CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The phenomenon of festivals has seen a sharp increase since the birth of democracy (1994) in South Africa (Antrobus, 1997; Visser, 2005; Snowball, 2005 Quinn, 2005). A wide variety of festivals both here at home and abroad are constituted to respond to and promote a variety of causes in the society. Jazz festivals have fallen into that mould. Festivals have been used to promote culture-led regeneration programmes, where the events are used to enhance or revive the image of a town and to boost the local economy through tourism (O’Sullivan and Jackson, 2002, Saayman M and Saayman A, 2004). Whereas some of the festivals are a result of efforts by individuals or a collective artist, others are initiated by a government department/agency i.e. City of Joburg, Department of Arts and Culture, or Provincial Arts Councils. But what do these music festivals mean for performing artists? Do these festivals mean anything to artists beyond their brief appearance at the festival? What is the spin-off impact of the festival on their musical careers?

....Whilst it seems obvious that festivals, particularly art festivals, make a valuable contribution to the development of culture in South Africa, we certainly have no investigation that has aimed to unpack the impact of these types of festivals on cultural development and reproduction (Visser, 2005).

As the above quote succinctly puts it, the study of festivals in South Africa has devoted much time to economic impacts of festivals such as multiplier effects, place marketing, and tourism. Since this study by Visser (2005), where he points to the lack of research that looks at who the real beneficiaries of music festivals in South Africa are, there has not been any research that follows up on these and investigates the impact music festivals have on the careers of musicians. Besides journalistic research and reportage or festival owners and government agencies’ own assessments, we are yet to have a study of a study that concerns itself chiefly with documenting the finite benefits or impacts of these festivals on musicians’ careers (possibly excepting Ansell (2004) see below).
The success which musicians can amass in a music festival has never been a subject of much study. Impact can take a variety of forms and as a musician myself I have isolated the following expectations which would include: temporary employment, local and international media coverage, exposure to other festival promoters, boost to the artist’s image and confidence, increased audiences, international profile raising opportunities, the local artists’ pride in representing and showcasing homemade “South African jazz”, and the opportunity for them to develop new skills and forge ties with international artists which can result in future collaborations. These are among the benefits I think other musicians who perform at the festival have expectations of.

The Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* festival has become a well-established music festival in South Africa. It is the biggest annual jazz festival in Johannesburg with Standard Bank being its main gold sponsor (www.standardbankjazz.co.za). These festivals, together with its Cape Town counterpart, the Cape Town International Jazz festival, are the biggest and best supported music festivals in South Africa. They concentrate on a specific genre, namely jazz while other festivals have a variety of art forms to showcase. The Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* festival has a partnership with the New Orleans Jazz festival, which provides artists with an opportunity through a cultural exchange programme to perform in the United States of America.

Musicians in these festivals are from completely diverse backgrounds: some are very well known, others are yet to be discovered, but they all come to woo new fans and open up new markets. For any musician, performing at the festival exposure is an important concern whether on an individual or ensemble basis. With all the technological marketing tools and strategies available today, no musician on their own, could produce the popular appeal, synergy and international exposure that this event generates. As a result, performing or appearing at the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* festival comes with a great deal of potential prestige and perks for all artists, including local ones. To date, the festival has accommodated international artists from almost everywhere: Japan, the USA, UK, Israel, Germany, France, Spain, Sweden and Norway. The festival claims to present unprecedented opportunities for local developing jazz artists who are given a platform to perform along international artists (www.tmusicman.co.za/media).
1.1 Aim

The aim of this study is to investigate, document and describe the developmental role that the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival has played in the careers of six local musicians. While it is often assumed that arts festivals benefit artists, little in the form of research and evidence has been produced to validate that assumption.

For a project of this limited scope it was possible to take only a small sample to investigate this assumption. I chose different categories of musicians in order to explore a variety of experiences and the possible impact of life stages and other factors on their experiences of the festival. The purpose of this study is not to develop an instrument that can be used as a precise measurement of the festivals on musicians’ careers because there are too many subjective factors at play. The aim is to document their experiences and expectations at the Joy of Jazz Festival, and to assess how much the expectations of how their careers would develop after appearing at the festival have been met. In the cases where their expectations have not been met, the aim is not to apportion blame but to assess challenges and to offer an analysis that is suggestive of elements from which an enabling environment might be created for our artists to realize their career dreams. The research report intends to make an argument for broadening the scope of impact assessment studies conducted on music festivals to include an evaluation of the impact on the musicians as well as the usual economic and commercial factors concerning the broader environment. The study is set against the backdrop of post-apartheid policy initiatives to support and encourage the growth of arts and culture.

Research Questions

- What are the perceived expectations of local musicians when approaching the festival?
- What is the impact of the Joy of Jazz festival on the local musicians in my small sample?
• What are the criteria that the festival organizers apply when choosing local artists to perform at the festival; do they include musicians who have appeared at other festivals before?
• Have musicians in this study received international exposure and access to international markets as a result of the Joy of Jazz festival?
• In what ways do sponsors’ commercial motives clash with artists’ expectations and artistic aspects of the festival?

1.2 Rationale

Public performances and music festivals are key activities on the country’s entertainment calendar and in the lives of musicians, as they provide venues where they can showcase their talents and expand their fan base. Furthermore they present the country’s diverse arts and culture to the world. It is my hope that the proposed study will allow for new insights into how musicians perceive their role in the festival and their expectations about what they will get out of the festival.

As an artist myself (musician), this study has an appeal on a personal level. As an aspiring arts and culture manager and researcher, I hold a strong belief that this study will help highlight some of the pertinent issues facing the South African music industry and impact assessment studies of music festivals. Impact assessment studies carried out by festival owners and government agencies often neglect the musicians’ perspective. What they do is measure the ‘product’s’ success in terms of building a client base, enhancing networking opportunities and strengthening the brand. More often than not, these assessments are meant to strengthen advocacy for the continued support of the festival through funding and sponsorship (Crompton and McKay, 1994). Quite a number of researchers who have conducted impact assessment studies in the past for festivals have acknowledged a need to cast the investigatory net wider beyond the focus on the economic benefits of sponsorship - in terms of building up a client base, creating important networks and branding (Visser, 2005; Molloy, 2002; Snowball, 2001).
The one sided view of festivals, including music festivals that is taken in impact assessment studies fails to take into account the impact that these festivals have on the live local music scene and on the artists themselves. Given the difficult relationship between artists and their record companies in terms of contractual arrangements, most artists rely heavily on live music performances venues, concerts and festivals to make a living (Connolly, 2005). Barney Rachabane (2007) who has vast experience of what it was like to be a musician under apartheid, observes now post-apartheid (Devroop and Walton, 2007) that this trend has gained momentum in South Africa since the coming of the new democracy under which previously disadvantaged musicians are able to travel freely around the country and the world to perform in festivals to earn a living. Rachabane (2007) states that post-apartheid, he has had an opportunity to perform and teach nationally with the National Youth Band sponsored by Standard Bank (ibid). Musicians look to performance opportunities to make a living so it is important to assess the quality of the opportunities available.

1.3 Literature Review

In my quest to find relevant literature in this field of study i.e. articles, books, researchers, and general discussions about festivals in South Africa, I discovered that very little information exists. In instances where I uncovered some information, festivals have been analysed from the viewpoint of economists, sociologists, musicologists and public policy analysts. The fact that festivals are used to promote and preserve different causes in particular communities means that the literature comes from a wide range of disciplines. The study will engage with literature from some of these in order to build a broad framework for the research, acknowledging the complex nature of music festivals. As much as festivals are about music, heritage, food, fashion etc., they are also about economic benefits for artists post performance.

Some of the literature will be explored as far as it concerns the origins of jazz and its definitions, the history of South African jazz, and more broadly of music and of festivals. One finds a wealth of research on the history of South African music, jazz, arts and
culture. Among some of these books are: *Township Tonight* by anthropology Professor D.B Coplan (2007), *Soweto Blues* by music journalist Gwen Ansell (2004), and *Marabi Nights*: *Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville* by C. Ballantine (1993) and these provide the socio-historical background to this study.

Gwen Ansell (2004) and David Coplan’s books (2007), go beyond mere narration of the history of South African jazz, performance and festival scene, and the social milieus that gave birth to it. Both books consist of chapters that are dedicated to South African music industry and jazz scene developments before the post-apartheid up until recent times. In Ansell’s (2004:263-300), she enlists the perspectives she discovered through interviews she had with leading South African jazz musicians both from the past and of the day for example; Ernest Mothle, Sibongile Khumalo, Zim Ngqawana, Gloria Bosman, Jonas Gwangwa, Paul Hanmer, Barney Rachabane, Hugh Masekela. This chapter (eight) provides a candid assessment by these musicians of the live music performance scene in Johannesburg and surrounding areas. They do this by giving an overview of their shortcomings, impressions, achievements, and opportunities that major music festivals like the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* provide for their careers. The book provides a good foundation for this research to build on as it gives a sense of what has been said before by artists and also suggests a methodology that can help inform this study.

As indicated, also noteworthy and important to this study is the chapter in Coplan’s book about post-apartheid jazz performance scene and the confusions inherent in terminology, as to what can really be considered South African jazz. Coplan (2007, p.343-347) also lauds the fact that post-apartheid, universities have seen a good number of enrolments of young black people into music and jazz disciplines. He goes further to elaborate on the careers of the well-known artists (Selaelo Selota, Jimmy Dludlu, Musa Manzini, Zim Ngcawana) that have come out of tertiary institutions such University Of Cape Town, Kwa-Zulu Natal and Pretoria University. This suggests that tertiary education opportunities may be important to the success of musicians.

Coplan however laments the fact that there are no venues for these local musicians to ply their craft. He commends the involvement of the Standard Bank in the development of
jazz through its sponsorship of the *Joy of Jazz* festival as it provides a rare platform for them. Both Ansell (2004) and Coplan (2007) are crucial to this study. The points and arguments raised in the books by musicians serve as a basis for further questions this study would like to answer. For example, we learn that one of the artists who appeared at the *Joy of Jazz* festival during its early years, Zim Ngqawana got the opportunity to accompany the festival founder (Peter Tladi) on a trip to New Orleans in 2003 (Coplan, 2007, p.345). The question to be asked is: did the opportunity come as a result of his appearing at the festival in 2001?

Generally, in the South African arts and culture sector there have not been many scholarly articles written about festivals let alone about their impact, although some recent scholarship by Gustav Visser, Bernadette Quinn, J.D Snowball, Bruno S.Frey, Melville Saayman and Andrea Saayman, O’Sullivan, D. and Jackson, M, Thomas Dancer, has started slowly, with a great deal of difficulty, to research this phenomenon in South Africa.

The studies mentioned above tend to ask questions such as: How to measure the effectiveness of festivals in South Africa, what is the justification for public support for the arts festivals, what motivates local residents to attend festivals? Other research has looked at what impact a location has on an arts festival as pertains to its economic well-being and sustainability (Saayman A and Saayman M, 2006). A number of important issues and concerns regarding festivals in South Africa are covered, however, it is the contention of the present study that the scope of impact assessment studies should not be limited to the economy and local community, but should also extend to the main practitioners (musicians). A perfect illustration of this omission in festival studies and surveys is the socio-economic impact assessment of the Cape Town International Jazz festival in 2007, conducted by the Cape Peninsula University of Technology which explored a number of economic benefits that come about as a result of the festival i.e. job creation for the local community, a boost to tourism and place marketing. The survey however is silent on the festival’s impact on local musicians featured therein.
1.4 What Is A Festival?

It is important first to establish the meaning of the word festival, to distinguish its origins and check whether it has evolved over the years. It is difficult to define terms like festival and special events (Getz 1991, p39-66). The seminal work of Alessandro Falassi in his book *Time out of Time: Essays on the festival* traces the emergence of festivals from their historical background and also provides the meaning of the word festival from its Latin, Italian, Spanish and English etymology. This work is particularly important to this research because it provided a sharp distinction between and context for different festivals. The definition he provides from contemporary English is the one that finds resonance with this study, although most of the other languages convey a similar meaning through their use of words for festival. Falassi defines festivals as:

(a) a sacred or profane time of celebration, marked by special observance, (b) the annual celebration of notable person or event, or the harvest of an important product, (c) a cultural event consisting of a series of performances of works in the fine arts, often devoted to a single artist or genre, (d) a fair, (e) generic gaiety, conviviality, cheerfulness (Falassi: 1987).

The sub-categories provided here are important as it helps us to learn that the word festival does not only refer to music festival but to a variety of activities and ceremonies. As he places the definition within cultural and artistic activities there is a special underscoring of single artist or genre in the definition pointing to the rise to prominence of the single artist or genre, both very important as background to this research.

Jazz festivals are reported to have started around the 1950’s in the United States of America. George Wein is the man who is credited with having come up with the best blue print for successful jazz festival production (Bessman, 2000; Dancer, 2009). Wein had already cut his teeth in producing the Newport Jazz festival and Newport Folk Festival which respectively began in 1954 and 1959 when he was roped in to do the same with the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage festival in 1970 (www.nojazzfest.com). Jazz festivals have since spread to all corners of the world i.e. Europe, Asia, and Africa.
Phillips (2008) recalls how a Miles Davis jazz tribute festival held in Paris (1981) brought to the fore some of the best jazz artists we know and love today in the jazz fraternity for example; Dianna Krall, Roy Hargrove, Christian McBride. Right here in South Africa, jazz festivals have always been an important springboard for less well-known musicians, especially during the apartheid years during festivals such as the Cold Castle Jazz festival. An article that was published in the Sunday Times newspaper after the passing away of the legendary Jazz saxophonist, Winston Mankunku Ngozi, narrates a story of the young saxophonist’s performance at the 1963 Cold Castle Jazz festival Moloi (2009). This appearance at the Cold Castle jazz festival launched his jazz career both here at home and abroad even though times were tough then because of the atrocious Apartheid repressive laws (Sunday Times, 2009). The Mankunku story is almost the same as that of another Cape Town (Langa Scene) Jazz saxophonist Cups Nkanuka, who rose to prominence by winning the trophy as the best tenor saxophone player at the first Cold Castle National Jazz festival (Rasmussen, 2003). Both Nkanuka and Mankunku’s experiences suggest that even when apartheid made it so very hard for black musicians to progress, the Cold Castle festival gave their careers a significant boost.

1.5 Impacts/Benefits

The sterling work by Timothy J. Dowd, Kathleen Liddle, and Jenna Nelson describes a music festival that had huge impact on the prominence of new musicians, their compositions and experience. The Yaddo music festival, which got its financial backing from the Yaddo board of directors and sponsors in America from 1932-1952, recognised that musicians and their compositions needed to be the overall winners in their festivals, especially local musicians. At the heart of the strategy for this music festival, lay the idea of bringing to the fore the original music of the composer to be performed live. This provided an intensity of experience not often found in the world of serious music (T.J, Dowd, K. Liddle, and J. Nelson 2004:p150-151).
If one compares this account of the Yaddo festival with the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival, it could be said that they resemble one another, although in the Yaddo festival there was an emphasis on composers. But there are further disparities, which can be identified if we were to factor in the impact on the musicians in the two festivals. While one was purely about music and advancing the interests of musicians, the other, while it may have the same interests, is cluttered by the objectives of economic development, tourism, place marketing and developing client loyalty for the bank (Dancer, 2009).

The impact of the Yaddo festival on musicians’ careers was immense; the spotlight was directed at both young and old musicians; those who had been forgotten and those who were new to the music scene. John Howard is quoted as having remarked: “While no New York Newspapers were represented at the first Yaddo Festival, held in that autumn of 1932, it is nowadays self-understood that Yaddo events must be commented upon in detail in the column of these journals for promoting artists” (1941:333).

The festival succeeded in setting a benchmark that measured the artistic objectives of a music festival. Here was a festival that started on a reasonably small scale, but grew in terms of stature not by compromising on its artistic objective, but by remaining relevant to the musicians’ needs. Many composers who participated in the Yaddo festival would later be featured in the performances of major symphony orchestras, the curricula of higher education institutions, and recordings (Dowd, Liddle and Nelson: 2004:154).

The impact of this festival did not only affect musicians’ careers but also the way in which music education was perceived. The Standard Bank Joy of Jazz has since developed from its modest beginnings into an event matching the Yaddo festival if not surpassing it in sponsorship, size and popularity since it also features overseas artists but has it had a comparable impact in terms of musicians’ careers and the promotion of music as a serious genre?

Gustav Visser’s (2005) study of the phenomenon of festivals in South Africa is very important. It is a holistic study as it does not focus only on one festival or genre. In his research, he painstakingly analysed festivals in big cities and small towns in South Africa and makes some interesting findings. The aim of his research was to make a contribution
to a better understanding of the general contours of the national festival tourism segment. Some of the issues he raises around festivals in South Africa find resonance with this study for example; the fact that there needs to be more research about the purpose and impacts of festivals. Visser (2005) also states that the scheduling or programming in most of these festivals is determined by the availability of artists or musicians to perform. This point is very important as it highlights the crucial role that artists play at these festivals shaping their working environment.

In the end, the author makes this very important statement related to the work of Snowball (2001): ‘research that aims to cast the investigatory net wider, particularly in terms of understanding the economic benefits of festivals beyond those individuals that own tourism infrastructure, is required’. The present study attempts to take up this challenge.

1.6 Career Development and Growth of A Musician

The phenomenal or the concept of development is essential to the present study but it seems we must borrow ideas from the realm of psychology. This is because it taps into the complex issues of personal growth that are studied by psychologists. A number of studies that are psychologically inclined have been conducted and raise a number of important factors that determine whether an individual starting out in their career will make it or not irrespective of the chosen career field. A number of career determining factors are cited as important to the development of an artist i.e. Conscientiousness (being organized or responsible), Extraversion (being outgoing and energetic), Agreeableness (being kind or sympathetic), Openness to Experience (being curious and imaginative), and Neuroticism (being anxious or tense), (Boulreu et al., 2001; Gelissen and De Graaf, 2006; Judge at al., 1999; Soldz and Vaillant, 1999; Sebert and Kraimer, 2001). But this researcher is not equipped to do a psychological analysis, and the studies referred to above are of a general nature and do not always fit with the kind of growth that is appropriate to musicians. I did observe, however that the musicians I interviewed did
touch on some of these factors in the interviews I conducted with them, for example the importance of being well-organised and of taking the initiative.

The concept of career development of musicians at festivals is multi-dimensional because it requires that we look not only at issues concerned with the psychology of the individual but also public arts and culture policy and the general economic principles of the music industry and, as much as we can, the overall environment in which career development takes place (or does not).

The word “career” is derived from the Latin word ‘Carr aria’ which means a road or a carriage road (Heredia, 2009). A number of scholars especially from the sociological field observe that the word has a structural leaning to it. Garavan (1996) defines it as a succession of related jobs, arranged in hierarchy of prestige, through which persons move in an ordered sequence. From a psychological perspective, the word is defined as the sequence of a person’s work related activities, behaviours, and associated attitudes, values, and aspirations over the span of one’s life (Hall, 1989; Adamson, 1997). These definitions seem to be somewhat in agreement with Ansell’s (Interview, 2010) in which there is an argument that music career development happens incrementally, from one milestone to the other and that music festivals do play an important role in that development and realisation of one’s aspirations. This point is important and what the study seeks to do, is to attempt to determine how musicians think about career development and whether or not they hold the same notion of career development especially as it relates to music festivals.

As Ansell points out, the problem of career development becomes acute when there is no proper infrastructure or a blueprint or empirical research that clearly maps out a musician’s growth path. The definition below suggests a career path that should be very carefully mapped out and includes the concept of life-long learning:

“Career development involves managing your career either within or between organizations. It also includes learning new skills, and making improvements to
help you in your career. It is an ongoing lifelong process to help you to learn and achieve more in your career” (www.career-development.com)

Advocacy statements regarding the numerous benefits of participation in music festivals for musicians have come from all quarters and have achieved international recognition despite the ever present budget and scheduling constraints. University professors, lecturers and high school teachers in music education whether in classical, jazz or pop always encourage their students to participate in music festivals as they believe that they are a good training ground that is aimed at the growth, learning and launching of their music careers (Werner, 1965). The message of course is that, the possibilities for growth in music festivals is immense as there is a great deal of interaction with other musicians, record company representatives, music workshops and master classes with accomplished musicians. But are the possibilities for growth adequately provided for at festivals and particularly the one that is the subject of the present study?

It is important from the outset not to overstate the music festivals as the only way for musicians to fully develop their careers. It would be unreasonable to think that the development could be brought about by one factor alone rather than a number of initiatives streamlined together to bring about a whole, which is a flourishing music career. So, what is it reasonable to expect of a music festival in terms of career development? A music festival does certain things that are not achievable through recordings:

Although the musical product yields its greatest source of income in recorded and written form, its authenticity, or validity, is very much dependent upon the music’s being on view in the live performance. In this context the musical product is being produced and consumed in the same moment, there is an inextricable association between the musician and his music (White, 1987:187).

Whether or not a musician is playing jazz or pop, many of the issues and dynamics concerning live performance life and opportunities in South Africa remain almost the same as they have been for decades, but they are more acute for jazz musicians who depend on playing together in a venue as a band with fellow sidemen or band members
(Bennett & Peterson 2004, p.17, Dancer, 2009). Since there has not been much research conducted on the developmental path of a jazz musician specifically, a more generalised study that looks at the career development of pop musicians and the success of jazz musicians, will be looked at here with the aim of inferring or extrapolating those findings to a jazz musician at a later stage. Generally the path to growth, success and professionalism of a musician worldwide as well as in South Africa is not an easy one as it has too many twists, turns, detours and an enormous amount of uncertainty (Zwaan, ter Borgt, Raaijmakers, 2009; Cooper and Willis, 1989; Gabrielson, 2003; Kemp, 1996). At base it requires one to have talent, a good training and academic background although the latter should not be overstated because there is a good number of musicians that have made it on talent alone without getting academic education.

But it is not a given that because you are a well-trained musician you will be successful. Even talented musicians that have obtained their musical training from universities may find it extremely difficult to make a living out of music performance alone. Most of them find themselves having to supplement their income by taking music teaching posts in government schools, private colleges and universities. This trend is spurred on by a whole range of factors, the main one being the fact that there are not enough live music performance platforms or festivals for that matter to showcase one’s talent and interact with a wide range of audiences, which is in stark contrast to the 80’s and 90’s where there was a vibrant jazz culture (Dancer, 2009). It might be closer to the truth to depict the career path of a musician as a maze that requires those engaged in following it to think creatively about how to find their way through.

It may be that Zwaan and ter Bogt’s (2009) theory of the career development of a pop musician will provide us with relevant findings for the present study. After carrying out a survey of a number of pop musicians in Netherlands on the career development and success of pop musicians, a number of important factors were unearthed. It was found that the availability of networks, the degree of professionalism, the availability of performance spaces and performance frequency were correlated to success and the development of a musician’s career (Zwaan and ter Bogt, 2009). A similar argument is espoused by Mitchell and Krumoltz (1996), who point out that environmental conditions
and events that might lie outside the individual’s control affect career development. They found that socioeconomic events, political situations, the number and the nature of training opportunities all have a tremendous impact on career development. This finding finds resonance with the study by Zunker (1994) who argued that government regulations and the availability of natural resources may also determine the opportunities available to the individual.

It is important to recognise that a career path of a musician is determined, not only by internal dynamics or personal resolutions to succeed, but perhaps more importantly by the environment where they practise their craft. The social, political and economic environment may determine distinct periods of development for a musician. Although, as has been noted above, musicians interface with their audiences or with the general public through media exposure, and sales of their recordings (Shaw, 2007; Shuker, 2001; Longhurst, 2007), of all the avenues to marketing success and career fulfillment, the live performance scene still remains the most important and reliable because this is where musicians are able to gauge the level of their growth and development in real time. Music festivals also provide an important platform for networking as festivals are attended by the industry’s taste- makers, critics, potential managers and fellow established musicians who may be on the lookout for a new sideman. The Cultural Industries Growth Strategy, shortly to be discussed (1998), recognises the centrality of live music in the role of the musician’s career:

‘Thus live music is essential in building musicians from local acts to international acts’. (Cultural Industries Growth Strategy, 1998)

How are we to measure a musician’s career path for the purposes of the present study? There are two approaches that is the subjective and objective career assessment. With the subjective assessment, a musician judges his or her career accomplishments and sense of satisfaction from his or her own individual perspective. Objective career assessment involves a number of important developments like observable career accomplishments such as remuneration or number of promotions with a record company (Zwaan and ter Bogt, 2009; Judge et al., 1995, 1999). In following this line of reasoning, it can be
deduced that a musician’s career development can also be objectively measured by audience size and by the responses of concert promoters, record label owners etc., who are consumers of the artistic products. The availability of major pivotal performance spaces is essential as they enable this type of interaction to take place and they mark the points of growth in a musician’s career as well as serving as an inducement to musicians to practise their art to the point where they can appear at major festivals. Although some reference to objective measures will be made in the course of the present study, it depends more on the subjective assessment of the musicians themselves.

1.7 Methodology

As each musician’s experience of the festival’s impact on their careers is different, there was a need for this research to be qualitative in its methodology. The envisaged study tapped into the emotional and social aspects of their lives. Given this fact, the researcher came to realise that this might raise some tricky ethical questions; hence a great deal of tact and sensitivity had to be exercised on the side of the researcher.

A qualitative method of research is defined as “a process of inquiry with a goal of understanding a social or human problem from multiple perspectives, conducted in a natural setting with a goal of building a complex and holistic picture of the phenomenon” (Geber, 2008). The qualitative approach offered this study, the opportunity to explore how several musicians describe the developments in their careers post their appearance at the festival. My role as a researcher was to analyse and track common themes that arose in the interviews and to attempt to assess on the basis of these, what the impact of their appearance at the Joy of Jazz Festival has been on individual careers. From this assessment I extrapolated aspects of the festival that might be said to have been constructive and those that could be strengthened or developed, especially in partnership with other agencies.
1.7.1 Semi Structured Interviews

The interview questions were open-ended in nature, because I did not want respondents to get a feeling that they were being interrogated and the intention was to allow the interviewees to express themselves as freely as possible. It was envisaged that semi-structured interviews with six local musicians, promoters, festival organizers, and South African jazz journalists were going to be conducted but due to the unavailability of T-musicman’s company representative, they became the only voice that is not represented in this research. However efforts were made to gather that information from the festival’s websites and other publications pertaining to the festival.

There were some prepared questions that served as a prompt that are available in the appendix. But I kept the interview questions to a minimum, using them to stimulate further discussion and to encourage improvisation on the part of participants. O’Leary (2004:164) asserts that the questions in a semi-structured interview may start out fixed but there is freedom to pursue other interesting concepts that may develop in the interview. In this case, semi-structured interviews were perfect as they allowed for the exploration of complex issues around the Festival’s perceived impact and benefit on musicians. All interviews were drafted and conducted in English. In instances where translation was needed from one of the South African languages it was provided by this researcher.

1.7.2 Sampling

As indicated in the aim and rationale of this research, the objective of this study is to investigate, document and describe the impact of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival has on local musicians’ appearing at the festival. But the scope of the MA Research Report is limited and it was evident that only a small number of musicians could be included in the study because of limitations on time and space. I practised a limited form of sampling. Sampling ‘has to do with how you go about finding a fair section of the people or items to research’, (Munro 2003:p8) But due to the scope of the project I
cannot say that my ‘section’ is fair. By choosing musicians at different stages of their careers I hope to present a varied and suggestive set of findings.

The criteria I used to choose musicians to interview was based on their availability in the province (Gauteng), and, of course their appearance or performance at the *Standard Joy of Jazz Festival*. Some of the musicians when they made their debut at the festival, were already household names in South Africa for example; Sibongile Khumalo, Themba Mkize, Thandi Klassen, and Jonas Gwangwa. For some, to perform at the festival was/is their first big break in their music career, given the magnitude of the festival. What I wanted to do here was to track their progress, both the novices and the well-known and established musicians. For established or ones that have become successful, their histories was collected from the press and other publications, covering both successes and failures before their appearance at the festival, in order to evaluate the state of their musical careers before the festival. This required one to look at all viewpoints expressed in the various publications and to put the information into its proper context and not just simply copy what is documented about those musician/artists. Notwithstanding the rather different levels of the two types of musicians selected, as will be seen in the next chapters some similarities between them could be identified.

Respondents were also identified according to their willingness to talk and share their stories without compromising or jeopardizing their careers. This is how initially the researcher sought to break down the sample: Two musicians who got their first big break through their appearance at the festival, two musicians whom the festival has helped to raise their already existing profiles, two new musicians who were/are fresh music graduates (University or Techikon) The inclusion of music graduates was firstly because the country has seen a sharp rise of musicians coming from such institutions and really making their presence known in the music fraternity for example; Jimmy Dludlu, Concord Nkabinde, Musa Manzini, Judith Sephuma, Selaelo Selota, and Feya Faku. Secondly, it was intended to test the theories advanced by the researcher quoted earlier that musicians that have obtained some kind of college or university music education tend to do better that those that did not.
But I realized, even at the beginning that the initial sample of six musicians, was likely to change once the actual research commenced. The timing was crucial given the travelling nature of musicians. I would have to locate them and find a time that was suitable both for them and the time frame of this research. For the purposes of this research, the researcher chose the years 2000 to 2006 as the time-line, bearing in mind and acknowledging that there may be some artists who have performed at the festival prior to those years that may have valuable contributions to make to this study. This was the case with McCoy Mrubata who performed in this festival way before it became associated with Standard Bank as its title sponsor and at the time it was held at the Pretoria State theatre (Mrubata, interview, 2010). In that case the demarcation lines were pushed back in order to accommodate Mrubata.

1.7.3 Data Analysis

The data that was analysed included a bulk of completed transcriptions of recorded interviews, policy documents and publicity which served as primary data, and a mountain of literature that was collected served as secondary data to the study. In order to establish the history of the festival, its significance, and to distinguish it from other festivals, documentary analysis was undertaken Literature was obtained from Gauteng province policy documents, research and tourism publications and other related documents on the Joy of Jazz festival.

Overall the study used two qualitative data analysis strategies, which are the Narrative analysis and Thematic analysis. Narrative analysis refers to the interpretation of the stories of individuals, here the data collection and interpretation is often iterative with the focus on story building (O’Leary, 2004:196). Given the fact that this research had to do with the life stories (experiences and perspectives) of artists and their careers, Narrative analysis helped to focus not only on their stories but also their lives. According to Wendy Hollway and Tony Jefferson (2000:32), Narrative analysis does not focus only on the story itself but also the individual that is narrating the story. It encourages the researcher to pay attention to the kind of information that the respondent is putting across, which has
been influenced by so many things including the questions of the interviewer. As a result, Narrative analysis helped to probe what the interviewee says more deeply.

As for Thematic analysis, the raw data from the interviews was grouped according to the emergent similar themes and thereafter, the relationship between those themes was explored. O’Leary (2004:196-197) states that, when a researcher employs Thematic analysis strategy in qualitative research, they also look for themes in the data in terms of non-verbal cues, concepts and words. This is where the researcher takes into consideration expressions like, nervous laughter, the range of facial expressions, pauses, sighs and body language in the interview.

I noticed that the language (business language) used by festival owners and that used by artists could prove to be quite problematic in terms of communication, hence it was important in the analysis of the interviews to check if the artists and festival organizers understood each other or if the meaning got lost.

The analysis of all the data was conducted with the purpose of establishing, as far as possible and recognising the limitations I have specified above, whether the festival has played a developmental role in the careers of the musicians I interviewed. Through this analysis I was able to make some generalisations on the basis of emerging common themes and to understand the individual experiences that were conveyed to me.
Chapter 2

2.0 INTRODUCTION

The Standard Bank’s *Joy of Jazz* Festival is partially funded by Gauteng’s Department of Sports, Arts and Recreation and this bears some investigation. What does the department hope to gain from their agreement with the Festival organisers and how do the broad policy objectives of the post-apartheid government concerning arts and culture affect the event and the likelihood of it providing musicians with enough support for them to launch or consolidate their careers?

In order to understand the directions in which arts and culture policy have gone in the post-apartheid era and to get a clearer picture of the legacy that contemporary musicians and South African society as a whole have inherited, it is important to know something about the era that preceded the coming of democracy to South Africa.

In this chapter I seek to do the following: first to trace the historical evolution of music and jazz festivals in South Africa from the segregation period before the apartheid period to date (post 1994), and to look at the kind role live performances played in musicians’ lives and the arts in general. Second, I briefly paint the picture of what is happening post-apartheid in terms of the performing arts and discuss the policies that have been developed aimed at promoting local artists through local music scenes and festivals. That will help to provide a proper context in terms of the cultural and policy milieu in which artists now operate. Third, I will continue to explore the concept of music career development as a precursor to understanding the impact of the *Joy of Jazz* on the careers of individual musicians.

2.1. Review Of Performing Arts Industry And Music Festivals From Segregation To Apartheid

One cannot write about the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* Festival without analysing and delving into the South African history of the arts that have in one way or the other shaped
how music and arts are perceived. The evolution of South African performing arts and arts and culture policy can be divided into three epochs: the years prior to the National Party’s victory in 1948 when there was some degree of formal racial segregation and race-based discrimination but it was not as rigid and thorough going as it became under apartheid when the National party came to power and ratified apartheid. From 1948 apartheid was developed as a comprehensive system that was intended to govern every aspect of people’s lives. Given the widespread repression, and segregation of one sector of the society by the other and the unfair laws and policies of the apartheid government that cut across all the social strata, it was unlikely that the performing industry would escape this harsh reality. State controls ranging from the pass laws and curfews to the States of Emergency imposed in the 1960s and then again in the 1980s made it extremely difficult for musicians to move around (Masekela, 2003). Spatial segregation and the segregation of amenities also prevented musicians from playing in certain areas and to mixed audiences. But, despite the very heavy repression of the apartheid years, paradoxically certain kinds of opportunities were opened up for Africans. For example, in the mixed Johannesburg suburb of Sophiatown a rare integration allowing back and white artists and intellectuals to intermingle existed. The apartheid government destroyed Sophiatown in 1955. Efforts by the apartheid government, not only to enforce racial segregation but also to limit opportunities available to black people were particularly evident in the control and distribution of performance platforms. The apartheid government was uncomfortable with the idea of any large gathering by the black people in the same venue fearing that they would rebel against them (interview, Coplan, 2010). The Riotous Assemblies Act of 1956 reflected the government’s paranoia about large groups of potentially dissident people getting together. Also the Calvinist morality of the National Party and its supporters put restrictions on recreational activities taking place on ‘the Sabbath’. The National Party also tried to limit the consumption of alcohol by black people to municipal beer-halls as a way of extracting revenue and putting an end to home-brewing which was an important source of remuneration for many black women.

1 See interview with Prof Coplan
2 Interview with Professor David Coplan and Gwen Ansell, they both state that the apartheid regime was intolerant of black large gatherings.
Given the racially exclusionary laws alluded to above and the general atmosphere of repression, it could be said that the African black performing arts industry developed more or less autonomously. The most common performance platforms for blacks were to be found in townships, city halls, and shebeens. Backyard shacks was where the forerunner of jazz called ‘Marabi’ in South Africa was birthed. The environment in which Marabi flourished was created by African women who were often trying to survive a new life in Johannesburg where they had come looking for their husbands who had left their rural homes to come to work in the mines (Johannesburg) and had not returned home for a number of years only to find them living with other women in the mine hostels (Dikobe, 1973:7).

In order to survive the city because employment opportunities for black women were scarce, they brewed homemade beer in their shacks (because they were not entitled to lease houses) to sell and they would employ a musician to come and entertain their patrons on the organ for the whole night (Dikobe, 1973; Ansell, 2004). Despite the government’s attempt to destroy their livelihood and frequent police raids, black women created a viable informal economy, coming to be known as shebeen queens and facilitators of stokfels (cooperative societies) (Dikobe 1973:17). They oversaw a performance genre, which can be traced right back to the 1920’s. This is where most black musicians of the day would ply their craft, playing what was dubbed song and dance until the early hours of the morning (Ballantine, 1993).

Almost all of the black musicians, who flourished in the apartheid era and before did so through their dogged determination to succeed notwithstanding the difficulties imposed upon them by the authorities. In instances where a space was provided, it would always be under the suspicious eye of the authorities often subsequently leading to those places being closed down or to the application of a variety of delaying and bullying tactics to make the space unavailable for black performances. In 1923 a popular club that was well supported among Africans ‘was denied a dancing-hall license by the police and white property owners in the area; noise was used as a pretext in this case. This saw some of the performance halls being forced to close earlier at 11:50pm on Saturdays in order to preserve the sanctity of colonial Sabbath (Ballantine: 1993: 67).
The content and form of performances was always a concern for the apartheid government. Any hint of what was perceived as politics would always be nipped in the bud. Local artists whose music carried political messages or who attempted to tell the whole world and South Africans the truth about apartheid would be silenced and this led to some of them leaving the country. Even international artists did not escape this; Louis Armstrong was prohibited from visiting South Africa because the then Minister of Foreign Affairs said it was not in the interest of the country to authorise a visit by Mr. Louis Armstrong (Masekela, 2003: 82). As a jazz musician (trumpeter, singer) it is not clear why he was refused entry into the country then, but maybe it was because a lot of black South Africans looked up to the African Americans and easily identified with their struggle for freedom. African American excellence in the arts and entertainment industry served to motivate oppressed black South Africans into thinking that they were capable of the same achievements, something that the apartheid government did not encourage as it was perpetuating white supremacy, which rested on the idea that whites were superior to blacks (Coplan, 1979, 1985, 2007; Ballantine, 1993). Jazz musicians of the time did not conform to the homogeneous type of African the apartheid government was trying to create (Coplan, interview, 2010).

Under apartheid, the arts and culture, provision and access to performance venues were used not only to achieve political and social separation, it was the legitimating field for white supremacy and for the complex system of cultural and racial ordering that evolved around it. Although there were examples of the National Party wanting black people to be entertained, it was done in order to keep them away from politics and to entertain white people and show them how happy they were. Mine dancing is one of the best examples in which different ‘tribes’ of black men staying in the mine compounds put on dancing displays for white audiences in order to portray an image of happy mine workers (Ansell, 2005, p23). Only whites were supposed to have real culture, so preference was devoted to ‘European’ genres (opera and classical music) very much to make a point that white South Africa was part of Europe. Deacon (1999) reminds us that during apartheid the government policy on arts and culture favoured arts and culture celebrated by the white minority and cultural diversity was not acknowledged.
Music festivals, let alone jazz festivals that were organised in the times of segregation and apartheid were very few and too far in between. There were a number of music shows, concerts and festivals staged around that time through the initiatives of the ‘Bantu’ Men’s Social Club which came into being in 1927 when liberal black (Dr. Aggrey) and white societies/organizations/missionaries including the Reverend Ray Phillips came together in the slightly less rigid epoch of segregation that preceded apartheid (Couzens, 1985). Mention can be made here of a few music festivals that developed around that time: The Eisteddfod festival, which only started in Transvaal in 1934, had already been taking place in other provinces across the country and the Johannesburg ‘Bantu’ Music Festival (JBMF) in 1947 (Coplan, 2003). During the apartheid period at one of its most repressive points, in the year after the massacre at Sharpeville, the ‘Cold Castle Festival’ was started - in around 1961 (Ansell, 2004).

A striking common feature of the three festivals mentioned above is that they were not genre specific as we have today with music festivals like the Joy of Jazz and the Cape Town International Jazz festival. The Eisteddfod, including the Transvaal one and JBMF were strongly influenced by choral music. It was here that most school choir competitions took place and in which some rose to prominence. The Eisteddfod was derived from the old Welsh term for a bardic and choral festival. Very few jazz bands were permitted into these festivals (Coplan, 1979, 2007, 1985). Choir masters and composers of the day like Joshua P. Mohapeloa, R. T. Caluza, and Benjamin Tyamzashe regularly participated in these music festivals. The impact of these festivals on music and musicians of the day was varied. It became a space not only for music performance, but general discourse about national issues of that time. It was at these events that the middle class wanted to assert their role as ‘enlightened’ members of the society and consequently tastemakers in terms of what constituted ‘Bantu culture’ and music, also trying to prove that they were worthy of being assimilated into ‘white’ society. Efforts were continuously made to block jazz and Marabi from these music festivals as they were perceived to be the music of the shebeens and brothels.

The other significant festival that took place was the Johannesburg ‘Bantu’ Music Festival, which came after the decline of the national Eisteddfod festival because of
infighting among committee members (Coplan, 2007). The festival was started by the then Johannesburg City Council mainly for school amateur choirs performances and vocal recitals in 1947 (Coplan, 1985, 2007). With all its great objectives, as stated by the city council, the festival encountered the unavoidable problems of politics and race. The festival’s programme included European classical music, Negro Spirituals and African vocal compositions (Coplan, 1979). The bone of contention between the festivals organizers and Africans, who were not part of the elite, was that the festival came to include an overwhelming number of European classical musicians and ballroom dancers at the expense of the local musicians and artists in general. This is what led to Khabi Mgoma, who initially was part of the festival as a music educator, and Ezekiel Mphahlele who was a dramatist at the time, forming a community- based performing arts group aimed at developing the township arts and culture, identity and socio-political aspirations of Johannesburg’s blacks (Coplan, 1979, 2007).

Ezekiel Mphahlele, (who changed his name to Es’kia to make it more African), and Mgoma’s close friendship was to develop even when Mphahlele went into exile, first to Nigeria and then to the United States of America where he became an English professor. Due to Mphahlele’s strong opposition to the ‘Bantu’ Education Act, his job had been terminated in South Africa as an English and Afrikaans teacher. He went into self-imposed exile for two decades, returning to South Africa only in 1977 (Manganyi, 1983).

As stated above, the apartheid government was hell bent on weeding out any form of political undertones in the cultural affairs of black Africans. Mgoma and Mphahlele’s group did not escape this harsh reality of police harassment. If the JBMF had any impact on local musicians and artists at all, it was that it propelled them to perfect their art and to achieve independence, despite these difficult conditions. This was brought about by two things. Firstly the festival organizers had a condescending view of black artists demonstrated by the fact that they referred to the latter as amateurs who needed development from whites to be rewarded with trophies which became insignificant to them in the light of the increasingly racist developments that were taking place at national level. Secondly, the lack of artistic freedom inherent in the festival caused most black
Africans to reject it because they realised they could only perform what was deemed good art by the festival organizers.

It is not clear for how long the festival continued to be organized, but Coplan (1979) states that over the period 1950-1953 JBMF did not have a jazz category because jazz bands did not register to be part of the festival. From this information, it could be deduced that the festival ran for between eight to ten years. This led to most African performers finding solace in township halls where they were at least paid a salary for their performances. The departure of Father Trevor Huddleston, an Anglican Parish Priest who earned the hatred of the apartheid regime because of his stand against the Sophiatown forced removal in 1955 (see above) became a new launching pad for black artists who held him in high esteem. Huddleston was an integral part of the community in Sophiatown where he was also a resident. His history, more particularly from 1943 up until 1956 when he left the country, fits into the broader history of South Africa’s struggle against apartheid in those years. He became known to black South Africans as a man who hated and fought against apartheid, always identifying himself with their cause for freedom, always attentive to their plight, while the apartheid government loathed him (Denniston, 1999). He also took a stand against the apartheid regime’s introduction of a separate inferior education system for blacks called ‘Bantu Education’. This subsequently led to St. Peter’s school, where he was based, being closed down 1956, the year he left. This is the same man who organised for Hugh Masekela to get a Flugelhorn Trumpet which came as a gift from Louis Armstrong (Masekela, 2004:67, 81). He became a friend to many people, from artists like Hugh Masekela, Don Mattera (the poet), and Ezekiel Mphahlele right through to political activists like Walter Sisulu, Dr. Xuma, Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela (Masekela 2004:67,81).

A farewell concert that was thrown for Huddleston set a precedent for other mini festivals, which were staged after his departure. The festival and concert series (Township Jazz and Dorkay Jazz concert series in 1957 and 1958) were arranged by Ian Bernhardt and even though trophies were still awarded, the difference lay in the artistic freedom and opportunities which artists enjoyed in the festivals (Coplan,1979,2007). These festivals gave birth to a township musical called *King Kong*. 
(1956), which featured some of South Africa’s best talents i.e. Miriam Makeba, The Manhattan brothers, and McKay Devashe who were able to tour overseas (Coplan, 1979, 1989, 2007; Ansell, 2004; Zakwe, 2005).

King Kong was produced and directed by Leon Gluckman. Famous Sophiatown writer Todd Matshikiza was commissioned to write ‘uxolo’ because he was a man who interacted with jazz musicians and understood what the genre was about. It was based on the tragic life of a heavyweight boxer called Ezekiel Dlamini who committed suicide in prison after he killed his girlfriend for having had an affair with another man. The musical portrayed life in a township; the illicit drinking in the shebeens, the violence that often accompanied it and the music: penny whistle, jazz and the work songs of African miners (Coplan, 1979, 1989, 2007).

As has been mentioned above, the application of the Group Areas Act to the entertainment industry made it harder for African musicians to find performance spaces and audiences while the Liquor Amendment Act of 1961 made it unlawful for Africans to buy certain alcohol beverages and limited people to drinking in municipal beer halls (Ansell, 2004; Coplan, 2007). Home-brewing was officially illegal. In order to win African customers in the wake of the Liquor Amendment Act, the Cold Castle Jazz Festival was organized by Castle Lager in Moroka Jabavu, Soweto (Ansell, 2004). The festival ran from 1961 until 1963 and saw many South African jazz musicians participating, being given an opportunity to develop their careers and gaining exposure overseas. The opportunity for career development came in the sense that, at the end of the festival, the winning band would be awarded with the prize of recording an album – something that was not commonplace for Africans.

The festival was important for musicians because it meant that their fans could come out and watch them perform, playing in front of their own African people, something that was difficult to achieve at the time (Coplan, interview, 2010). Whether or not the artists that took part in that recording received royalties or remuneration is not clear. However Dennis Mpale notes that, in certain instances they would be rewarded with the product, which in this case would mean Castle beers (Ansell, 2007:129). A variety of other brand
raising music festivals, mostly for alcoholic beverages with the exception of Joko tea, that took place around the 1960’s included: Lion Lager strike it Big Concert, The Joko Tea Break Festival, Gilby’s Dry Gin, Newport and Fagamboots festival (Galane, 2007).

The groups and individual artists that took part in the festivals include Chris McGregor, Eric Nomvete, Kippie Moeketsi, Sophie Mcgina Davids, Philip Tabane, The Woody Woodpeckers, and Jazz Dazzlers (Ansell, 2007). Philip Tabane whose music was popular with the audiences won first prize for the three successive years of the festival and he was able to tour overseas (appearing at the Newport Jazz Festival) and to record albums abroad (Ansell, 2005; Galane, 2009). So celebrated were Tabane`s achievements of having travelled abroad to give master classes and perform at the Newport Jazz festival that when he came back to South Africa a jazz festival in Mamelodi, where he comes from was named Newport festival (Galane, 2009). Chris McGregor directed the 1963 winning band just before he left for Europe with his band, the Blue Notes which included the great musicians who left an indelible mark in Europe in terms of jazz and free jazz genre like Louis Moholo, Dudu Pokwane, Mongezi Feza etc. (Ansell, 2004; Zakwe, 2005).

What the festival was able to achieve was to set a standard in terms of a big jazz festival, which moreover was hosted in Soweto Township in the backyard, so to speak, of some of the musicians. That means their home fans and audiences were able to come and experience their performances. Also winning a prize at this festival during those days was a very important achievement because the apartheid regime never regarded their work as worthwhile. And there were not a lot of places for Africans to get exposed to audiences (Coplan 2010, interview).

The Newport Jazz festival organized by the impresario George Wein, who was responsible for creating a successful model for putting together music festivals, could have had an important influence on events of the magnitude of the Cold Castle Festival (Bessman, 2000; Dancer, 2009). As was mentioned above, Philip Tabane got to perform at Newport after he won the first prize at the Cold Castle festival in Soweto. We see from the account that has been given in the last few pages that, although the concept of
jazz festivals according to George Wien’s model may have started around the 1950s, music festivals and concerts had been staged in South Africa since the early 1920’s. But they changed in stature and magnitude. The years from 1960 onwards were pivotal to the development of music as more festivals similar to the Cold Castle festival, were held in stadiums across the country (Coplan 2010, interview).

The impact of these festivals can be assessed as both negative and positive because even though Africans were treated horribly at festivals, they found a way of achieving high performance standards. Therefore it could be argued that the festivals did play a developmental role in their music careers. In comparison with the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz, these festivals had a strong element of competition attached to them where the likes of Philip Tabane would win the first prize and that came with a lot of perks. Today, in the music festivals that take place, there are no prizes, the programme is supposedly arranged in such a way that a musician is able to market him or herself through the structures and the platform provided.

Furthermore, the festivals played a dual role for oppressed Africans; they brought people together to enjoy the music of their fellow oppressed Africans (Ansell, 2005, 127-129; Dancer, 2009). The apartheid regime and its predecessors provide an interesting comparison with the post 1994 democratic South Africa. Those pre-democratic regimes, with all their repressive policies failed to recognize that the performing arts would always find a way of expressing themselves whatever they did to restrict them. Many South African artists who left the country to further their careers overseas, returned to South Africa post 1994 to share their musical knowledge and expertise with young artists in the country, so, despite everything, there was an accumulation of expertise and knowledge capital over the years of segregation and apartheid.
2.2 Policy Framework Post 1994

Unlike the apartheid government, the current regime sought to promote the development of arts and culture and the protection and nurturing of all artists.

To provide for the preservation, development, fostering and extension of culture in the Republic by planning, organizing, co-coordinating and providing facilities for the utilization of leisure and for non-formal education,…….. Culture Promotion Act, 1998

Music festivals do not happen in a vacuum without policies that underpin their existence and relevance in South Africa. The post-apartheid period in South Africa marked the beginning of a new era in the Arts and Culture sector as well as a new approach and standard for its development and promotion. A White paper on Arts and Culture was ratified on the fourth of June 1996, which makes provisions for promotion and development of the arts and practitioners across all arts disciplines (White Paper, 1996). As is evident from the policy document, the government sees its role in the support of arts and culture as being that of development and the leveling of the playing field.

Generally, this introduction of arts and culture policy led to a revival and recognition of all arts disciplines and artists which is a marked improvement in comparison to the apartheid days which were characterised by widespread repression and flagrant disregard of one sector of the society. The intended beneficiaries of this arts and culture policy post 1994 were primarily local arts local practitioners across the colour line and the general population of South Africa but with a strong emphasis on the transformation of the sector. Broadly speaking, the word development is not limited only to infrastructure that creates an enabling environment for artists to develop and realise their dreams but also see to it that enough efforts are made to showcase that talent to both local audiences and international markets and opportunities. With regard to the festivals, the White paper states that:

Generally raising public awareness of the arts, especially through supporting the growth and sustainability of a range of arts festivals, which will both provide
more work opportunities for artists and create greater audiences and markets for arts (White paper, 1996).

As can be discerned from the above statement, the groundwork was been laid at arts policy level for artists to have a chance at experiencing career growth, development and job opportunities but the question to arise from this would be: is that what is currently happening? What is far more important and also very interesting is that festivals are being cited as one of the most important vehicles to achieve the objectives. Festivals are also thought of as being geared towards the creation of public awareness of the arts and audience development. This is crucial as without consumers of their artistic products, musicians obviously have no chance of success in their music careers. Inglis (2006) asserts that: ‘Live music performances are and should be considered as an opportunity for reciprocal exchange between those on the stage (performers) and those in front of it’ (Inglis, 2006:xiv). This kind of interaction has the potential to produce a long lasting and far-reaching impacts not only for the producers but also for the consumers (Inglis 2006).

The White Paper on arts and culture was followed by a lot of research, legislation and policy initiatives that were geared at better understanding and tapping into the arts’ full potential; the most important among them being the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) of 1998 which was commissioned by the Department Of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. The Cultural Industries Growth Strategy report proposed ways of consolidating the economic viability of the arts and culture in South Africa and positioning it as a sector that produces economic returns for the country and the artists (Cultural Industries Growth Strategy, 1998). It was under the CIGS that the growth strategy as it relates to the South African Music industry was produced. The document recommends a number of initiatives for the development of the music industry and most importantly, for creating the infrastructure for festivals and live performances. ‘Live performance’ in this regard is understood in the way that the South African Music Industry growth strategy, within the CIGS document, defines it as incorporating both small intimate venues that hold a handful of people to mega stadiums that hold tens of thousands (Music Industry Growth Strategy, 1998). The document also goes further to
make the following statements about what the larger music festivals and concerts should do:

- Provide a significant number of jobs and revenue for the country
- Provide musicians with a platform from which they can reach thousands of potential supporters
- Provide a platform for musicians to share with international artists which will assist local artists in accessing international markets (Music Industry Growth Strategy, 1998: p. 68)

To this end, numerous communities and cities in South Africa have developed various types of arts festivals across all disciplines i.e. Craft, music, dance, literature, film etc. As things stand currently, there are at least 211 festivals with a wide variety of themes that take place throughout the year and across the nine provinces of South Africa (Visser, 2005). Performing arts and visual arts account for 28% while agricultural themed festivals account for 43% (Visser, 2005). The South African music industry was said to be worth approximately R974, 7 million through album sales and wholesale cost in 1998 by the Music Industry Growth Strategy report. Recent research has revealed an increase in the worth of the South African music industry, to the tune of R1.618-billion (Shaw, 2007).

According to Mhlanganisi Masoga³ (Masoga 2010, interview), in Gauteng alone, which is the focus province of this study, there are four major jazz festivals that take place annually. These happen in partnership with the provincial Sports, Arts and Culture departments, the local district and various festival organizers/promoters; all in an attempt to create live performance spaces for musicians and to expose both old and new talent to markets at home and abroad. These jazz festivals include the Joy of Jazz Festival in the City of Joburg as well as the Moretele Tribute Festival in the City of Tshwane, MAAPSA Benefit Festival in Ekurhuleni, and Jazz by the River in Sedibeng District Municipality.

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³ Interview with Mhlanganisi Masoga of the Gauteng Sports, Arts and Recreation department
There are certain measurable objectives, outcomes and deliverables that the Gauteng Sports, Arts and Culture department expects from the festival and festival organizers as part of the memorandum of agreement such as:

- Audience development activities are implemented
- Exposure and development of new talent
- Strengthening of the live performance circuit
- The Creative Gauteng Brand is effectively promoted

From the above-mentioned objectives it can be deduced that the Gauteng province expects these jazz festivals to carry a strong mandate to develop and expose new local talent and careers of musicians; it’s not just festival for festival’s sake. This means that the festivals are perceived as platforms for opportunities for interaction between old and new musicians, the identification of new talent and further development, as well as branding entities involved in the support of the arts. But the festivals’ popularity makes them a viable opportunity for promoting various business interests and it is unclear whether the priority is the development of the arts or the Gauteng brand. Masoga (interview, 2010) argues that as a department, the funding of the festival is purely for the development artists that are featured in the festival. It might be that the Gauteng government has realized the importance of jazz festivals in playing some form of developmental role in the careers of musicians and the importance of having a strong live performance circuit. But, using those very developmental platforms to also promote business might prove to be a heavy burden on the arts where the arts end up being the loser. As has been witnessed in the past, when business suffers, the sector that suffers most is the arts and culture as it is not regarded as a priority.

Also noteworthy from among the above mentioned objectives is that jazz festivals are placed within a broader context of marketing the creative Gauteng Brand. This points to the economic contribution that is expected of festivals and the arts in general to their host cities. The staging of these arts festivals in Gauteng and all over South Africa, clearly demonstrates that these festivals provide a much needed platform to express and showcase artistic talents and endeavors. But, despite the performing arts accounting for
28% of the festivals in the arts sector, our understanding of the role these events play in the career development, growth and success of artists remains limited and unexplored.

This state of affairs, compounded by policy shifts and innovations, can partly be attributed to the slightly different and varied interpretations of the White Paper by provincial policy implementers, whose focus may be compensating for the discrimination against black artists under the apartheid regime rather than on the other aspects, for example.

These CIGS initiatives in creating and arts policy and the recommendations of the above mentioned reports and legislation reflect the government’s experimentation with a variety of arts structures in response to changing arts infrastructural frameworks. This discussion brings to the fore the leading role the government at both national and provincial levels and ideas about the roles they should play in the development, growth and support of the arts and artists.

Most of the live music performance spaces devoted to the development of musicians, arts and culture activities come from the private sector namely clubs, restaurants, corporate functions, etc. Given the current scenario, especially of jazz performance venues that are already in decline and will continue to grow smaller unless something drastic happens, how then do department officials think that mega once-off music festivals like the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival contribute to the development of musicians and the general scene of live performances? According to Masoga (interview, 2010), the role and mandate of the provincial arts and culture department is to create jobs and build social cohesion. The department insists that its funding agreement for the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival, clearly states that the money will only be utilised towards music and arts development. The department funds the developmental bands that appear at the festival and the music workshops that are part of it.

If the department prioritizes development then the question that follows would be, what path should a South African musician follow to make a viable career? Most wannabe or developmental musicians are shooting in the dark in terms of finding their way in and around the music industry. Those that have been fortunate enough to make it to the top
find it difficult to remain there and make a meaningful living mainly because of the precarious nature of the industry, but most importantly, because of the lack of performance spaces that support the live music scene. This is especially true for jazz musicians whose career thrives on playing live with a band in clubs, concerts and festivals where the audience can interact with their creative production in `realtime`. Jonathan Shaw (2007), in his illustrative book, *South African Music Business* attempts to articulate a feasible route into South African showbiz. In this book, he painstakingly paints the ins and outs of the music industry and the business of music: from recording, publishing and marketing an album to management of one’s music career.

It is Gwen Ansell’s (Interview, 2010) argument however, that seems to throw an illuminating light on the concept of music festivals as they relate or contribute towards career development and general provision of performance spaces for musicians. The apartheid government destroyed much of the infrastructure or neglected to develop it. A great deal of rebuilding needs to be undertaken so that there are proper passages and levels of growth for musicians from amateur, semi-professional to professional. She is fully behind the idea of major music festivals, acknowledging the exposure opportunities that come with them, however she decries what happens before and after the festivals in terms of small music performance venues that are in decline around Johannesburg. She strongly recommends that the key factor in the proper development of a musician does not start and end at a music festival. That means good music education and a hierarchy of small performance platforms to big ones like the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* where musicians can perfect their performance skills. These are the same findings Ansell brought forward when she conducted research around the music industry in the Western Cape Province, which shows that the scarcity of performance venues is not a one province problem but to a certain extent, a national crisis.

According to Masoga (Interview, 2010), the Gauteng government financially supports the development of upcoming local artists through their `Puisano Jazz Programme` where a band spends a year receiving training and exposure to music industry related skills and

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4 Micro Economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape
performance opportunities after which they may appear at a major event such as the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* festival. He went further to state that, one of the key priorities is to ensure that they get more South African, especially Gauteng based artists involved in these festivals. This then is how the Gauteng government is delivering on its mandate of arts and culture development, which is intended to increase participation, enliven the arts and culture sector and build communities through social cohesion (Masoga:2010).

The Gauteng government’s partnership with the Standard Bank’s *Joy of Jazz* is realised through featuring the winners of the Puisano Live Performance project on the festival’s small stages i.e. Kippies, Horror Café, Nikkis Oasis and Sophiatown restaurants’ (the infrastructure of the two places that are used currently will be dealt with in detail in chapter3). As Gauteng is an ‘economic hub’ of South Africa almost every artist/musician wants to be in the city to realize his or her music career dream, be they developing or established. With such a concentration of artists in the ‘vibey’ city, the live performance scene could significantly change for the better in a climate of more festivals and performance spaces. Also, given Johannesburg’s arts and culture vibrancy, staging of more music festivals could help stimulate the economy through job creation in the arts, cultural as well as tourism industries in addition to promoting tourism. This is what the Gauteng department seems to be hoping for. The creation of jobs in the arts and culture sector is one of the most important issues that the provincial department is focusing on, hence it’s funding of the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* festival (Masoga, Interview, 2010).

There seems to be a conducive environment available, which could somehow effect change in the performing arts industry, artists’ lives and festivals, which is enhanced by a cultural policy that acknowledges the importance of arts and culture in a society.

An examination of the post 1994 era and implementation of arts and culture policy in 1996 reveals that concerted efforts are being made by the government and various provincial departments to improve the lives and careers of musicians and the arts in general at least at the policy level. However, developing a policy is only the start of the process that needs to be well buttressed with implementation and proper management on the ground to make it become a feasible reality.
Our immediate concern is the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival and the developmental role it plays in the careers of musicians that have appeared there, whether once, twice or thrice because contrary to other mini music festivals that take place, this is a music festival that musicians must build up to because of its magnitude and prestige. Perhaps it is here that we can begin to gauge whether the festivals are playing a role in the career development of musicians with the aid of the government through arts and culture policy or not.

2.3 Conclusion

The apartheid government policies of segregation introduced severe restrictions that touched each and every aspect of Africans’ lives including the arts and culture sector by under-developing the arts infrastructure. Nevertheless, opportunities which allowed for a rich accumulation of musical knowledge and expertise were created. In the post-apartheid period a complex relationship has developed between the arts and culture sector and the government. It might be said that the government has adopted an arm’s length relationship between itself and the arts, evident in how it directs its funding for music festivals such as the Standard Joy of Jazz.

The involvement of the government in this regard seems to be that of partly financing the festival and attaching to it a number of objectives that they expect to be achieved by the festival, such as having substantial local artists’ representation and a developmental component. But what is clear is that there is a serious lack of live performance venues, especially for jazz, to support ongoing development outside of festivals, which is not being remedied by the government or the private sector. This is a serious hindrance to career development for musicians.

The provision in the White Paper on Arts and Culture make a case for festivals as a vehicle to develop and expose South African talent and thereby has certain safeguards protecting the interests of the artists (White paper, 1996). To a majority of artists it is not really clear what exactly this means. There have been numerous stories in the newspapers of South African musicians who feel that overseas musicians are given first priority and
preferential treatment in music festivals at the expense of local artists\textsuperscript{5}. The provisions in the White Paper outlining the nature of the policies with less on how they were to be implemented gave some assurance to South African artistes that they would not suffer the same blatant discrimination faced during apartheid. But the document is a statement of policy intention and leaves the implementation strategies to the arts and culture departments. It is here that the policy will fail or succeed.

\textsuperscript{5} Local artists have been quoted in the media complaining about the unequal treatment they get at music festivals in South Africa in comparison to international artists.
Chapter 3

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a brief description of the origins of the Festival and then proceeds to discuss the interviews I conducted with the developmental musicians.

3.1 Origins of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival

The Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival started with humble beginnings around the year 2000. When the festival began it was staged in the Pretoria State Theatre with a number of largely local musicians performing for a couple of evenings. It was around the time it began when the new and adventurous jazz musicians (in terms of their unique sounds and approach), Selaelo Selota and Zim Ngcwana came to be known and showcased. Big man of the jazz festival, the chief executive officer and organizer, Peter Tladi also known as T-Musicman used to host a number of small jazz festivals throughout Gauteng in places like Dickinson Park (Vereeniging) or Jazz by the River and Moretele Park (Dancer, 2009). The growth, success and the support of these small festivals essentially by, among other stakeholders, various jazz clubs and societies in and around Pretoria and Johannesburg attracted the Standard Bank sponsorship from 1998 but which only came officially on board in 2003, as a title sponsor (Ansell 2010, interview; Dancer, 2009). So successful was this partnership between T-Musicman and Standard Bank that the festival was now called the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival.

The festival proceeded to grow in prestige and stature when it was moved to Johannesburg being run concurrently with the Arts Alive programme during the month of August. Despite this rapid growth, in comparison to other major jazz festivals that take place in other countries even here at home, the festival does not seem to have stated festival objectives, let alone a mission and vision in its website. Today, the festival is staged annually in the Newtown Cultural precinct where it runs for three days which includes performances and workshops. Apart from the Standard Bank, the title sponsor, some of the sponsors that have come on board include: the national Department of Arts
3.1.1 The Festival’s Structure

The programme of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz is largely modeled around the George Wein model of organizing music and jazz festival. Even though the festival is labeled a ‘jazz’ festival, Joy of Jazz has a mixture of musicians who come from varied musical styles that are not necessarily of jazz orientation in the true and traditional sense of the word. This is done in order to draw large paying crowds to the festival, so that the festival is able to break even and cover the costs of putting together such a big event. Ansell (Business Day, 2010) argues that putting a festival together nowadays is more an act of good curatorship than artistry because the artists that are invited to perform at the festival should be able to draw a wide variety of audiences and engage different segments of the society. Consequently the festival’s programme is constituted by three categories of musicians: international musicians, local established and developmental musicians, (Dancer, 2009). In terms of choosing which musicians from the international arena are invited to the festival, the decision is largely made by the CEO of T-Musicman company, Mr. Peter Tladi, who apparently seeks the input of local jazz societies and fan clubs (Dancer, 2009). According to the interview Dancer (2009) had with festival organizers, it is not clear what really constitutes a developmental band and a local established band. This is what the festival organizers said to Dancer (2009) when he asked them about International artists’ versus the local artists’ categories:

……we have what we call the ‘development artists, and then we’ve got ‘local’ artists, then we’ve got the ‘national’ artists and the ‘international’ artists. In some instances the national artists have said ‘but we are of international level,’ and we say ‘yes, we know, but right now we want to define where we are going to place you…for our audience.

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6 This is what Mojalefa Gwangwa (artists and repertoire officer) said in an interview with Thomas dancer in 2008
For the sake of programming on different stages (i.e. Bassline, Dinaledi, Market, Mbira and Dance Factory) in the festival, the festival organizers are the ones who decide whether artists will be performing as international artists or not (Dancer, 2009). However there is a fair mixture of both local and international artists on these stages where you will find a South African artist performing before an international artist. In comparison to the Cape Town International Jazz festival, the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz has 60% of its artists being local and 40% international, while the CTIJF maintains a 50:50 balance between local and international (Ansell, 2007).

As is the case with most international jazz festivals, there is a strong element of education through the emphasis on the music workshop, where both local and international musicians are requested to conduct workshops for developing musicians in the community in the period leading up to the festival. Some of the local artists that have given workshops include Concord Nkabinde, Shannon Mowday and Mark Fransman, who were featured artists at the festival. In 2010, these music workshops were scheduled to take place as follows: Music Academy of Gauteng (Daveyton) - workshop facilitated by Ravi Coltrane, South West Gauteng College (Soweto) – workshop facilitated by Lala Hathaway, Moses Molelekwa Artists foundation (Tembisa) – workshop facilitated by Poncho Sanchez, Central Johannesburg College (Johannesburg Central) – workshop facilitated by Kim Waters, Sebokeng College Hall (Vereeniging) – workshop facilitated by Michael Ward and Tshwane University of Technology (Tshwane)7

The Festival also partners with the Gauteng Sports, Arts and Recreation department (see above) through the Puisano Jazz programme. The programme is aimed at showcasing developmental bands in and around Johannesburg by putting them in performance spaces where they remain with the programme for a period of twelve months. The sponsorship from the Gauteng Sports, Arts and Recreation department is mainly used for the appearance of developmental bands in the festival where it takes care of their salaries post performance. This was also attested to by Khumo Kganyago 8 (interview, 2010) who stated that their salaries came from the department through the programme. The Puisano

7 This information is available from the 2010 Standard bank joy of jazz magazine and programme
8 Khumo Kganyago is one of the development musicians in this study, see appendix
programme has become a partnership between the Gauteng province and the Joy of Jazz festival and is also used as part of the solution to revive public performance places in Johannesburg because these bands not only perform at the festival but in other music festivals, clubs, and restaurants. (Masoga 2010, interview) These developmental bands take part in an audition in order to be part of the whole experience and to be featured on the performance circuit and the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival (Masoga 2010, interview).

3.2 Interviews with Developmental Bands

The discussion and analysis of the interviews conducted with three developmental bands/musicians is done in accordance with the stated objectives of the research. The musicians conceived and responded to the predetermined questions of the research variously. Their responses were analysed thematically and certain similarities began to emerge which were subsequently grouped together. The research’s predetermined questionnaire included questions about their personal music career backgrounds, education, the invitation to the festival, and general satisfaction about their careers. Some of the themes like that of how musicians were invited to the festival were able to generate sub-themes which provided further interesting angles to interrogate. The Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry report in the Western Cape (2007) came up with a number of factors that need consideration in order to gauge any music festival’s developmental friendliness. It is the same kind of themes that will also be looked at in this study but not in isolation from the musicians’ interviews.

3.2.1 Music Education and Professionalism

While it is not a prerequisite for any musician to have studied music formally at a music school or university to be invited to the festival, the three developmental bands interviewed did obtain formal music training. All three of the interviewed leaders of the developmental bands, namely Zithulele Shabangu of the Soweto Jazz Quartet, Khumo Kganyago of Kamb Quartet and Sipho Malinga of Minor Band who earlier was also part of Black Roots, got the opportunity to form bands while they were still studying at those institutions. In fact, they auditioned in the Puisano Jazz programme and got to perform
with the same bands at the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* Festival. This trend is in tune with music education advocates like Akuno (2009) in Kenya who asserts that the development of music education is important in Africa because it has not always succeeded in giving people the economic power that comes with other industries. He further states that if education is empowerment, then music education is empowerment (Akuno 2009). Here we witness music students coming together and exchanging musical ideas in institutions that offer music education. That way these institutions become a microcosm of what happens in the music industry where a lot of collaboration is essential to an artist’s career and success. The three interviewed developmental musicians had gone through Music schools (Fuba, Funda) and university training where they managed to obtain qualifications.

Even though the three musicians studied jazz at their particular music institutions, only one of them was willing to categorically label himself a jazz musician and embrace the genre wholeheartedly. Even he did state however that he does play other styles of music. A noteworthy point coming out of this is that even musicians that are still trying to find their footing in the music industry have learnt the art of navigating the industry and music genres in order to gain more job opportunities. The notion of a musician being a specialist of one genre and musical instrument is slowly being replaced by that of a modern day musician who is versatile at almost at any style or genre.

*Yes I consider myself a professional jazz musician because I am involved in a jazz band which we started while I was still at Wits* (Zithulele Shabangu, Soweto Jazz Quartet).

The other two were more than happy to describe themselves as just professional musicians without any limiting boundaries in terms of genre.

*I am just a professional musician, I wouldn’t say I am a professional jazz musician because that would put me in a corner and I don’t want to cage myself. Because I don’t only do jazz, I also play other styles like RnB and Gospel music* (Sipho Malinga, Black Roots, Minor Band).
I consider myself a professional musician but without limitations. I am just a musician. So I can play jazz and also other styles. I am not confined to jazz (Khumo Kganyago, KAMB quartet).

3.2.2 Treatment in Early Music Career Encounter

To find out from musicians about their impressions of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival, they were asked to describe how they were treated by the festival organizers. This question did not look at just one aspect of the festival, for instance whether they received their remuneration on time got refreshments or not; but it tried to look at the basic things that a musician must be provided with when in a festival such as a good P.A System and decent dressing rooms. The manner in which festival organizers treated them contributed positively to their growth and achievement of professionalism notwithstanding that they are developmental bands who are relatively unknown. This is exemplified in the following quotes from the two musicians:

I would suggest yes, because we were in the newspapers and we also did a television interview on Morning live. In a way the festival did provide a platform for us. (Zithulele Shabangu, Soweto Jazz Quartet)

Yes, actually it was nice because everything was conducted in a professional manner. We got all our tickets (complementary & parking) tickets on time like all other artists in the festival. I think as for my experience it was a fair treatment because also our payment was done on time, we got our money without any problems. (Sipho Malinga, Minor Band, Black Roots)

Their experiences and responses were quite varied. Some expressed reservations and a measure of dissatisfaction but on the whole they stated that they had good experiences albeit there were a few things that they felt still needed to be improved. For some of them it was between what could be thought of as minor details that impacted them, like getting paid on time, getting access to parking and dressing rooms, getting complementary tickets and interacting with some of the artists in the festival.
It might be concluded, looking at what some of the established artists in my sample had to say that the manner in which artists are treated in an engagement especially in their formative years contributes a lot to whether they stay in the career or not. The festival being one of the platforms for their entry into the career, their encounter at that point has a telling impact from the way they are handled. The lessons they pick up from this environment will shape their music careers and how they conduct themselves. A music festival of the stature and the prestige of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz becomes not only a coveted space for musicians that are trying to revive their careers or garner more audiences but it is also a benchmark for developmental musician. It is these early days in a musician’s career that are crucial to their development and it also gives them a sense of what the industry at that level requires. In an interview with Judith Sephuma (2010) she pointed to how the good foundation she had in the early days of her career continues to influence the manner in which she conducts her business (professionalism) in terms of discipline, stage etiquette, and delivery of music in performance.

3.2.3 Invitation to the Festival

When interviewing Masoga (interview, 2010) of the Gauteng Sports, Arts and Recreation department, it emerged that some of the developmental bands/musicians that perform at the festival come through the ranks of the ‘Puisano Jazz Programme’ (see above in previous chapter). The T-musicman and Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival’s websites provide a list of the developmental bands they have featured for that year. To establish whether the musicians involved in this research went through ‘Puisano Jazz Programme’ and if they understood their contract with the festival organizers, I asked them how they were invited to come and perform at the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz. Of the three developmental bands that were interviewed in this study, two of them came through the ‘Puisano Jazz Programme’ where they auditioned and subsequently won a place to perform at the festival. I wanted to know if they thought the procedures were satisfactory or not. These are the responses that came from the developmental bands/musicians:

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9 See interview with Judith in the appendix
There was this event called Jazz fusion update going on, so we were friends with the people that were doing those events. Every month they would call us to come and perform live while they were playing their cd’s, that is where we were seen. So, they decided that our band was hip because we were playing predominantly jazz music. The guy who sported us was a guy called Oupa Selemane, all I know is that he works with the people at the Joy of Jazz festival even though I don’t know how far does his involvement with them goes (Zithulele Shabangu, Soweto Jazz Quartet).

It started when we went to the Puisano Jazz Programme, we auditioned there and won a space to perform at the festival’s developmental stages. Developmental stages are those small areas on the sidelines or fringes of the festival, it’s mainly corporate people who are attending the festival, for instance, they would be dining and we would be playing in the background in those restaurants (Sipho Malinga, Black Roots, Minor Band).

….we formed a band with three other guys we were studying with at Fuba School of Music and we called it the KAMB quartet. We went for auditions that were conducted by the Gauteng Department of Sports, Arts and Recreation, the programme was called Puisano Jazz Programme. We did the Puisano auditions and we won and through that we got to be at the joy of Jazz Festival in 2002. We were featured as a developmental band” (Khumo Kganyago, Kamb Quartet).

From the responses I have recorded above, it emerges that the ‘Puisano Jazz programme’ played a pivotal part in bringing some of these developmental bands to the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival stages even though the venues they performed in were not the main big stages of the festival. The difference in the manner in which these bands got invited could be because, the Soweto Jazz Quartet appeared much earlier on, when the festival was in its first year (2000). The ‘Puisano Jazz programme’ was probably not yet in full swing as it said to have begun in 2001\textsuperscript{10} and that could explain why their band got the invitation the way they did. However, the organizers also bring in bands that may feature

\textsuperscript{10} The Standard bank Joy of Jazz website states that the Puisano Jazz Programme began in 2001.
in the developmental stages that do not necessarily come from the ‘Puisano programme’. The festival and stage set up has undergone a serious change since the Soweto Jazz Quartet appeared at the festival when it started in Newtown. For instance, today the bands that are featured as developmental bands in the festival do not perform on the same stage as the local and international established musicians. They are put in places such as Nikkis Oasis and Sophiatown restaurants’ on the fringes of the festival’s main stages where entrance is free. This was not the case when the Soweto Jazz Quartet opened for Zim Ngcawana in the year 2000. They played on the same stage as the established musicians. According to Shabangu, this was because it was the launch of the festival.

3.2.4 Developmental Bands’ Expectations versus Festival Organizers Expectations

As is always the case with symbolic acts, the invitation to come and perform at the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz was variously conceived of and interpreted by the developmental bands notwithstanding the fact that nothing was promised by the festival organizers in terms of featuring them to perform at the festival every year or taking them under their wing. Most of them thought that it would present them with an opportunity to meet and network with established musicians and create strategic partnerships with important role players in the music industry such as record company talent scouts and music festival promoters. The following excerpts from two bands provide evidence of what I say above. One of the differences between developmental bands and established musicians is that, while established musicians have managers or personnel that take care of their business interests and negotiate best performance deals on their behalf, the developmental bands do not have such expertise on hand and personnel because they are still starting out and they are largely unknown. Therefore they find themselves having to accept whatever deal that comes their way because basically they are trying to ingratiate themselves with their potential employers.

…nothing was promised, just that you are a developmental band, we will get the stage, we will be seen by jazz lovers and we will be performing alongside Zim Ngcawana, that is it and it ends there. Our expectations was that, since the Standard Bank is funding the Joy of Jazz, maybe we might grow with the festival
but when the festival grew, we were out of the picture (Zithulele Shabangu, Soweto Jazz Quartet).

*From the Department of Sports and Recreation’s side, they did mention that they are trying to at least kind of expose young and upcoming musicians. But from the festival’s side, we thought that since the festival is attended by the ‘big guns’ of the industry and corporate, one kind of expected to get useful contacts, networking and relationships however none of that happened* (Khumo Kganyago, KAMB quartet).

While on the one hand the organizers expect a product that they display at the festival to draw more patrons to the festival, the artists are naturally more concerned about their growth, ample exposure at the festival and generally how the festival will ameliorate their music careers. They expect the festival organisers to honour a kind of ongoing commitment to them beyond one appearance at the festival. The interview extracts suggest a number of things. There are issues of perceptions, expectations and understandings that need to be addressed by the festival organizers when inviting developmental bands to come and perform at the festival. This might be done by explaining and distinguishing the nature and role of a mega music festival like the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* from other mini music festivals that take place throughout the year. The only thing that the festival offers to the developmental bands is a chance to appear at the festival but beyond that and what they do with that opportunity is entirely in their own hands. It seems it is expected that musicians will take on the proactive role of marketing their bands and their talents at the festival. Marketing themselves and being proactive can mean a number of things i.e. making sure that their musical product is well rehearsed and their performance as a band is of an extremely high standard. According to Kganyago, whose band got a second call from the festival, if the band is really well received by the audience, it is most likely to receive a second call to perform again at the festival (interview, 2010). The first time they came in through the ‘Puisano Jazz programme’ in 2002 but the second time around in 2003 they got a call directly from the organisers’ office.
3.3.5 The Significance of Venues for Developmental Bands

The two venues where developmental bands perform are also of significance for the whole question of exposure. What kind of venues are they in the opinions of the musicians and do they think that they allow them to interact with other industry role players and audiences? Ansell (*Business Day*, 2010) argued that generally the stages at the Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* festival are too far apart which makes it difficult for audiences to move from one stage to the other. The two venues where developmental bands are featured have changed slightly over the years of the Festival’s life, but essentially they have been small restaurant venues in the vicinity of Newtown. Before its demise, the restaurant called ‘Horror Café’ was one of them. The two restaurants that have been used recently (Nikkis and Sophiatown) are also based in Newtown and have distinct sets of patrons and thus audiences.

On a normal Friday and Saturday, the Nikkis restaurant would have a band performing in the evening for the patrons and this is where you would find a lot of musicians hanging around. Even though the musicians that are billed in the restaurant are varied, for instance they would have jazz musicians on a Wednesday and Friday towards the end of the week, a great deal of them lean towards jazz and ‘Afro jazz’ ([www.travelchannel.com](http://www.travelchannel.com)).

On the other hand, the Sophiatown restaurant, situated near Kaya FM radio station and Kaldis coffee shop and Xarra bookshop does feature live music from time to time but not with the same consistency as Nikkis Oasis. These are the kinds of bands or acts that are not strictly jazz bands, but vary quite extensively in terms of style and genre of music ([www.sophiatownbarlounge.co.za](http://www.sophiatownbarlounge.co.za)). As a result, the kind of clientele could be said to be slightly different from that in Sophiatown ([www.sophiatownbarlounge.co.za](http://www.sophiatownbarlounge.co.za)). But during the Festival the whole precinct comes to be known as the Festival’s yard and these two restaurants are perceived as festival stages for those that cannot afford tickets to the main stages. However, the following observation by Mr. Kganyago puts the manner in which these places are used in the festival under a spotlight:

….because it’s one thing to put a person on a stage and there is no one there to listen to them but it’s another to organize people that you think have the ears and
have the will and the way to take things further for them, which I think that’s what lacked at that time (Kganyago, interview, 2010)

It could be argued just like Mr. Kganyago strongly did, that the festival organisers do not dispatch people to those venues who can spot emerging talent. However, in a statement he made later he said he thought they got a second call to come and perform at the festival in 2003 because the audience enjoyed their music, which suggests that perhaps the festival organisers do monitor these venues (Kganyago, interview, 2010). In addition to that, I also found out from Mr. Malinga\textsuperscript{11} that, even though these places are for those that cannot afford the tickets for the main stages of the festival, there are people from major corporations who come to dine while the developmental bands are performing music in the background.

There might be more opportunities for the developmental bands in these small venues than they think. As already stated above, it appears that a great deal of polish in presentation and marketing by the band is vital for it to really do well at the festival. The balance between creativity and entrepreneurship is what is needed and needs to be emphasised for the developmental bands. The festival organises music workshops in the days leading up to the festival where international artists are among those who volunteer to facilitate some of those workshops and it could be argued that it is in this space that the festival sees itself as playing its primary developmental role rather than during the festival itself.

3.2.6 Career Development and Impact

According to the Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry in the Western Cape (2007), a developmental friendly music festival is one that is able to progress with an artist from semi-professional or unknown to fully professional state and musicians. All the participants in this study had intense memories of the time they spent at the festival. But the question of any noticeable change that was brought by the festival to their careers proved to be something they have never really thought about. At the back of their minds they knew that participating at the festival was going to be great for their music careers

\textsuperscript{11} See interview in the appendix
but in what way, they didn’t know. Their expectations lacked details. Some of them were not really sure whether the opportunities they received after their appearance at the festival could be attributed to the festival. Mr. Kganyago was the most ambivalent about this whole question:

…..I don’t really know. You know I wouldn’t know if some of the jobs I got were because of the Joy of Jazz. Because after you do a particular show, you write in your biography that you did so many shows and festivals……to be honest, I have never gotten a call from someone saying they want to book me because they have seen me at the Joy of Jazz festival. But the festival does give your biography some kind of credibility (interview, 2010).

The fact that Mr. Kganyago has never received a gig that states quite categorically that it was as a result of the Joy of Jazz it does not then mean that some of the gigs he got were not as a result of the festival either. Interestingly he describes it with these words:… ‘it does give your bio some kind of credibility’ as if the Festival were some kind of test or higher qualification that he had passed and which would look good on his CV. Is his ambivalence due to the festival prioritizing tourism and certain economic principles over artistic objectives?

When the same question was asked of another musician, the drummer Sipho Malinga, stated that the festival laid a very strong development foundation for his music career and that he was able to network with other established musicians during the festival. He has made a number of appearances since he first appeared for the first time in 2002. The following year he appeared with Selaelo Selota as a drummer sharing the same stage with international artist Kirk Whalum and recently with his own developmental band which he formed with couple of his friends.

Well, I think it has played a role in my music career development; however it depends a lot on how you perceive and use that opportunity because somebody could be just happy that they are performing at the festival and are seen by their fans and after that you take your things and go. My view is that it works if after performing there, you need to mingle with other musicians especially established
ones because they don’t get to see the development bands. A lot of people came and spoke to me and some of them came for lessons and some indicated that they wanted to work with me in their projects (Sipho Malinga, 2010).

Yes, there were other festivals, Ziyaphenduka promotions, Morris Rhoda promotions; we did a lot of other music festivals (Zithulele Shabangu, 2010).

Jonathan Shaw (interview, 2010) asserts that music festivals have a potential to broaden a musician’s career and goes on to mention a whole number of bands that have been brought to the fore through music festivals both locally and internationally. According to my respondents, there was a broadening of their music career that took place while at and after their appearance at the festival. It seems that performing at the festival boosted their self-confidence as musicians. Exposure to other music and festival promoters are among the benefits that the artists have stated as having had an impact on their lives. Most of them are still active musicians, some of them performing and holding a day time music teaching job at the same time. This exhibits longevity and pro-activity from their side.

3.3 CONCLUSION

This research is primarily concerned with the developmental role musicians think the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz has played in their lives. Their responses are subjective and not easily quantifiable. One needs to take into account a range of factors when analyzing them. According to Shaw (interview, 2010), musicians have to work hard to reach a stage where they can perform at a huge music festival and attain a certain measure of recognition. Developmental bands can hardly be described as losers in a music festival as huge as the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz because they have got so much to learn in the environment of the festival itself. The music workshops and being able to share a stage with some of the established musicians proved to be a major point of inspiration for these musicians. Through participating in the festival and the workshops they seem to have developed a productive sense of the tangible obstacles they have to face generally in the music industry and have somehow learnt to survive. However, while these developmental bands may have reaped the benefits of having being part of the festival, they also signaled
their sense of constraint by external structures, which at times hamper their personal capacity to succeed not only at the festival but in the South African music industry generally.

The lack of continuity in terms of seeing through the bands that are featured in the festival that was expressed by Mr. Shabangu\(^{12}\) is one of those external structures. But the festival organisers could argue that they are not a recording company and therefore the responsibility to help artists rise to the next level is not primary in their list of objectives in the festival. This is not an accusation that can be leveled at the doorstep of the festival alone because most developmental bands come through the ranks of Puisano Jazz Programme. It is a matter that needs to be looked into quite carefully and the solutions needs to be explored in a way that addresses concerns more broadly, maybe by starting with the infrastructure of live music performance in general. While the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival does provide some kind of development for developmental bands, a lot more still needs to happen for these bands to get to that level of performing on the main stages. Quite a few of these musicians were able to come back later on in the same festival on their own, most of them came as sideman for established artists.

\(^{12}\) See interview appendix with Zithulele Shabangu
Chapter 4

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL ESTABLISHED MUSICIANS

4.0. Introduction

The infrequency with which big music festivals like the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz takes place means that for any musician to be billed to perform there, have to face stiff competition. The festival’s platform is the most coveted by artists all round both local and international. The expectations and perceptions are slightly different from those of the developmental bands discussed in the last chapter. While developmental bands yearn to be exposed and recognised and to perform on the main stages of the festival, the established musician seeks exposure to a more varied and wider audience (i.e. international exposure). In most instances, the established artists are those that have already gained some form of recognition here at home through live performances and recorded albums.

The Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry report in the Western Cape (2007) highlighted a number of determining aspects that are important for a musician especially the established ones at a music festival. I will take a closer look at both the ‘export friendly’ together with the ‘developmental friendly’ status of the festival in order to assess the impact on established musicians.

Established musicians have managers or middlemen who handle their music business on their behalf. As a result, the question of how they got invited to come and perform at the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz did not become a critical point as it did not yield much data for the objective of this study. The case of Concord Nkabinde who was invited to perform at the festival with his band because he had won the Standard Bank Young Artists of the year award is a bit different.
4.1 Profiles of Established Musicians Interviewed

The Standard Bank Young Artists of the Year winner, the bassist Mr. Concord Nkabinde was born and raised in Soweto. His early music influence started at church at the early age of 10 and moved on to play with various gospel bands in Soweto. He obtained his music qualification from the University of Natal, Durban where he graduated with a Bachelor of Music Degree in Jazz studies. His most important works include his albums such as ‘The Time, The Season’ which he followed up with ‘This is my World’.

The African SAMA award winner, jazz and Afro-pop vocalist, Ms. Judith Sephuma obtained her music education from the University of Cape Town, where she studied both jazz and classical voice. Her most important works include her first album titled A Smile, A Cry, A Dance in 2001, followed by New Beginnings in 2005 and the third album, Change is Here in August 2008.

Born In 1959, the South African Saxophonist and composer Mr. McCoy Mrubata grew up in Cape surrounded by music ranging from African Indigenous sounds of traditional healers, hymns of the Zion Church to the big band jazz sounds of the Merry Macs who rehearsed opposite his home. He has been playing since the early 1980s in his own music projects and as a sideman to other musicians. His most important works to date include albums such as ‘Phosa Ngasemva,’ ‘Hoelykit’, ‘Face The Music’ which won the 2003 South African Music Award in the traditional Jazz category and Icamagu Livumile which won the same in 2005.

4.2 Jazz musician or Just a musician?

The question of whether these musicians considered themselves jazz musicians or just general musicians who are not fixed on any genre brought to the surface a lot of interesting points to muse about especially as it relates to how artists position themselves in the industry in order to garner more appeal and support from a wide variety of music consumers. One of the established musicians, McCoy Mrubata did not obtain his musical training formally from a University but the two other musicians, Concord Nkabinde and Judith Sephuma both received a high level of music training from universities where they
studied jazz as a discipline. A common feature of all three is that they reject the ‘jazz musician’ label and they consider themselves just as musicians who are not confined to one specific genre or specialization.

*I am not a jazz musician. I see myself as a musician, jazz may happen to be a style of music that I have spent more time with but when I finished studying I actually sat down and asked myself, do you want to become a jazz musician or just a musician and I consciously decided to become a musician. That meant I can play with rock, jazz, gospel, traditional African musician and I like that because it informs the music I create now which is a combination of different things. In fact jazz gave me so much freedom that now I don’t want to be called a jazz musician* (Concord Nkabinde, 2010).

*I am just a professional musician; I am not shy or scared of being called a jazz musician. It’s simply because I am not a jazz purist, music is music to me. I am influenced by traditional healers, Amazion and jazz music because I grew up in that environment* (M Coy Mrubata, 2010).

*I consider myself a professional musician; I don’t see a difference between the two* (Judith Sephuma, 2010).

Even though some of them would not come out or state it plainly, their reasons for rejecting the label varies from artistic to economic and is probably a mixture of the two. Past research has shown that artists seek to push the envelope a little bit and diversify their audiences, (as already stated in chapter two), to draw larger numbers of patrons. The festival, even though the festival it is called a jazz festival, follows the George Wien model of programming where not only jazz musicians are put on stage but quite a variety of music genres and musicians. Genres tend to have distinct patrons and audiences, and having them under same festival umbrella seems to work for musicians who seek to push boundaries stylistically, which can translate into more future engagements. This trend of ‘generalism’ is interesting. In research conducted in the past it has been found that, musicians who exhibit versatility in different styles do well in terms of job opportunities in the arts sector (Pinheiro, Dowd, 2009).
The structure and the location of the festival may also influence how musicians respond to this question. Johannesburg, unlike Cape Town does not have a rich history of jazz performance and education. As Coplan (2007:364) observed the kind of ‘jazz festivals ‘that are staged nowadays in Johannesburg are devoid of real jazz listening. They seem to be more about dancing and having some kind of picnic with *braai* smoke billowing from the *braai* stands and cookers. The label of ‘just a musician’ seem to make more business sense for the musicians who depend on these music festivals for a livelihood and need to interface with a wide array of audiences that only these festivals can bring.

As to what this trend is doing to “Jazz” as a genre that is facing a decline in Johannesburg because of the demise of the club scene of the 1990s remains to be seen, but already the signs do not look so good. On the other hand, studies have found that the proliferation of styles within jazz as an art form is something that has been ongoing with the introduction of Bebop, Free jazz, Jazz Rock Fusion, Hard-bop, hip-hop, etc., (Dempsey, 2008; Lopes, 2002; Schuller, 1986; Pinheiro, Dowd, 2009) so this blurring of lines in the genre in not new.

**4.3. Treatment at the festival**

The question of how musicians were treated in the festival was asked in order to get to the bottom of some of the allegations that local musicians make about major music festivals. Often the grievance that comes out in newspaper reports from musicians is that most local artists are treated unfairly in this local music festival, especially when there are international artists in the lineup. Again here, the Western Cape report of the music industry (Ansell, 2007,p.72) came up with a few points to consider, i.e. The pay parity between local and international artist, treatment parity with international artists (publicity, share of bill, dressing room and stage). The pay parity between local established musicians and visiting international musicians was found not to be equal, with local artists receiving less than their overseas counterparts (Ansell, 2007, p.72) but musicians were not really keen to talk about this in the interviews. The issues of professionalism, self-perception and stage etiquette featured a lot in the words of the musicians interviewed who believe that what compounds the problem of unequal treatment in the
festivals is local musicians having not really fully grasped the art of presenting their product on stage and how to carry themselves when granted such an opportunity. Concord Nkabinde and Judith Sephuma who more or less shared this view:

We have been treated fairly well because I would say that there are some challenges on some shows, you find that you get treatment that is not good but it won’t just be me, it would be possibly all of us. But it’s also because we as South African artists we have never really perfected the craft of us performing on stage i.e. how we carry ourselves on stage, how we want to sound on stage. We take it very lightly and that is why maybe some people will not take you seriously. I have had great experiences at the festival and that is what I would like to remember” (Judith Sephuma, 2010).

The problem I think is how you perceive yourself as an artist. Firstly, I never see myself as an opening artist or a lesser artist than international artist irrespective of where I am in the program. Sometimes there is a perception that if you play first then you are a curtain raiser, I don’t buy that, give five people in the audience, I will give the best show (Concord Nkabinde, 2010).

These views throw a much greater spotlight on the development path that musicians have to go through in order to attain expertise and business skills. Some musicians are privileged to have mentors and people around them to inculcate the culture of stage performance and music business expertise. Even those that have gone through school do not necessarily come out with such skills. A music festival like the Joy of Jazz is one environment that could develop these skills because it does provide opportunities for artists to observe how other artists carry themselves and conduct their business. The environment is conducive to learning from other artists through workshop attendance and jam sessions. The three musicians stated that they had been treated really well at the festival but I had to take into consideration the other things that were contained within their responses as they proved to hint at some of the things they were not happy about. For instance when I put the question to McCoy Mrubata, this is what he said:
At least with the Joy of Jazz they know their business, they treat artists with respect, and they treat me with respect all the time (McCoy Mrubata, 2010).

However a few minutes later when asked about the opportunity musicians get to interact with international artists, he said:

Yes we do get the opportunity because they are backstage as well. I know their tents are bigger, have more refreshments than us local musicians, its Ok, we are not complaining. For the mere fact that we are able to interact with them it’s ok. It’s worse in other pop festivals where local musicians cannot even get close to the international musicians because they have bodyguards.

From these quotes we can deduce that, even though the festival acts as a networking structure and marketing tool for local artists, there is a perception of unequal treatment between local and international artists. Here we see the subtleties of the South African music industry and arts emerging from subtle criticism. It seems that this criticism is not only leveled against the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival but almost all the festivals in South Africa. From this excerpt we might come to two slightly different conclusions. The first would be that this unhappiness is really brought about by the festival organisers not treating local established musicians equally the same as international artists. But it may also have to be about how local established musicians present, perceive themselves and manage their musical products both on stage and off. According to Sephuma (interview, 2010), there should be a good working business relationship between what the needs of an artist are and that of festival or music promoters. Mutual respect will lessen the number of complaints that have been leveled against festival organisers and create a win-win situation for both parties.

International artists have for some time mastered the art of presenting and negotiating what they want in order to feature in any music show. One of the lasting legacies of apartheid continues to manifest itself in various ways and this is one of them, that of black artists undermining themselves and believing that anything from outside of our borders especially from the USA is better than ours. This is a reflection of what apartheid did our psyche as a nation. Judging from what Mr. McCoy Mrubata (interview, 2010)
said: ‘we know that international artists get a better treatment than us but its ok because in other pop festival it’s much worse’ seems to suggest that they have almost resigned themselves to this fact. From this we might deduce that the problem of the lack of parity between local and international artists has been going on for a while now and that local musicians have surrendered to it and accept it as normal.

4.4. Opportunities at the Festival

The three established musicians acknowledge and recognise that the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz is by far the most prestigious festival in the Johannesburg arts and culture calendar, and that its magnitude is unrivalled in the province. The Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival was seen as a distinctly different performance platform from club and concert gigs where the audience is smaller and usually only one artist performs. For some of the musicians it provided much needed exposure and employment while to some it added to their already existing fan base and local and international networks. For Judith Sephuma who has appeared at the festival a number of times from the very beginning, the level of the festival is very different from other festivals she has done and consequently has added value to her life:

>You know what, it had an impact on my career, a lot of these shows that we do have had an impact but it also depends on the level of the show you are doing. I don’t want to perform at the festival or shows that don’t add value to my life…..So, the Joy of Jazz festival has done that in the past, I had great responses in terms of work, how people received me, how other promoters responded, I mean every promoter wanted me in their show (Judith Sephuma).

>I got a lot of gig opportunities especially within South Africa because the target audience for the Joy of Jazz is working class, middle and upper, so there is a lot of corporate that come to the festival. After the festival and even at the festival itself I met a lot of people where we exchanged business cards and some of them would be CEO’S of companies and they showed interest in my music and future engagements were established (Concord Nkabinde, 2010).
The festival not only impacted these musician’s careers in terms of connections and interaction with the crowds, it also created further job opportunities in terms of other gigs within South Africa and in that way helped them gain more audiences and fans. As she (Sephuma, interview, 2010) puts it, ‘the promoters that saw us at the festival took us somewhere else locally’. The sentiment was shared by McCoy Mrubata who started with the festival at the Pretoria State Theatre, but he went further by acknowledging the developmental role that the festival plays in providing workshops for developmental bands and up and coming musicians:

Well, I guess when it started to even bigger audiences in Johannesburg it then started to have a wider appeal. Because back then when it was in Pretoria State Theatre it was not international. It opened gates for more fans; it opened doors for me in terms of fans and other festival promoters. Back then they didn’t have workshops but today they do, which is a good thing for development. Established artists are invited both local and international to come and give workshops and share with young and upcoming musicians (McCoy Mrubata, 2010).

Concord Nkabinde (interview, 2010), who is a strong proponent of musicians being able to handle and manage their own music business affairs, embraced the opportunity to perform at the festival because he had always wanted to perform in it. He asserts that musicians often think that they need managers or someone to handle their affairs on their behalf when they themselves actually possess those business skills and can do it on their own.

I got involved in the festival through Standard Bank and it is a festival that I had always wanted to perform at but I saw it as something that was far in the distant future (Concord Nkabinde, 2010).

But he also saw the opportunity to perform at the festival as a perfect platform to market himself within the festival and to business people or ‘VIPs’ in attendance at the festival. Before he performed as a solo artist with his band in 2006, he had appeared as a sideman with Arol Ayers (USA) in the previous year (Nkabinde, interview, 2010). He argues that when you get invited to a big festival like the Joy of Jazz, there is a very big
responsibility that lies on the shoulder of the artists in terms of making sure that the festival’s platform is used to their advantage. While most artists invited to the festival would naturally leave the marketing to the festival organisers and marketing team, he on the other hand is in charge of every aspect of his career:

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\text{But also leading to the festival, I don’t depend on the festival for advertising, so I write my own press release and send it to my media database but also set up my own interviews where I can and just as many people as possible aware that I will be performing at the festival (Concord Nkabinde, 2010).}
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The festival became a more rewarding and a great experience for Concord as a result of his being a proactive business man/musician. Mainly because he was able to use this platform to market himself not only to the local media but international media as well, subsequently he was able to reap more out of the festival. Apart from the overseas gigs that were organised for him by the Standard Bank as a winner of the Standard Bank Young Artist of the year, he was able through the appearance at the festival to further market his music and band and that secured him more overseas tours. Also noteworthy was the point he made about a lunch that was organised by the festival organizers for local artists and international artists to sit together and mingle. It seems this move to create a networking session between artists came intentionally from the festival organizers in order to facilitate networks between artists.

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\text{One thing that happened in the year I did the Joy of Jazz in 2006, is that I was invited to a lunch on the Saturday of the festival were T-musicman had invited all the different artists who were part of the festival to go to a restaurant and just sit and interact and I hope many promoters can think like that because that is a forum out of which a lot of future collaborations projects can come out (Concord Nkabinde, 2010).}
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The interaction between local musicians and interaction at a holistic level was viewed as a significant part of the festival.
4.5. Conclusion

The established musicians that I interviewed were all aware of the importance of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz. All of them had professional music careers which were backed by music albums. But they were at different stages of their music careers and economic development so the role the festival played in their music careers was slightly varied. To some like Concord Nkabinde it launched them, while to some like Judith Sephuma and McCoy Mrubata; it broadened and increased audiences. The fact that most of them were a bit wary of labeling themselves jazz musicians or the music they produce as jazz, hinting at the need for versatility to find jobs paints a grim picture for the jazz genre in South Africa – unless we accept that it has always been open to change.

The one aspect that I would have loved to delve into quite thoroughly especially since looking into the developmental role of a music festival is that of music sales that may or may not have changed because of the artist’s appearance at the festival. But the common theme that came out of the interviews with the local established musicians is that the one thing that the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz did for their music careers was to market and expose them to even more local audiences and local promoters. The Micro Economic Development Strategy Music Industry report in the Western Cape (2007) states that music festivals have a variety of characteristics and some of them are export friendly and others not. The Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival is grouped together with those local music festivals that do not have a good system of compiling or packaging music performances that take place at the festival for export purposes; as a result not much in terms of exporting these live performances takes place. The study also found that the festival does not enjoy a good attendance of tourists (Ansell, 2007). It seems that musicians who actually handle their own business affairs like Concord Nkabinde are the ones who can see export sales as a result of the work they did beforehand.

Some musicians were more than happy to talk about the differential treatment of local and international musicians but they were rather circumspect in their criticism of the festival, which suggests a number of things. One is that the deep and nasty wounds that apartheid left in the psyche of most black South Africans, the lack of self-confidence to
stand shoulder to shoulder with international performers have not healed, with the exception of the few who have consciously reoriented themselves to carrying themselves as confident and worthy of respect. This also suggests that what artists need is not just funding and business management courses, but personal etiquette and self-confidence skills.
CHAPTER 5

5.0 CONCLUSION

This research has sought to investigate the developmental role of the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz festival in the careers of South African musicians. However the investigation could not be carried out in isolation from South Africa’s history and understanding of how the contemporary policy environment has developed in response to the neglect and repression of apartheid. What the research has uncovered, though limited in scope, is that the musicians selected for the study believe that the Joy of Jazz festival has had an important impact on their career, although some of the less established musicians are more reserved in their judgment. Some of the latter had more expectations of what would come from their participation in the Festival. Some were disappointed that it proved to be only a once-off invitation.

The literature reviewed revealed that festivals in general throughout the world are a growing phenomenon as they are used for a number of objectives, mainly for urban regeneration and tourism. South Africa as a country that is grappling with issues of development has also adopted this as a strategy to address urban regeneration and to showcase the arts. However as we have seen, there is a danger that the arts end up playing second fiddle to tourism and are therefore seen as an add-on that can be discarded in times of economic crisis. Worries about linking the arts to economic objectives caused me to interrogate the White Paper on Arts and Culture whereby I found that even though the policy talks about festivals as a vehicle for promotion of local talent, it has drawbacks in that it does not go into details. There is no clear strategy and framework that maps the development of artists in festivals and that has led to confusion about what really constitutes development of an artist through music festivals.

Perhaps the South African government post-apartheid has overestimated its ability to set aside years of underdevelopment of the arts by the past apartheid regime and to introduce a new arts and culture policy based on equality. They underestimated the mammoth task of rebuilding structures, which according to Ansell, if not put in place in a diverse society like South Africa, means that artists or musicians struggle to realise their potential and
this could lead to the further entrenchment of inequalities\textsuperscript{13}. No matter how carefully the festival earmarks the benefits of developments for local musicians, the immediate beneficiaries will always be those that were fortunate or privileged enough to have had early musical training. The arts and culture White paper of (1996) talks about a relationship being sought between the education department and that of arts and culture, but judging by what is happening with the arts and culture curriculum, that relationship has not been able to address these past injustices. A comprehensive and aligned development of local artists will never be fully realised in music festivals until the role of education is explicitly stated in the policy documents. The Gauteng department of Arts, Culture and Recreation ought to be commended for its efforts to develop young musicians through initiatives such as the Puisano Jazz Programme, which provides them with an opportunity to perform at huge festival such as the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz.

My review of the apartheid era and the years before it revealed that music festivals had been taking place even under harsh repressive laws. These festivals took the form of a competition or contest where there would be winning bands and individual musicians and that would catapult their careers to new heights of success. Though a great deal of human rights violations and discrimination took place around this time, some benefits and certain kinds of opportunities for artists were opened up by alternative structures and associations. What the apartheid government did manage to do was to destroy black showbiz and deny it an audience that could attend shows, concerts and festivals freely because of pass laws\textsuperscript{14}.

Developing up and coming artists, is one of the present festival’s mandates and they conduct free workshops for them through the services of well established artists who perform at the festival. The festival is seen as a nurturing ground for new, aspirant and upcoming talent and is supposed to offer local musicians a chance to rub shoulders with celebrated jazz musicians from here at home and abroad (www.standardbankjazz.co.za).

\textsuperscript{13} See interview with Gwen Ansell
\textsuperscript{14} See interview with Prof David Coplan
It has not been easy to study this impact and the developmental role largely because of the subjective nature of the stories by musicians in the study; however some similarities could be tracked. Despite some variations there is a striking commonality among these musicians both established and developmental in that they were grateful for the role the festival played in their music career at a certain point. I found that the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz Festival played a very important role for developmental musicians because it provided them with an opportunity to be spotted by other musicians and thereby opened chances to appear in other music festival within and outside Gauteng as sidemen. What the festival managed to achieve in the careers of these developmental bands furthermore was to give them a sense of how the real professional music industry operates by setting a standard for them in terms of paying them on time through a bank account as opposed to paying them through ‘brown envelopes’, providing meals, complimentary tickets and a PA system. To some of them it gave them an opportunity to share the same stage with local established musicians like Zim Ngcawana when they opened for him.Sipho Malinga went on to perform with another South African established musician, Selaelo Selota in the same festival.

Also noteworthy was the fact that all these developmental bands obtained music training and qualifications from various institutions around Johannesburg. Some of the bands were formed while they still in these music institutions, which makes a strong case for music education in South Africa. Currently a well-structured music curriculum especially one that incorporates practical music instrument training does not exist in the South African schooling system; there are only individual schools that offer that. This is proof that now more than ever, music education needs to be seriously and intentionally put on the table of discussions between the department of education and arts and culture.

While it was easy to assess the developmental role the festival played in the developmental bands, it was not so clear-cut with established musicians. Most of them, even though they acknowledged the importance of the festival especially in the Johannesburg calendar, found it difficult to describe the precise role the festival played in their music career. Performing in front of an audience which is bigger in comparison to

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15 See interview with Thulani Shabangu in the appendix section
other music festival was seen as a positive because it meant more people will be exposed to their music. Two of the musicians stated that the festival opened doors locally. The other musician who was more proactive in terms of advertising himself both on the internet and radio interviews, argued that festival did open doors for him internationally but only because he was deliberate about putting himself out there. The question that arise from this would be, shouldn’t a mega festival like Standard Bank *Joy of Jazz* already have a technological infrastructure to stream live to an international audience?
CHAPTER 6

6.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

There are a number of interesting issues that arise from the musicians’ perceptions of their experiences at the festival and how they got there. One concerns how the arts and culture infrastructure that was broken down by the historical injustices of apartheid might be rectified. A great number of things can be done in education to ensure that infrastructure of the arts is rebuilt. The White Paper on Arts and Culture needs revision because in its current form is still stuck in the past and has not been able to address pertinent issues that have emerged since it was ratified. For one thing, the arts and culture sector landscape has undergone a massive change since the traditional ways of doing business have been replaced by technology. The disjunction between the arts and culture sector, and other key sectors like education, trade and industry have left artists vulnerable to unscrupulous business people.

The Standard Bank Joy of Jazz needs to be seen at the forefront of development not only through its memorandum of agreement with the Gauteng Sports, Arts, Culture and Heritage (see chapter 2) department. Some of the respondents argued strongly that they do not see the Standard Bank Joy of Jazz as having a developmental plan because most of them came through the ranks of the Puisano Jazz Competition, which is a government initiative (Kganyago, interview, 2010). The fact that even the payment of these artists comes from the department does make a strong case for altering this perception by artists that the festival does not have a plan where development is concerned.

A harsh criticism was also leveled against the festival organizers by the respondents for not having continuity plans for artists. The festival organizers need to have a plan for artists that they feature in the festival in terms of seeing them through different stages of their growth and not just having them perform in the festival one year and then forgetting about them. There needs to be an upward mobility of bands moving from semi-professional to a professional stage where they perform on the main stages of the festival. This can be achieved if there is continuity and an established relationship between festival organisers and these bands.
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