music such as *mbaqanga* is one of the tools for expressing people's way of life.   It is one of the best forms of expressing people's culture.   It is high time that black South Africans engage themselves in self-introspection and take pride in their African musical styles. This may help black South Africans to re-discover their lost identity and understand the musical meaning embodied in South African music.   Mahanyela, in Nkabinde (1997:89), rightly emphasized that "you do not know where you are going if you do not know where you come from.   Worse if you have forgotten where you come from".

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QUESTIONNAIRE FOR MUSICIANS

Doctoral student at the University of Zululand, in the Department of IsiZulu Namagugu.

Promoter: Dr P.M Lubisi

Aim: This questionnaire is aimed at finding out your views on some aspects of *mbaqanga* music. Information given will be treated as highly confidential. You are requested not to give your name. The information will be used for research purposes only.

Please respond by making a cross (x) in the spaces provided. Some questions require some comments or just a few words.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Tick the appropriate column with a cross (x)

1. Age

Less than 25 years	1
25 – 34	2
35 – 45	3
46 – 55	4
56 and above	5

2. Sex

| Male | 1 |
| Female | 2 |

3. Years of experience as a musician

0 - 10 years	1
11 – 20 years	2
21 – 40 years	3
41 and above	4

SECTION B: CLOSED AND OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

4. How does music contribute to the development of culture?

----

5. It is alleged that *mbaqanga* music reflects the urban as well as the rural culture of the South African black community.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

6. It is said that *mbaqanga* music is a hybrid style (a combination of different styles).

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

7. Many believe that *mbaqanga* music evolved under certain circumstances, such as westernization, urbanization, missionary influence, etc.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

8. What is *mbaqanga* music in your own view?

----

9. It is said that the history of *mbaqanga* music is usually linked with *kwela* and *marabi* music.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

10. Who are the pioneers of *Mbaqanga* music? Please comment:

----

11. Does *mbaqanga* music have a role to play in the new South Africa?

----

12. What is the relationship between music and culture in the South African context?

----

13. The media (newspapers, television etc.) played a huge role in the development of *mbaqanga* music.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

14. Are there any performance principles involved in the creation and presentation of *mbaqanga* (i.e. composition and performance)? Justify your answer:

----

15. Can *mbaqanga* music help us to understand African culture?

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

16. It is alleged that the performance and features of *mbaqanga* music reveal the influence of European music.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

17. Is it correct to assume that *mbaqanga* music played a pivotal role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa?

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

18. Some people believe that *mbaqanga* music reflects a heavy influence of Zulu culture.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

19. *Mbaqanga* music reflects the traditions, beliefs and customs of, as well as current events in, the black South African community.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

20. Through music such as *mbaqanga*, a sense of solidarity, unity and identity is formed.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3

Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

21. It is said that there are many social issues that are addressed particularly by *mbaqanga* music in South Africa.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

22. Are there any specific musical instruments that are used in *mbaqanga* music? Justify your answer:

----

23. Through *mbaqanga* music, important elements and values of African culture are learnt.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

24. It is alleged that the history of various urban styles, such as *mbaqanga* music, have their roots in Sophiatown.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

25. It is said that *mbaqanga* music was developed by the working-class, and thus reflected their culture.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

26. It is said that *mbaqanga* music is the manifestation of a fusion of elements from divergent cultural groups.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

27. *Mbaqanga* music is said to be not static, but dynamic. Like culture, it is always evolving or changing.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

----

28. The song text (lyrics) in *mbaqanga* music reveals much about the culture of black people in South Africa.

Strongly Agree	1
Agree	2
Strongly Disagree	3
Disagree	4
Uncertain	5

Justify your answer:

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Doctoral student at the University of Zululand, in the Department of IsiZulu Namagugu.

Promoter: Dr P.M Lubisi

Aim: This interview is aimed at finding out your views on some aspects of *mbaqanga* music. Information given will be treated as highly confidential.

CLOSED AND OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

1. How does music contribute to the development of culture?

2. It is alleged that *mbaqanga* music reflects the urban as well as the rural culture of the South African black community. What is your opinion on this view?

3. It is said that *mbaqanga* music is a hybrid style (a combination of different styles). Do you agree? Please explain.

4. Many believe that *mbaqanga* music evolved under certain circumstances, such as westernization, urbanization, missionary influence, etc. What is your view on this?

5. What is *mbaqanga* music in your own view?

6. It is said that the history of *mbaqanga* music is usually linked with *kwela* and *marabi* music. What is your comment on this?

7. Who are the pioneers of *Mbaqanga* music?

8. Does *mbaqanga* music have a role to play in the new South Africa?

9. What is the relationship between music and culture in the South African context?

10. The media (newspapers, television etc.) played a huge role in the development of *mbaqanga* music. What is your comment on this?

11. Are there any performance principles involved in the creation and presentation of *mbaqanga* (i.e. composition and performance)?

12. Can *mbaqanga* music help us to understand African culture?

13. It is alleged that the performances and features of *mbaqanga* music reveal the influence of European music. What is your opinion on this?

14. Is it correct to assume that *mbaqanga* music played a pivotal role in the struggle for liberation in South Africa?

15. Some people believe that *mbaqanga* music reflects a heavy influence of Zulu culture. What could you say on this?

16. *Mbaqanga* music reflects the traditions, beliefs and customs of, as well as current events in, the black South African community. What is your opinion on this?

17. Through music such as *mbaqanga*, a sense of solidarity, unity and identity is formed. What is your view on this?

18. It is said that there are many social issues that are addressed particularly by *mbaqanga* music in South Africa? What is your comment on this?

19. Are there any specific musical instruments that are used in *mbaqanga* music?

20. Through *mbaqanga* music, important elements and values of African culture are learnt. What is your opinion on this?

21. It is alleged that the history of various urban styles, such as *mbaqanga* music, have their roots in Sophiatown. What is your comment on this?

22. It is said that *mbaqanga* music was developed by the working-class, and thus reflected their culture. What is your view on this?

23. It is said that *mbaqanga* music is the manifestation of a fusion of elements from divergent cultural groups. What is your comment on this?

24. *Mbaqanga* music is said to be not static, but dynamic. Like culture, it is always evolving or changing. What is your view on this?

25. The song text (lyrics) in *mbaqanga* music reveals much about the culture of black people in South Africa. What is your comment on this?

APPENDIX C: SONG LYRICS OF SELECTED SONGS

1. MAMA WAMI

Namuhla ngingedwa ngisele ebunzimeni

Akekho ongangiduduza kulolusizi,

Ngehla ngenyuka nemithwalo

Umama wehlukana nobaba wami.

Ngabe kuyoze kube nini ngikulolusizi

Mama wangiyala wehlukana nobaba.

Ngiyakukhumbula mama wami

Ngisebunzimeni namhlanje.

MY MOTHER

Today I am alone in sorrow

No one can comfort me in this sorrow.

I am wondering up and down with my belongings

My mother separated from my father.

For how long will I be in this sorrow?

Mother you did wrong when you separated from my father.

I am missing you, my father,

As I am in sorrow today.

2. UVALO

Sengiyazisola ngakushelelani ngidakiwe.

Mina sengizohamba la endlini usale wedwa

Ngoba sengishawa uvalo ngenxa yakho

Wena uyangihlupha nje.

FEAR

I regret proposing to you when I was drunk.

I am going to leave you alone in this house,

I am afraid because of you,

You are bothering me.

3. ISIGEBENGU

Uphinde wathola omunye

Wakushiya unjalo wakubalekela

Wadlala isigilamkhuba wentombazane.

CRIMINAL

You got another one

He left you and ran away

He used you, girl.

4. UMUZI ONJANI?

Umuzi onjani lona njalo nje kuyaliwa?

Bahlale bedakiwe kulo muzi.

Kwaze kwasa singalele kwenzenjani na?

Kulo muzi bahlale bedakiwe.

WHAT KIND OF A FAMILY IS THIS?

What kind of a family is this?

Every time they fight.

They are always drunk in this house

I regret visiting this family.

We never slept till morning

What is happening?

In this family they are always drunk.

5. IMALI YAMI

Utshela abantu ukuthi ngiyakuzonda,

Kodwa yini ungabatsheli ukuthi saxatshaniswa yini.

Ngihlupheka nginjena nje

Kungenxa yakho,

Wadla imali yami.

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MY MONEY

You tell people that I hate you,

But you don't tell them the reason.

I am poor like this, because of you.

You ate my money.

6. EMZINI WAMI

Mama wezingane zami

Ngibona kungcono manje

Ngibuyele emzini wami.

Mama kaSibongile

Ngibona kungcono manje

Ngibuyele emzini wami.

Ngiyezwa ngomakhelwane

Bengitshela ukuthi wena

Uhlala nenye indoda emzini wami.

MY HOUSE

Mother of my children

I now think its better for me

To come back to my house.

Mother of Sibongile

I now think its better for me

To come back to my house.

I hear from neighbours

Telling me that,

You are now living with another man,

In my house.

7. AWUHLONIPHI

Ayikho into esingayenza isilungele

Uma singezwani sodwa la ekhaya.

Ujwayele ukungiphoxa,

Ujwayele ukungethuka,

Noma kunabantu la ekhaya.

YOU HAVE NO RESPECT

We cannot do anything and be successful,

If we quarrel amongst ourselves in this house.

You always disgrace me,

You always swear at me,

Even when there are visitors in the house.

8. INGANE YABANTU

Udlalelani ngengane yabantu?

Uma ngabe ingasakufuni uyishayelani?

Uma ngabe ingasakuthandi uyishayelani?

Kanti kuyicala yini na?

Uma ingasakufuni.

Kanti kuyisono yini na?

Uma ingasakufuni.

PEOPLE'S CHILD

Why are you playing with her?

If she does not love you anymore, why are you beating her?

Is it wrong when she does not love you anymore?

Is it a sin?

If she loves you no more.

9. THULISILE

Thulisile ngiyakuthanda

Mntwana wabantu.

Ngithembise ukuthi angeke ungishiye

Mntakwethu.

Angikaze ngithande umuntu

Njengoba ngikuthanda mntakwethu.

Uma nginawe s'thandwa sami

Kuphela zonke izinhlupheko.

Uyizinto zonke empilweni yami

Mntakwethu.

THULISILE

Thulisile, I love you,

Child of the people.

Promise that you won't leave me,

My love.

I never loved anyone

Like I love you.

When I'm with you, my love,

All my sorrows end.

You are everything in my life,

My love.

10. SIBONGILE

Sibongile, awuyeke ukuhamba ebusuku

Mntanami ngiyakukhuza.

Izolo lokhu bengikhuza umama wakho

Manje sekuqala wena.

SIBONGILE

Sibongile, stop roaming around at night.

My child, I am warning you.

Just yesterday I was warning your mother,

Now it is you.

BIOGRAPHIES AND PICTURES OF INTERVIEWEES

A   MOSES NGWENYA
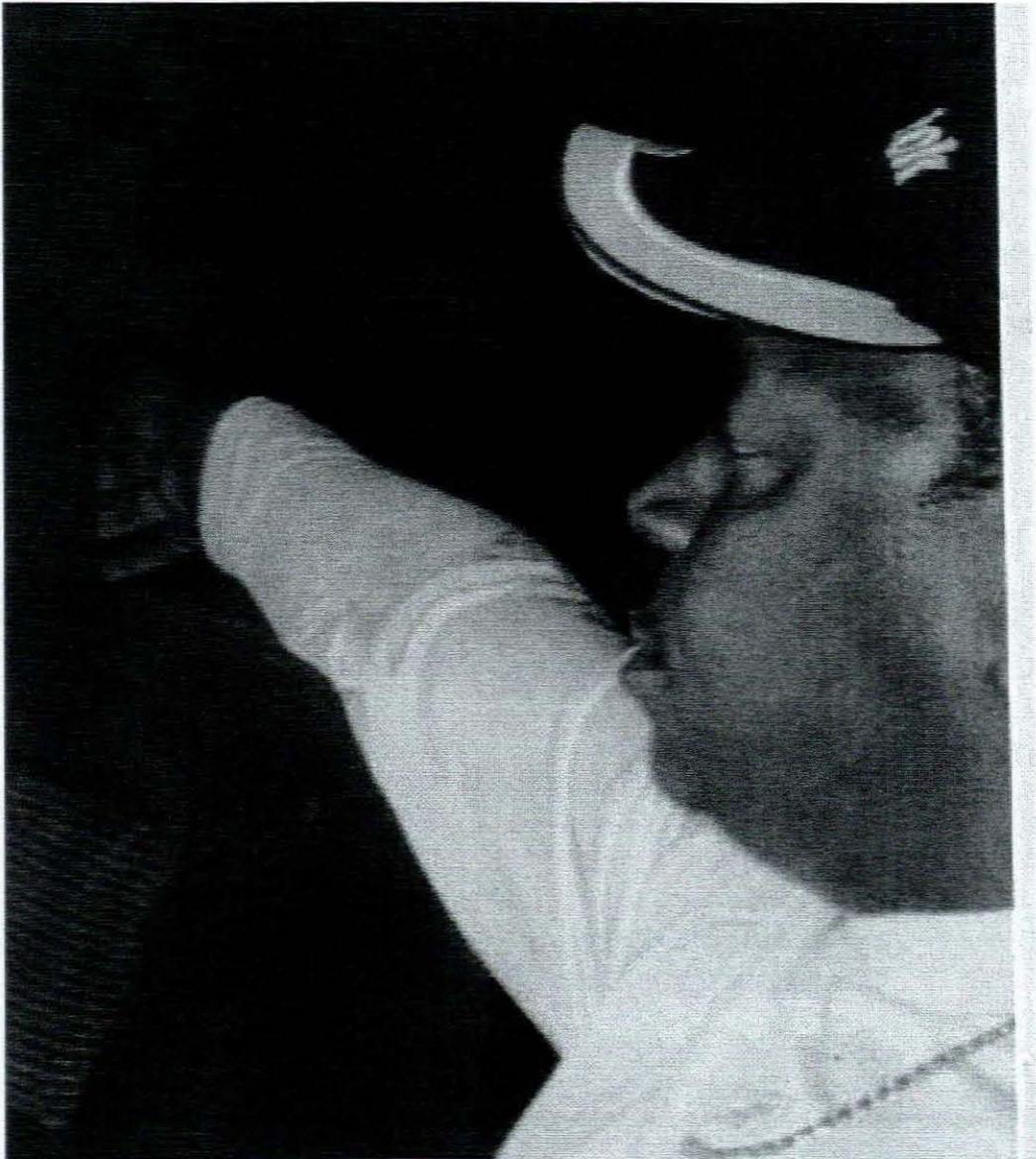
Moses Ngwenya was born in Soweto, Dube Village in 1958. He began his music calling at the early 70's playing with his home band which was made up of his brothers.

Moses started playing drums with his home band where they played for various functions. Before playing *mbaqanga* music, Moses played soul and jazz music. They formed the Soul Brothers in 1974, which was previously known as the Young Brothers. The Soul Brothers by then were playing only instrumental music. David Masondo later moved away from drums to lead vocals. The Soul Brothers has and still enjoys a massive support and commercial support.

B.   Duma Ka Ndlovu
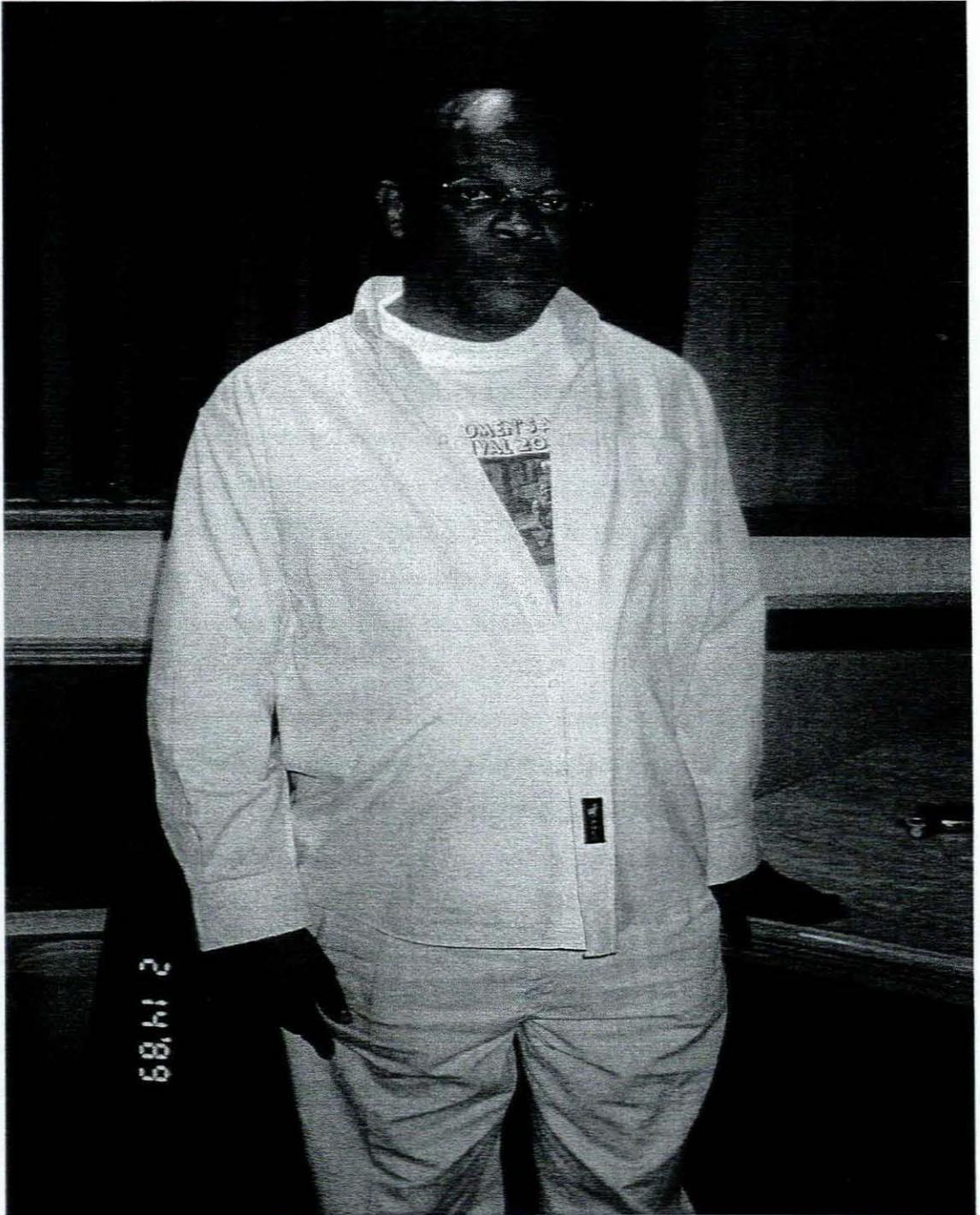
DUMA NDLOVU is a poet, journalist, playwright and film-maker born in
Soweto, Johannesburg South Africa.

In 1975 he founded Medupe Writers Association, a national writer's group that developed and encouraged young black writers. He became the organization's president until it was banned by the government together with 17 other Black Consciousness Organizations in October 1977. Incidentally, with the banning of the organizations the government also banned The World Newspaper, for which he worked and the leadership of the Black Consciousness Movement was hounded and incarcerated. He managed to escape a dragnet and eluded a warrant for his arrest. He fled to Lesotho where he was granted political asylum.

While in Lesotho he continued to write and perform poetry which had led to his imprisonment, several times while still in his homeland. He formed a poetry group with some of the exiled South Africans and they continued to perform at various schools and institutions in Lesotho. He was awarded a scholarship by the Phelps-Stokes Fund in 1978 and went to the U.S. to study at Hampton Institute. He later transferred to Hunter College where he completed his bachelors' degree in Mass Communications and studied for a Master's Degree in Theatre and Film.

Throughout his stay at Hunter he had become active in raising the students' consciousness not only on issues involving South Africa but on the state of Black people at large. He became the college's student government president in 1981, becoming the first and so far the only African, to be elected to that prestigious position. As president of Student government he was responsible for bringing a number of prominent world political-leaders and entertainers to the campus. Included among these were people like Miriam Makeba, Michael Manley (then Jamaican Prime Minister), Walter Rodney, Maurice Bishop (then President of Grenada) Stokely Carmichael and Peter Tosh.

He worked with a number of black not-for-profit groups in Harlem, New York including the Black United Fund and Roger Furman's New Heritage Theater. It was at the New Heritage Theater that he produced the hit South African play, "WOZA ALBERT", in 1984. In April 1986 he, together with Voza Rivers, Roger

Furman's Executive director, brought the much-acclaimed play, "ASINAMALI" to the U.S. and in September put together the highly successful South African Theater Festival, WOZA AFRIKA, at Lincoln Center.

The five plays that were presented at the festival together with "WOZA ALBERT" were later published in an anthology: "WOZA AFRIKA, AN ANTHOLOGY OF SOUTH AFRICAN PLAYS". He edited the anthology. It became one of the very few anthologies on South African theatre.

In April 1987 he assembled a group of producers and took the acclaimed South African play, "ASINAMALI" to Broadway. It marked the first time that a Black South African play came to the Broadway stage and the first time that a South African was involved as a producer on the 'major leagues' of theater.

Through the WOZA AFRIKA FOUNDATION, which he is executive director of, he was instrumental in giving grants to numerous South African Township theater companies and individuals. One of the companies was COMMITTED ARTIST, formed by Mbongeni Ngema, which went on to create the hit broadway play; SARAFINA, with their grant money. He then worked with Lincoln Center Theater to bring SARAFINA to the United States for what was intended to be a limited ten week run but became a highly acclaimed extended run on Broadway. Sarafina toured the United States and the world for six years.

Ndlovu's play, SHEILA'S DAY, celebrating the commonalties between African American and South African domestic workers was produced by the Crossroads theater Company in New Brunswick, in 1987. It went on to tour the U.S. with performances at The FORD THEATER in Washington D.C, and the National Black Arts Festival in Atlanta. The play toured for a total of four years.

A workshoped project, BLACK CODES FROM THE UNDERGROUND, conceived and created by Ndlovu, co-written with Gregory Holtz and Laydin

Kaliba, was recently produced as part of the Lincoln Center Festival, July 1999.

Duma Ndlovu has travelled all over the United States speaking to college students, reading his poetry, and addressing conventions and seminars on South African arts and culture.

He was a visiting professor at Stoneybrook University, part of the State University of New York, (SUNY) where he taught African history and political science for two years.

In October 1988 he brought five groups of South African musicians to perform at the Apollo theater. The concert, which was called THE INDESTRUCTIBLE BEAT OF SOWETO, was the WOZA AFRIKA FOUNDATION's second festival of South African culture.

A tenth anniversary of the WOZA AFRIKA FESTIVAL was produced as part of the Lincoln Centre Festival in 1997 and Mr. Ndlovu produced the South African aspect of the Festival where six South African plays were involved.

Mr Ndlovu is widely regarded as the South African cultural emissary who was responsible to a large degree, for the upsurge of interest in South African arts and culture in the United States over the last ten to fifteen years. He was directly and indirectly involved with the successes of groups like Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Mbongeni Ngema and his Sarafina, and a whole host of others.

He returned to his native South Africa in 1992 after the release from prison of Nelson Mandela and the un-banning of political organizations. In South Africa he has written and directed plays and produced for television. Among his plays are BERGVILLE STORIES, THE GAME, (which won a number of Vita Awards including best director, best script and best play), THE RITUAL, which was commissioned by London's Million Feds Productions, was performed at London's

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Riverside Studios. His most recent play, a musical, THE JOURNEY, travelled to Switzerland in January 2004, as part of TENTH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS of our democracy.

In 1999 he was head hunted by the IEC (Independent electoral Commission) to be part of a media center, and was tasked with turning the negative media around the elections around.

In 2001 he was asked by the Bergville Community, where he originates from, to mediate in a conflict between two warring chiefs. He put together a delegation of tribesmen and community leaders and created a structure that resolved the conflict peacefully and brought to an end an internecine war in the region. He has been part of a number of peace initiatives.

Among his television credits are documentaries and made for TV dramas. MUVHANGO, thirteen episode drama ran a highly successful season on SABC-2 and it is now in its 6th season and is rated 2nd behind generations in terms of audience ratings. He recently spent a total of three months in the US and England where he was interviewing expatriate South Africans for a two hour documentary to be screened on SABC in February. He has written three other feature films which have been commissioned by the public broadcaster and are likely to go into production this coming year.

He is currently also employed by Disney Theatricals, the producers of the hit Broadway Musical, THE LION KING, among others, as the South African Casting director.

Ndlovu has authored hundreds of unpublished poems and short stories and is currently working on a book, WHEN THE SUN IS BEAUTIFUL PEOPLE- A reflection on a life lived, which chronicles his travels in the last forty years.

He has written extensively for newspapers and other publications. He used to host a television programme every Sunday evening on South Africa's newest channel, E-TV. The programme, e-Files, is an investigative, insightful current affairs program.

He was in the South African Music Awards committee for the first ten years and was chairperson of the SAMA's until his resignation in 2005. He sits in a number of boards including THE PLAYHOUSE company, KZN's premier Arts institution and is the founding chairperson of the GIBSON KENTE FOUNDATION.

He is fifty one years old, is married and has six children who he loves very much.

In all he does he always gives tribute to the man who has been the major force of inspiration in his life, Steven Bantu Biko, the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement, who was killed by South African security police in 1977.

C.   HUGH MASEKELA
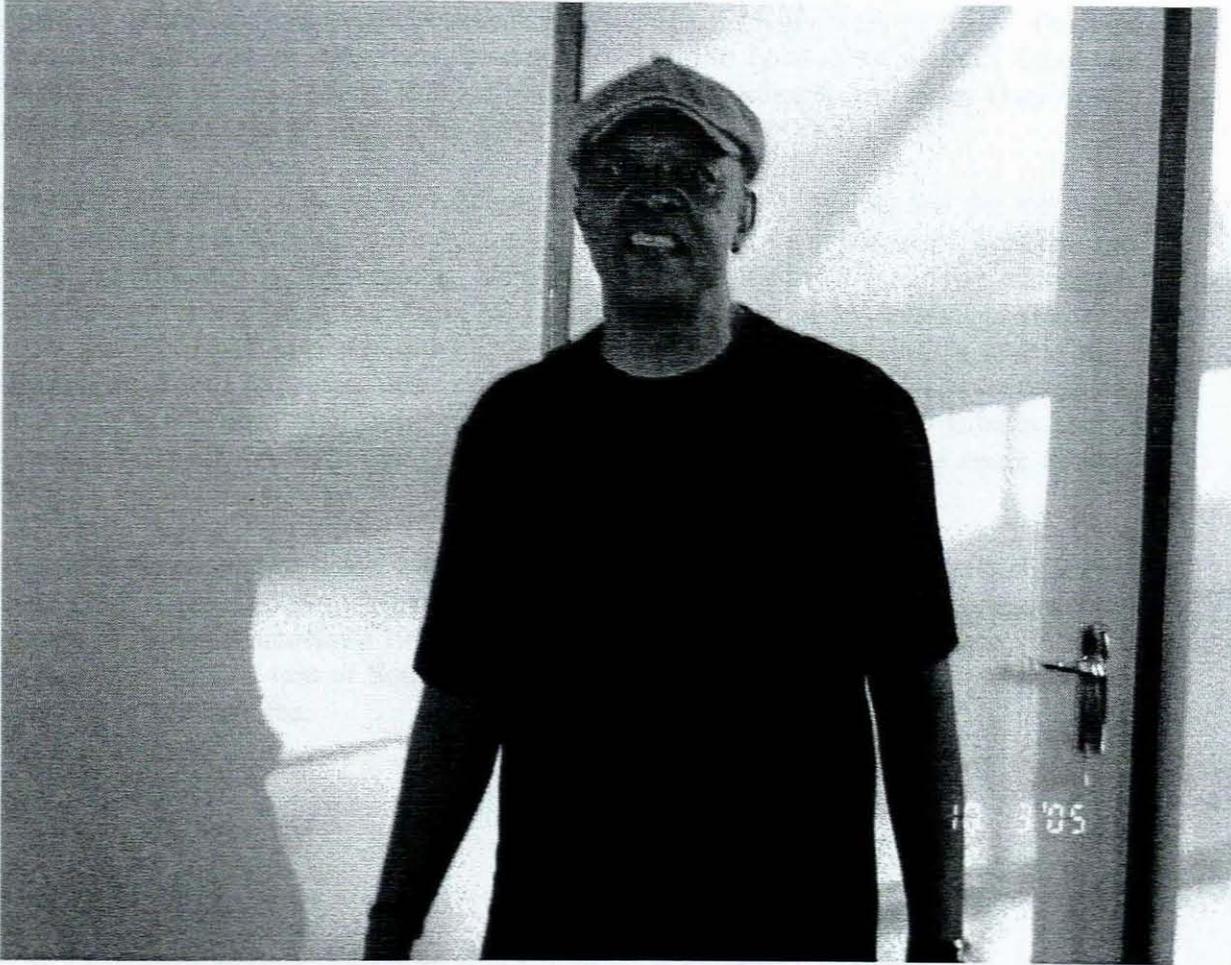
Hugh Masekela was born on April 4, 1939 in Witbank. He began his music calling singing and playing piano as a child. At the age of 14, he took up trumpet which was given to him by Archbishop Trevor Huddleston (anti-apartheid chaplain at St. Peterson Secondary School).

Hugh was influenced by a number of musicians, especially, jazz musicians such as Dizzy Gillipsie, Miles Davis, Oscar Peterson, Paul Desmond, John Coltrane, Lee Morgan, Cannonball Adderly, Art Blakey and scores of others.

Through the help of Huddleston, South Africa's very first youth orchestra, the Huddleston Jazz Band was formed where Hugh was a member. Hugh proceeded to play with other dance bands led by the great Zakes Nkosi, Kippie Moeketsi, Ntemi Piliso and Elijah Nkwanyana. In 1956, Hugh joined Alfred Herbet's African Jazz Revue.

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In 1958, he played and toured with the Manhattan Brothers in King Kong which was a musical written by Todd Matshikiza. At the end of 1959, Dollar Brand (Abdullar Ibrahim), Kippie, Jonas, Makhaya Ntshoko, Johnny Gertze and Hugh formed the Jazz Epistles. After the Sharpeville Massacre in 1960, Hugh finally went to exile. Through the help of Huddleston and others, he was admitted into London's Guildhall School of Music. Through the help of Harry Belafonte, Dizzie Gillespie and John Dankworth, Hugh was admitted to the Manhattan School of Music in New York.

By 1963, Hugh had recorded his first solo album, Trumpet Africaine, and the following year, Makeba and Masekela were married. In 1966, Makeba and Masekela divorced and Masekela relocated to Los Angeles. He began recording for MCA's hip pop subsidiary, UNI Records where he worked with his business partner, producer Stewart Levine. By 1970, Masekela and Levine formed Chisa Records. Levine and Masekela moved their Chisa operation to Blue thumb Records (1972-74) where Masekela began to seriously dig back into his African jazz heritage. Masekela moved to Guinea, then Liberia and to Ghana shortly after recording in London the historical *Home is where the music is*, with the great African reed player, Dudu Pukwana.

Masekela played and recorded with several African and American musicians such as Fela Kuti, Herb Alpert and many others. Following the unbanning of political parties and the release of Nelson Mandela in 1990, Maseskela was finally able to return home. In 1991, he launched his first tour of South Africa, *Sekunjalo – This Is It* with the bands such as Sankomota and Bayethe.

D.   WELCOME 'BHODLOZA' NZIMANDE

Welcome 'Bhodloza' Nzimande was born in Richmond, Phatini area in 1947. He started teaching at Phatini Primay. He studied at Dlangezwa High School where he was a head prefect. He obtained his tertiary education at the University of Zululand (Ophikweni, in Umlazi). He was elected as SRC president and was also a sport organizer at this institution.

In 1976, he taught at Dlamvuzo High School at Sikhawini (Empangeni). He also taught at Endalini College in Richmond. In 1978 he joined Radio Zulu (Ukhozi FM). In 1997 he became the station manager of Ukhozi FM.

He was instrumental in promoting traditional and neo-traditional music such as maskanda, isicathamiya, umbaqanga etc. through various programmes such as Ezodumo, Ezidla Ubhedu, Uyadela Umakhasana etc. He was also a member of SATMA (South African Traditional Music Association). In 1994 he won the annual competition as DJ of the year. Welcome Nzimande is currently the station manager of Ukhozi FM and is still involved in various projects which promote traditional and neo-traditional music in South Africa.

E.   RAY PHIRI
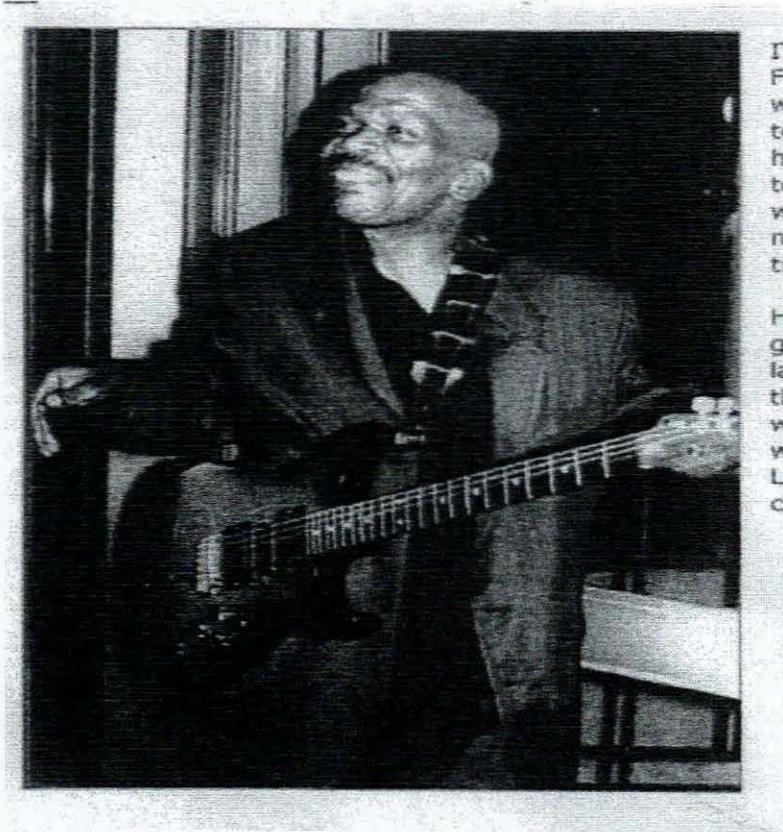
Ray 'Chikapa' Phiri was born and raised in Mpumalanga (Nelspruit). When he was young he used to dance for his father's puppet shows. In 1962, he had his first break when he danced for the legendary *Dark City Sisters* during their performance in Mpumalanga. He made enough money and traveled to Johannesburg.

He became the founder member of the soul music giants of the 1970's, the *Cannibals* which were later joined by the late Mpharanyana. When the Cannibals disbanded Ray founded Stimela, with whom he conceived gold and platinum-winning albums like *Fire, Passion and Ecstasy, Look, Listen and Decide* as well as the controversial *People Don't Talk So Let's Talk.*

In the early 1990's American singer and musician Paul Simon asked Ray along with *Ladysmith Black Mambazo* to join his Graceland project. Ray also collaborated with Simon's Rhythm of the Saints album, which saw him perform on stages such as Central Park and Madison Square Garden as well as appearing on top television shows in the US.

Ray has been active in education and cultural work especially in his home province of Mpumalanga and has subsequently released a solo album. Ray has been playing a part in a revitalized Stimela which is appearing in several shows across the country.

APPENDIX: E

GLOSSARY OF AFRICAN WORDS

1.	amahubo	:	traditional chants
2.	amakwaya	:	choral music / South African choral style
3.	imbongi	:	poet
4.	induna	:	chief
5.	ingomabusuku	:	night-music
6.	izintombi ziyagqashiya	:	a kind of maiden dance
7.	kwasa-kwasa	:	a kind of a dance type for Congolese people
8.	phatha-phatha	:	touch-touch (dance style that developed from marabi music)
9.	simanje-manje	:	a new style dance routine based on traditional steps and urban jive
10.	tsaba tsaba	:	dance music developed by black South African bandsmen
11.	ubuntu	:	humanity
12.	ukusina	:	traditional dance
13.	umbholoho	:	traditional wedding songs
14.	umgqashiyo	:	a style of mbaqanga that was developed by Mahlathini Nkabinde
15.	umkhosi womhlanga	:	reed dance (an African ceremony common in Zulu and Swazi culture)
16.	umsakazo	:	radio