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**RESEARCH TOPIC: MUSIC AS A VEHICLE IN
CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND SOCIAL
INTEGRATION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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TABLE OF CONTENT

ABSTRACT

CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION
RESEARCH AIM AND PURPOSE

CHAPTER TWO – LITERATURE REVIEW

CULTURAL FIELD
POPULAR CULTURE
POPULAR MUSIC (MUSICAL HOMOGENEITY)
CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND ARTS
MUSIC SONGS AND CULTURAL INTEGRAION
CULTURE CONTACT/HYBRIDITY OF CULTURE
WESTERN IMPACT ON MUSIC
THE MUSIC OF AFRICA
THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY

SOUTH AFRICA AND MUSIC
SOWETO AND MUSIC
POPULATION STUDIED

CHAPTER FOUR – MUSIC IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

INTRODUCTION
JAZZ TRANSFORMING CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA
CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION
ROLE OF MUSIC IN SOUTH AFRICA
SOUTH AFRICAN MUSIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY
KWAITO TRANSFORMING CONFLICT
MUSIC TODAY AND LANGUAGE
MUSIC TRANSFORMING HIV/AIDS CONFLICT
MUSIC TRANSFORMING CRIME AS CONFLICT
GENERATION GAP AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION
PUBLIC INTEREST AND MUSIC
– FURTHERING THE QUEST FOR PEACE AND MUTUAL CO-
EXISTENCE
– COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

- CONTRIBUTING TO PROSPERITY
- IMPROVING THE QUALITY AND CONDITION OF LIFE
- CULTIVATING A CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY

CHAPTER FIVE – MUSIC AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

INTRODUCTION

MUSIC IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

POPULAR MUSIC IN AFRICA

MUSIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AFRICA

AFRICAN MUSIC AND THE GLOBAL MARKET

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF AFRICAN MUSIC

CONSUMER MARKET FOR “WORLD MUSIC”

OPENING UP MUSIC MARKETS

CHAPTER SIX - CONCLUSION

ABSTRACT

Music has always played an important role in the lives of mankind; the quest for freedom by black people across the world is a typical example. During the days of slavery and later the civil rights struggle in the US, the struggle for independence by African states and the fight against Apartheid, music was used as an instrument of resistance. Through music, black South Africans emerged from conscious and subconscious subjugation to rescue their psyche from alienation. Today they express their cultural self-confidence in ways very different from the generations with first-hand experience of apartheid. Conflict has always been an important contributor to music of resistance. Over the past hundred years, however, violent attempts by men to dominate each another have intensified (The two Great Wars and the Cold War, genocides, ethnic and religious clashes). In this same vein, so too have efforts to thwart such attempts. Conflicts exist at all levels, within and between individuals, communities, nations and cultures. For a society still in the process of transformation, conflict in South Africa has also taken a new dimension with focus now on social conflict (for example Crime, drugs, poverty and the generation gap) in the field of daily life also including racial conflict, affirmative action, ethnic conflict, economic conflict and others with less and less focus on political conflict. The benefit of post-1994 South Africa is the freedom of expression it offers. This is a freedom that, 20 years ago, was a luxury for blacks living in a country torn apart by apartheid; a freedom to have pride in themselves, a freedom to express their cultural self-confidence. The first place this freedom became visible was on the music scene in the form of new infectious, irresistible form of dance and music. Musicians use their music as a medium to demonstrate most of these societal conflicts that exist in South Africa. Peace researchers, peace workers, and others have worked over several decades to promote an alternative culture and an alternative approach to dealing with conflicts – one based on recognising the positive, constructive, and creative opportunities available in any conflict situation. In this regard I would like to dwell on music as a creative way of dealing with conflict.

INTRODUCTION

Music often seems to do more than fill a silence left by something else and yet the social and cultural worlds that have been shaped by modernity would be hard to imagine without music. The arts, and music in particular, can be seen as a luxury while at the same time playing a fundamental role in human lives. It inspires, conveys values and can be an instrument of change. This is why struggles for greater freedom often release extraordinary artistic energy, as in South Africa's music and theatre of resistance and in Native American contemporary arts. Black South Africans over the years have used music as a cultural production and means of expression during and after apartheid. During apartheid, South Africans sang and danced as a form of resistance against the regime. Singing for South Africans was a form of self-representation that was practiced in the *shebeens*¹, concert halls, community halls and other places where they could socialise. Some musicians had to make their debut or expand their career out of South Africa but they still sang about the struggle in their country. Even those who were in Prison on Robben Island, used to sing songs to gain strength, feel solidarity and transmit messages to each other in their various languages. With the end of apartheid, music has continued to play a central role in the constitution of identity among Black South Africans. Today, Black South Africans are faced with many different conflicts, such as crime, xenophobia, drugs, poverty and a generation gap unlike the singular political conflict that resulted from the apartheid system. Music is still being used today to express the day-to-day life of the communities and also to express cultural self-confidence as in the days of apartheid. The only difference is that there has been a shift in the type of conflict that has taken

¹ Drinking house where some of the South African musicians made their debut like Brenda Fassie, and many others

over the communities and country as a whole. Music is therefore used to communicate cultures within the communities and at the same time identify and point out issues that affect these communities. Cultural production through music can sometimes be used to bring people together and at other times it can be used to produce and legitimise social differences. Following from these, my central research question is how popular musicians and their audiences are mobilising this art form to address and resolve social conflicts in urban post-apartheid South Africa and at the same time bringing about unity and social integration among people.

South Africa's urban Black popular musical style has a vibrant history stretching back to the early years of the century while bearing the traces of even older sources. It has a history of openness to change and engagement with other styles but also of fierce conflict over such issues. It has been shaped by a deeply repressive and exploitative social order. In the beginning of the century and during the time of apartheid, jazz (such as *Marabi*, *mbaqanga*, *isicathamiya*, *kwela*) dominated the music scene. It was then that the jazz subculture in South Africa was inventing, developing and perfecting styles of music, musical performance, and dance. Without this, much of the South African music so revered today would never have come about, and without a knowledge of which it cannot properly be explained or understood. Though urban Black popular music in South Africa today inevitably carries traces of the musical styles that preceded it, it is profoundly and tragically amnesic of its own history. It attempts to speak about conflicts happening in contemporary communities but using a different genre and focuses less on political conflict. Today, kwaito – a youth genre – is dominating the scenes but still draws inspiration from its predecessors as well as their audience. This research thus draws on music made during apartheid to understand how these different types of music were used to transform conflict

situations and integrate people in the society. This will provide the basis for understanding the conflict situations of today and how music is being used to communicate them.

One of the reasons jazz was suppressed in South Africa during Apartheid was that it aspired to musical and social equality (among other things). It was through this musical idiom that urban Blacks proved to themselves and to the world that they were the equals of whites (without in the process abandoning valued aspects of their Black culture, or history). At the very moment that the white and racist South African state was devising an ideology and a programme for fragmenting Black South Africans. Black jazz musicians and audiences were insisting not only on their necessary unity as Blacks and as South Africans, but also on their status as fully-fledged and equal members of the international community. By adopting jazz in those days as well as hip hop today, urban black South Africans were and are proudly and self-consciously identifying themselves as actors on the international stage of world history. Identification with jazz also came because black people sang it internationally and it was thus seen as music of the oppressed. This research considers how South African music today – specifically Kwaito, hip-hop and vocal African jazz - joins the international scene by incorporating other genre in their music and songs. Jazz as an old existing form and Kwaito and hip-hop in their time are transgressive as they all have a huge political impact on the status quo hence emphasis on them as genre in this research.

Culture can be a powerful factor in research on development, conflict and peace initiatives. African languages play an important role in the culture of South Africa and this is portrayed in the music of most black South Africans today. Since many black

South Africans pride themselves in understanding more than one local language, it really does not matter the language the musician is using to sing his music or which area he actually comes from, people will listen and dance to it if they like the rhythm. Though most music in the early days of South African history, music was sung in isiZulu², other African languages like Sesotho³ and XiTsonga took the stage with the recognition of the importance of diversity. Today, popular music in South Africa such as kwaito uses no specific language in its lyrics but instead has developed a vernacular that incorporates the different languages in South Africa as well as the township lingo (Tsoititaal). Music is still capable of bringing together South Africans irrespective of where they come from. Popular culture can thus be seen as a vehicle for the recovery, integration, construction, and dissemination of popular history through culturally constituted forms of public memory.

Conflict in terms of this research does not refer only to violence but rather differences and disagreement between people. The core of conflict transformation work is the building of a sustainable peace between all people. This involves a process of profound change in attitude, transforming situations characterized by fear and killing into environments in which reconciliation, respect for other people, social justice and participatory democracy can take root. Music is used in conflict transformation not to stop disagreement but rather to find a starting point for the creation of a positive situation. Making a connection between music stemming from conflict and a society's inherent human conflicts often does this. Conflict that occurs or erupts within the society is then expressed through the musical artform. It is assumed that conflict in some communities is open and obvious while other communities assume they are free

² See Barber 1993, Erlmann 1990, Clegg 1982

³ See writings of Coplan 1986, 1987, 1988 also Chapman 1997 and Hall 1977

of conflicts. Music in conflict transformation and peace building derives its strength from two dimensions. Firstly, the support for contemporary music is legitimised by it directly relating to problems in the community. Kwaito musicians are a good example of this because often what they sing is a reflection of issues in their communities (such as drugs, abuse, unemployment). Secondly, there is always something that only the artist/musician is able to give expression to. Of course one could pose the question that if we cannot manage our conflict, what are we able to do?

As this work proceeds I examine *why* and *how* music is a tool in conflict transformation and peace building. Music in South Africa serves to rekindle dialogue, affirm people's cultures and experiences and make full use of people's capacity for social analysis and social action. As part of the community, most musicians see themselves as portraying the reality of their societies through their music. Kwaito artists are known for talking about township life in their music. Mandoza, a well-known kwaito star talks about his album "Nkalakatha"⁴ (which top the charts in South African music) as an album that reflects his true feelings and the truth about his society (Ayong, 2003:32). Some musicians have used their popularity to express social conflicts through television programmes. For example, the Zola 7 show on South African Broadcasting Channel (SABC) or the kwaito star Mzekezeke's entertainment news slot on the show "one" also on SABC1. Both of these try to portray the reality of life in South Africa. Reality in the South African case refers to the social conflicts that have overtaken the country over the past decade of democracy. Music sometimes can also increase conflict by articulating the difference

⁴ "Nkalakatha" released in 2000 made kwaito history by being the one and only kwaito track that white people are familiar with. It was played on 5fm, which is a white radio channel. The album won South African Music Awards in 2001 and sold around 300 000 copies.

within society. A good example of this is Mbongani Ngema's music of "AmaNdiya"⁵ in his album *Jive Madlokovu* that was released early 2002. In this he accuses Indians of being worse oppressors than the racist apartheid regime, an accusation that caused conflict between Indians and Blacks in South Africa. Another artist who was not afraid to speak his mind was Arthur⁶ when he released his album *Kaffir* in mid-1995 which featured the lyrics; "Nee baas... don't call me Kaffir".

The relationship between music and language is important in South Africa. Are there any boundaries in speech and song? Are there any song or lyrics that can be called "nonsense" or might they really be carrying meaning? For a diverse country like South Africa, does language really matter in music? Some songs do have lyrics that seek to change society while others are created just for fun with little or no meaning (a good example of which is Arthur's song "Haai Bo"⁷). Human beings can become makers of culture rather than objects of tradition. When they do this, they cease being simply spectators of history, or objects of it. Thus people have to realise that they have the power to change their lives, and should stop thinking there is nothing they can do about what is happening around them. The word culture comes from the Latin verb "cultus" which means to cultivate, to act upon the land of production. People should not lose their capacity to "cultus". What does peace building mean to people

⁵ Mbongeni Ngema is a musician, writer and dramatist of notable reputation both in South Africa and abroad. He is acclaimed internationally for staging monumental works of art such as *Woza Albert*, *Asinamali*, *Sarafina* and *The Zulu*. At the beginning of 2002, he produced a music album titled *Jive Madlokovu* which contained a controversial track "Amandiya". "Amandiya" has generated the kind of social, political and legal controversy that either becomes the turning point for a new form of dialogue in society and hence a re-evaluation of existing values and norms or, which ignites instead, widespread tension. The song was banned by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission of South Africa and the Films and Publication Broadcast on the basis that the song constitutes incitement to cause harm. The ban was later lifted on the basis of freedom of expression and the dangers of censorship in the country.

⁶ Kaffir stamped Arthur as a kwaito originator and the album featured four versions of Kaffir and two of a track called Daai Ding (which railed against those who ostracized Shangaan speakers)

⁷ Haai Bo was released in 2002 and was the fourth album from the King of Kwaito (Arthur Mafokate). The album was strongly criticized by the older generation for its lack of meaning in its lyrics but youth loved the rhythm.

who “lost” power during apartheid? Does current peace building praxis work with people as makers of culture (or objects of traditions)? This work identifies some lyrics of musicians, which actually talk about conflict in their communities to see if conflicts are really being talked about and if it has any impact. What are the possible levels in which meaning resides in music?

Political rulers all over the world (especially in African countries without freedom of press) have tried to control the content and form of music. Music has been a tool in the hands of some new states in the developing world and this control is principally disseminated through the media system. In some countries that don’t profess to have freedom of press, music that the government disapproves of is being banned from the media. Music most often seeks to correct human action by providing space for reflection. Popular songs often point out the mistakes of a particular society, issues in that society that people know about and are scared to voice out. Hearing these issues expressed in a song and being able to sing along with the music, can make people understand them. Music can thus play a vital role in portraying national identity as well as demonstrating social conflicts. In some societies, music and dance is the only thing that brings people in that community together. Because of this appeal, rulers struggle to control the nature, form and content of music. In the late 70s in Nigeria, Fela Kuti⁸ a Nigerian musician, wrote songs such as “ITT” (International Tif Tif), which accused president Obasanjo and president Abiola of stealing the people’s

⁸ Musician and activist Fela Anikulapo-Kuti created Afrobeat, the infectious fusion of American funk and jazz with traditional Yoruba and highlife music. Through politically charged lyrics, electrifying stage performances, and his counter-culture lifestyle, Fela preached against social injustice and corruption. Troubled by the political and economic corruption of Nigeria and the repressive governments of sub-Saharan Africa, Fela built a commune called the Kalakuta Republic, which he declared immune from Nigerian law, and created his own political party. At the height of his popularity in the mid-1970s, Fela took to calling himself the “Black President.” Since his death in 1997 from an AIDS-related illness, Fela’s status as a pan-African icon has continued to grow.

money, and “Zombie” where he sang that the army behaves like a wild animal. Because of lack of press freedom in Nigeria at the time, the Nigerian government banned these songs from the media. A Cameroonian musician, who is popularly known as “Petit Pays” and popular amongst the youth, is almost always banned from radio and TV stations because the government claims his songs are vulgar. South African Mbongani Ngema’s song “AmaNdiya” was banned in some music stores, but this ban was lifted because Section 16 of the South African constitution allows for unrestricted freedom of expression. The banning or restriction of songs by governments always attracts attention and highlights situations of conflict between artist and officials. More often than not, musicians sing about what is happening around them - be it crime, drugs, xenophobia or HIV/Aids - because sometimes they are the only ones who can talk about and raise awareness around these issues of conflict.

People are sometimes integrated into social systems through music. This integration can happen by identification with others or by stressing differences with them and developing complementary relations. Most musicians in South Africa are embracing the presence of immigrants today from west and central Africa by incorporating genres from those areas of the continent into their albums. Some South African music even has French and *Lingala*⁹ from Congo in it and thus integrating immigrants from French speaking Africa into the system of South Africa. Music among black South Africans is used as a means of social integration as people can identify with the lyrics as well as the musicians especially music that talks about things that happen in their communities. Opponents may emulate each other’s strategies and symbols, or they

⁹ Lingala is a local language from Congo and Mafikizola in their album “Kwela” released in 2004 brings in a typical Congolese genre in a whole track.

may respond to each other with new, unanticipated strategies, which may disregard rules of conduct, and with which the other party cannot cope. In both cases one can speak of systemic integration. Key concepts for my approach to integration and music are therefore the construction of reality. These construction processes can be observed in different domains: crime, drugs, xenophobia, poverty, and so on in different lyrics of musicians.

RESEARCH AIMS AND PURPOSE

The aim of my research is to discover and document the role of Black South African music today in bringing about integration as well as expressing, communicating and working on the new conflicts (such as crime, drugs, poverty, HIV/AIDS) that post-apartheid South Africa is faced with.

I have focused on the contemporary period and its predominant type of music (kwaito) because this era faces a different kind of conflict compared to the political one their predecessors faced. My ideas revolve around the notion that products of the music industry exist in a complex relationship to the society around them. Artists are addressing this complexity through an artistic philosophy of mixed genre – both South African and international (according to them, mixing is an avenue towards solidarity). As cultural mediators, musicians try to formulate codes of formal morality for a new society and get people to commit themselves to these codes. For example, Zola (a kwaito musician) pushes a social morality whereby he emphasizes that people should work to get rich rather than steal to get rich.

This research begins by looking at the role that music played in South Africa during the apartheid era. Then I will add insight into conflicts that have arisen with the end of

apartheid and the advent of South Africa's young democracy. Also, the study have focus on the importance of music in conflict transformation in South Africa, in view of the heterogeneous¹⁰ nature of the country's people and social structure. How may South Africans and immigrants from so many other countries integrate themselves with respect to their diversity?

The purpose and rationale of this paper will be to examine music as a contribution firstly, to the contemporary debate within British anthropology on "hybridity of cultures" and conflict and secondly, to the development of the idea of South Africa as a single or common society composed of heterogeneous cultural group and thirdly to the study of post-apartheid South Africa, conflict, social integration and the role of music in society with specific reference to Johannesburg as an urban area.

¹⁰ By heterogeneity in this research I mean local vs. foreigner, white vs. black, Zulu vs. Sotho, Rich vs. Poor, young vs. old, educated vs. uneducated, urban vs. rural, Christian vs. non-Christians, township vs. squatter camp and so on.

LITERATURE REVIEW

CULTURAL FIELD

The music field is characterised by struggles between dominant groups and subordinate groups. Those who have money and power dominate the poor and powerless. The music field is characterised by these struggle although power relations in music are cultural rather than economic hence the constant struggle. As one author has put it, “For Bourdieu all societies are characterised by a struggle between groups and or classes and class fractions to maximize their interests in order to ensure their reproduction” (Garnham & Williams, 1980:215). This notion proves the fact that some leaders may censor music because they have the power to and thus serve their interests. The issue of conflict within the cultural field continues to be emphasized by De Certeau (1984) as conflict between production and consumption. I will thus be looking at the way culture is being used by musicians to produce music (language) and how the audience responds to it. Language that people use in their music and how they use the ethnic differences within South Africa according to this research portrays culture. De Certeau’s claim can be illustrated through the cultural life of fandom. According to Joli Jenson, “the literature on fandom is haunted by images of deviance. The fan is consistently characterised as a potential fanatic. This means that fandom is seen as excessive, bordering on deranged, behaviour” (Jenson, 1992:9). How fans behave or respond to a particular music(s) that communicates social issues within their society has been a concern for this research. Pierre Bourdieu (1980) argues that the distinctions of “culture” are a significant aspect in the struggle between dominant and subordinate groups in society because of different states and ways of living. Cultural consumption thus tends to produce and legitimise social difference.

“Distinction is generated by learned patterns of cultural consumption which are internalised as “natural” cultural preferences and interpreted and mobilized as evidence of “natural” cultural competences, which are ultimately used to justify forms of social domination” (John Storey, 1997). The effect of cultural distinction is to produce and reproduce social distinction, social separation and social hierarchy. This research looks at how musicians use their cultural distinction to bring about unity within their communities and country. The musician is seen as part of the dominant group while the audience is the subordinate group and emphasis in this work is laid on how musicians use their voice to get what they want.

POPULAR CULTURE

Popular culture is most often linked to mass American culture. The influence of American culture worldwide cannot be doubted but the nature of that influence has been contradictory. Popular culture can also be seen as that which originates from “the people”. “It is culture by the people for the people” (Storey, 1997:12). It should be noted that the raw materials of popular culture are commercially provided. Fiske (1987) argues that popular culture is what people make from the product of culture industries and actually do with it. This research investigates this argument further by looking at how audiences respond to songs of musicians especially those that describes life in their communities. Storey (1997) argues that even though the world is dominated by multinational capitalism, we are all “active participants in culture: choosing, refuting, making sense, putting values and meanings, resisting and manipulating”. Barber (1987) remarks that, “through popular art, expression is given to what people may not have known they had in common”. Popular culture here refers to culture that is widely favoured and well linked by many people. It requires making

use of what the cultural industry provides. Hall (1994) argues that popular culture is a contested site for political constructions of people and their relation to the power bloc. Fabian (1990:7) observes that one of the ways for cultural knowledge to be made relevant to the present is through enactment and performance. Veit Erlmann (1991) and David Coplan (1983, 1985, 1986) have contributed to the writing about South African music and popular culture and in both cases have emphasized the importance of cultural identity. Popular culture can be seen as a shaper of social text because messages and images communicated through forms of popular culture have enormous influence in shaping the real language of gender and power relations in a culture. In many African societies, songs and poetry are related to power and singers may use fowl languages or even disrespect leaders through their songs. As performers, singers have the ability to create a special aura around them.

POPULAR MUSIC (MUSICAL HOMOGENEITY)

Popular music has been referred to as urban music even if traditional moves, styles and songs are incorporated into performance. Popular music is music disseminated by radio, records, film and TV. The music of the large urban populations i.e. popular music, is performed in public areas such as nightclubs and stadiums. If there were any trend in world music that might justify the fear of musical homogenization, it would have to be in this realm of popular music.

In most parts of the world, music involves a combination of Western and indigenous style traits. The interaction of various culture groups, western technologies, add the secularization of musical culture all come about because of the impact of Western culture and so the music that might best symbolize this state of society includes Western native elements. The popular music of North America and Europe, as it now

exists, is ultimately based on the adaptation of sounds of African origin, mainly in aspects of rhythmic structure and improvisation, but also in the variety of tone colours. In other ways too, the popular music movements of South African have thrived on imports from other cultures (such as Zaire, U.S) all to produce an extraordinary variety and celebrating diversity.

The term “popular music” is used mainly in the west. In Africa, the various genres are classed individually. The kind of music usually called “popular” in the West is also the kind that, given its broad range of sound within a consistent framework of style and social context, and its tendency to culturally mix, has in the past suggested ways in which many of the world’s cultures could move musically, when other music failed. Evidently, they felt the need for a musical base upon which indigenous characteristics could be maintained within styles that could appeal to broadly national and even international audiences. Popular music was able to provide a context for such musical combinations more easily than the classical music system of the West, which, despite some valiant efforts, has shown itself less amenable to intercultural treatment.

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION AND ARTS

During the 1990s, the arts played an important role in conflict resolution in many different countries, including South Africa, Namibia, Eritrea, El Salvador, Guatemala, Romania, Palestine, Cambodia, and among many indigenous people around the world. Scholars have stressed the role that enemy images and stereotypes in music plays in perpetuating intractable intergroup conflicts (Kelman 1997, Stein 1996), and the importance of contact and dialog between members of social groups in conflict for

breaking down negative perceptions of the other and paving the way for negotiation (Saunders 1996, Kelman 1996), and in providing creative approaches to sustainable interethnic coexistence (Boulding 1992). One creative approach to conflict resolution is the use of music by an individual or group of people. In describing the role of arts in processes of reconciliation after a period of violent struggle it is necessary to make some distinctions. Factors which need to be taken into consideration include an evaluation of the strength of the arts at community level with special attention being paid to opportunities for participation, or lack thereof, as in Central America; any national or international arts policies which have been designed to address pressing artistic capacity shortages (e.g. Cambodia). Lee Hirsch's documentary film, *Amandla!* Shows stirring account of the struggle against racial oppression in South Africa and the role of music as a protest and survival through more than 40 years of struggle against apartheid (Majola, 2003).

Practitioners and scholars have been exploring the impact of citizen dialog in intercommunal conflicts around the world, notably in Cyprus, the Israeli Palestinian conflict, and in Northern Ireland (Abu-Nimer 1999, Fisher 1997, Kelman 1996). Though the conflict in South Africa is different from these countries, the various means presented of resolving conflict are important to take into consideration. Society-wide peace building initiatives are a newer focus for potential transformation of long-term intractable conflicts (Lederach, 1998, Diamond and McDonald, 1996). Neutral third parties can help to bring groups together and facilitate (Rothman, 1997) the dialog process and the neutral party can still be an individual like a musician or performer. Traditional systems of communication are instrumental in the mobilization of people at the grassroots levels of community development and national

consciousness (Wilbur, 1987:100). Story telling in Africa is not the same sort of cultural construct or surface reality that the mass media is. They are part of the reality that people experience and about which people feel deeply (Traber, 1988: 117). Recently, popular culture has been used to bring people together and make them forget their differences. Amollo (2002) shows that in evolving a cultural and communication approach to conflict transformation, the richness of Kenya's diverse cultural experiences forms a strong foundation for dialogue and tolerance for the communities. He insists that peace and social development mean, among other things, that people are tolerant of each other's cultures and differences.

Apart from using works of art to support the creation of a just society, many of those working with victims of conflict has discovered the value of techniques derived from the process of artistic creation. Haim Roet of the Center for Tolerance Education at the Van Leer Institute in Jerusalem says "successful tolerance education requires continuous active participation by people of different cultures and backgrounds at meetings and encounters in a natural, pleasant atmosphere", Kees Epskamp (1998) argues that Tolerance Education through music is used to address violent conflict and one of the options of such a culturally directed arts strategy is to address situations with a potential for violent conflict. In this context one might think of the "early warning systems" developed by various agencies.

MUSIC, SONGS AND CULTURAL INTEGRATION

Barber notes that cultural performances are only revealing when they are produced verbally (Barber, 1993:3). Music is clearly an important part of modern life as is our

understanding of it, articulating our knowledge of other peoples, places, times, and even ourselves in relation to them. A starting point in an anthropological approach to music is the idea that music symbolises social categories and boundaries. Performance does not simply reflect “underlying” cultural patterns and social arrangements, it is part of them, and helps to produce and reproduce them. South African music dates back to the country’s earliest history and has been related to labour migrancy. Writers have emphasized its importance in the life of its people. Veit Erlmann (1990) has looked at South African music called *isicathamiya* and the relationship it has with its labour migrants especially the Zulu-speaking migrants. He also points out that, in the 1930s, migrant workers reconstructed their vanished world of regional identity through their music (Erlmann, 1992:45-66). Zulu migrants also expressed themselves through dancing with a particular dance style known as *ingoma* (Clegg 1982, 1984). But music together with other forms of expressive culture in relation to migrancy are not only Zulu phenomenon but can also be seen with the Sothos with their own songs known as *sefela* (Coplan 1986, 1987, 1988). This work thus looks at music being sung by individuals and in various languages and how it affects the audience or rather their reaction to this heterogeneous acceptance of the South African society.

Chapman notes that in post-apartheid South Africa, the politics of language and identity problematise the colonial language in the indigenous terrain. This raises issues about English as the *lingua franca* or as the language of the state, and highlights the significance of oral culture and the status of indigenous languages in conditions of modernity (Chapman, 1997:19). His argument is that the way language as culture is being used in social processes tends to shape modes of historical construction. In South Africa for example, the hegemony of standard English and the new acceptability of black “vernacular”, the alternative press and media, popular music

dance, fashion, styles of humour the bodily expression, and implicit culture (Pechey, 1992:161). The argument is that the way language as culture is being used in social process tends to shape modes of historical construction. John Sharp (1997:8) has pointed out that the notion that reality and representation can be separated in scholarly analysis or exposition is itself mistaken and an obstacle to our understanding of social memory and the politics of identity. So we have to understand the differences between western narrative history and the oral forms and manners in which Africans represent history. Performers believe that those who remember history are most fully aware, and by their performances ensure that it will be inevitably repeated. Hall (1977:8) notes that in South Africa, media is being reinforced and local community voice is more heard, the reality of pluralistic language communities, have strongly reinforced the medium's transformation from a national into a regional or local community voice. Thus just like the media, the music industry is being reinforced and it is a medium through which the voice of the community can be heard and some of the problems they face can be made public without fear of being banned.

CULTURE CONTACT/ HYBRIDITY OF CULTURES

Some studies have dwelt on African engagements with modernity in domains as diverse as performance, the role of ethnicity among early labour migrants and royal praises which includes works of David Coplan (1985), William Beinart and Colin Bundy ((eds) 1987), Leroy Vail and Lander White ((eds) 1991), and John and Jean Comaroff (1991). These scholars in their works try to present a picture of two worlds – one western, modern and industrial and the other African, rural and traditional. Most often in their works in as much as the two worlds (western vs. African, modern vs. rural and so on) want to be separated from each other because they are part of each

other they incorporate elements of the musical culture of the “other”. Music has to clearly been seen as an arena through which national states symbolize their activities. Music is defined as constructed in competitions, festivals, conferences and tourist promotions. These events are hardly “popular,” and seldom make any claims to high artistic values, but they are however events, which account for a great deal of musical experiences. Musicians, audiences and the media construct contexts in these events, in which meanings are generated, controlled and negotiated. Musicians today are mostly overwhelmed by a consciousness of other music’, they thus struggle to make sense of them, incorporate them, relegate them to lower rings on ladders on complexity, difficulty, interest and so on, in terms dictated by their own music and views of the world (a good example is Mafikilola’s album of Kwela released in 2004 which contains a track that involves singing in both French and *Lingala*). Even with the language of global participation these events represent power struggles. The idea of the pleasure of unexpected juxtapositions and ‘proximities’ of genres and style (Chambers, 1985) the semiotic free-for-all celebrated by some post modernist theory does little justice to the complexities of increasingly common ‘multi-cultural’ musical events. Music is a form of public display which the state and other social groups have an interest in controlling for obvious purposes of self-promotion.

Musicians often celebrate ethnic plurality in different ways, which is at times problematic. Musicians around the world have different attitudes towards genres, picked up, transformed and reinterpreted in their own terms. The significance of black music styles in British rock has been the subject of a number of studies (Chambers 1985, Hebdige 1979). Turkish Acarabesk (Stokes 1992) and Israeli Rock Mizrahi (Shiloah and Cohen 1983) celebrate the oriental ‘other’ which is highly subversive in

the contexts of official nationalist discourses that explicitly reject their internal orients as aspects of a backward past.

Popular music provides a context for musical combination upon which indigenous characteristics can be maintained within styles that appeal to broadly national and even international audiences. If there were any fear that music might be moving in the direction of homogenisation, it would be in the realm of popular music. Monica Hunter (1961) has shown the place of heterogeneous cultures within a plural society and the treatment of conflict within such societies. She did this following Malinowski's assumption on the shortcomings of a homogenous society even with varied cultures with little or no conflict involved (Malinowski, 1938:xxx). The question here is how and why different styles are embraced. Ethnomusicologists have noted that music is seldom stable in contexts of social change. Merriam points out the value of musical data in understanding processes of "culture contact," providing a laboratory domain of retentions and changes observable at musical level (Merriam, 1959). Ethnomusicologists have identified two different ways for "culture contact" to happen; firstly, the gradual musical change that comes about in small-scale isolated communities, as they are absorbed into the wider political entities. The response of musicians in "small" communities to the encroachments of the outside world has been a common theme. (for example, maintenance can happen through the traditional music of a group of people in a city.) Relationship with the world outside their community is thereby controlled and symbolically dealt within their own terms. The incorporation and maintenance of musical difference is an essential process of musical ethnicity. Musicians always appear to celebrate ethnic plurality and sometimes ethnic purity (especially in South Africa) and this is visible in their attitude

towards genres, picked up, transformed and reinterpreted in their own terms (for example, kwaito).

WESTERN IMPACT ON MUSIC AND HYBRIDITY

In the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the western musical world was presenting itself to other societies, in quite a different sense the non-western world was also gradually being introduced to the people of Europe and North America. In the second half of the twentieth century, these reciprocal introductions become the roots of interdependence. Events that made western music known elsewhere were also those that stimulate the beginning of ethnomusicology. Quite a lot has been written on world music with writers such Christopher Waterman (1990), Jocelyne Guilbault (1993) and Thomas Turino (1993) as dwelling on the politics and aesthetic of music production and global mass culture. Many of these works have devoted attention to issues like the operation of the international media, the role of music in national politics, anti-hegemonic movements and so on. (Hermann, 1999:6) sees the role of music in global culture as being a “medium that mediates” – shifts in production, circulation and consumption of musical sounds, functions as an interactive social context, a conduct for other forms of interaction, other socially mediated forms of appropriation of the world. The belief that there is an essential difference between Western music and that of the rest of the world widely held in Europe and North America, the West and its ideas and values against the world.

Music has always been seen as having an attitude towards change. Indeed, newness in the musical content, themes, harmonic and rhythmic motifs, manipulation of current formal principles, might not all justify composing, but there had to be, as well, as last

the promise of radical innovation in matters of style. Cultural evolutionists were readily served by the notion that each of a number of societies with its music represented a historical stage valid over a long period. The idea of cultures as separate units allowed one to avoid studying mixed or hybrid forms whose character flew in the face of academic musical values. Ethnomusicologist disregarded what has become, by the middle of the 20th century, the most prominent kind of music in the world's cultures, music in which western and non-western elements were combined, and in which the musical practices and concepts of the west were used in various ways to modify non-western traditions.

The world of music is seen as a group of discrete music, but whereas their mutual isolation once seemed to be their main characteristic, greater emphasis was now placed on their interrelationship. Thus, while classic studies such as those of the Thompson River Indians (Hornbostel & Abraham, 1906) of Japanese music (Kunst, 1973), and of South African instrument traditions (Kirby, 1953), treated this subject in isolation, one was now more apt to see research on phenomena such as the performance of "white" music by plains Indians (Witmer, 1973), the various interrelationships between Japanese, other Asian, and European music (Hurich-Schneider, 1973), the measurement of change in fourteen years of the history of an African tribe (Merriam, 1977). Merriam suggested a musical system, which consists of sound, concept, and behaviour; and the music itself and the social context, although it could be divided in a variety of other ways. The view of music as entity changing and interacting with itself internally, and with other domains of culture has resulted in the development of concepts to explain and describe several processes. The first area of cross-cultural interaction to attract widespread interest was the creation of various

African-derived music in all parts of the New World. Waterman and Merriam suggested the heuristic concept of syncretism, that is, the influence of similar or compatible culture traits to create new, mixed forms. This concept requires the recognition that certain cultures or forms, or for that matter music, are compatible. Waterman suggested that African and Western music had such compatibility, and Merriam, comparing both to North American Indian music, went on to hypothesize that the smaller degree of similarity between Western and Indian cultures denied them the necessary compatibility to create such mixed, syncretic styles of music.

Having been used to explain the Afro-American picture, syncretism became the starting point and model for other examinations of the influence of music, and the first among several concepts, which classified and described the processes resulting from the interaction of music. Modernization may be describe as the incidental movement of a system or its components in the direction of western music and musical life, without, however, requiring major changes in those aspects of the non-western tradition that are central and essential. A theoretical construct, it results from the observation that when a non-western society absorbs aspects of Western music, the older musical tradition must adapt itself in some way to the decreased attention that it now receives. If a society devotes a certain and relatively constant and limited amount of energy to music – meaning the time and effort expended on performance, creative work, study, listening, and more – and some of this energy is then channeled to a new musical system, less is available for the old one. This adaptation may involve reduction in the repertory, the number of styles, or in the number of musicians devoting themselves to the older tradition. It may bring about a combination of the repertoires of the society's subdivisions and even of once-discrete cultural units. It

could also include increased efficiency in the use of notation, recordings, and other technology, or standardization of instruments and the substitution of recordings for live performances.

In any musical style, one or several features are more central than others and function as hallmarks. They can be identified by their ubiquity in a repertory and also by the fact that they symbolize the style itself to its own society as well as to outsiders. These central features have a special effect on other parameters of the music, playing a kind of guiding and integrating role. In western music, the most obvious central feature is harmony, and in west African music the rhythmic character of the percussion ensemble, performing alone or as accompaniment. Early ethno-musicological publications (Wachsmann, 1961, and Nettle, 1958) distinguish between intercultural contacts and intracultural events and conditions as causes, and delineate levels of change in piece or song, repertory, style, genre, et cetera. Separating musical sound and cultural context, Blacking (1980) suggests further refinements, involving the amount and nature of change. Thus, a society can substitute one musical system for another; the wholesale adoption of Western music by most of the population of Korea may be a case in point. Or a society may add a musical system, modern or “new” music has been added to Western culture, which nevertheless holds on to the older, so-called common-practice tradition (a good example being South African kwaito music). In a world in which it is difficult to find any society not affected by others, change totally devoid of outside factors can hardly be imagined.

THE MUSIC OF AFRICA

Jean-Jacques Rousseau distinguished two types of musical systems, one emphasizing artifice and theory, the other nature and practice. Two sets of complementary terms were used in Rousseau's discussion system and "melodic systems," "melodic inflections," and "language of feeling" and "national music" Rousseau was concerned with the difference between a system that can be analyzed into its component elements (with rules for their combination) and a system of significant melodic inflections, each of them necessary to be apprehended and reproduced as a whole¹¹. With the exception of his distinction between "what (the Negro) sings" and "the way he sings" (Hornbostel 1926:652; 1927:511) the ideas expressed in Hornbostel's writing on African music are rather far removed from those that were debated with such heat in the United States in the arguments concerning the relation of black music in the United States to African resources, techniques and values.

Today self-determination is central to the progress made towards reconciliation. However in South Africa a country that has been dominated by fear and suppression, self-determination is hard to achieve. One of the problems confronting South Africa in post-conflict situation now is to replace the climate of fear and distrust among the population with a sense of cultural cohesion. In general, this is done by articulating and working towards the goals of establishing equal rights and social justice for every citizen. Arts (music) play an important role during this process in terms of conflict prevention and intervention. Music can be used as a means of helping communities to

¹¹ On the basis of this distinction, Rousseau argued that the modern harmonic system depends on and reinforces an "analytic" or "scientific" way of thinking, which he termed *l'esprit de système*. The modern harmonic system departs from the human norm of "melodic systems" (Blum 1985:351-52) in which the concept of "system" is not carried to extremes, since meaningful melodic shapes are understood without musicians or listeners enumerating their component elements. The larger context in which such arguments have been developed in one of the subjects treated in depth by Gadamer (1972)

take control over their own development or prepare for good governance. In this context, artists acting as mediators shuttling between the opposing sides, particularly addressing the leaders of the conflict, are using their art as the vocalizing point for ending the violence and seeking justice.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This work has been put in the framework of theories such as culturalism, which has been ascribed to writers like Richard Johnson (1979), Hoggort Richard (1990), E.P Thompson (1980) and Raymond Williams (1965). This is an approach which insists that by analysing the textual forms and documented practices of a culture of a society, one has to understand the patterned behaviour and constellations of ideas shared by producers and consumers of that particular cultural texts and practices of that society. Musicians therefore have to understand the cultural practices and issues within their societies as well as the audience they hope to reach before they compose and produce their songs. Emphasis here is laid on “human agency” meaning that they become active producers of culture and not passive consumers. Hoggort, for example, argues that songs are popular if they can be made to meet the emotional requirements of their audience. In trying to meet the requirements of the audience, musicians tend to identify conflicts in and around them and use their medium of communication to express and try to resolve or bring awareness to some of these issues. This research will thus use a cultural and communication approach to conflict transformation and social integration using South Africa’s diverse cultural experiences to form a strong foundation for dialogue and tolerance between individuals.

This research is also based on an area of western social theory that evolved from the works of, among others, Karl Popper (Burke, 1983; Faludi, 1986; Berkson, 1984) Jurgen Habermas (McCarthy, 1978) Theodore Adorno (Tar, 1977) and the Frankfurt School (Tar 1977; Geuss 1981). This is called the hermeneutic – dialectic, which emphasizes critical reflection through understanding and active participation in a communicative environment, it has its parallels in traditional African philosophical thought and communication processes. Emphasis has always been on understanding through *dialogue*, as in the case study of the Akans of Ghana. Unfortunately the African tradition of communication was subsumed by the western positive model and never assumed the center stage role in the communicative environment. Neither was it dynamically integrated in the mainstream media. The dialectic – hermeneutic itself, with its sound scientific base, has never been a very significant force in the western media theories and practices. If, from a development perspective, information or communication is supposed to be a lightening rod, an agent of change or, organizing force for work, then a crucial element in information is knowledge. People need knowledge to effectively organize their lives, and to carry out tasks that are directly relevant to that process of social reproduction. Knowledge according to Krippendorff (1987) is partly derived from interpreting data and partly created in the mind of an observer or by communicating within a community of observers. Krippendorff's thesis on knowledge generation focusing as it does, on interpreting observational data, creativity through the mind and communication within the community, means that the current systems of information and communication had to be restructured to allow for a more participatory process of knowledge-generation.

I have carried on with this work in the light of globalisation and culture adaptation and contact. With this I have drawn from works of Coplan (1982) where he talks about the urbanisation of African music in relation to migrancy and the kinds of conflict that this entails in terms of integration. Waterman (1986) also looks at the fact that stylistic development of genres based on aesthetic choices cannot be accounted for in terms of urban adaptation. In terms of urban adaptation, migrant performers use genre of music such as *isicathamiya* to increase articulation of their heterogeneous worlds (Camaroff 1985:153-56: Camarof and Comaroff 1987). Jameson (1988) also looks at the experiences in the global processes of modernization and how it leads to the integration of local space into international space. In his work, Coplan (1985) shows that social power in urban environment provides the dynamics of cultural adaptation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

SOUTH AFRICA AND MUSIC

In 1994, South African media was liberalized and new musical styles arose giving birth to the kwaito genre. Today, the music coming out of South Africa alone, from such artists as Squatter Kamp, Thandiswa Mazwai, Mzekezeke, Mbongo Maffin, Maliaka, Mafikizola, Letta Mbulu and others commands considerable attention. South Africa is a country of mix-and-match rainbow identity. But at the same time, this identity hardly says it all. In this musical country; with its 11 official languages, even more ethnic groups, race, language and class barriers are still firmly entrenched and cause conflicts. The black majority has a greater percentage of its people living in poverty, unemployment, illiteracy leading the youth to indulge in criminal activities. For this reason I have dwelt more on the black majority in the country in the process of carrying out this research.

Prophets of Da Cape became known as a premier hip hop group, though a South Africanized style of hip hop known as kwaito soon replaced actual hip hop groups. In kwaito, synthesizers and other electronic instruments are common, and slow jams adopted from Chicago house musicians like The Fingers, Tony Humphries and Robert Owen are also standard. Stars of kwaito include the likes of Arthur, Mandoza, Mzekezeke, Bongo Maffin, Trompies and others. Kwaito music speaks to the young, black generation. Their dissatisfaction comes not from the political situation of their country but the social issues that they face in their communities everyday. Music becomes a means of expression of these issues to others so as to reduce the conflicts

that arise due to these issues. They don't want to be saddled with the burden of their parent's apartheid past, but just want to live their own lives, accepting the inevitability of an African future. The cultural atmosphere is perhaps best summed up in the song "Politics" by the iconoclastic hip-hop group Skwatta Kamp drawn from their album *Khut en joyn* released in 2002: "Pounds and dollars for bombs and arms/But there's hardly a rand when I reach out my arms/As a matter of fact, I think I better shut up/The president might slap me for speaking too much.". I have dealt with music of young people more especially kwaito and hip-hop genres.

Jazz music in South Africa has always been popular especially during the time of apartheid. The importance of looking at jazz for this research is to understand the different epoch of conflicts and how music was used by different generations. Jazz music and its role in conflict transformation is not given in detail in this research because emphasis has been on the post-apartheid era. Not that jazz does not play any part in conflict transformation and social integration, on the contrary it does and that is why a few jazz songs that refer to conflict have been analyzed in this research. Hip-hop being a genre which has always spoken of the reality has been a genre which I have also used drawing from the fact that kwaito draws its roots from this genre.

Numerous obstacles in the music industry of South Africa have been removed after apartheid, signaled by the return of almost every multinational record company, the eagerness of the world's most popular artists to tour in the country, and the introduction of a local music quota for broadcasters. Artists themselves are benefiting significantly, as they find the multinationals eager to establish local music rosters, international labels receptive to their work, and formerly aloof radio stations hungry for their music. This follows a quota requiring existing radio stations to play 20

percent will have local music. Within six months of the quota being formally imposed, new stations to play 20 percent local music immediately, and private broadcasters and music format stations to reach 40 percent local music by the year 2000 was instituted.

There is one central issue: with every passing year, a previously disadvantaged group will have more and more money to spend. Although crime is still very high, we South Africa does not have the widespread violence in townships that caused the music market to shrink in the late '80s. A key factor in this is the increasing economic empowerment of the black majority, which has traditionally been responsible for a minority of record purchases. The growing consumer buying power of the black population, however, opens up entirely new markets for the record industry.

By contrast, black radio and TV stations have always treated township artists as stars. A big breakthrough by a black artist, a double-platinum debut album, for instance, invariably sets the tone for the artist's career, since the media instantly elevates the artist to star status. A good example is of one of South Africa's most popular singers, Brenda Fassie who died in 2004. Her township disco music has sold more than a million records, while her controversial lifestyle has resulted in a love-hate relationship with the media.

Johannesburg has no single outstanding venue for classical music; concerts are typically held on an ad hoc basis in university halls and hotels. You will need to buy a copy of *SA Citylife* to see what's on, or to consult the "Tonight" section in the *Daily Star*, or the *Mail & Guardian's* weekly listings. Popular places for music are Newtown music hall, Kilimanjaro in Melrose arch, and other public places.

SOWETO AND MUSIC

This research was a qualitative ethnographic research. Considering the fact that Johannesburg has many townships, I choose Soweto as my main focus. Soweto is one of the most famous settlements in Africa, which came into existence after an outbreak of illness when the authorities wanted to separate the blacks from whites and move blacks away from Johannesburg. The reason for the name Soweto has been argued as it has also been said that when asked to leave the city, the people questioned and asked the authorities that “So Where To” and hence the name Soweto. It has been documented that the name stands for a cluster of townships on the Southwestern flank of Johannesburg. Because it is so large, I couldn’t interview everybody so I decided to go to four high schools in different areas of the township. This gave me a cross section of the township youth because during the research I realized that most youth would not want to attend school close to home so they would prefer to go to another township to attend their school. Soweto, a diverse and fiercely patriotic community led the war for justice and freedom during the late 1970s and today it is a living monument of the history of political struggle along with the hopes and aspirations of a dynamic multi-cultural community. Through the struggle years, Sowetans managed to have good times by frequenting underground taverns that later came to be known as *shebeens*. These very shebeens are where some of Africa’s greatest artists and musicians have debuted.

New styles of South African black popular music have always originated in the townships, from the popular “bubblegum” style of Brenda Fassie in the 1980s to the “kwaito” of the 1990, and still one of the biggest forces on the South African music scene. Bubblegum drew on American disco, while kwaito draws from house, hip-hop,

R&B and local flavours. In Soweto, the most popular places are *shebeens* and are frequented by the older generation where live jazz is often played. Kwaito stars on their part perform in Soweto once a week and in different townships though most often performances are in Tokoza Park and Orlando Stadium with levy fees due.

With the option of being able to live in the suburbs, most musicians from Soweto move to suburbs and drive expensive cars. There are still some successful musicians still living in the townships though those that move out does not completely forget their homes as they still have families living there. Most popular kwaito stars (M'du “Godfather” Masilela, Mandoza Tshabalala, Mapaputsi, Chiskop, Zola and Mzambiya) today come from Zola Township – the heartland of crime in Soweto. Zola township portrays pictures of people struggling to make ends meet with some people staying in matchbox houses and hawkers trading at every corner and yet stars coming from there have sold more than a million CDs between them. Life for youth in this township is defined by being a “tsotsi”¹² and carrying guns to become a hero. Some of the stars today from this township spent time in prison for car hijacking like Mandoza and M'du. Almost all of these famous people today from this township was involved in crime in one way or the other though some were lucky not to be caught. Musicians from this township seem to want to put a stamp on their township and are proud of where they come from with Bongikosi Dlamini (Zola), naming himself after his township and Mzambiya after the township's nickname of “Zambia”. They feel so attach to their community so much so that they return periodically to get inspiration for their lyrics. With successes shown by others from the most dangerous township and former criminals, youth today are inspired by the messages these kwaito stars have to say with regards to their lives and the kind of life youth should live now.

¹² The word tsoti in South Africa is use to describe a thug or a gangster.

POPULATION STUDIED

My research was based on both the young and the old with more emphasis on the young because of the genre I decided to focus on. The youth concern in my study were mostly high school students from grade 9 to 12 as they were approaching the age of making decisions about the direction of their life. I also did work with young people in Braamfontein at Witswatersrand University, Damelin Collage and Fuba music school in central Johannesburg around the age of 19-24. I organized focus group discussions with most of the young people while a few were given face-to-face interview. Interviews were semi-structured and I was allowed by the students to use my tape recorder. A lot of participant observation was carried out during concerts in Newtown and in FNB stadium as I attended performances by jazz, kwaito and hip-hop musicians.

Almost 50% of the population in the country is made up of unemployed individuals between the ages of 18-25. The youth of today have gone from political resistance (1976 Soweto Uprising) to gansterism and a lifestyle of shootings, robberies, rape, car-hijacking and of violent acts as portrayed in the columns of *The Sowetan*, the city's primary daily directed at a black audience. The life of youth turns to be integrated with these activities in one way or the other even though they go to school.

A large number of black youth listen to the radio station YFM, which was created 6years ago by and for the black youth. The station focuses on township problems and the kind of music played is the townships such as R&B, hip-hop, and of course kwaito. This station also tackles social issues like HIV/AIDS, crime, xenophobia and so on, which mostly affect young people, using celebrities as their medium for sending out messages. The youth from Soweto pride themselves on being urban and

streetwise. Their style is mostly copied from T.V shows both American and local stars. They tend to copy not just the way of dressing but the way of talking as well hence their accent. The lifestyle of the youth in Soweto is that of fashion trends, ever-changing *tsotsi taal* lingua, creative and ambiguous dance move and love for music. Most youth in Johannesburg and in the townships are rooted in the metropolis and are detribalized.

CHAPTER FOUR

MUSIC IN CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

INTRODUCTION

The story of South African music is one of dialogue with imported forms, and varying degrees of hybridization over the years. From the earliest colonial days until the present time, South African music has created itself out of the mingling of local ideas and forms with those imported from outside the country, giving it all a special twist that carries with it the unmistakable flavour of the country. The music performed by blacks could demonstrate to whites that blacks were worthy of better social, political and economic treatment. In short, was used as a means of *moral persuasion*. Music is believed to induce men of wider aspect to open for us gateways to economic and political liberty. The columnist “Musica” states “developing our music and singing to the white man will do much better than some of the methods adopted in solving the intricate Bantu problem in South Africa”¹³.

JAZZ TRANSFORMING CONFLICT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Black urban popular music in South Africa is a fusion – vital, creative, ever-changing – of traditional styles with imported ones, wrought by people of colour out of the long, bitter experience of colonization and exploitation. The colonizers brought not only guns (for the heathen flesh) and bibles (for the soul), but – with equal pride – the trappings of an entire culture, including its leisure activities. Blacks encountered the genre from the start and, like American blacks, soon tried to capture it for their own ends.

¹³ *UWB* 25 January 1930.

Urban black popular music like *marabi*¹⁴ and its subculture was evil: associated with illegality, police raids, sex, and a desperately impoverished working class, it was vilified as a corrupting menace and thus the musicians were hardly recorded. The 1950s legislation and the official violence that implemented it put some of the final touches to the consolidation of the apartheid state. Most serious for the future of urban black music was the Group Areas Act of 1950, in consequence of which all remaining racially mixed neighbourhoods were separated through the forced removal of entire black communities- often uprooted from the centers of cities and relocated on the peripheries. The destruction of these vibrant communities was a major factor in bringing the era of the large dance orchestras to an end by the late 1950s.

In 1983, at a historic, sold-out concert, a big band of older African jazz musicians – many of whom had not played publicly for 20 years – gave their inaugural performance under the name of the African Jazz Pioneers. It was like the inauguration of a mass resistance movement, a ritual of regeneration, the release of energies and processes stifled for two decades. After this event, the striving for an authentic South Africa culture gained a momentum, which even an endemic State of Emergency was unable to halt.

Bands such as Sakhile, Bayete, Sabenza, and Johnny Clegg's Savuka – as well as countless others, many of them less well known – played music in which the blend might be *mbaqanga* with traditional Nguni song; Cape Coloured *Klopse* idioms with bebop; *marabi* with electronic rock; Zulu guitar style with Cape Malay

¹⁴ See ballentine Christopher (1993) – Maribu Nights “Early South African Jazz and Vandeville”

*ghommali*edjies; or many other permutations. It is what these integrations discovered and made possible that was exciting and important, for, like their audiences, the bands were wholly non-racial, rejecting in their behaviour and commitment, centuries of racial and class dichotomy. Their music was alchemy, helping, in its way, to corrode the old social order and to liberate the new.

The musical euphoria of the years between the mid-1980s and the start of the 1990s has been revived after the end of apartheid. Those years of experimentation now begin to seem as though they might, after all, turn out to have been the onset of a period in which resurgent creative energies were unstoppable. Though urban black popular music in South Africa today inevitably carries traces of the musical styles that preceded it, it is profoundly and scandalously amnesic of its own history. Today kwaito – a youth genre is dominating the scenes but still draws inspiration from its predecessors.

CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

Peace is not a static phenomenon. "The discovery of peace" is a continuous process of developing structures and relationships, which fulfill our needs and correspond to our perception of well-being. To discover peace, a system encouraging conflict should be transformed. Conflict transformation is different from conflict resolution and management. It involves changing parties' beliefs and behaviors, releasing the energy limited by determined patterns of thought and action, to move toward creating new relationships. "To transform conflict is to discover peace". I will try to presents a map of the journey of discovering peace and hence, transforming conflict.

Peace is an ideal. We cannot fully achieve it, but we can "touch" it during times of meditation, listening to music, or enjoying art and the beauty of the natural world. Those moments motivate us to search for peace. Pain is another motivation to seek peace. Pain helps us to realize that there is another way of dealing with difficulties; thus it helps us to "touch" peace. Focusing on the ideal helps us move beyond problem solving to consider all possible ways of achieving peace. Centering is an important practical skill at this stage. It is achieved through breathing, martial arts movements, self-reflection, quiet listening, and meditation.

In order to proceed in the journey we need to know where we are going. We need to have a vision of the relationships we seek to achieve. Often this vision is confused with concrete positions (preferred options). Thinking of the vision as a general direction or a process, which can clarify the desired goal, might assist in avoiding a positional approach. To transform the vision into reality we have to have a commitment to our goals. Commitment generates a force of will that can support us on the way. Practical skills involved are of individual and collective visioning, of discerning yes from no and maybe, and of making choices and articulating a clear purpose, goal, or objective.

Conflict often is accompanied by pain, blame, and fear. Those consequences of conflict are introduced to all layers of our existence: social institutions, media, community, and individual thinking and behavior. If we try to examine the consequences of conflict, we will find that suffering is most often caused by violated human needs, such as security, respect, etc. Understanding which of the human needs was violated reveals the causes of the conflict, which then clarifies the direction of our actions and unites us with others, since we all have similar needs. Human needs

are usually met through cooperation, as opposed to positions, which operate in a win/lose mode. Analytical skills and communication skills (active listening, inquiry, dialogue, storytelling, and straight talk) are essential at this stage to provide the parties with knowledge of each other's needs and concerns.

The perception of the parties as being victims, and blaming each other for everything that went wrong limits the possibility of conflict transformation. In order to break this cycle, the parties have to take responsibility for their own actions. Taking responsibility involves self-examination. Realizing their own faults and weaknesses releases the parties from negative feelings that keep them away from peaceful resolution. Letting go can take the form of asking or offering forgiveness, and engaging in the mourning process. It gives a place for new actions and signifies an important moment in the transformation process. The established patterns of conflict behavior die and open a way for healing and reconciliation. Practical skills necessary at this stage are self-examination, mourning, and remorse.

After we release our anger toward our enemies, our perception about them changes. They are not representatives of evil anymore, but human beings as we are, with human interests and needs. At this point we begin reframing the conflict to find ways to accommodate mutual needs. Actions taken at this stage aim to establish trust and bridge differences in order to establish new relationships. At this stage skills needed include problem solving, mediation, negotiation, and decision-making, which help to generate new options and take actions.

ROLE OF MUSIC IN SOUTH AFRICA

When Apartheid was abolished in South Africa years of attention on the role of South African music as a political weapon gradually vanished in the international media.

Exiled musicians came back, some with glamour, others half forgotten. In the new South African landscape there were many issues pressuring for attention and the long term effects of music censorship was definitely not one being highlighted.

In the new South Africa the former “enemies” are now joining hands in describing and documenting music censorship and the effects it has on artists, media, industry and South African culture in general. Importance of a “collective memory” as a contrast to the “cultural cocoon” that many South Africans lived in - and still live in. As more and more people act and react locally and simultaneously relay to the international / global scene, it is important that there also is a sense of “national diverse culture” and it is obvious that unless there is a sense of and knowledge of a common national cultural history the risk is that people will continue to live “apart”.

Music is strongly rooted in South African culture but apartheid kept the diverse music cultures apart and thus prevented the South African citizens from understanding their diverse culture. The new generation growing up prefers South African music to music from the international market, the younger generation grows up with no knowledge of the “hidden music” of the days of apartheid. Only through efforts by the media, music industry, museums, educational institutions and researchers will the “almost forgotten” story be told to the future generation of South Africa.

Being a rainbow nation South Africa runs the risk of having the colours of the rainbow keep living their parallel lives in their cultural cocoons rather than developing new cultural mixes and only the global cultural and financial operators benefit from that. The understanding of the past is essential and that music can become a very strong vehicle in that process. It was felt that the inclusion of the History of Banned Music in S.A. as part of the school curriculum, would enrich the

child's understanding of not only her cultural legacy, but be a powerful inspiration in especially the adolescent's journey toward self-expression and identity.

Music has always played a vital role in raising political and social awareness amongst the youth. Indeed, it is felt by many that the freedom songs sung in the 70's and 80's fuelled the struggle, and were an essential conduit for political expression. The fact that almost all politically critical music was banned in those days means we have to search amongst almost hidden sources for that very music. The process of collation of that material, and the oral testimonies that are still available for collection, means that close collaboration with active archive researchers would be essential.

SOUTH AFRICAN MUSIC AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

Much music is based on speech and the bond between language and music is so intimate that it is actually possible to tune an instrument so that the music it produces is linguistically comprehensible. Because music is a total expression of life, shared by all the senses, different cultures and lifestyles have significant influences on the music. David Coplan in his paper "Anthropology: Musics" points out how anthropology of music studies the social culture of music, looking at how extramusical cultures shape music and how music provides a realm to contest or affirm such social realities. According to Coplan, music is not merely a domain, but an environment in which to understand culture and, furthermore, music does not only occur in a context, but it becomes a context in which things occur. Coplan demonstrates the diversity of music by looking at the example of 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' (God Bless Africa) among others, showing how it has been appropriated and attached to many political events and how it was used as a protest song before becoming the national anthem of South Africa. Coplan (2003) thus sees music as

creating identity and evoking a sense of place. Music is located at the level of individual psychology and can have many different identities and inhabit many exploratory spaces.

Musicians from South Africa in exile used their music as a link to their country and a sense of home. Brett Pyper in his paper 'Home Is Where the Music Is: South African Jazz in Exile in New York in the 1960's' shows how the musicians in exile like Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Abdullah Ibrahim incorporated and brought to the fore African and South African influences in the music they created while in exile (Ralfe, 2003). He showed how Makeba enhanced her Xhosa identity in the USA, having a far greater ethnic identity in the USA than she had ever had in South Africa. Colette Szymczak in her paper entitled 'Music as a Cultural Weapon within the Music of Jonas Gwangwa', Szymczak looks at how Gwangwa's who like Makeba and Masekela left South Africa in 1960 and only returned in 1990 used his music to express his identity, sense of place and political affiliation (Szymczak, 2003). Similarly, Hugh Masekela created a complex harmony and rhythm in the Jazz recording he made just before he left South Africa. However, while in New York he became much more 'South African' sounding and like Gwangwa and Makeba, tended to "Africanised" his performance and music. Gwangwa, for example, Africanised his music included African elements such as ululating, features from both *marabi* and traditional music, the sounds of people toyi-toying and playing of traditional instruments (Ralfe, 2003). Later in the career of Masekela, he incorporated music associated with liberation struggles, such as R&B, funk, salsa and so on. Ibrahim too brought outside influences into his music, which led to him to challenge genre distinction and led critics to wonder if he should even be classed as a jazz musician.

With the new generation today of especially kwaito musicians, they tend to maintain their identity through the language which they sing in. Stiaan from Mbongo Maffin says “*I think the master plan in Africa from the colonization was always to divide and to rule the people and to make them not understanding each other eventually dislike each other*” (Deleite 2004). With Mbongo Maffin singing in different languages it is practiced in a micro kind of form. “I think that the fact that we sing in so many different languages is kind of a unifying factor. Because you’ll find many who understand my lyrics and also trying to understand her (Thandi) Xhosa lyrics and his (Jahseed) Shona lyrics and like that learning more about other cultures. Also the rhythm of the language is hard to be mistaken. I don’t think we would get any of the melodies that we get, if we were singing in English only.”(Deleite, 2004)

Other musicians have tended to express their cultural identity through their dress code with the likes of today’s most popular kwaito groups Mafikizola, Thandiswa (Mbongo Maffin) Malaika. Thandiswa’s pride in being African can be seen in her stage-costumes, which usually unites African patterns and styles with a modern understanding of fashion, or traditional Xhosa dances¹⁵.

KWAITO TRANSFORMING CONFLICT

Kwaito¹⁶ is a form of mid-tempo dance music with chanted lyrics, which has got numerous followers throughout the world. It is the enormously popular township pop that dominates the South African black youth market. Kwaito music has become the soundtrack for a new generation with its own ideas, fashion and lifestyle (Ayong,

¹⁵ This was picked out in a personal communication I had with Thandiswa in August 2003

¹⁶ The word kwaito appears most likely to have come from the Afrikaans word kwaai (“great/excellent”) (Stephens, 2000:256-257)

2003). As another genre of music, it has got its own dance moves, fashion tips, star gossip and new slangs are shared everyday by followers at gathering as well as television and radio programmes. To say South African hip-hop is taking shape is an understatement, role players argue. It has taken root and is spreading like wildfire, with the country's own brand of emcees spewing original lyrics in singles, cross-collaborations and at hip hop joints around the city of Johannesburg (Bongani Majola, 2003). Kwaito represents South Africa's hottest and best-selling genre after gospel because it expresses life among young people in the townships. In an interview with Maria McCloy, editor of Black Rage Internet Magazine, on South African Urban Culture, Miriam Makeba says, "Kwaito has its own way of spreading a positive message, in our society, we have always passed messages and express ourselves through songs this is why the former government was so scared of musicians..."¹⁷

In Christopher Ballantine's paper 'Popular Music and the End of Apartheid: The Case of Kwaito' he states that in Kwaito music, the gangster lifestyle is embraced: flashy cars, women and money. When kwaito started, its lyrical content carried an undercurrent of oppression and political meaning. The release of "Kaffir" by Arthur which was one of the most popular songs in the mid 90s and was a mocking of white South Africans using derogatory names to describe blacks placed him as the king of kwaito as it carried a vast majority of popularity as it was considered as describing the reality of the situation of the country at the time. Its lyrics, go;

Boss don't call me Kaffir, can't you see that I'm trying?

Can't you see that I'm rushing around (busy)?

¹⁷ Black Rage is an Internet magazine on urban culture, which specializes in covering South African music forms like kwaito, hip-hop and R&B as well as reporting on the media, fashion and gossip with Maria McCloy as one of its editors and co-founders.

When I wash myself he calls me a Kaffir

I don't come from the devil

Don't call me a Kaffir

That lazy Kaffir

You won't like it if I call you baboon. (Cited in Coplan, 2002)

However, with the aid of recordings, Ballantine showed how within the genre of Kwaito different subgroups are emerging. Some are still concerned with a gangster way of life, while others have started to tackle more serious issues in their music, such as crime, women abuse, corruption within the government, and air their hopes for a peaceful and non-racist future in South Africa. In an interview with Stoan from Mbongo Maffin in an article “Kwaito Comes to Jalimani he states”¹⁸ “I think Kwaito is very reflective of what is happening in SA right now. Every generation has its own voice and this is the voice of our generation!” (Delzeit, 2004).

What kwaito music does today is to keep in touch with the street while reaching the youth through music with education and entertainment combine. The youths do not want to learn about their predecessors or political icons today but will rather listen to music and get information about their environment and lifestyle. Mandoza from Zola Township in Soweto, is known for telling heart-breaking, moving tales about street life. In his biography, he talks about his album “Nkalakatha” (Big Boss) which top the charts in South African music as “a true reflection of my feelings”¹⁹. He adds, “ I don't write lyrics because they sound good but because it's the truth”. His songs are

¹⁸ Mbongo Maffin are one of the most successful kwaito bands in South Africa and the interview was done by Konstanze Delzeit in Germany where they went for a concert in October 2004. *Ntama Journal of African Music and Popular Culture* <http://ntama.uni-mainz.de/content/view/124/>

¹⁹ Mandoza explains about his song in his biography on the internet (<http://www.music.org.za/artist.asp?id=94>)

about what is happening in the township the way people dress, the way they drink, which has been the cause of conflict within communities. Part of Kwaito's success is because of its street credibility with lyrics pertinent to societal events. Ballantine (2003) showed how, foreign elements have made their way into kwaito: modern kwaito now incorporates jazz and protest, gospel and classical music, amongst others. As Mzekezeke²⁰ says, "I represent the people from the streets! I am the voice of the voiceless! I am the face of the faceless!"

Not all kwaito lyrics have messages as some critics have noticed. Arthur the king of kwaito as he is known by most has a hit known as "Hai boo" which is translated as "come on" and that is all about the song. This song still gained popularity even though its lyrical content was empty it made sense to the people as each person interprets it in their own way. This goes to show that one does not really have to understand the lyrics of music to like it. The white audience did not understand the lyrics of Mandoza's hit "Nkalakatha" that gained popularity among them showing that music can sometimes just depend on the individual listener. Most kwaito stars tend to perform abroad to foreign audience who come to the concerts not because they want to get the message but just because they want to enjoy music. "Music doesn't really need any message for people to get up and dance to it," says Nthabiseng²¹ after all "Yissou N'Dor²² who is loved by many is only understood by a few".

MUSIC TODAY AND LANGUAGE

²⁰ Mzekezeke wears a mask on his face. He is one the newest on the Kwaito scene and he took the SAMA-Song of the year 2003 with his debut "S'Guqa Ngamadolo". He explains his mask as " ... *I am the voice of the normal people. Voice for the voiceless. Face for the faceless. What is more important is what I'm saying, not the way I look like. The mask is the representation for the normal people in the streets*". <http://ntama.uni-mainz.de/content/view/124/>

²¹ Personal communication drawn from a focus group done with young people in Soweto

²² Youssou N'Dour is one of the most celebrated African musicians in history. A renowned singer, songwriter, and composer, Youssou's mix of traditional Senegalese m'balax with eclectic influences ranging from Cuban samba to hip hop, jazz, and soul has won him an international fan base of millions.

The history of South Africa is dotted with examples of language blend especially due to a lot of migration to town. In the gold mines, black workers from different cultures were forced to learn a pidgin dialect called “fanakalo” so they could safely work together. South Africa is a melting pot of cultures and townships like Soweto has developed its own subculture. The people from townships speak all of the country’s 11 languages. Where many languages exist with the possibility of every individual speaking at least two of the languages there is bound to be incorporation and mixture of languages. Hence a street tongue was developed in townships like Soweto, which evolves from a mixture of all the languages spoken in the area. New language is just a response to the need in human being to be creative which is positive and it contributes to status. During apartheid, the slang of rebellion was called “tsotsitaal” or “iscamtho” but today we have a “kwaito lingo” that derives from the former and the new kwaito music. The youth use this language to search their identity in a new era of freedom to judge each other’s status. Speaking using this language is proves your authentic, and your pride in your township roots hence kwaito music incorporate it in their lyrics to prove their loyalty to their township and show their true identity. Unlike “tsotitaal” which was seen as a rebellious language, “kwaito lingo” is seen as a style among the youth. Lindiwe, a 24 years old interviewee said, “I like kwaito because they sing in our languages and especially the tsotitaalso I think musicians promote our culture”²³.

English is seen as the ticket to education and access to the nation’s scarce jobs. Africans need to express themselves in their languages as it portrays who they are since English is a borrowed language. “It is shameful that a T.V host humiliated Mandoza on national TV because he doesn’t speak the Queen’s English” says

²³ Lindiwe is one of the students I interviewed during a focused group discussion among young people from Damalin

Zondi²⁴. Zulu and other African languages are the proud languages of parents of African origin, which might be spoken at home, but it is the proficiency in kwaito lingo and dance that puts urban youth on the cutting edge. On campuses, streets, school grounds around Johannesburg, it is the language for communication.

Not everyone can speak kwaito lingo as it is an urban thing which is shunned by some because it still carries the bluster and bad-boy image of the thugs who invented its predecessor dialects in Soweto and Sophiatown in the 1950s, as well as the young gangsters who stake a claim to it today. Some parents and educators do not see any appeal of this lingo, as they perceive it as “bad Zulu”. Most people think this is a language for hijackers, street children and gangsters, but many young people understand this street tongue and even dare to speak it.

MUSIC TRANSFORMING HIV/AIDS CONFLICT

Many concerts are organized to raise funds for AIDS, but my concern is that few artists really use the stage to its full capacity: integrating AIDS prevention messages and songs into their performance to help combat the epidemic in Africa. The performing musicians can play a critical role in the fight against HIV/AIDS because they have the opportunity to reach young people with life saving messages. Artists are role models and they are also local heroes. Young people look up to them, admire their work and often copy their behavior. Artists can reach people by touching their hearts and artists know what it means to spread the message.

HIV/Aids campaigners in putting words out on the streets and in the mouth of youth have had the backing of celebrities like Thembi Seete, Alaska, Bongo Maffin, and

²⁴ A 30 year old woman I interviewed in Braamfontein

Andile who are kwaito performers. A YouthAids campaign that started in October 2002 had their backings along with international stars and was launched in Soweto on 24 May 2003. YouthAid volunteers travelled the country, educating the youths about the deadly virus, which is sweeping across South Africa like a desert storm while the YouthAid celebrities performed on several of such occasions. Thembi Seete a 25-year-old Kwaito star and actress was one of the Aids ambassadors of the Youth Aid campaign and a key role player when the campaign was launch in October 2002. “Preaching the gospel of condoms and abstinence to the youth has been a passion for the sexy, petite singer who started a personal campaign a few years ago by visiting township schools and talking to teenagers about HIV and Aids”²⁵. On her national road show, Thembi shares her experience of growing up in one of the most dangerous areas in Johannesburg, which is Hilbrow. Growing up in Hilbrow exposed her to a dangerous lifestyle which she resisted and she believes telling her life story to the teenagers will help them understand life a little. Bongo Maffin (Stoan Seate, Thandiswa Mazwai and Anesu Mapemh) one of the well known kwaito groups who became famous fro their remix of Miriam Makeba’s classic, *Pata Pata* in an image rooted in an image rooted in African culture of respect are determine on becoming role models for the youth. Thandiswa from Bongo Maffin thinks that the youth should be taught life skills that will help them to assert themselves in relationships and protect their rights. She has been doing a lot of road shows for the campaign, which has proven helpful as the youths now report cases of abuse or seek help for their problems. Their last year’s single questions your commitment to HIV/Aids prevention and to stopping discrimination of people living with HIV and Aids. The media uses these celebrities to broadcast educational messages on short intervals about HIV/aids.

²⁵ <http://www.youthaids.co.za/drum>, Drum 13 February 2003

Nelson Mandela - former Robben Island prisoner number 46664 - was the driving force behind a worldwide music-led campaign to raise global awareness about HIV/Aids and funds to fight the pandemic in South Africa. Pulling in major international celebrities and corporations, the 46664 campaigns kicked off in October 2003 with a ground-breaking music launch on the Internet and phone networks around the world, followed by an all-star concert in South Africa on 29 November 2003.

In addition, the 46664 Ambassadors - the artists that performed at 46664 Cape Town, as well as the visual artists involved in the "46664: Give 1 minute of art to Aids" campaign - have been active in spreading the message at performances around the world. The "46664: The Concert" CDs and DVD that aim to inspire the world to learn more about HIV/Aids in Africa was produced. The albums feature the artists, now 46664 ambassadors: Abdel Wright, Anastacia, Angelique Kidjo, Baaba Maal, Beyoncé, Bob Geldof, Bongo Maffin, Bono and The Edge, Danny K, Eurythmics, Jimmy Cliff, Johnny Clegg, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, Ms Dynamite, Paul Oakenfold, Peter Gabriel, Queen, The Corrs, Watershed, Youssou N'Dour, Yusuf Islam, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Zucchero.

At the KORA awards in 2000, musicians at the 1 Billion Against AIDS Concert used their Art as their Weapon to join the Fight against AIDS. Acknowledging the power of artists in inspiring youth and motivating communities into action, Convinced that youth hold the power to transform Africa's HIV/AIDS 'crisis' into a bold initiative for life, Recognizing the urgent need for mass action in the fight against HIV/AIDS in Africa, musicians pledge to lead the way by informing youth in Africa about HIV and AIDS prevention and mobilizing populations into action.

On November 19, one day after the KORA 2000 Awards took place in a packed Concert Hall in Sun City, the KORA nominees performed at the KORA "1 Billion Against AIDS" concert in the Johannesburg Stadium. *Africa Alive!*, in collaboration with the South African Health Department, had mobilized 20 volunteers to welcome concert attendees with AIDS prevention brochures and stickers carrying AIDS care messages. Although heavy rainfalls, the day before the concert and even during the open air show, prevented many people from coming to the stadium, the attending 3000 youth cheered for every artists and joined in the choir when South African musician Choppa started the *Africa Alive!* sing along: "Africa?" he shouted, "Alive!" was the answer from the crowd.

During the artists' performances, many of which addressed AIDS, *Africa Alive!* members worked backstage assisting those on deck to include AIDS messages into their performances and conducting interviews for a video documentary of the event. Apple Seed from Bongo Maffin and Choppa, for example, were happy to chat about the Initiative with the *Africa Alive!* musicians from Zambia, while Jabu Khanyile remembered them from their collaboration at the *Africa Alive!* AIDS prevention concert during the XIII International AIDS Conference in Durban.

MUSIC TRANSFORMING CRIME AS CONFLICT

Due to the levels of crime that exist in South Africa, there is a preoccupation in many communities with ways in which crime can be prevented. It is increasingly being accepted that communities have a vital role to play in crime prevention and musicians being part of the community can take priority in doing so.

The National Crime Prevention Strategy, which was adopted by the South African government in 1996, emphasizes the importance of the co-operation of all role players in crime prevention and this includes musicians. It states that members of the community can participate in crime prevention initiatives through various initiating, including the promotion of a shared understanding and common vision of how South Africa is going to tackle crime.

Zola Township in Soweto is the heartland of crime in South Africa but a lot of stars and kwaito artist have sprung from the area. These artists have sold more than a million CDs between them and are part of a multimillion-rand industry that has spawned a generation of fashion trends, icons and music legends. These musicians seem to want to put a stamp on their township and are proud of where they are coming with Bongikosi Dlamini (Zola), naming himself after his township Zola and Mzambiya after the township nickname of “Zambia”. Inhabitants from Zola are proud and boast about having neighbours and classmates who are today famous like M’du “Godfather” Masilela, Mandoza Tshabalala, Mapaputsi, Chiskop, and Zola (Bongikosi Dlamini). Life for youth in this township was that of being a “tsotsi”²⁶ and carry guns to become a hero. Some of these stars from Zola spent time in prison for car hijacking like Mandoza and M’du. Almost all of these famous people today from the township and other townships in Soweto were involved in crime in one way or the other especially from this township and some were just lucky not to be caught. Today in Zola Township, youngsters see being a kwaito star as cooler than having a criminal record. They all want to be next Zola and Mandoza and they use entertainment to run away from crime, unemployment and boredom. There are youth centers across the township, teaching youngsters modeling, dancing and singing.

²⁶ The word tsotsi in South Africa is used to describe a thug or a gangster

Bongikosi Dlamini (Zola) in his programme “Zola 7” has tried to show the youth that there are other alternatives to crime and thus he decides to pick up the microphone rather than carry a gun. Messages about crime is also disseminated by artist like Mandoza who had first hand experience of the downside of crime through concerts that he organizes in the township. He encourages the youth to look at his success today, which has all been achieved after he left prison and decided to stop crime. A lot of young people interviewed in Soweto were happy about the fact that kwaito stars such as Mandoza and Zola make it a priority to send out message about crime reduction and also encourage youth to go to school.

GENERATION GAP AND CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

The African National Congress bused teenagers to downtown Johannesburg last year for a Human Rights Day holiday festival. For old activists, the venue conjured up the sting of tear gas: Newtown, with its Market Theater, was a hub of resistance to apartheid during the 1980s. In case anyone missed the political message, the stage backdrop bore the slogan A DECADE OF DELIVERY. Earlier in the day on that occasion, a rapper exhorted the audience, "You all are going to vote, right?" But there the politics ended, and the booty shaking began. And what finally whipped the crowd to frenzy was a rendition by the hot young rapper Mzekezeke of his current hit. "When Granny is away, we're grooving," the kids sang out. "Let's hope she won't catch us. But if she does, she must groove, too."

The generation of South Africans that have grown up since Nelson Mandela walked out of jail in 1990, sometimes called the "Born Frees", is as apolitical as their peers in Europe or the United States. "Politics is a nonevent," says John Simpson, a professor at the University of Cape Town who has extensively polled South African youth.

"Twenty years ago young people were at the vanguard of the struggle for change. Now kids are saying you must look after yourself, that social issues are not important."

Lamentable as such an attitude may be, it's considered normal in some of the world's most stable democracies. And it doesn't mean South African kids today are apathetic. On the contrary, the Born Frees have strong opinions on things that interest them like sports, relationships, sneakers, cell phones, computers, malls and the home-brewed brand of dance music known as *kwaito*. They are blessedly colorblind, and convinced there's no limit to what they can do.

South African elders and parents generally are appalled at the often violent and misogynist early messages of rap. They shunned the new authors of hip-hop's local variant when *kwaito* hit the scene in 1993 with a single by Arthur Mofokate, "Don't Call Me Kaffir [n-----]." Other young iconoclasts did their damndest to outrage society, even attacking veterans of the antiapartheid movement like President Thabo Mbeki. In 2002, when the *kwaito* group Skwatta Kamp issued a cut that attacked politicians generally and included the line "Our president is an alcoholic," the ANC Youth League fought back. The group wanted the song pulled off the air, which only gave the insult a wider hearing.

Mbeki himself denies that South Africa's youngsters are apolitical. In a radio interview last year, he insisted that they're "conscious of their role and place in the future of South Africa." But there's no denying that such high-minded talk no longer translates for many youngsters. Unathi Nkayi, a 25-year-old DJ on Johannesburg's most popular radio station, Yfm, says that South African youth "are tired of being told that they are important—that the youth is the country's future. They really don't care."

Far more than politics, picking a personal identity consumes the Born Frees. The country's first-world economy has sucked in international products since the fall of sanctions. Any 13-year-old readily names his or her favorite bands and brands of clothing. FUBU and Levis spawned local competitors Vertigo and Loxion Kulca. Johannesburg boys such as Given Andrew, 13, crave outings to one of Johannesburg's several suburban mega-malls, where they can take turns on a Sega Super Megalo soccer machine and surf the Internet. A resident of inner-city Hillbrow, Andrew is utterly at ease in such glittering, once-exclusive precincts. "I don't feel anything about race, because some of my friends are white," he says. "They don't hate us." Apartheid is a history subject in school.

Parents boggle at the Born Frees' precociousness. Andrew's mother, Pretty Ngcobo, 33, frets that the Internet and cable television tutor her three children on sex and drugs. "These children are not shy, like the older generation," she said. A self-employed fashion designer, she nurses painful memories: her family had to sleep in the bush during factional fighting that led up to the 1994 voting, and she says a political activist once raped her and escaped punishment because of his clout. "I can't wear earrings in the street, and I may be killed for a cell phone," she says. "We still are not free."

But others count unshackling young minds as huge progress. "Fifteen years ago black kids [were] confined to little worlds within townships and powerless over their lives," says Professor Simpson of Cape Town's Unilever Institute of Strategic Marketing. In October the institute published the results of 3,000 interviews with boys and girls 7 to 17. Different cultural and racial groups now mix freely, have similar attitudes and like the same products and brands, the study found. "The most significant difference from

the past is that this bunch of kids are self-confident," says Simpson. New technology helps generate this feeling of empowerment. While many parents only recently became introduced to electricity and appliances, cell-phone usage amongst Born Frees doubled between 2001 and 2004.

Marketers grasp this transformation. Coke's innovative TV ad campaign plays on youth's obsession with being "real." Loxion Kulca's has its root in Soweto. Loxion is slang for "location," or township that helped it grow into the country's leading street-wear brand. Founded in 1996, Yfm is now a conglomerate, taking in radio, an award-winning magazine and a fashion line. The station recently conducted public HIV tests for a DJ and a leading rapper, an example no ANC official has yet set. "To be young at this moment is a totally new ball game," says DJ Bad Boy T. "The struggle is to be true to who you are."

PUBLIC INTEREST AND MUSIC

The articulation of public interest with regards to music, specifically in South Africa has often been implicit or indirect. It is for artists to try and declare the underlying public interest. The expression of public interest can take many specific forms and the choice of particular objectives should vary depending on the specific place and time. Music, we must assert has a responsibility to serve the public interest and promote the general welfare. In summary, we can identify at least five basic public interests that music serves directly and this includes: furthering the quest for peace and mutual co-existence, fostering community, contributing to prosperity, improving the quality and conditions of life and cultivating democracy.

FURTHERING THE QUEST FOR PEACE AND MUTUAL CO-EXISTENCE

Whether economic, international or local, peace has historically been an important and legitimate public interest. Although the word peace has taken many forms, it is seldom used exclusively with regard to the performing arts. At least two policy issues can be discerned that can involve music in the quest for a peaceful society.

- Protecting the harmony of our cultural patrimony
- Helping to maintain social and moral order

Each of these issues has given rise to a variety of programmes and strategies. The role of the arts in ensuring peace has taken many forms in the past. During the first and second world wars artistes were turned to, to help raise patriotism and mobilize public support for the war effort. A good example of this is Bill Withers song "Lean on me" which has been celebrated over the past decades. After the Vietnam war most Americans lost hope in their leadership and themselves. Bill Withers²⁷ thought that the greatest healing for a weeping person, is the smoothness of melody and hence his song;

Sometimes in our lives we all have pain

We all have sorrow

But if we are wise

We know that there's always tomorrow

Lean on me, when you're not strong

And I'll be your friend

²⁷ Withers wrote "Lean on Me" based on his experiences growing up in a West Virginia coal mining town. Times were hard and when a neighbor needed something beyond their means, the rest of the community would chip in and help. "Lean on Me," landed at number one R&B and number one pop for three weeks on Billboard's charts in summer 1972.

I'll help you carry on

For it won't be long

'Til I'm gonna need

Somebody to lean on

Artists have also been sent on international missions by their respective countries as cultural ambassadors engaging in public diplomacy. An example of this is, Youssou N'Dour, a musician from Senegal who is a cultural icon in his country involved in social issues. He is a Goodwill Ambassador to the United Nations, and an Ambassador to UNICEF, where he gives concerts to benefit children who are victims of AIDS. He has also been chosen as an Ambassador to the International Bureau of Work. Cultural diplomacy programs have been used in the past to cultivate strong ties among allies and friendly nations and as a long term strategy to improve understanding between unfriendly nations. Cultural exchanges remain a rich source of global communication furthering a unique level of understanding among distant nations and societies. Another interesting example is that during the cold war era, they say, the American national security took elements of scientific and cultural competition as well as military and ideological conflict. They give the case of Van Cliburn's success in winning the 1958 Tchaikovsky Piano Competition in Moscow, playing the work of Russian composer Sergei Rachmaninoff. Upon his return to the United States, he was greeted as a national hero, his success all the more satisfying to his compatriots because it came only a year after American scientific confidence had been shaken by the successful Soviet launch of the first *Sputnik* satellite into space. The artistic accomplishment was regarded as a source of patriotic pride and marked a symbolic American triumph in the then ongoing Cold War.

Today peace has taken on a distinctively economic character, such that all has redefined it in ways that highlight economic matters such as poverty eradication and equal access to resources. Music strives to meet all these goals through its traditional communication and campaign strategies. Peace is not only a matter of “absence of war” but is also manifest in the survival imperative. In most cases, this takes the shape of a concern for the protection of a nations cultural heritage. The role of moral order in sustaining a peaceful society cannot be overemphasized. Music and other forms of art play an important role in that purpose. Its ability to say and distinguish, laughingly, the social good from the socially destructive is unique and bound to encourage more support from the public.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

This is a second public interest to which performance art can contribute. Community building may invoke any of a number of core values, some of which present the potential for fundamental tensions. Within the context of community, we value privacy and pluralism, equality and representativeness, freedom of expression and mutual responsibility. At different times and in different programs, several of these values may be emphasized, or a balance among them may be cast differently. Sometimes these strategies have been so implicit that we hardly recognize them for what they are.

As political theorist Benjamin Barber observed, “the arts have...the capacity simultaneously to offer expression to the particular identities of communities and groups (including those that feel excluded from the dominant community’s space) and

to capture commonalities and universalities that tie communities and groups together into a national whole” (Baber 1996).

South African musicians prioritize themselves with the development of their communities. Chicco Tswala, one of the pioneer musicians in South Africa and from Soweto has brought forth artist like Brenda Fassie and has been an inspiration to many upcoming artist after her. He has established a studio in Diepkloof (a township in Soweto) to develop young talents in the township as he states in his biography “I believe the kids are a big contributor to my success”²⁸. The South African musician with the greatest influence on Soweto youth today is Bongikosi Dlomani who is today known as Zola²⁹. He was a young ruffian from Zola Township in Soweto who played the part of papa action in South African’s homemade series *Yizo Yizo* on SABC1. He carried most of his popularity from his acting but today he is a presenter of his own show call “Zola 7” on SABC1 loved and adored by youth across the country. This show is Zola’s way of empowering the community especially young people by showing them that dreams can come true as he helps them to realize these dreams. Thato a student in ICTABE high school in Soweto says, “Zola is my best kwaito star because he will make my dreams come true. I have seen him do it to many on T.V so I try to follow his words when he tell us to go to school and get some education”³⁰.

CONTRIBUTING TO PROSPERITY

This is a third public interest that has been addressed by the arts and by public policies concerned with the arts and culture. Once again, a number of possible core values are

²⁸ Chicco has a biography written up on the internet which talks about his life and it can be found on (<http://www.music.or.za/artist/chicco>)

²⁹ Bongikosi Dlomani named himself Zola after his township Zola in Soweto

³⁰ this was drawn from a focus group interview I had with 10 high school students from Jabulani High in Soweto

involved, some of which are different from the core values underlying other public interests. For example, concerns for property and efficiency imply decidedly economic values. Prosperity can also concern creativity, excellence (or quality), and fairness.

With regard to the arts and culture, there has been an increase in the popularity of programs that invest in and promote mutually beneficial activities such as cultural tourism and cultural trade. Perhaps this provides a clue about designing programs or communicating policy ideas that might prove useful for dealing with music policy controversies. Certainly recognition that music can contribute to the common good and that the public has an interest in furthering that capacity is appealing in an era highly skeptical of special interests and the effects of globalisation.

Getting a household name in the entertainment industry is tougher than the way people think although compared to apartheid South Africa it is becoming easier. Performing in front of big crowd and recording your own cd is the dream of many artists before they become popular. In apartheid South Africa, record labels were all white owned and run the negative response from major labels resulted in the young producers starting their own independent labels, which enable them to release their own solo albums. Kwaito producers, such as Don Laka, after being rejected by major record companies, went out on their own became the first black musical entrepreneurs to start their own labels with record label names like Galata, Kalawa Jazzmee, 999, MDU Music, Wicked Sounds, Ghetto Ruff which are all independent black labels today and contributing to prosperity of the poor black population. Most musicians see kwaito as a form of empowerment and prosperity for the black communities because

for the first time, the youth are allowed to create their first real black business. Today we have studios, labels and stars that sell over 150,000 records with the likes of Mandoza, Arthur, Mzekezeke, Mafikizola and others.

Major labels have woken up to kwaito's possibilities and today major labels like EMI/CCP and MGP have signed up major stars like Mandoza and TKZee. Kwaito music has brought forth the youngest stars in the country like Mzambiya, Msawawa and Mshoza with great talents who have hit the music industry and have been well received by kwaito music lovers through out the country. In 1999, Mzambiya who was 13 at the time was an instant hit selling 150,000 copies and being the best-selling artist in the country at the time.

Music is used in South Africa today to make the youth as individuals achieve self-actualization. Television series and talent search are being used to choose the best voices among the youth and making them famous like Coca-cola pop stars reality show and talent search idols. In this way, their careers are being chosen and they consequently have a direction in life. There is little or no gender discrimination among the musicians in South Africa considering the enormous amount of female musicians the country has. Even in the youthful genre kwaito, female artist like Lebo Matosa, Thembi Seete, Queen Iyaya, are as much part of the fame as their gender counterparts and brothers like Mandoza, Zola, Myzambiya and others. Kwaito is just about black young people expressing and enjoying their freedom and majority status.

IMPROVING THE QUALITY AND CONDITION OF LIFE

This can be thought of as derivative of the government's role in the provision for the general welfare of a free and pluralistic society. There are three common ways that music can address this purpose:

- Enhancing educational achievement and educational utility,
- Helping to mitigate and/or prevent social pathologies,
- Recognizing the importance of quality of life factors.

Undoubtedly other strategies have also been used to address this public interest. Certainly cultural organizations, through both the non-profit and the commercial sector, in their pursuit of innovation, excellence, and art for art's sake can make important contributions to the quality of life.

South African musicians have recognized the importance of education among young people in their communities. Unemployment that has been one of the major social conflicts, which leads to poverty can most often be addressed through achieving some level of education. Loyiso and Mzambiya who are kwaito stars, in an interview with Kaminga of Drum magazine, confess to helping 50 students from underprivileged backgrounds around the country with their school needs. They see this as a way of giving back to their community³¹. Some of these musicians go back to school themselves to acquire some knowledge even after haven made lots of money and this in tend encourages people in the communities especially the young ones on the importance of education.

³¹ Kaminaga Siyabonga "Undisputed Talent", Drum 17 July 2003 Pg 10-11

Some musicians have encountered the social pathologies of life in their own lives. Hugh Masekela who is regarded as one of the most versatile, talented musicians that Africa has ever produced, is one artist who experienced so much, from stardom, drug addiction, failed marriages and so on. He did not stop at that but use his song to encourage people not to go down the same road. In one of his songs “thuma mina”

Thuma mina, esizweni

Si Zoya sithandaze

Translated as

Send me, to the nations

Will arrive and pray for them

I wanna be there

for the alcohol, drug abuse, emotional abuse

I wanna give a hand

This song is one of the popular compositions that have been done by many artists. In this song, Hugh Masekela is trying to reach out to those in need of help especially those suffering from drug addiction, alcoholism and abuse.

For most South Africans the quality of life stays the same even after the end of apartheid. It is difficult for people to understand that life is not going to be transformed overnight. Blacks South Africans in the days of apartheid used to struggle with poverty issues, racial discrimination, segregation which after the end of apartheid has changed drastically. In all focus group discussion I carried out, it was

discovered the main roots of conflicts in communities are poverty and unemployment, which lead to crime. Thandiswa Mazwai in her song “Zabalaza” explains this and emphasizes that the masses are still not released from the troubles of the past like poverty, unemployment and illiteracy.

Thina sizo zabalaza

Zabalaza

Asifanelanga uku yenza lento

Emzini ka bawo

Translated as

We shall strive and fight on

It supposed not to have happened

In my father's household

cause peace and tranquility should prevail

Thandiswa emphasizes in her music that it may look like the war is finished, but it has just begun. It is left for the people to make and create change amongst them. Letta Mbulu a South African Jazz musician also emphasis this issue in her song “Not yet Uhuru” meaning struggle continues, where she talks about the problems people face in South Africa.

Umhlaba wakithi

Useme indawo yodwa

Akukho umehluko ku le lizwe

Abanye Bantu basi bona se sikhulekile

Kodwa umsheshe phantsi, uthi not yet uhuru!

Transated as

Our land, is still at the same place

There's no change in this land

Other people may view us being free

But word of mouth says, not yet uhuru!

This song speaks to the fact that people experience tough challenges in the past and present, which give them no hope for change. When I asked people about what they thought of musicians who sing about issues that they face in their communities, a lot of positive responses were communicated. “Because communities in South Africa face the same problem most musicians have encountered such issues hence they say them in their music. That is why I love listening to South African music” says a 32-year-old woman from Soweto.

CULTIVATING A CULTURE OF DEMOCRACY

This is an intrinsic public purpose in our current world. Until fairly recently, the processes and strategies involved in cultivating democracy in most African countries seemed almost invisible. In the past one-decade, some of the elements and practices that contribute to a vital democracy have been increasingly evident. In this regard, at least two issues can be discerned:

- Building social capital and moral resources and

- Maintaining the political system through procedural “correctness”

With regards to the first of these, I have come to realize that musicians can help promote the effectiveness of public institutions as well as the economy; can foster the habits of democracy and the art and can be alternative to government for collective action. As mediators, musicians seem to have an essential role in cultivating democracy. James morone (1990) explains, “the democratic wish is suspended between the democratic promise of limited government for individual liberty which is rooted in the dread of government and trust in economic markets and the democratic prospect of social and economic equality which is rooted in a yearning for community...”

As mediators, musicians are potentially both a prerequisite and an instrumentality of democracy. As a prerequisite, they preserves the liberty of citizens to act apart from government by permitting their member’s representation and participation in the sociopolitical arrangements of the neighborhood, community, nation, or state. It may also be instrumentalities of democracy when it forges bonds of trust and cooperation beyond the boundaries of the group membership to persons and groups outside it. Finally, musicians may also be relevant to democracy when it provides or advocates for efforts to meet human needs and reduce socio-economic inequalities. To varying degrees, art and cultural organization can provide forums for such participation and cooperation as well as serve as commentators (and sometimes as provocateurs) on social conditions.

Musicians have a key role in fostering democracy through their creation of a public good that provides people with the opportunity and occasion for interactions that create horizontal networks of engagement that help participants solve dilemmas of collective action. In these recurring interactions, people learn trust, and establish social norms and sound working relations. Community theatre organizations are a part of this civil society capacity to generate social capital. As Ben Barber asserts, “a free society gains its liberty and its democratic vitality from civil society and the arts and humanities invest civil society with its creativity, its diverseness and its liberating spontaneity” (Barber 1996)

The role of commercial arts in building social capital seems more ambiguous. Putnam points to television as the most likely “culprit” in “civic disengagement” and a consequent decline of social capital in contemporary America (Putnam 1995, 677-680). Conversely, movies, television, and popular music have become a global phenomenon that helps transmit democratic values and taste preferences, while at the same time it threatens to diminish the cultural capital ledgers of other nations, as has been asserted by most countries in the developing world.

The cultivation of democracy can also be thought of as a process of system maintenance. Within the polity, democratic norms and expectations condition how government operates, how (and what) public policies are engaged, and how public programmes are run. Similar norms and expectations carry over to the operations of many musicians, either because they act as “third-party agents” in the accomplishment of public purposes.

CHAPTER FIVE

MUSIC AND SOCIAL INTEGRATION

INTRODUCTION

The last hundred years of music, has been characterized by the intensive imposition of Western music and musical thought upon the rest of the world. An important aspect of this event is the formidable number of responses that the world's cultures have made in order to maintain, preserve, modify, or virtually abandon their musical traditions so as to embrace the world's diversity. The performance of jazz in West Africa, China and South Africa are typical examples of the impact of Western music. The facet of interaction between Western and non-Western music of concern to me here, however, is the way in which the world's music have managed to maintain, themselves in the face of the onslaught that requires us to interpret this age as far more than a mere expansion of the history of Western music. Also, the incorporation of music from the West in South African music indicates a way of integration socially and hence celebrating diversity in the country. The root of the variety has been looked at in this research by going through the character of individual culture and not the quality of relationship between cultures or between music.

MUSIC IN SOCIAL CONTEXT

Both African and non-African music are human inventions and individual notes contain the same elements such as pitch, duration, tone colour and intensity. Music plays a similar role in most societies, as work songs, lullabies, battle songs, religious

music, and so on. Generally speaking the same categories of instruments are found in Africa as in Europe, namely stringed instruments, wind instruments, and percussion.

The African concept of music is totally different to the Western one though. Traditional African musicians do not seek to combine sounds in a manner pleasing to the ear. Their aim is simply to express life in all of its aspects through the medium of sound. The African musician does not merely attempt to imitate nature by music, but reverses the procedure by taking natural sounds, including spoken language, and incorporate them into the music. To the uninitiated this may result in cacophony, but in fact each sound has a particular meaning. To be meaningful, African music must be studied within the context of African life.

Music has an important role in African society. Music is an integral part of the life of every African individual from birth. At a very early stage in life the African child takes an active role in music, making musical instruments by the age of three or four. Musical games played by African children prepare them to participate in all areas of adult activity - including fishing, hunting, farming, grinding maize, attending weddings and funerals and dances.

An intimate union forms between man and art in Africa. It amounts to a total communion that is shared by the whole community. This may help explain why some languages in black Africa have no precise noun to define music. The art of music is so inherent in man that it is superfluous to have a particular name for it.

POPULAR MUSIC IN AFRICA

There is a great deal of homogeneity in the music of Africa but it is also clear that there are differences between regions and tribes. The black cultures south of the

Sahara have evidently carried on a lively exchange of music with the inhabitants of the northern part of Africa.

African pop styles have become centralised, clustered around the main cultural or commercial centres, so there is 'Manding swing' or 'electro griot' music from West Africa (between Senegal, Guinea and Niger), the 'Swahili sound' from East Africa (between Uganda and Tanzania), 'jive' and jazz from the south (around South Africa), Muslim music from the north (between Morocco and Egypt), makossa and 'liberation' music in between (the area between Cameroon and Gabon, and the area between Zimbabwe and Mozambique respectively), and pan-African syntheses like 'highlife' and Congo-Zairean rumba or soukous which have radiated furthest from their points of origin (the area between Sierra Leone and Nigeria and the Congo-Zairean area respectively). Of the many popular styles of music in Africa, these are really the only ones, which have spread to new audiences outside their cultural base. Many other styles - too many to mention here - are prevalent throughout the continent.

It is hoped that the musical traditions of Africa will survive and grow and that the popularity of African music will spread even further around the globe. Hopefully that will foster a better understanding and appreciation of Africa and its cultures amongst the extra-African cultures of the world.

MUSIC AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN AFRICA

From an African perspective the challenges in music are both cultural and economic: African music has a massive role to play in Africa of the new millennium. Music cannot just be a soundtrack to the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) must be integral to NEPAD. Artists living and popular within Africa rely

on their chances of surviving and forging careers with their home continent as their primary operating base. This needs to be encouraged. An integrated and unified Africa can certainly facilitate this, allowing circulation of artists and music, overcoming the colonial and linguistic divides which have fragmented its audience.

We need to acknowledge the multiplicity of markets, and attach value to the profile, which has been built with international audiences. We must be conscious of, but not captive to the legacy of music ownership, and associated obstacles. The recent OCRE Conference, hosted by AFAA (French Association for Artistic Action) and the Centre for Creative Arts at the University of Natal, addressed some of the issues of cultural networking, including music. The stark imbalances between different African zones were explored. At the conference's conclusion, a "Letter from Durban" was tabled, calling on policy makers in Africa to consider these factors when formulating policy for the next decade.

Priority areas identified included the need for intra-African co-operation, the promotion of regional and internal markets and audiences, the facilitation of mobility within Africa, and skills and curriculum development. A cohesive policy to stimulate inter-African cooperation is needed. Ultimately, there's a lot of catching up required. African music has to be transformed from being a niche market of imported product, to its inevitable and rightful role as the mainstream soundtrack of our continent. In short, African music's primary market needs to be Africanised.

AFRICAN MUSIC AND THE GLOBAL MARKET

The major names of African music have long been based in the Northern Hemisphere with the likes of Osibisa, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela, Manu Dibango and Salif Keita. Africa's stars entered the world stage abroad, and returned home, celebrated like astronauts between space missions. If Africa's star used to shine from afar, the exciting challenge of the new millennium is to ensure that they shine equally at home. This is possible, and imperative. Conditions at the start of this new millennium bear little similarity to those faced by the young Miriam Makeba (South Africa), Manu Dibango (Cameroon) or Salif Keita (Mali) faced when they left to forge their international debuts in foreign lands. Society, technology and distribution mediums have set a new playing field.

The circulation, exchange and flow of African music on the continent remains limited. In South African Music stores prices for African music are exorbitant. They are not even promoted on the media unlike their European counterpart. KORA award, which is an African award, was not broadcasted on any local television channel in South Africa but American music award will not pass South African Broadcasting Channel (SABC) by. Kaya FM in South Africa for example is the only South African Radio station that plays music from other African countries.

To understand the networks and forces underpinning the contemporary flow and distribution of African music, it is essential to realise how closely they have been shaped by colonialism and the relationships between what now are known as "developing" and "developed" countries. Such understanding is all the more important as we confront the realities of globalisation, and the massive impact it has

on both culture and economy. Globalisation has made African languages look inferior in terms of the music market. South Africans for example will not want to buy a CD/Cassette from another African country on claims that they don't understand the language used in music³²

FOREIGN OWNERSHIP OF AFRICAN MUSIC

During the four decades spanning the Independence of the former colonies (1960s), to the political settlement in South Africa (1990's), a combination of studio locations, record deals, tour itineraries and the inevitable "permits and papers" issues rendered it opportune for Africa's artists to be resident countries such as France, England or even the USA to build and sustain their music careers. For many others, circumstance prompted or forced exile from their homeland. Under such conditions, artists naturally gravitated towards host countries with which their native lands had strong links. Not only did this offer the potential benefit of being able to converse in the host language – but typically, business, travel and financial links with home. The presence of local immigrant communities provided some support network, a family-away-from-home, and a crucial core audience. England and France are best illustrative of the manner in which third world music forms flowed North after colonies attained independence. Jamaica's Rocksteady, Ska and Reggae were the first to flow to the international market through England in the late 1960's, followed by the music of Nigeria, Ghana and other "Anglophone" African countries. Nigerian artists Osibisa, King Sunny Ade, and to a lesser degree the outspoken Fela Kuti – are key names when tracing the build up to the "world music" phenomenon of the 1980's.

³² A lot of this was gathered from interviews done randomly among South Africans in Soweto and in Johannesburg.

France has been pivotal to “world music” for the past 20 years. The colonial legacy in Africa and the Caribbean, coupled with the presence of some of the world’s most developed arts infrastructure and cultural industries rendered the country a well-equipped arts infrastructure and cultural industries rendered the country a well-equipped host to African music. The presence of a socialist government, which prioritised arts and culture programmes, did no damage. Paris is the de facto African music capital of the world. Not only has it been home to icons such as Manu Dibango and the late Francis Babey (both natives of Cameroon), but its studios have also spawned distinctly Parisian hybrids, drawing on sounds from the African Diaspora.

Thus African music emerged as a product, which followed closely the neo-colonial trade relations of the 1970’s: The raw materials came from Africa, the product from Europe. While the Beatles or Rolling Stones did it at home, Africans went abroad, and by the turn of the century, ownership in the bulk of African Music catalogue was resident abroad.

CONSUMER MARKET FOR “WORLD MUSIC”

Sporadic as the markets in developed countries were to prove, they existed: Cultural space had been won. African music was circulating outside of Africa, but its artists also realized a need (and desired) to be back home.

With international profile and momentum established, an increasing number were able to locate their operations back home: Ismael Lo, having studied in Spain and worked in France, is now based in his native Senegal. Salif Keita lives in Bamako in his native Mali. Political settlement in South African paved the way for Hugh

Masekela, Miriam Makeba, Abdullah Ibrahim, Letta Mbulu, Jonas Gwangwa, Caiphus Semenya and others to repatriate from their forced exile.

There are new opportunities and challenges for the new generation - Youssou Ndour is a prime example. Having established himself internationally, he works from Dakar, where he has set up both studio and nightclub; Femi Kuti, assuming the mantle of his late father Fela, operates from Lagos. The new technologies for music production require far less capital outlay than those of a decade ago, a scenario that has contributed to a proliferation of small studios in Africa. It's no longer just "raw talent" coming out of Africa, new expertise and technology propagate local product. Some South African musicians now tend incorporate African culture and tradition in their lyrics to gain the African market. Lion King Musical in their African pop song "Fatshe Leso" (Our land)

Fatshe la dinoka tse sa tjheng

Hare ha ditaba tse sa felleng

Joale ke tshwanetse ho kgutlela hae, Afrika, Fatshe la mme

Translated as

Our land is amazing

With hills that never end

So I must go back, to my motherland, Africa

OPENING UP MUSIC MARKETS

Straddling the divide between developed and developing economies in the new millennium, the established African music acts need to maintain profile and presence globally. There is market up north, and a market at home - different needs, different

tastes. All tour extensively internationally, but while the occasional tour or protocol event allows circulation in Africa, the African market, audience and performance networks remain underdeveloped, and at times unreliable.

Circulation and presence in Africa comes at a price. Many of the groups backing established artists are multinational. Just add airfares to hard currency, and bringing an African “name” into Africa can be just as much a venture as importing a Euro pop act. Local markets in Africa cannot sustain such movement without significant private or public sector finance, and aside from an elite few, consumers cannot afford the price of African music cds imported (or manufactured under license) from Europe.

The globalized African sound often contrasts starkly with that which artists perform or release back home: Some battle with the contradiction, whilst others have reconciled parallel worlds and audiences. Youssou N’dour’s domestic Senegalese releases – mostly on cassette – are a counterpoint to the multinational catalogue on Sony; Papa Wemba at times operates two backing bands – Viva la Musica and Molokai, for African and European audiences respectively.

African audiences consume international media, and African music is but a small part of MTV, CNN or BBC programming. At home African music competes for ears, eyes and dance floor feet with the full array of international pop music products. African audiences do not yet have the level of access to their music, which the rest of the world enjoys.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Throughout Africa, music has played a key role in exposing public issues. Music has served as a popular newspaper both in the past and present. People are made aware of what is happening in their surround when they hear from a popular song. People have issues within them, which they can air out but are too scared sometimes because of the system they find themselves in. When a popular musician picks up an issue(s) it becomes easier for the ordinary person to use it without fear because according to them they are only singing what they are hearing.

Far from looking at musical artform, music in South Africa firstly demonstrates and takes on an equally important role like it did in Apartheid era. Secondly, it shows the importance that people place on style of music and music still continue to be some sort of newspaper even though there are other ways that people could get information about what is happening around them (issues). Music continue to emphasize its importance be getting on the new technology like television (kwaito used in television local dramas like Yizo Yizo, music videos shown on television). Musicians takes advantage of their popularity by raising awareness on social issues like HIV/AIDS, crime, and others that tend to affect people in their communities especially the youth.

We live in a multicultural, diverse, and interdependent country. Too often our differences have led to division and violence. Even with modern communications we still need to build relationships that non-violently deal with conflict and build pathways toward true reconciliation. My goal in this paper has been to strengthen opportunities for artistic creativity and cultural expression that will generate the hope,

understanding, courage and confidence needed for societies to help citizens fulfil their potential. Performance in South Africa has expressed hegemony in ways directly parallel to political development. South African artists aim at doing something African most of the time and thus they tend to be creative for their audience and still promote self-awareness, cooperative unity and a positive self-identity through their songs. They have recognised the diversity of their country even with the presence of immigrants and so most musicians try to be inclusive by including other genres in their albums. Special efforts can bring outstanding artistic work from chronically underrepresented communities to large public audiences reinforcing shared identities and prompting reflection on their valuable contribution to the larger society.

Globalisation is seen as a threat rather than an ally on the music scene and in the construction of kwaito culture. There is the fear that with the quest for commodifying kwaito, it might lose its homegrown flavour though kwaito has come to represent black pride. There is the fear that the new record will be mixed completely for foreign appetite as it has already begun its creation though Africa has established its own string of studios with expertise and technology used to propagate local products. The music market in South Africa as well as other African countries compared with that abroad has different taste and need when it comes to music. The African audience and performance network is still poor with them being great consumers of international music while African music are but a small part of western media. In as much as African music back home compete for space and audience with international pop music, kwaito will still and always remain a South African product no matter the American flavour added to it. It will always most often present a picture of the township life. One might think the lack of English in the lyrics prevent this genre

from going international but it is the lack of English in the lyrics that makes kwaito African and proudly South African.

Throughout this journey there will be many moments when people feel stuck and want to withdraw. Reuniting with their motivation will always be the driving force of the movement toward peace. Talking about issues that affect individuals and communities is the first step towards conflict transformation and creating long-term relationships. Conflict transformation is a revolutionary process aimed at humanizing people's relationships and improving them without resorting to violence. Kwaito as a genre takes its best moments from delivering a chorus of black voices opposing a legacy of bureaucracy and racism, and anticipating a new Identity and mobility on its own terms. Though kwaito was imputed as part of a South African renaissance, it is also part of a South African revolution – one that does not suffer misinterpretation lightly. Music, today in the flush of youth, is emancipated, free: it does as it pleases.

There is general agreement that music is a social, intellectual and economic enterprise, and as such must address this issue in a broad spectrum; that every bit of funding brings with it a series of expectations, which the organization must anticipate, address, and meet as obligation. The musician, like music, is ambiguous as he plays a double game. If an outcast, he sees society in a political light. If accepted, he is its historian, the reflection of its deepest values. He speaks of society and he speaks against it. This duality was already present before capital arrived to impose its own rules and prohibitions.

Despite new creative freedom, major changes in society and standard of living, the creation of a black middle class, young South Africans today are still dealing with

major issues like unemployment, rape, violence and Aids. Even though this is a new South Africa, most of its population still remain poor and the money and economic power are largely in the same hands they always were but youth in this society ask for nothing more than a better life and with the industry that kwaito has created, the role of young people is now visible. Kwaito has changed the cultural landscape of South Africa with its scene bursting with different local personalities, looks, sounds, dances and flavours. Kwaito stars and the musicians today are the ones whose faces appear on magazine covers, who are used for campaigns against HIV/AIDs and other social issues.

Although sometimes music may sound noisy and provocative, as in the case of kwaito and hip-hop, it is usually far less obstructive. It is the loaded relation between music and space that continually connects and undo the “public/private divisions of everyday life in a series of imaginative reworking. Music can be considered an important “counter-space” in our daily lives. Its power lies in a temporary suspension of the division between the “private” and the “public”, between the imagination and the routines, roles and social relations in which we regularly find ourselves locked. As such, music is not an escape from reality, but an interrogative exploration of its organizing categories. The imagination of the musician and reality of life are brought together in a significant friction and exchange. And the major side of this counter is the audience and their response to this combination either through dance or learning from lyrics

I draw on experiences in deep-rooted conflict and relate them to music as one means of seeking reconciliation throughout history. Conflict will always be there. We choose

how we respond to it. True reconciliation sometimes couple popular culture with personal, social, and international capacities to interact helpfully with conflict.

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