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Moshito and small enterprise development

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2012-01-17
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Moshito and Small Enterprise Development

Submitted to the Faculty of Humanities in the fulfilment of requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Johannesburg, 15 May 2011

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ABSTRACT

This research report documents diverse impressions and experiences, of and about the South African music industry in general and Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition in particular. Foregrounding the perspectives of black South African entrepreneurs that operate and own small businesses, the research enunciates how Moshito has come to embody an expression of the transition to democracy. Within a broader political, cultural and industrial context, the report captures anecdotes, observations and interviews with key interviewees and decision makers linked to Moshito, in addition to its dialogue with the interconnectedness of various social theories and concepts, and their relationship with industrial and government policy. Necessarily the research also engages literature concerned with cultural industries, music industry and development discourses.

Key concepts

Cultural industries

Development

Entrepreneurship

Music industry

Music sector

Networks

Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)

Small enterprise

Small enterprise development

Economic development

Enterprise culture

Entrepreneur

Political struggle

Social capital

Social actors

Acronyms and Abbreviations

AIRCO	Association of Independent Recording Companies of South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
ASAMI	Association of South African Music Industry
BASA	Business and Arts South Africa
CASA	Composers Association of South Africa
CF	Cultures France
CIGS	Cultural Industries Growth Strategy
CWUSA	Creative Workers Union of South Africa
DACST	Department of Arts Culture Science and Technology
DAC	Department of Arts and Culture
EM	Equation Musique
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy
GEDA	Gauteng Economic Development Agency
GPG	Gauteng Provincial Government
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IFAS	French Institute of South Africa
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOMN	Indian Ocean Music Network
Midem	Europe's largest music market and conference
MITT	Music Industry Task Team
MMFSA	Music Managers Forum of South Africa
Mmino	South African Norwegian Music Cooperation
Moshito	Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition
MUSA	Musicians Union of South Africa
NAC	National Arts Council
NORM	National Organisation for Reproduction Rights in Music in Southern Africa
OIF	Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACR	Department of Sport Arts Culture and Recreation (Gauteng)
SACCD	South African Coalition on Cultural Diversity
SAMEX	South African Music Export Initiative

SAMICI	South African Music Industry Cooperation Initiative
SAMPA	South African Music Promoters Association
SAMRO	Southern African Music Rights Organisation
SARA	South African Roadies Association
SARRAL	South African Recording Rights Association Limited
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
RISA	Recording Industry of South Africa
WPACH	White Paper on Arts Culture and Heritage
WOMEX	World Music Expo

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand. I also confirm that it has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

NAME: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This research report would not have materialised without encouragement from my friends Bandile Gumbi, Connie Nagiah, Chantal Collet, Chief Gule, Ingrid Masondo, Karima Effendi, Leslie Dikeni, Nailla Dollie and Roshan Dadoo.

I am also sincerely grateful to my supervisor Professor Cynthia Kros who directed me in the challenging process of articulating and arranging my thoughts. I am deeply indebted to the people who participated and contributed to this study. These include past and present workmates and board members of Moshito.

I would also like to extend a special thank you to Andre le Roux, Arnold Mabunda, Colin Shapiro, David Alexander, France Ledwaba, King Phatudi-Mphahlele, Nick Motsatse, Sbu Tshabalala, Sifiso Ntuli and Tebogo Sithathu. Your teachings have been invaluable.

Lee Walters

Johannesburg, May 2011

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

It is often remarked that the historical tale of South Africa's music industry makes for a captivating read. For our present purpose, however, this investigation explores an industrial development initiative, Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition that is South Africa's offering of a music market on the African continent. This offering, in reference to its architecture and taking its cue from international music markets such as MIDEM, WOMEX and other international music markets, is a "networking and information platform"[1] comprising a music conference, trade exhibition and live performance showcase[2]. Institutionally, Moshito symbolises a consensus driven engagement among business, government and labour in the South African music industry. The latter, represented by industry organisations involved in the recording, performing, music rights administration and multidisciplinary[3] sectors, reckons Moshito directly and / or indirectly generates work opportunities, extends networks and knowledge bases for entrepreneurs, artists, musicians, composers and the range of social actors that are a part of and operate in the music industry's economy.

Decision makers in the industry envision that instruments such as Moshito contribute to establish operational conditions that support a type of industrial space which encourages the expansion and organisation of small enterprises; this in a music industry burdened by a history of exploiting black South Africans. The inherent complexities that this dynamic presents are what I find intriguing. The process of achieving greater understanding of how various components of the music industry act, solely and connectedly, in addition to observing and analysing the myriad forces that contribute to industrial production, circulation and exchange represents one of numerous and important issues in a national effort to address past injustices; whilst simultaneously engaging issues of development.

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[1] Ibilion Music Consulting (2009:p93) Gauteng Music Strategy Framework commissioned by the Gauteng Provincial Government

[2] www.moshito.co.za documents Moshito's annual programmes. These include conferencing, trade exhibition and live performance showcases

[3] HSRC (2007) Creative Industries Sector Report defines the multidisciplinary sector as that in which music is a part of a product, for example a commercial, theatre product, film. The SAMEX (2009) strategy also details Sponsorship and Merchandise as two important categories of economic activity in a globalised music industry.

I first became aware of Moshito in 2004 when the South African Music Industry Cooperation Initiative (SAMICI) in collaboration with what was then constituted as the Department of Arts Culture Science and Technology (DACST) hosted a conference themed “the business of music”. In 2006 I attended the Moshito conference for the first time and was employed by the organisation in the following year. What was also significant during this period was Moshito’s shift from an annual industry event to the Section 21 company status that it now assumed since the last quarter of 2006. This change in corporate identity subsequently raised all sorts of issues for the South African music industry, especially issues pertaining to organisational control and corporate governance, some of which I explore later in this paper.

For the very reason that institutions often grapple with various – albeit competing and/or cooperative – interests, they also bring forth antagonisms of a political nature. Within this environment there exists potential for destructive ideas to seek their individualist reproduction and this could pose major obstacles for an institution that, in itself, is in its formative years. Ultimately this is what influences and shapes the given dynamic within all institutions; simultaneously informing a necessary interaction, reaction, response and a way of being among subjectivities at play.

My approach to this study, in keeping with such sentiment, recognises that the music industry, at international, continental, regional and domestic levels remains patriarchal, sexist and hyper capitalist. My approach is also underpinned by the recognition of how Moshito represents a site in which a dynamic between corporate and small business, labour and government interests play out. That an organisation such as Moshito noticeably strives for inclusivity and encourages dialogue, networking and trade among SMEs – all this as means to overcome past injustices possibly indicates that Moshito intends bringing about a type of change that evokes a non-racial, non-sexist, class consciousness value/ethic in its actions, signalling a start of a more equitable industrial milieu.

At the same time, one cannot discard the influence of capitalist logic and the role of government in this regard, where the latter in the South African case is compelled to confront the remnants of apartheid, enable the construction of a new society, and simultaneously assert and protect its own interest. Having inherited, for example, the

Apartheid government's debt to international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank, commentators (Alexander 2002; Bond, 2000; Terreblanche, 2002) often bemoan the fact that the ANC government, in spite of placing the social and economic development of South Africans at the top of its Reconstruction agenda in the mid 1990's, soon succumbed to pressures exerted by these institutions. This period – one marked by an about turn on the part of the ANC and during which development soon gave way to "fiscal prudence" and "macro-economic strategies" – also removed the problems and challenges faced by ordinary South Africans from the top of the government's agenda.

Linked to this is the effect of Apartheid's legacy and how within our society it has rendered small enterprises "insignificant"; having largely "denied Africans the right to enter business and prohibited their entry into the economy as anything other than cheap, forced labour" (Turok, 2008: 184). What we also observe is how an elite strategy 'Black Economic Empowerment' manifests in creating wealth among a class of business people and their familial and / or historical links within the state; and in combination has shaped what today we refer to as South Africa's black middle class (Terreblanche, 2002; Turok, 2008).

Consequently, the development of a social being or institution such as Moshito is not unaffected by whatever ideas or interests come to influence it. Can those involved in its formation and development consistently foreground common interests and values? Can they contribute substantially to the development of society and more specifically to a music industry that historically remains fragmented, as a result of institutional apartheid, globalisation, cultural imperialism and a raft of theories and practices that seek to deepen inequality, locally and internationally?

The following chapter documents the research process, including how my position as an employee of Moshito and researcher, although presenting me with certain limitations, allowed me access to the inner workings of the organisation.

CHAPTER TWO: THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Aim

This research traces the development of Moshito in a context of industrial history and policy, organisational resources and networks, leadership and principles and the architecture of Moshito's flagship event, i.e. the annual Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition. Recognising that Moshito is principally a music conference, trade exhibition and live music showcase – whose vision seeks recognition as the premier African music market – the main focus is to understand and evaluate how five black entrepreneurs that own and operate small businesses in the South African music industry, perceive and experience Moshito.

Theoretical Orientation

Mindful of the social dynamics alluded to in the opening chapter, my research investigates how, according to the interviewees, Moshito has performed in relation to its objectives. Informed by what the Music Industry Task Team Report (2000) envisioned for the South African music industry, " the South African music industry as a powerful means of enhancing the country's identity and distinctiveness, while simultaneously creating employment, developing human skills and generating social capital and cohesion" (ibid:2) I draw on a range of social theories and concepts elaborated on below.

Rationale

National policy in the post 1994 period remains consistent in its expression of how an entire economy under apartheid disregarded the development of black Africans. In direct relation to the music industry I am therefore motivated by a historical fact that the South African music industry emerged from an Apartheid dispensation informing conditions within which its edifice was shaped and fashioned on the ideology of white-supremacy. By implication the structure of the industry benefitted

white South Africans, to the exclusion of their black counterparts. Of equal significance is that such benefit, in the main, accrued to white males.

It is with this recognition that I am keen to find out if interviewees have come to observe and experience any significant changes in the music industry in the post 1994 period. And connected to that is whether interviewees also identify any significant continuities from a previous era in the history of South Africa and its music industry. Furthermore, by recording the evolution of Moshito and documenting the responses of black male entrepreneurs in relation to it, allows me to investigate how, in which ways and to what extent Moshito has influenced their journey in the music business. There is no piece of research to date that explores the aforementioned dynamic.

I am also interested to learn if technological advancements taking place on a global scale have brought about any significant shifts in the structure and power relations historically associated with the South African music industry. Have, by way of example, networking at conferences or social networking on the internet aided the development and organisation of small enterprises in any significant way?

The super complex relationship between small enterprises and major corporations is what I also find fascinating. Hesmondhalgh (2000) claims there is evidence of an increasing number of smaller enterprises achieving phenomenal advantage over larger corporations. Hesmondhalgh (citing Keat and Abercrombie, 1991) attributes such proliferation to, among other conditions, 'the rise of a discourse of entrepreneurialism in the economy as a whole' (ibid:150).

I therefore intend illustrating how the aims of Moshito, i.e. to provide a market place, networking environment, knowledge and information exchange mechanism for the music industry and its many operators have impacted on their individual and/combined development. Related to this is that this report, materially, represents a starting point for further research into Moshito and its role in the music industry[4].

[4] Addressing organisational sustainability, the Moshito Board at the beginning of 2010 resolved that Moshito take on projects other than the flagship event. By the end of 2010 Moshito had completed two other projects. *Moshito does idiski* – which was a live music development project during the 2010 World Cup showcased close to 100 music groups in public spaces and small venues across the Gauteng region. The other project *The Live Music Circuit in South Africa 2010* was a mapping study of live music venues, festivals, genres etc across South Africa's nine provinces.

The opportunity to document how Moshito benefits black South African men who are entrepreneurs in the South African music industry among a targeted list of interviewees and directors on the Moshito board also allowed me to look at the structure in relation to its business and political context. The music industry in the context of our country's history and what it means to organise in South Africa's music industry prompted further enquiry into the interviewees' understandings and expectations of Moshito.

This study intends to identify whether shifts – particularly in the arenas of policy, technology, business modelling and democratic institutionalisation – have brought about any meaningful change for small enterprises that are represented in the research. Is there evidence of small enterprises gaining the upper hand in the music industry, or by extension, having increased their individual market share in the music business and economy? Are small enterprises still being exposed to the ruthless profit motif of larger music corporations, in the same way we witnessed in previous decades? Has Moshito – as an intervention – managed to accomplish that which it initially set out to accomplish? And to what end has this come to benefit black men who operate in the South African music industry?

Lastly, and in the absence of research about Moshito, I think an assessment of this organisation's performance from the perspective of small enterprises potentially contributes to future considerations in the areas of policy and strategy for the music industry.

Methodology

As part of my qualitative methodology I engaged past and present directors who serve on the Moshito Board, studied various cultural policy data, music industry research papers and strategy documents as well as press clippings, organisational reports and minutes of meetings. Recognising the value documentaries could bring to the project, I viewed *Mr Devious – my life (2007), Before the Music Dies (2006) and Amandla! A revolution in four-part harmony (2002),* which also offer relevant commentary on the social and economic dimensions of music.

In its policy context, particularly interventions such as the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (CIGS) of 1998 and ITT of 2000, Moshito represents a broader intention to democratise the music industry's developmental and growth objectives. It is therefore worth noting that within this frame, and among the central aims of democratic cultural policies and their strategic offshoots, is the need to bring about shifts from high levels of inequality to a more equitable and accessible milieu and industry.

The discussions and interviews I had with the interviewees exposed me to a number of their common and specific concerns. It also showed up how individual small enterprises – who are social actors located within the South African music industry - understood whose interests Moshito best serves. It gave me a deeper understanding of diverse perspectives associated with who or what sets the development agenda for Moshito and how different types of enterprises (e.g. corporate, SMEs, non-profits) respond to what Moshito offers the South African music sector.

From an industrial perspective, small enterprises in the music industry are consistently engaged with diverse activities including composing and producing music, disseminating recorded and live music, constructing digital and physical environments for the consumption of music; using diverse platforms and mechanisms to market their ideas. It would be for reasons such as these that the state and its government, the corporate and business sectors in general as well as service providers (including musicians and composers) in the music industry take a keen interest in the development of initiatives such as Moshito. The development of SMEs remains, according to Moshito, a critical part of the development, growth and sustainability of African music, domestically and internationally. Furthermore, and within this study, I locate the small enterprises/SMEs/interviewees/entrepreneurs as social actors in the South African music industry.

When I initially identified potential interviewees for this study, I thought it was important for the group to reflect the various industry activities mentioned above. Consequently, the SMEs I eventually identified and selected operate in environments where they assume identities such as house music disc jockey, performer, composer, producer of recorded music, a live music venue operator cum cultural activist. I also expected the presence of at least one dissident voice within the group,

but the research shows differently. Although I had identified two women who could have been part of the research process, I chose to exclude them, in the hope that this will mirror the landscape of the music industry in a general sense: the music industry remains dominated by men.

I should also note that my decision to exclude representative views from RISA, SARRAL and SARA[5] was based on a number of issues, some of which relate to my personal political views, understanding about empowerment and a total resentment of conservative and prejudiced behaviour. I have observed, in various forums, the desire on the part of RISA and SARA representatives to dominate discussion and business. My decision to exclude SARRAL is based on the fact that the High Court, in 2009[6], ruled that the organisation be liquidated as a result of irregularities in the administration of composers' royalties.

This qualitative approach to the research located me in an interlocutory position, able to facilitate discussion among conflicting and similar perspectives concerned with the development and growth of the domestic music industry in general and Moshito in particular. What was also important is that I had to understand the historical context in which Moshito operates before presenting any findings and analysis. Such an approach, argue Nutbrown & Clough (2002) not only yields a balanced assessment of the particular subject, but significantly it converses with its intended audience because it raises questions peculiar to the specific project, or phenomenon, or subject.

Furthermore and as part of a comprehensive desktop literature review, a study of relevant post 1994 policies for the cultural sector, taking in their link to SME development for the music industry not only provided contextual reference for the research, but it also assisted my understanding of what significance the cultural sector holds for economic development. As such, I dialogued with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994), the White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996); and more specifically the CIGS and MITT processes of 1998 and 2000 respectively.

[5] At this stage of the report to merely note that in 2006 RISA, SARRAL and SARA resolved to leave Moshito, having initially been a part of the SAMICI process.

[6] Shapiro, C (2009). The truth about SARRAL – Royalties belong to composers – Judge rules in High Court. Available on http://colinshapiro.co.za (accessed 10 February 2011)

Central to the evaluation task was my ability to establish and rely on effective mechanisms for feedback and at the same time acknowledge the presence of personal subjectivities (Shadish et al, 1991). Consequently the need to maintain integrity within the research process was vitally important, calling for a type of design that assisted with managing challenges associated with such subjectivities and expectations (O'Leary, 2005).

I therefore developed a questionnaire (Appendix 2) that guided the discussions of the research. This approach, borrowed from Kvale's (1996) *Six steps of analysis for qualitative interviews* situates the empowerment of the interviewee at the centre of research. How I accomplished that necessitated foregrounding the importance of openness, respect, clarity, and a willingness to provide interviewees with the opportunity to reflect on what it is they may or may not have revealed. The research questions were based on my qualitative method and include, amongst many other questions, questions that are relevant to this study.

Furthermore, and given the nature of the study that requires an analysis of the industry and also taking into account the dynamism of the sector, the interview questions at times changed for the specific social actor I interviewed. This flexibility enabled me to obtain greater understanding of interviewees' opinions and insights that were not necessarily covered in the structured questionnaire. Linked to this is that I have given fictitious names to the social actors interviewed in this report. My approach in this regard is informed by the potential controversy that the interviewees' opinions could create for the sector and within an organisation such as Moshito. I also reference my fieldwork notes in terms of the place and year in which they occurred. In this undertaking I attempt to assess precisely whether Moshito yields social, economic, cultural or political currency for those involved. I also asked interviewees to elaborate on what they value most about Moshito.

Having said that it is important to point out that my operating within the Moshito environment provided me with relatively easy access to the social actors who are a part of this study. Furthermore, in factoring Moshito's links at domestic, continental and international levels, I identify and describe what (if any) trade opportunities Moshito presented to the key interviewees.

The position of the researcher

My position as an employee of Moshito and a researcher poses a number of challenges, including a duality that shapes bias and subjectivity. At the same time and despite the spectrum of (negative and positive) experience, this position also provides me with gaining insight into the shortcomings and possibilities of the organisation. In this regard I am consistently exposed to the internal operations and decision making, as well as the competing interests that accompany and inform organisational decisions.

Moshito in this context and as in the case of social formations and institutions in general mirrors an exceptionally complex and diverse environment. In addition, and given the scope of this research report, it should also be noted that this research project is by no means comprehensive. Instead, the report presents a starting point to what could subsequently yield greater results for Moshito and the broader South African music industry and sector.

Literature Review

The title “Moshito and Small Enterprise Development” suggests that I need to analyse whether Moshito - as an institution, conference and music market – enables or hinders the mobility, growth and development of entrepreneurs operating businesses in South Africa’s music industry. Beginning with the MITT and CIGS strategies a review of primary and secondary literature, in addition to the documentary *Mr Devious – my life* (2007) shaped a number of significant themes.

Following a discussion about the aforementioned political interventions, I offer an interpretation of concepts such as hegemony and civil society; particularly looking at how they connect with the dynamics of Moshito. Cognisant of South Africa’s political transition, I also explore concepts such as enterprise culture, social capital and networks, and examine their combined link to development.

Drawing on observations and experiences of iconic African male musicians the review explores the current African music business and the possibility of a market. Reportedly, this environment remains unstructured and it consequently poses immense challenges for developing the continent’s music business. In addition, I engage possible psychological continuities and breaks in the experience of black males in the music industry during and after the dismantling of apartheid.

Turning attention to the circulation of cultural goods and ideas in a time of diverse and complex global interconnectedness I examine certain limitations and possibilities for African music and Moshito under conditions of the global market. In this context I also explore the relationship between globalisation and the process of development, and pay attention to some of the consequences for development and cultural diversity.

Examining the Music Industry Task Team Report and Cultural Industries Growth Strategy

Commentators and theorists (Unger, 2004; Simon, 1982) claim that one of the hallmarks of social democracy is that it foregrounds the need to develop the economy through a series of reforms articulated across a range of policies and the industries to which they link. In the case of South Africa, policymakers – in the post

1994 period – busied themselves with identifying types of interventions that they thought would satisfy the social and economic needs of a majority of South Africans[7]. The MITT of 2000 and CIGS of 1998 are relevant to that process in relation to the music industry.

In 1997 the DACST appointed the Cultural Strategy Group[8] to undertake research into the craft, music, film and television and publishing sectors. The purpose of this commission in relation to the music industry was to present "an economic analysis providing baseline data, focus on the current social and economic contribution of the sector, the impediments to growth and the opportunities for employment creation and competitive development" (CIGS, The South African Music Industry, 1998:8).

Situating music as both cultural expression and commodity[9] the *CIGS for the South African Music Industry* (1998) sought to harness existing capacities and enable potential possibilities for this industry. Key among its pronouncements was how the South African music industry can create employment for industry and arts practitioners, support the development of small enterprises, and come to embody a wealth of export potential. The report also advocates the need for the South African

[7] Based largely on what was articulated in the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, a series of initially Green Papers, followed by White Papers materialised as a response to address the historical deficiencies of Apartheid and how these impacted on the lives of South Africans. This occurred across the social economy of South Africa, including Education, Housing, Health, Agriculture, Mining and so on. The White Paper on Arts and Culture drafted in 1996 is viewed as the genesis to what culminated in the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (1998), followed by the Music Industry Task Team of 2000.

[8] The South African Music Industry as a part of The Cultural Industries Growth Strategy (1998:7) describes the Cultural Strategy Group as a "multi-disciplinary consortium" comprising representatives from KPMG, Centre for African Transformation (CART), LMA/SQW Policy and Research Consultants and BDM Consulting.

[9] The discussion concerning commodity vs cultural expression/cultural struggle forms part of an expansive area of literature, much of which argues that the controls of mass/popular culture consistently erode any form of local cultural expression; and should therefore forever be critiqued and questioned. What I have attempted to do is to bring African voices into the discussion and particularly those that have consistently been critical of the South African state and its complicity with market-driven development policies within the cultural sector. At the same time, I would also like to express that a nationalist viewpoint in post-apartheid South Africa, although calling for every aspect of development to be underscored by the overall intention of nation-building, also has its own set of drawbacks which the May 2008 attacks on "foreigners" clearly attest to.

Arguably local expression and consumption, in a context of an international music and financial industry, remain undermined because they are forced to consume cultural goods which are purposefully divorced from their local origin and history, herein benefitting a corporate representation alien to itself (See Bourdieu, 2003,2005; Smiers, 2003). Music or cultural expression in general plays a significant role in how we view ourselves and this can be said of pre, during and post apartheid eras. The bias towards cultural expression, therefore, argues that government cannot be complicit in the advancement of trade and exchange in a way that would loot a specific cultural heritage/history. While one could view such a bias as an elitist attempt at halting the proliferation of "low art" in favour of establishing sites for "high art", one cannot however ignore what impact the consumption of American cultural goods for example has had and continues to have on our society (e.g. gangster rap, violent films etc).

Critical of market-driven development policies for culture, Van Graan (2007) and others claim that how that type of exchange influences our individual and collective psyche, our society within a post-apartheid South Africa should be challenged because its very nature seeks to either silence and destroy, or control what is born outside of it. As such the cultural expression approach to development calls on the South African government to make choices that would ensure not only greater equity for Africans within their own environment but, moreover, it calls on African governments to support a robust social milieu that would enable the restoration of a peoples' confidence, mind and spirit. They argue that failing to do so could result in further underdevelopment.

music industry to embark on greater coordination among industry stakeholders situated within different sectors of the music industry.

The aforementioned music industry report also highlights a need for “dialogue” among industry stakeholders, the creation of an “industrial developmental structure/agency” and how important it would be for South Africa to “profile” itself musically within the international industry (ibid: p. 83). In combination the aforementioned could be viewed as the genesis to what would later be known as Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition.

The second significant development was the appointment of the MITT by then Minister of Arts Culture Science and Technology, Dr Ben Ngubane in 2000. What is important to understand in this context is that the music industry – like other South African industries during the Apartheid era – experienced the calculated indifference of Apartheid, particularly as a result of divide and rule, exploitation, censorship and a number of other tools that would create tension among industry players and preclude black practitioners and businesses from owning and / or controlling their individual, creative resources.

The MITT process, against the aforementioned background, was intended to identify ways in which the music industry in South Africa could begin to chart a way that would identify what is needed in order to bring about shifts within the social economy of the industry. This planning also necessitated an imperative to align itself with democratic change and ultimately find solutions to the impasse between musicians (at the time represented by MUSA) and the major recording companies – where the latter, in the main, represented the interests of multinational companies.

The MITT Report also documents *“*a legacy of disempowerment and lack of access to education, training and information about the economics of the industry among musicians and related workers” (2000:4) as central obstacles to developing humane and equitable cultural industries. Significantly, the MITT process was an inclusive one that documented the experiences and opinions of artists, musicians, and composers as well as those of the labour movement, multinational companies, South African corporate sectors and small enterprises.

What the MITT process also demonstrated was that in the hope of bringing about social and economic shifts that would enable greater democratisation of music industry institutions, underpinned by a policy implementation framework commensurate with democracy it would become important to establish institutions that would be tasked with building capacity and leading transformation processes in the South African music industry. To this end, organisations such as Moshito would consequently epitomise the type of transformation theorised within policy over the preceding years.

Moshito bears testimony to how historical differences and inequalities nevertheless persist in South Africa's music industry, but it also reveals how corporations such as SAMRO (that according to testimonies during the MITT process exploited black producers, composers and musicians by controlling copyright levers on behalf of the Apartheid state) emerge as structures open to transformation. SAMRO's ability to exert its institutional and financial muscle in a manner symbolic of a shift from apartheid to social democracy would play a significant role in guiding the ideology and practice of organisations such as Moshito[10].

Moshito, within the aforementioned policy context would become an important vehicle for the DACST and music organisations and practitioners involved in the business of music because it addressed the concerns of industry practitioners. Most notably it tackled issues concerned with socio-economic development for musicians, problems involving piracy of recorded music, the need to develop live music venues, festivals and so on.

Linked to this is that, according to the present chairman Andre le Roux, the institutionalisation of Moshito and hosting the annual Moshito edition, demonstrate a need for this industry to address past inequities, support job creation and socio-economic development and identify ways in which to capitalise on existing infrastructure in order to ensure growth for the South African music industry. This task Le Roux maintains "cannot be left to government; it requires a combination of efforts on the part of government and industry."

[10]SAMRO administered Moshito to June 2007

Understanding the MITT (2000) and CIGS (1998) as strategic interventions in a democratic cultural policy framework is a necessary prerequisite for evaluating the perceptions of entrepreneurs in relation to Moshito. The reason for this is found in the idea that Moshito, as an institutional instrument, is a product of democratic change and therefore should be capable of bringing about a type of change that should benefit small enterprise development.

Linking Moshito to concepts of hegemony and civil society

The Gramscian concept of hegemony foregrounds the idea that there exist varied relations between classes and other social forces within society; and that subordinate classes can only become hegemonic (i.e. lead society) if indeed it takes into account the struggles and interests of other social forces (Simon, 1982).

What is also significant is that the concept of hegemony enables us to engage processes of social organisation and control in a manner that prevents our assuming social contexts as simple and straightforward, with obvious for and against perspectives, ruling class and working class divisions, and so on. Hegemony in this sense assists us to remain mindful of the fact that social arrangements within an organisational environment present greater complexity and relations among those involved in the particular setting (Williams,1977).

Moshito is a national organisation and annual project to which other national structures seek affiliation. There are two significant points to highlight at this stage. The first is to understand Moshito in the context of development and the second is to understand the possible antagonisms and alliances within Moshito. Moshito is made up of seven national structures, some more powerful than others, some older than others. Under its umbrella are representatives from the corporate and general small business sector, labour represented by COSATU affiliate CWUSA and then also a number of structures who represent the interests of independent recording labels, composers, music managers and music promoters.

Since its institutional inception in 2006 Moshito has promoted itself as a public-private partnership. This positioning has a number of implications, two of which I will shed light on. Firstly, when one looks at development trends the former situates

Moshito within an ideological frame of neoliberal policy. Internationally the neoliberal approach to development, notes Nederveen Pieterse (2001), is one dependent on market-led growth in a way that would seek to overcome the failure of the state to support the development of a particular market.

In this it (i.e. the neoliberal approach) promotes development of institutions that would carry out what the state is incapable of. Significantly the concept of good governance is prioritised in this context and forms part of a number of themes around which organisations are formed. This all in a bid intended for civil society to lead transformation but with the "approval" of and "partnership" with the state (ibid: 17; 155).

The Gramscian notion of forever "doing" and therefore able to realise one's potential[11] before assuming leadership of such potential within a "real" context as Moshito, raises an important question concerning whether Moshito expresses its philosophical genesis. "Doing reality" in relation to Moshito compels me to consider Moshito in terms of how it orientates itself to creating a more equitable and participatory environment for small enterprises and other social actors in the music business.

Once again, and relying on the concept "hegemony", the significance of Moshito remains relevant to SMEs operating within the market and/or in "parallel economies"[12]. I therefore need to determine whether Moshito has evolved into a type of organisation which supports and secures the participation of those marginalised within the South African music industry. Nederveen Pieterse (2001) asserts that development from such a perspective would shape attitudes and practices (reality and action) that implement and organise programmes for the benefit of those who construct it in the first instance.

Moshito is a civil society organisation that purposefully aims to contribute to the development of a national music industry. Its insistence on developing industry also brings forth an imperative to genuinely consider the social value of music, i.e. what Williams (1977:108) refers to as the "wholeness" of the process. In so doing I should

[11] In this context the Creative South Africa Report (1998) carries a by line "A strategy for realising the potential of the Cultural Industries" – this document proposes various ways through which South Africa – at that stage – could bring about greater equity within the music industry. One could therefore situate Moshito as a product of that strategy.
[12] Lambert, C (2003) ILO Seed Report – Promoting the culture sector through job creation and Small Enterprise Development in SADC Countries: The Music Industry

consider both “legal” and “extra-legal” enterprise activity and networks. This approach potentially locates Moshito beyond the traditional meaning of the institution or organisation or networks – making it possible for it to adapt to gradual technical and social changes that benefit social actors outside of mainstream music markets.

Who or what constructed Moshito and whose interests does Moshito best serve? Unger (2004) concerned largely with the role of governments, locates his perspective within the development of social democracies in developing countries. He asserts that democratic governments in third world countries should create conditions for a “petit-bourgeois revolution” by creating a “democratised market economy”.

Moshito in this context remains connected to a cultural policy framework premised on a specific philosophical orientation. This orientation embraces the necessity of public-private programmes or institutions to construct favourable social and economic conditions for black South African producers, traders and consumers of local music. One could therefore argue that, for Moshito to legitimise itself it has to also implement programmes that will address market inequities, and particularly the failure of this market to satisfy the development needs of a majority of black operators in the music business.

Within the policy-business dimension outlined above, another critical challenge presents itself to Moshito. Shaw (2007) asserts that the various property rights assigned to musical works – collectively referred to as intellectual property rights - represents the “basic unit of trade” in the music industry. In the case of the South African music industry collection societies or music rights administration organisations (e.g. Southern African Music Rights Organisation or National Organisation for the Reproduction of Music in Southern Africa) have come to represent a powerful force in the international and domestic music industries.

How Moshito, as a project emanating from cultural policy approaches such a unit of trade, on a platform for the development of the business of music and within the realm of culture, becomes important when, historically, the music industry reflects one that is commensurate with the abuse and expropriation of intellectual property. This then, one imagines would have a number of ideological implications, especially when considering that the impositions of (global) market categorisations such as “world music” and “niche markets”, while firmly entrenched in Moshito’s content,

remain located outside of any critique issued by Moshito. At the same time SAMRO, which is the largest African collection society, remains an active member and supporter of Moshito.

Considering the organisational interests of stakeholders inside Moshito, the aforementioned also suggests the character of Moshito resembles that of its external environment. How opposing attitudes (or realities) and contradictions become typical features situated at the core of a structure seeking unity amid diverse labour, business, government and civil society interests leads us to conclude that indeed Moshito embodies an intense and highly complex organisation .

De Soto (2001) claims equity within the developing world potentially places ownership of public goods in the control of organisations representing the poor, the working class and those traditionally marginalised in society who often engage social contracts of an “extralegal” nature. Moshito, as an industry organisation, rejects any notion of extra-legality, compelling those within to act according to and within the framework of the law and democracy.

What De Soto fails to unravel is the underlying ideological implications arising from relations of power under capitalist conditions – which most commonly in the music industry frustrates access to information, knowledge, means of production etc. There are also challenges of leadership, skills development, resource investment in addition to it being a sector that remains vulnerable to the workings of corrupt activity[13].

Moshito’s commitment to support small enterprise development and identify with entrepreneurship holds meaning in the context of Unger’s (2004) concept of a “petit-bourgeoisie revolution”. This concept within Moshito is best exemplified by the participation and presence of the Music Managers Forum of SA (MMFSA) and the Association for Independent Recording Companies (AIRCO) as well as the South African Music Promoters Association (SAMPA) on the Mosthito board. Through largely the needs and aspirations of small enterprises within the aforementioned structures are the challenges and difficulties faced by the industry’s small businesses brought into the tapestry and narrative of the annual Moshito edition.

[13] The liquidation of SARRAL attests to this statement

What however can aggravate the picture I sketched above are instances in which the leadership of any structure connected to Moshito is brought in question by the general public, consequently bringing Moshito's reputation into disrepute. For example, recent allegations of fraud and corruption have been levelled at SAMPA's treasurer[14]. Ostensibly this also illustrates an inability to break with the past; providing us with an example of how, sometimes, the abuse of power is played out under present political and social conditions. Simultaneously however it summons a political will to ignite a different trajectory for development (Terreblanche, 2002; Unger, 2004). This trajectory, according to those advocating for good corporate governance (e.g. The South African State, UNESCO, IOL and the Commonwealth Foundation) instils a desire to operate within parameters and principles of good corporate governance.

What we subsequently observe is continuity in a search for another way of "doing" development. A linked perspective on "alternative development" that Nederveen-Pieterse (2001) highlights finds currency within what he considers to be a neo-liberal understanding of development. This perspective foregrounds "alternative" as being "society-led, equitable, participatory and sustainable". Furthermore it is underpinned by "misgivings about state failure". Nederveen Pieterse also suggests that it has regard for "local development" and "social agency" in its broadest sense; and one of the consequences linked to "alternative development" is the proliferation of non-governmental organisations. However, he contends that we would be foolhardy to assume that such NGOs are developmental in the actions, commenting that,

> "The trend of NGO-professionalisation runs the risk of depoliticisation and managerialism, along with the erosion of state capabilities and 'alternative dependency' on donor support and agendas" (ibid: 152)

In his acknowledgment of the limitations caught up in "alternative development" he raises an implication of dependency. He concludes that relationships between governments and civil society organisations remain deeply complex, commenting

[14] See "Lotto bosses tata ma chance" In *Times Live* (30 April 2011). Reportedly, Oupa Selemane who sits on the arts and culture committee for the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (NLDTF) received millions of Rands from the NLDTF for his organisation The Jazz Foundation. Selemane claims that he recused himself from the committee when it decided to give him the funds for a concert showcasing popular American group Earth Wind and Fire. Selemane is also the Treasurer of SAMPA.

> “the current trend of ‘strengthening civil society’ by supporting NGOs is deeply apolitical, ignores contradictions within civil society, overrates NGOs and weakens state capabilities”, it also creates a “blurring” of the development field in a way that attempts to “synergise inputs” from civic organisations, business and government (ibid:152).

Moshito in that context embodies an umbrella structure based on common interest among those (regardless of their competing interest and disposition within society) that earn a living from the music industry. Nederven-Pieterse asserts that this type of approach or search, i.e. one for common interest could or “may” contribute to the “supply-side” of social development. For example, if interviewees confirm Moshito provides them with access to music industry networks and markets, which in turn inform their individual and / or collective growth, it would be the very “blurring” which makes this possible. At the same time we should not make the error in assuming that the conditions under which those who are a part of this study reflect the conditions of social actors located outside of this research.

As such and in the search for power, according to Nederveen Pieterse, it becomes important to embrace the possibility of power outside of its existence in the state only. Instead one would need to redefine “agency” in a way that would benefit various social agents and actors, including individuals, NGOs, businesses and government. It is important for civil society and its organisations to comprehend the complexities of “public-private” partnerships because it will shed light on the conditions of the situation, including the specific opportunities and limitations present in the given scenario.

Moshito, viewed through lenses of agency and participation could represent a project and institution capable of advancing the interests of social actors who belong to it and connect with it. Effectively it comes to embody a social formation that experiences internal conflict, but which simultaneously enables the unity of local perspectives in the face of external threats such as cultural domination. In this it gives expression to the idea of unity, to a “new internationalism” and the inability of government to create markets.

Connecting Enterprise Culture, Social Capital and Development

Enterprise culture, social capital and development underpin the objectives of Moshito. Summarily, where and how Moshito locates itself socially has great bearing on the type of “enterprise culture”, “social capital” and development it invites, promotes and advances. As demonstrated above there remains little doubt that the link between the music business and cultural policy has a profound influence on the attitude and practice of Moshito in relation to the production and trade of music. Does Moshito project and practice a type of enterprise culture which contributes to increased inequality within the industry and therefore considered to play a counter-developmental role; or does Moshito open up space for radical or alternative strategies for the South African music industry?

It can also be argued that policy makers of the period relied on the weakness of knowledge in order to push a specific (neo-liberal) agenda. Having said that, social capital in the preceding context speaks directly to how the state (in this case the South African state) chose to engage development and growth of the music industry. Consequently, the state in its attempt to create social capital, did not facilitate and support conference formations which marginalised communities themselves might have encouraged. In contrast, the state chose to supply money to music business leaders; herein devolving financial control about development of the music industry to few individuals.

How then in that context Moshito represents an agent of transformation for individuals and groups on the margins of the music industry reflects a critical question that I need to answer as part of the research. Social capital in Moshito, seemingly, shapes in a way the structural arrangements demand and embodies the operational influence of the organisation. Should one then centre the implications of social capital in relation to the social and economic mobility of actors (including what it is they might produce)? Within this context it also becomes equally important to explore different ideas about the phenomenon of networks which individually or collectively centre ideas/beliefs or values/ practices as operating from within and from unique cultures of enterprise.

From such a perspective the organisation engages broader concerns and understandings of politics in relation to power/leadership, globalisation/cultural industries, social agency, identity etc. Furthermore, combining this perspective with the ambiguities and complexities Moshito faces internally and externally, in addition to how they connect to economic development and education, also signals the presence of the concept social theorists (Field, 2003; Putman, 1995) refer to as social capital.

At the centre of social capital, academics and policy makers assert that relationships matter. Woolcock and Narayan (2000) writing for the World Bank, maintain this type of (social) capital is all about who it is that one knows, placing experience about a subject or situation above that of having knowledge of the subject or the context.

The implication of this finds resonance in the policy trajectory of the MITT Report in the sense that this process relied on the experiences of people in order to formulate its recommendations. What this also means is that the MITT Report should be read together with the language of policy at that time and the conditions that accompany this language. The language of social capital found in policies of the United States, UK and the World Bank at that stage of the South African transition would therefore be accompanied by much of what today is believed to be anti-developmental.

According to Field (2003) social capital "increases" with increased access to networks, within a particular environment. Field states that "membership of networks, and a set of shared values are at the heart of the concept of social capital" (ibid: 3). Field does however recognise relevant "ambiguities" with the term "social capital", he does not fully question the conditions into which and through which individuals are socialised. Bourdieu (2005) on the other hand, addresses how important it is to recognise "the specific logic of the field of production" (ibid: 39-41), indicating firstly, individuals in society are born into the social space of that society, including its economy. Secondly, the logic of that economy (and in the case of market fundamentalism) often dictates against individuals and groups with low "reserves" of social capital.

In this sense, and factoring the evolution of Moshito, the business system as a type of social organisation has come to represent the usual state of affairs. Morris (1991) suggests, within the context of Britain, the combination of a political will to compete

internationally precedes a realisation of the significance of culture in the formation of Enterprise Culture. While pointing out certain structural and psychological dimensions of the culture, Morris concludes a process of “cultural engineering” occurs in its final phase, noting that,

> “Coupled with education is the ‘enterprise strategy’ – a partnership between government and individuals to foster this cultural engineering. This phase is predicated upon the recognition that no amount of external (‘Marxist’) or internal (‘Freudian’) tinkering, without the support of the populace, can bring about enterprise culture” (1991: 32-34).

Investigating the distance between Moshito and alternative social formations of enterprise reveals current social, economic and ideological relations within the political economy of the music industry. Contextually then, and bearing in mind how the structural arrangements pointed out earlier connect to government policies and strategies for arts and culture, the music industry and education emerge as significant relationships to remain mindful of.

Significantly, the beginnings of Enterprise Culture, according to Morris (1991) lie in the hallmark of a conservative Margaret Thatcher; Social Capital in the United States filled with fear and exhausted from individualism (Putman, 1995). Development Theory, the apparent link between post-colonial apartheid Africa and its European counterpart (and as mediated by government and industry policies originating in Europe and North America), according to Nederveen-Pieterse translates into relations of power, which within this time and space illustrate that,

> “The central thesis of developmentalism is that social change occurs according to a pre-established pattern, the logic and direction of which is known. Those who declare themselves furthest advanced along its course claim privileged knowledge of the direction of change. Developmentalism is the truth from the point of view of the centre of power, it is the theorisation (or rather, ideologisation) of its own path of development” (2001: 18).

Read in combination, the aforementioned calls for an interrogation about political and cultural struggle. The latter’s relationship with democracy and enterprise culture and,

principally, the practical implications within the context of development also suggest that small enterprises in South Africa's music industry continue to hold Moshito accountable to its mandate.

Furthermore, reports by the International Labour Organisation (ILO)[15] and Commonwealth Foundation repeatedly suggest that small enterprise development within the cultural sector or creative industries can make a significant contribution to employment creation. Within the frame of *Putting Culture First – Commonwealth perspectives on culture and development* published in 2008, Moshito seemingly represents an example of that which connects culture and development, or within what the Commonwealth Foundation refers to as "The creative economy and sustainable livelihoods". This report also notes that development of the creative economy bodes well for developing countries, and moreover in a context aimed at building local, domestic and continental markets, it cautions that although Commonwealth countries should ensure livelihoods are created within the creative economy, they [the countries] must make every effort to "ensure that new wealth does more than enrich existing elites".

Limitations and possibilities for African music in the global market

The international music industry combined with national development policies no doubt influence Moshito and the local music environment; and they do this in very many different ways. For example, an interview with Hugh Masekela illustrates how this musical icon makes no apologies when stating that the development of South African music and its industry is delayed because it [the industry] consistently promotes meaningless versions of what are perceived to be marketable music genres. Masekela claims,

> "Our country is presently faced with a cultural recession. When kwaito started it played an activist role. It was concerned with the quality of our lives. But now youth sing along to nonsense: aye-ye aye-ye or tsiki tsiki yo... The elements that control the arts are not interested in anything but numbers. There is nothing wrong with unintelligible stuff but when

[15] Lambert, C. (2003). ILO Seed Report - Promoting the culture sector through job creation and Small Enterprise Development in SADC Countries: The Music Industry

> the people in the industry try to kill off everything else....”... “If the whole world is kwaito and hip hop then there is something wrong with that world[16]”.

Interestingly in his introduction to *Africa O-Ye* by (Ewens:1991) Cameroonian music icon, Manu Dibango (1991) comments in *Music in Motion* that notwithstanding the absence of an African music industry structure, African music thrives in ways unbeknown to other cultures. Dibango also claims that the fast paced nature of technological developments will have “positive and negative” consequences for the continent. One negative aspect raised by Dibango, he asserts, is demonstrated by the overwhelming shift from production to increasing patterns of consumption. In this context he questions what is it that Africans are consuming in terms of culture, music etc.?

Within that frame and as a professional musician Dibango, like Masekela, contends there is an imperative to address issues in the business of music. He states that although within Africa there is a variety of music “it is divided, left to stand for itself. There is no music industry structure to support it because Africa is not structured” (ibid: 6). Music industry commentator and activist, Steve Gordon (2002) in *Africa’s music market needs to be Africanised* calls on music industry stakeholders to find remedy to a present scenario in which “the circulation, exchange and flow of African music on the continent remains blocked”[17] (para. 4).

Gordon asserts that failing to alter the structural and systemic conditions under which music is produced, exchanged and consumed will further entrench apartheid colonialism in the music industry. What this could suggest is that music markets such as Moshito have a pertinent role to play in transforming the status quo from an imperialist dominated environment to one that is open to the creativity of the people who produce local music for local audiences.

The aforementioned, when viewed within the context of development theory also illustrates that the development space is extremely complex in that it brings together local actors who operate at this level, but who also – with the aid of technology –

[16] Interview by Percy Zivomunya in Mail and Guardian 27 February 2009
[17] Gordon,S (2002) Africa’s music market needs to be Africanised; http://www.music.org.za/editorial.asp?ID=15&v=true

engage a highly globalised music industry environment. In *Development Theory – Deconstructions / Reconstructions* Nederven-Pieterse (2001) points out that there is an overwhelming multiplicity of understandings concerned with the idea of development. He asserts that the impact of development theory is dependent on the social forces that engage with it and "carry it" (ibid, 2001). How do these ideas relate to Moshito? What do they mean in the context of Moshito? In the business of music, is Moshito a force capable of bringing about a change? Is Moshito capable of effecting change in a manner that benefits entrepreneurs?

Colonial-apartheid and its effect on the black African psyche

Foregrounding the oppressive conditions under which black South Africans engaged the music industry during apartheid, Gwangwa, J and van Aurich, F (1989) comment in *The Melody of Freedom - A reflection on Music* and under the heading *Apartheid is Money* that,

> "(t)he South African recording industry invests very little money in South African artists; cheap productions are the norm. In 1980, for instance, only R2000 was spent on a record by the very successful artists Steve Kekana, while annually R100 000 is earmarked to retain foreign artists and their labels... Black musicians are paid per session (for instance R5 per hour), the credits usually go to the producer and the record company (ibid: 155)[18]".

Linked to the aforementioned and citing Fanon's The Fact of Blackness[19], there is evidence in our present environment of how the effects of apartheid endure despite the dismantling of its draconian laws, penetrating the economy and other social spaces. The ability of apartheid to perpetuate, to "distort" and "fragment" the identities of black people cannot be underrated.

[18] Gwanga, J and van Aurich, F (1989) The melody of freedom – A reflection on music, in W.Campschreur and J.Divendal (eds) Culture in Another South Africa , Zed Books 1989

[19] See chapter 5 in Black Skin, White Masks (1967: 109-140). Apartheid, colonial history has in the present day informed increasing antagonisms, of racial, gendered and class dimensions. In the instance of the music industry this oftentimes manifests in the battle of ideas between multinationals and local businesses; between white and black practitioners and to an increasing extent between those that resist a historical patriarchy and others who work towards bringing about change in systemic patterns of inequality.It must also be remembered that the music industry's historical mode of operation remains premised on white male domination over the exploitation of black South African musicians and composers.

What however remains important for my research is the overriding political context, which arguably through organisations such as Moshito, seeks to reconstruct that which was destroyed by apartheid. Of greater complexity is how the aforementioned also highlights the fact that the historical beneficiaries of the music industry (white, corporate business) remain caught up in their inability to adapt to a new dispensation – not only at the national level but also within a global environment. The current milieu symbolically aims to restore the voices of black people, but at the same time it presents a range of problems that also diminish possibility for change. In the documentary *Mr Devious – my life* (2007) this iconic hip hop artist from the Cape Flats, just before he was brutally killed, remarked about the recording industry,

> "I got an offer for a lot of money in SA currency to go to Johannesburg and record my music. It was a (record) deal where I had to sign away a lot of my creative rights. At the end of the day you are caught up in so much debt and now you have to sign with a record company and put yourself into debt for 500 thousand rand. I stepped out of the situation."

Devious takes issue with the exploitative nature of the recording industry, and he does this many years, in fact decades after what Gwangwa, J and van Aurich, F (1989) described above. Devious recognises that this type of market fundamentalism is in conflict with what he intends to achieve with his music and within his social environment. The (record industry's) operational mechanism relies on many artists to remain indebted to it.

In spite of South Africa's political transition embodying an outcome of political and cultural struggle black musicians and small enterprises continue to face hardships within their social and economic environments. Parenti (2006) implores we recognise the limitations of the global market. He advocates for democratic programmes to not reproduce business practices that seek to undermine and abuse people or that remain socially deficient and in this way diminish possibilities for actors at the local level.

Considering the relationship between Globalisation and Development

Considering what the term “the age of access” by Rifkin (2000) questions in light of the dominant cultures in the global market, how do other cultures establish themselves within markets? He insists that we never lose sight of who owns and controls these markets and that we remain critical and point out historical continuities in the expropriation and abuse of local cultures. Rifkin comments,

> “Since the commercial sphere relies on the cultural sphere for its very existence, it too will be weakened if indigenous music is absorbed and eventually depleted by the forces of commerce. The economy will have devoured its resource base – the feelings, values, shared experiences, and meanings that human beings nurture in cultural soil and that provide the raw resources for commodification and exchange in the commercial sphere” (2000:250).

The same chapter reiterates a response from UNESCO in 1998 to such developments, where this agency states,

> “The cultural values which identify and link local, regional or national communities seem in danger of being overwhelmed by the relentless forces of the global marketplace. In the circumstances, questions raised as to how societies can manage the impacts of globalisation such that the local or national cultures, and the creativity that sustains them, are not damaged but rather are preserved and enhanced” (cited Rifkin 2000: 250-251).

A critical view of the aforementioned indicates that it is not necessarily about how society manages the impact of globalisation within that frame of commercial erosion of culture, or market fundamentalism, but calls on such society to develop reflexive ways which would create the possibility and conditions for overcoming such obstacles. According to Unger (2004) there is a need to highlight the significance of small enterprises and especially its ability to create outside of the global terrain of

multinational and corporate interests (where the latter in the historical development of the South African music industry suppresses the social value music bestows upon any society).

In this context, it is seemingly imperative for Moshito to situate the development and growth needs of small enterprises at the centre of its purpose, in addition to the social value of music at the core of its architecture and expression. Failing to do so could have severe consequences in the future because it could well indicate the presence of a leadership not fully aware of the social implications globalisation exerts on the development of productive forces located locally.

Turning to the international arena of "cultural goods", Van Graan (2007) in *The doors of culture shall be open....if you can afford it* contends that by submitting (South) Africa's cultural goods (including music) to the dictates of the global market and in the context of democracy, South Africa should be more resistant in its approach to seeking solutions in the market of cultural goods, especially when one considers the effects of colonialism and apartheid and their combined failure to develop poor countries.

Van Graan (2007) also points out that while the Freedom Charter wanted to enable cultural expression, in practice the exchange of cultural goods on a global scale exerts enormous pressure on governments of poor countries because it would be the very market that excludes poor people or seeks to include poor people on "the market's" terms. He writes,

> "In the process, democracy itself is compromised as freedom of creative expression is limited to those who have traditionally had access to resources or who now give "the market" the kind of anaemic art that it wants, rather than the kind of critical, robust art that our nascent democracy needs (ibid: 27)[20].

Unpacking the types of compromises Van Graan alludes to, Bourdieu's *Firing Back – Against the tyranny of the Market 2* (2003) calls for a "new internationalism" among "artists, writers, scholars and others" (ibid: 75) who support cultural development. His intention in this regard attempts to debunk the meaning of globalisation within a

[20] See Amandla Pilot Issue , December 2007, p.27

neoliberal policy frame. Globalisation, as Bourdieu points out, is not something that just came about – it has been engineered to free companies from national restrictions and to enable “free” trade. This creates a problematic and challenging environment for those who do not belong to the dominant classes. Bourdieu states,

> “Economic globalisation is not a mechanical effect of the laws of technology or the economy but the product of a policy implemented by a set of agents and institutions, and the result of the application of rules deliberately created for specific ends, namely trade liberalisation (that is, the elimination of all national regulation restricting companies and their investments). In other words the “global market” is a political creation... the product of a more or less consciously concerted policy” (ibid: 84).

What the preceding remarks point to is a need for me to assess how Moshito which is a product of CIGS which in turn represents a contribution to a “neoliberal” development policy at the national level, GEAR (CIGS, 1998: 3) impacts on removing obstacles for small businesses, or possibly further entrenches a status quo synonymous with denied access to music markets for small enterprises and entrepreneurs.

The aforementioned further compels us to explore the influence and politics of Development Theory, and especially the type of structural arrangements and impositions it might exert on an organisation such as Moshito. Chumbow (2005) discussing the politics of development, declares,

> Initially, the term “development” was contrasted with “underdevelopment” to capture the gap between the rich industrialised nations of Europe and North America and the poor, less industrialised countries of Africa, South America and so on. Some African nationalists believed that the development gap could be bridged or at least considerably reduced by the accelerated development of the economies of underdeveloped countries. The most reasonable goal for the South should therefore not be the unattainable objective of

> "bridging the gap" but the attainable goal of development targets aimed at mobilising the population out of underdevelopment" (2005: 165)

Consequently we cannot negate the political function of Moshito. This function, which does not aim to express any individual class interests becomes an important social dimension in spaces where (class and other social) conflict is played out at the ideological level (Barret, 1994). In so doing the research reveals not only the relevance of Moshito in post-Apartheid South Africa, but additionally roots an imperative to investigate phenomena in critical and innovative ways or create what Geoff Dyer (2005) describes as "imaginative criticism".

Conclusion / Discussion

What we can conclude from the foregoing discussion is that Moshito owes its genesis to particular strategic interventions made in the context of an attempt to effect the transition to democracy. Although this interpretation signals a positive dimension in the context of the South African music industry, one cannot however ignore the dangers and challenges the organisation faces because of its structural composition and the possible conflict or internal antagonisms this might bring forth.

At the same time, its location in South Africa and in a globalised market that has been deliberately skewed to the advantage of the rich and powerful international players presents a diverse set of challenges. Moshito also has to contend with the grim legacies of apartheid. The themes I explored above shaped the following two chapters. In Chapter Three I describe the composition of Moshito and trace the organisation's evolution over the past number of years. What follows in Chapter Four is an account of the conversations and interviews I had with the interviewees and their varied connectedness to the literature.

CHAPTER THREE: MOSHITO AND DEVELOPMENT

Description and significance

Moshito since 2004 has come to represent an important event for corporate, small and medium enterprises and artists in the South African music industry. For SMEs in particular, the event offers a space in which to engage and speak openly about industry issues affecting them, network and do business with likeminded enterprises, connect with government support programmes[21] for the music industry as well as gain access to the conference sessions, where much about the international industry can be learnt.

For artists – some of whom operate as SMEs – the annual event has come to represent "opportunity" for their businesses and has also grown in the area of live performance. Since 2009 Moshito showcased an average 40 plus bands per year[22]. How this element of Moshito has come to benefit SMEs will be addressed in this paper. The primary focus being on the individual SMEs' trajectory within the South African music industry and in relation to matters of production, exchange, and feedback as these affect the individual SME. Situated close to the centre of that conversation is how the individual entrepreneur perceives, understands and interprets Moshito. Has this annual industry gathering come to benefit him in any way, has it benefitted his business?

Cultural industries and government policy

The ushering in of a new dispensation in 1994 exposed South Africa to numerous ways of developing and implementing policy. This process extracted best practices from governments and organisations the world over and across various industries, including the cultural industries. For South Africa to initiate a cultural policy was – at

[21] For example Moshito together with SAMEX presents export readiness workshops. It also host music business workshops for new entrants to the industry.
[22] Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition (2009; 2010) Technical Reports indicate that the 2009 and 2010 annual editions showcase in 53 bands and 36 bands respectively.

the time – seen to be vital to the development of a South African nation[23]. Moreover, the realm of cultural policy had to embrace the economic dimension of culture.

This nexus, that is the point at which culture no longer symbolises group expression only, but is also understood to possess economic potential within an industrial context in many ways came to influence the current period in which talk of cultural industries is no longer a foreign concept to South Africans. What remains important for us to understand is that up until this point in the mid-1990s black South Africans were not only excluded from culture industry discourse but most significantly, is that blacks were excluded from this industry's decision-making processes.

By 1998 the DACST spearheaded a study called the Cultural Industries Growth Strategy and together with design, craft and film, music represented an important component as a part of the strategy[24]. The report stated, categorically, that for music and the South African music industry to realise its potential it remained incumbent on industry and government to work together in setting up the necessary policy and institutional foundation – one able to support development and growth for artists, musicians, record companies, promoters and other intermediaries involved in the music business.

By 1999/2000 the then Minister of Arts and Culture Science and Technology, Dr Ben Ngubane appointed the Music Industry Task Team. This team, comprising a range of industry minds concerned itself with the legal, policy, artistic and business dimensions of the industry. The group heard oral and written submissions from industry professionals and organisations across South Africa; the submissions later informed 37 recommendations for the South African music industry that, with state support[25], had to be implemented.

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[23] African National Congress (1994) Reconstruction and Development Programme, p.69-72 that would later inform the White Paper on Arts and Culture locates this aspect of South African society as important aspects of South Africa's social economy in addition to business and industry concerned with the arts.

[24] Broader neoliberal policies of the time, and of which CIGS was a part of, imposed policies and ways of doing in order to sustain economic growth at a macro level – and in the process deepening a crisis of high unemployment, widened gaps between rich and poor, economic and fear conflict such as what the authorities refer to as xenophobia. The cultural industries in that context then comes to represent an important part of what traders, governments and commentators refer to as the 21st century "knowledge economy". It is also a site in which ideas do battle for influencing large parts of society.

[25] State support in this instance was understood to be a combination of efforts on the part of various government departments, including the Department of Trade and Industry , Department of Communications, Department of Education, Department of Labour with DACST as the lead department

Connecting Moshito to national cultural policy

The domestic music industry, unable to escape the systemic effects of Apartheid, states the MITT Report[26] of 2000 "suffered additional setbacks because indigenous culture was actively suppressed and distorted by the apartheid regime. One of the most devastating aspects of this legacy is that local music is not developing as fast as it should (p.2)." Intended to inform an implementation framework commensurate with democracy, government (represented by the DACST) would drive the MITT process in a way that soon laid a necessary policy foundation for institutional development within the music sector.

Moshito, espousing a vision to be recognised as the *premier* African music market, is viewed as a product of that process. Under the coalition banner of SAMICI[27] Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition existed as an annual project before registering as a Section 21 company in 2006. In its endeavour to champion common interests, unity and inclusiveness and host an annual edition that enables industry networking, knowledge diffusion about issues confronting the music industry as well a market for product exhibition and artistic showcasing, a board of directors comprising individuals who represent national industry organisations[28] is the decision making body within Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition.

The direct link to the South African music industry on the one hand and the DACST on the other informed an amazing jostling for power within Moshito. It is therefore not surprising to read and hear commentators and artists make reference to a perception that the DACST (government) controls the music industry[29]. Coupled to this, the

[26] The MITT was appointed by Dr Ben Ngubane , then minister of the DACST. The task team was set up as a response mechanism to the "problems expressed by South African musicians and their representative organisations" (MITT Report 2000:1).

[27] A broad music industry coalition comprised of SAMRO, SARRAL, RISA, NORM, SARA, MUSA & SAMPA. The idea at the time, according to SAMRO Chief Executive Officer, Nick Motsatse who was also the first Moshito Chairman was to create a united industrial structure that government could work with

[28]The organisations include the Association of Independent Recording Companies (AIRCO), Composers Association of South Africa (CASA), Creative Workers Union of South Africa (CWUSA), Music Managers Forum of South Africa (MMFSA), National Organisation for the Reproduction of Music (NORM), Southern African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) and South African Music Promoter Association (SAMPA).

[29] Culture et Development (2008) *Rediscovering music in cities of the South*. The chapter on the South African music industry states this explicitly.

once dominant recording industry body, RISA[30] whose members are experiencing exceptional shrinkage in the area of record and CD sales soon took issue with how Moshito is controlled and organised.

In reference to such shrinkage, the strategy for South African Music Exports (2009) which is a recognised export, council in the Department of Trade and Industry highlights the shifts in the global recording industry, stating

> "The global music market is worth $36.9 billion in 2007 with total sales of 3.5 billion units. South Africa is ranked the 25th largest music market in the world. The global market was dominated by 5 large multi-national record companies, AOL Time Warner, Vivendi-Universal, Sony, BMG and EMI. Since the merger of Sony and BMG there are four majors and speculation amongst industry players at the world's largest music market MIDEM, is that there will soon be three majors. In 2008, the South African recording industry generated locally just short of R900 million which is down from the 2 previous years where the figure approximated R1 billion. 55% of that was from International albums released locally and therefore a large portion of that is remitted as royalties to international companies and artists" (ibid:4).

The significance of the aforementioned is that the global recording industry – represented by the major recording companies in South Africa – has not to any noticeable extent invested in the production or marketing of local music content. Concerned largely with the bottom line the strategies on the part of major recording companies located in South Africa exist to ensure increased revenues for shareholders. What this also reveals is that the domestic industry cannot rely on the multinationals to develop local content.

[30] At the time of the MITT , RISA was called Association of South African Music Industry (ASAMI). This body was an industry body representing mainly the interests of the major recording companies. By "major" I am referring to the multinationals such as EMI, BMG, Sony, Universal, Warner Bros, Gallo. Independent recording companies had and to some extent continue to have very little say in the decisions of RISA. What is also significant for us to acknowledge is that outside of labour and intellectual property issues, the MITT process focussed largely on the recording industry. While it made mention of live music, it did not, in fact, could not anticipate the technological advancements that would emerge from the digital age, including the internet and mobile technologies.

Corporate governance and structure

Referring to my discussion on hegemony and civil society in the literature review I should emphasise that within any social organisation or setting there, historically, exists power relations among dominant/hegemonic classes and subordinate ones, i.e. in patriarchy women are deemed subordinate, in capitalism it would be the working or poor classes, in heterosexual societies, homosexuals would be outcasts and so on.

In the case of the music industry this assertion manifests at the domestic level. During the apartheid era, multinational recording companies in collaboration with the state considered foreign western music content as more significant than locally produced products. When Moshito just started out such interest was largely represented by RISA.

Nevertheless, in the period leading up to the company registration of Moshito in October/November 2006 SARA, SARRAL and RISA – claiming corporate governance concerns and irregularities within Moshito, left Moshito. Many directors on the present board hold the view that the individuals representing SARA, SARRAL and RISA at the time had great difficulty accepting a majority view.

The divisive action on the part of SARA, SARRAL and RISA, according to organisations and individuals who support Moshito, including previous board and executive members exposed the individualistic nature of those organisations. The aforementioned organisations seemingly failed to comprehend the totality of necessities in building industry formations for development. There was also, seemingly, an unwillingness to place the needs of a larger industry above and beyond the individual needs of their respective organisations.

In the wake of the industrial split alluded to above SAMRO and, to a lesser degree, the DAC, spearheaded the incubation and setting up of the Association for Independent Recording Labels (AIRCO), Composers Association of South Africa (CASA) and the Music Managers Forum of South Africa (MMFSA). Consequently the representative dynamic on the Moshito Board by the mid 2007 reflected as follows:

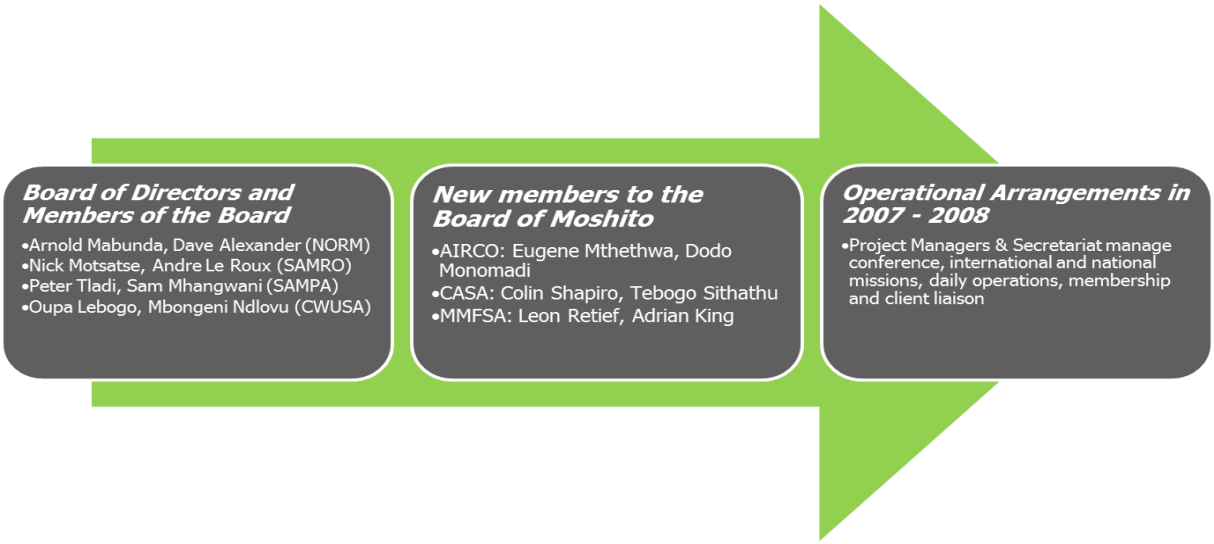


Figure 1: Source: Moshito Governance Subcommittee, 2008

Moshito's founding documents state that representatives of SAMRO, SAMPA, NORM and MUSA will act as directors of the newly established Section 21 Company that is Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition[31]. As the above picture illustrates, the "new" Moshito soon co-opted onto its board representatives from AIRCO, CASA and MMFSA. What this meant was that Moshito speedily established and positioned itself as a broadly representative industry body, made up of national membership based organisations.

In June 2007 the organisation employed its first fulltime employee and set up offices in the Newtown Cultural Precinct. This move, according to the present and past chairmen, Messrs Motsatse, Mabunda and Le Roux boded well for the organisation's identity. It also created suitable conditions for effective corporate governance to take root within the organisation. Consistent financial and project reporting in addition to the work of the board and its subcommittees attest to this. Although conveying a sense of stability, that scenario did not (and to a notable extent still does not) however alleviate tensions that often dominate discussion at board level. Most significant was the physical and verbal display of historical hostilities between labour representatives represented by CWUSA and corporations such as NORM and SAMRO.

What also stood out during that period was the 100% absence of women on the Moshito board, a desire to build mutually-beneficial partnerships at domestic,

[31] See CIPRO CM3 (2006) Moshito Music Conference Registration Certificate

continental and international levels and the paucity of performance platforms during the Moshito editions. This according to the 2009 Management Report informed an overall objective to:

- Diminish hostilities among members and directors
- Be determined to include women on the board
- Find ways to include quality showcases of music, photography, film and literature
- Establish partnerships for funding and product development so as to maintain the healthy bank balance and deliver credible product
- Enable the participation of music industry professionals in Africa[32]

During the 2008 – 2009 period one observed how certain board members became determined to alter any apparent or potential negativity within the orgainsation. In addition there were board members who chose to address the issues outlined above and who actively sought means to overcome divisions and exclusions.

By the end of 2009, Moshito reported significant participation from other African countries. Furthermore, there was a marked increase from an initial three partners/funders in 2007 (DAC, Joburg City and Samro) to the beginnings of long term relationships with GPG, BASA, NAC, SABC, NAC, Arts Alive, OIF, CF, IFAS, and Mmino. During this period, artists and musicians also started to take a keener interest in Moshito when the 2009 Moshito edition showcased 53 bands, compared to the previous two years when the annual editions showcased an average of 15 bands. Furthermore, Moshito actively engaged the involvement of women, resulting in women by the end of 2009 occupying 20% directors on the Moshito Board and 25% of the Moshito Executive[33].

Chairman Andre Le Roux maintains that it was during this period that Moshito experienced a significant shift, from a once hostile / destructive environment now focussed on nurturing, encouraging debate and sharing, and giving effect to what development means in the context of the South African music industry. In addition to

[32] Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition (2009) *Annual Report*
[33] Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition, *2009 Annual Report*

the aforementioned, Moshito started to activate various working committees. These committees, including Marketing & Communications, Technical Support, Governance and Content Development turned to internal as well as external capacities that ensured necessary delivery. Arguably, what this action also demonstrated to the broader South African music industry was that the organisation indeed was engaged with deepening a democratic process within the institution, but moreover within the music industry.

Moshito and the State[34]

Located in the Gauteng area Moshito receives significant support from this province's provincial government and the City of Johannesburg, most notably through their arts and culture departments as well as economic development and tourism departments. In the case of the city, the Arts Alive Festival, Museum Africa and Workers Museum play an important part in enhancing the cultural value of Moshito.

The provincial government on the other hand, and in its determination to position Gauteng as the "gateway" to doing business on the African continent, contributes in ways that enable balancing cultural and business development as well as international participation at Moshito. The nature of support in both instances is a combination of in-kind and monetary.

With support from the city and province Moshito delivered on public art initiatives in the form of live music and music business workshops in the province's metros, including Ekurhuleni, Sedibeng and Tembisa. In addition, Moshito mounts photographic and film exhibitions that document the relationship between national and continental music heritage. Since 2008 the Gauteng Economic Development Agency (GEDA) and the Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA) have participated in hosting visitors to Moshito as well as supporting Moshito's mission to international markets.

[34] Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition, *Technical Reports 2008, 2009 and 2010*

Within the national sphere of government the Department of Arts and Culture leads national institutional and departments' participation at Moshito. The DAC contributes monetarily towards the operational capacity of Moshito, further advocating its mission among other national departments, most notably that of Trade and Industry, Treasury and Government Communications.

Moshito and non-government support

Since its inception the SAMRO has contributed financially and operationally to Moshito. Support has also been forthcoming from state created institutions such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Business and Arts South Africa (BASA) and the National Arts Council (NAC) that provide resources for the organisation to engage in promoting its flagship event, organise educational workshops about the music business and ensure that artistic excellence is presented on the performance stages at the annual Moshito.[35]

Through their locally based agencies, international governments have in recent years lent support to Moshito. These include Mmino (Norway), Institute Francais (France), Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (France), French Institute of South Africa (Johannesburg / France) and Pro Helvitia (Switzerland).

It is also important to note that Moshito has good relations with international music markets, World Music Expo (Womex), Western Australian Music Industry (Australia), One Movement (Australia) and more recently Australasian Music Expo (Australia / Asia Pacific), Popkomm (Germany), Babel Med Expo (Marseille, France) and South by South West SXSW (Unites States of America).

Participation trends at Moshito 2007 – 2010

Participation at the annual Moshito event remains influenced by the type of support it receives from government departments and international agencies. The DAC, despite written promises for three consecutive years beginning 2009, dealt Moshito a

[35] ibid

"severe blow" according to Moshito treasurer, King Phatudi-Mphahlele when (in 2010) it cut Moshito's allocation by 60%. This, in addition to an economic downturn in the broader environment had a significant impact on the number of music groups that could participate at Moshito. According to Phatudi-Mphahlele, the change in minister at the national department could see increased support for Moshito's future activities. It is also significant that Moshito remains an active member of two networks, namely Equation Musique and the Indian Ocean Music Network. The former comprises representatives and operators from 16 African and two Caribbean countries; and the latter an exchange among 30 countries that touch the Indian Ocean[36]. A tabular representation of participation at Moshito since 2007 reflects:

Description	2007	2008	2009	2010
Delegates	635	728	500	374
Exhibiting Companies	29	43	59	42
Artists Showcases	11	20	53	36
Provinces	8	9	8	8
Continent Representation	Kenya, Nigeria	Benin, Ghana, Nigeria, Reunion, Mali, Tanzania, Senegal	Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, Namibia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, Isle of Reunion, Mauritius, Tanzania, Kenya, Morocco, Niger, DRC	Swaziland, Lesotho, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Cameroon, Ghana, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Mauritius, Tanzania, Kenya, Morocco, Mali, Zimbabwe
Europe / UK	England, Germany	France, Ireland, England, Holland, Sweden, Germany	Norway, England, Czech Republic, Germany and France	Norway, UK, Netherlands, France
North America	-	-	United States of America	Unites States of America
Latin America	Brazil	Brazil	Columbia	Columbia
Australasia	Australia	Australia	Australia	Australia, India

Source: Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition, Information Sheet 2011

[36] Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition (2010) Information Sheet; www.moshito.co.za

Conference content

The content at the annual conference is derived from what the organisation refers to as its five pillars, namely: New Markets, Live Music, Industry Challenges (e.g. Piracy), Social Economic Development and Technology. It uses these pillars as a foundation for the conference narrative and topics are subsequently crafted from identifying the latest issues, trends and problems that face the music industry in relation to the pillars. This work is carried out by the Content Subcommittee.

Moshito – an international context

Music industry trade shows and markets[37] have, over recent decades, become important calendar engagements for this industry's operators across the world. Significantly, technological and cultural shifts in the international industry encouraged smaller operators to begin producing events that would foreground the types of music that major recording companies and the once powerful industrial complex made up by these companies, historically, chose to ignore and refused to market (Herman and McChesney, 1997, cited Hesmondhhalgh, 2002).

The former also points to the view that a slump in consumption patterns of popular Western music, coupled with "a need to generate profits" underpinned the expansion strategies of transnational or multinational music companies to ensure that their product entered markets located in Asia, Africa and South America (Hesmondhalgh: 2002). This scenario would summarily come to have a negative impact on the development of local content.

In addition to changes in patterns of music consumption also informed by global shifts in music technologies, the implications of market expansion on the part of the majors continue to exert phenomenal pressure on the emergence of South African culture, including how this country's musical culture is created and disseminated. The South African Music Awards (The SAMAs which is headed by RISA) is a good

[37] Moshito over recent years has interacted with a number of music markets, including Midem (Cannes - France) Womex (held in different cities in Europe) SXSW (Austin, Texas, USA) Porta Musical (Brazil) One Movement, WAMI and Australasian Music Expo (Australia), MAMA (Paris, France).

example of this. In this instance, record companies have to pay to enter different award categories. This process according to many artists and SMEs fails to recognise South Africa's conditions, in which the majority is not in a position to pay large sums of money for industry recognition and inclusion.

Nevertheless, the multinational recording companies, in the "heyday of the recording industry was concentrated in the cities such as Los Angeles, New York, London, Paris and Hong Kong" (Hesmondhalgh, 2002:195). The "exclusion" of "other" music from the taste and idioms associated with production and consumption in the dominant western markets motivated music industry operators to create alternative markets – markets they believed would absorb and be able to trade in alternative sounds. What is also interesting is how theorists also link the idea of exclusion to "non-compliance" with the "standardised" music as marketed by multinationals. In his analysis of popular music Adorno, T (1941: cited in Storey, J. ed. 2006) comments,

> "The production of popular music is highly centralised in its economic organisation. The musical standards of popular music were originally developed by a competitive process… and the process culminated in the crystallisation of standards. Under the centralised conditions such as exist today these standards have become 'frozen'…they have been taken over by cartelised agencies, the final results of a competitive process, and rigidly enforced upon material to be promoted. Non-compliance with the rules of the game became the basis for exclusion" (ibid: 77).

The World Music Expo (Womex) in the above context, established in the mid-1990s is a striking example of the "exclusion" phenomenon. Womex, initially attracting 200 music business operators and performers, today is an annual market bustling with 3000 traders and numerous informative conference sessions. It also receives thousands of applications from performers that hope to be a part of the official Womex showcase programme. The applications are adjudicated by a panel of experts known as the "7 Samurai" and, following a filtering process based on criteria such as quality, creativity and impact, approximately 40 performance acts are presented on the official Womex showcase programme.

South African acts such as mbanqanqa luminaries Mahotella Queens and hip hop pioneers Tumi and the Volume are good examples of how Womex benefitted South African artists, enabling international performance, publishing and distribution deals. The Mahotella Queens won the Womex Award in 2000 and in his congratulatory speech, Gerald Seligman, the then leading Samurai at Womex remarked,

> "It is not often in life that we get the chance to meet, nor, for that matter, thank personally and recognize publicly the artists who have moved us most and longest. Who helped introduce a rich world of music and culture, who dazzled us, warmed our hearts and the hearts of literally millions along with us. It was for reasons like this that we created the Womex Award. It is a chance to pluck out from the passage of time and trend those special artists who stand out from the rest, who for reasons of stature, culture and accomplishment deserve special mention. And who better than the Mahotella Queens, I ask you? Where do you begin to enumerate their accomplishments, to reflect upon the impact, the growing body of their spectacular music?" (http://www.womex.com/realwomex/item.php?items_id=33).

What the aforementioned also illustrates is that African music, at least within the Womex context, has attained the respectably it deserves in many parts of the European continent. At the same time, however, there is little indication of how Womex has offered a means to reconstruct systemic inequalities as they play out internationally. We should therefore and in light of the remittances alluded to in the SAMEX report referenced above consistently question whether, by way of example, African icons such Youssou Ndour, Hugh Masekela or Manu Dibango record, publish and distribute their music on the African continent?

Who, for example, manages and controls the performance itineraries of these musicians? Do the bulk of performance fees and royalties, recording, publishing and / or mechanical and / or digital royalties return to the artists' country of origin? While any attempt to answer such questions remains complicated and outside the scope of this research report, they are nonetheless the types of questions envisioned by its founders that Moshito should address.

Having explored the composition, domestic and international environment of Moshito, this chapter offered important insights into how Moshito connects with national policy. It also raised matters concerned with internal problems the organisation faced over the past number of years, and how important it was for its leadership to adopt a style that embraced progressive change. For example the inclusion of women on its executive and board of directors, in addition to it becoming an attractive destination for African music operators, as well as local and international funding agencies.

Faced with the constraints presented in the global market, Moshito – strengthened by its international networks - emerged as a significant contributor to the establishment of an African music market located in the African continent. It is also in a position to draw strength from examples such as Womex that over time succeeded in its aim to overcome the imposition of ‘cartelised agencies’.

In the following chapter I turn my attention to the interviewees. They are small enterprises, representing specific and different interests of social actors, engaged in different and diverse domains of the music industry. I explore various themes and concepts that emerged from interviews and discussions which also relate to the literature review. In addition I am interested to learn about what motivated them to enter the music industry and if they required any formal education to do so. The challenges faced by small enterprises involved in the music industry are also described, in addition to what they understand about and expect of Moshito.

CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS

The set of questions I devised for interviewees gave me incredible insight to the interviewees' social and historical contexts. The questions also enabled me to better understand how respondents' experienced Moshito and the music industry and business environment in general. This chapter, that context, describes the themes that emerged from the interviews in addition to what often dominated discussions and conversations with the five interviewees I identified to be a part of this project, and who agreed to participate. One interviewee, interestingly, even thanked me for asking the questions I did. My analysis of the oral and written material also connects with issues of blackness, class, identity, the power of networks, the struggle for African music to thrive in a world dominated by American and European music, as well as the limitations associated with small enterprises under capitalist and social democratic conditions. I also draw on personal observation and experience that I, together and separately with the interviewees, have of the environment and conditions under which musicians, artists and small enterprises operate in the South African music industry.

In an attempt to flag certain issues highlighted by the interviewees I also link the interviews to what was raised in the literature. This process also demonstrated how interviewees had either similar and / or different responses to the present environment under which they operate and from which they emerge, and their concomitant ability or inability to imagine a future. All five participants have participated at Moshito in various ways. They have all been delegates to the annual Moshito editions during period 2007 – 2010.

Furthermore, the interviewees' views in a social and political context represent the personal views of a small venue operator – cum – cultural activist, a deejay, two music producers and a recording/performing musician. In light of the potential for their views to ignite controversy I reference the individual views of the interviewees as that of Mr Activist, Mr Deejay, Mr Producer A, Mr Producer B and Mr Artist.

The average age of interviewees reflects mid-to-late 30s and their entry into the music business, on average, dates to the period of South Africa's transition, i.e. the mid 1990s. Save for Mr Producer A, who believed education gave him a "competitive

advantage" in the music industry, all interviewees agreed that formal education was not a prerequisite for them to enter the music business. Passion, spiritual wellbeing, activism, a desire to share music and ideas as well as a desire to contribute to cultural and economic development emerged as important factors for their decision to enter the music business and industry.

The choice to go into the music business

The choice to become a business operator in the South African music business is not an easy one. In all instances this choice has set the interviewees apart from their peers and family members' choices of how to make a living, how to earn money, how to support and contribute to the building of family. In answer to the question, what role music plays in their lives and of those in their surroundings, Mr Producer A replied:

> "Music plays an important role in my life, because it supports us financially. It keeps me sane and stable emotionally. It has also created a platform for those around me to make a living out of it, by being permanently employed as musicians, for example in police or army orchestras and bands" (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg, 2011).

In response to the same question Mr Deejay remarked "Music is a way of life for without it I don't know if we can survive. It puts food on the table for some, feeds the soul for everyone else". In many ways the interviewees have been shaped by a particular period in history. Most notably and unlike the period prior to 1994, there emerges this possibility of empowerment that can take place within the music industry in a post-apartheid South Africa. Elaborating on this social dimension, Mr Activist states,

> "I'm from a working class background and will forever be petit bourgeois. My children on the other hand may grow up to be bourgeois but I will never be, in the same way that I am a product of my parents who suffered severely under apartheid, and today I am here, tasked to build the nation" (Interview, Johannesburg, 2011).

Mr Activist, aware of the limitations apartheid imposed on his parents and the advancement of black people in general, recognises that although the scope for his personal development might be somewhat limited, the same does not apply to his children. He suggests this when taking on the task (and responsibility) to “build the nation”. His remark in this regard can be contrasted with an earlier period (i.e. the one experienced by his parents) during which there was little choice in how one was able to subsist. From evidence and sources elsewhere we are aware of how factors such as urbanisation, bantu education, job reservation, the homeland system and its link to the “prison-like environment” of the South African township in the 1960s through to the 1990s produced little choice for individual entrepreneurial and economic enterprise. To earn money as a black African under conditions of apartheid meant one had to seek employment. The possibility or reality of generating self-employment was rare.

At the same time the interviewee’s remark tells the historical tale of political struggle and progress. Mr Activist recognises that he is empowered to offer his children that which his own parents could not provide him. In this process he speaks directly to concepts of power and how these, following engaged and oftentimes protracted struggles, bring about changes in the social relations of power (Parenti, 2006; Simon, 1982; Williams, 1977).

Consequently the music industry under apartheid showed few enterprising initiatives led and controlled by black South Africans. What the preceding comments also illustrate is how music in the black context has shifted from, largely a spiritual and cultural setting to one that presently engages business and industry; where the hope of empowerment lies in finding the appropriate “developmental model” for the latter. Choosing to enter the business potentially places one in a position to earn from producing and disseminating music. At the same time it shifts an appreciation of music, to no longer only occupying a space in the heart and mind, but also its location in the world of commodities and services. This begins to link music to the market of cultural goods (CIGS, 1998; Van Graan, 2007)

I also observed how interviewees often reflected on how they have navigated a different social journey to that of their parents. Greater choice, in the interviewees’ opinions implied greater opportunity. According to Mr Artist, the space of opportunity

in the new South Africa requires “levelling” and the state or “government", according to all the interviewees, has a role to play in this regard. Mr Artist who, in addition to running a record label and being a recording artist, is also deeply involved in the setting up and institutionalisation of the Gospel Music Association (GMA) stated,

> “I believe that I am a catalyst for change, for improving the lives of artists , entrepreneurs and performers. How I do this is by engaging with government and stakeholders and performers. And to be at the forefront of transformation and music as a serious business. Educate and build capacity for artists. GMA is a good example. My role is to position the gospel music sector, mainstream it and be a serious contributor to industry, in line with national growth. I purposefully innovate with the idea that gospel music is a commodity and way of earning.”(Interview, Johannesburg, 2011).

The question as to what motivates a black South African man to be a part of the South African music industry is consequently best explored by better understanding forces and influences that combine to articulate the historical significance of political and cultural struggle. How they combine during a period characterised by competing ideas in the arena of what is politically referenced as development, Mr Activist asserted,

> “It is of my utmost belief that African culture, of which music is but a part, has been seriously dealt a blow in at least the last five centuries and the task to restore it at times seems impossible, this especially those whom it affects most – the Africans, seemingly couldn’t be bothered! Ours is to pretend all is cool and just do it!” (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg, 2011)

Pointing out structural deficiencies within the environment Mr Activist and Mr Artist posit the idea that conditions for small enterprises and Africa’s cultures will not improve if the music industry lacks institutional arrangements that insist on developing small enterprises; summarily echoing Dibango (1991). The sentiment also, historically, claims that at a meeting of political struggle and empowerment is

where passion, strategy and planning drives decisions in ways that will benefit SMEs and cultural development (MITT, 2000).

Arguably the significance of that nexus is that it, potentially, offers the possibility to influence consumption choices (Gordon, 2002). At the same time the advancement of technology has enabled audiences to programme their own content. This super complex environment requires constant attention, information sharing and gaining insights into new technologies whilst bringing constructive critique to antiquated systems. Moshito in this context plays an important role in providing interviewees with information and methods that assists them with improving their work. Mr Artist states in this regard,

> "One major benefit (about Moshito) was the learning experience I had on the board, being part of the planning, learning many aspects of the music biz. Being able to listen to international speakers raising interesting issues, about needletime, copyright law. I also learnt from the experiences of artists in other parts of the continent, the conditions under which they operate. Through Equation Musique. And Moshito provided this" (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg, 2011).

Reflecting on how Moshito became a part of the music industry's consciousness Mr Activist, noting that he can't quite remember precisely when, remarked,

> Quite frankly I do not recall how, or when I first heard about Moshito. What I do remember is just over a decade ago, whilst a member of the SA music industry's ASAMI committee – whilst vetting for the yearly national music awards, the SAMAs, I did raise the fact that as music industry "suits & ties", we were wasting valuable money making time debating, for example, what is jazz, or what is "afro-jazz"? Where I once also lived, I suggested, in North America there were organisations whose business is just that: to not only "sell" music, but to also educate

> and promote the industry to the larger population. In other words, I argued, record companies were not meant to be "cultural centres", theirs was to produce and sell music. We needed something more than that, I suggested.
>
> Shortly thereafter an organisation like the now defunct MIDI Trust was born, and not long thereafter Moshito came into existence.. Everybody moving in the right direction, therefore to me Moshito is an organic growth of a larger movement, of which I see myself as belonging in, and not an "event" that just happened… it's a great South African musical education idea in the early stages of implementation – it belongs to all of us working in the industry and it's in our interest that it grows and thrives (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg, 2011).

The aforementioned is not only supported by the many networks Moshito is a part of but it speaks directly to what Moshito offers to small enterprises. According to its chairman, the challenge for Moshito, however, is that it requires means to be self-sustaining. Seemingly Moshito is not in a position to do this without support from government and the corporate sector. What additionally compounds the situation is the unstable and unpredictable relationship that Moshito has with national government[38].

The following section explores another dimension to what is already multi-textured and layered meaning and practice, of what is enterprising in the music business. It posits the idea that one cannot separate political struggle, development and enterprise culture, especially in the context of a recent history of struggle.

[38] For example, and although Moshito delivered a 2010 edition, the Ministry of Arts and Culture under Ms Lulu Xingwana saw fit to reduce government support for Moshito by 60% in that year according to Moshito's treasurer, King Phatudi-Mphahlele. This despite Moshito being in receipt of a written commitment dated September 2009.

Continuities in political struggle, development and enterprise culture in the music industry

Having considered among other things why interviewees chose to go into the music business, their choices of identity in terms of race, profession, class and personal histories, the section that follows examines the problems and challenges the interviewees face within the music industry.

Taking my cue from earlier references to Gwanga, J and van Aurich, F (1989) as well as Mr Devious (2007) I assert that black South Africans in the music industry can no longer be viewed or treated as mere objects that guarantee financial wealth for white businesses; rather there is an attempt to enable the expression and voices of black musicians, businesses etc through vehicles such as Moshito. Equally significant and what often complicates institutional decisions in Moshito is how such an enabling environment created by 1994, while encouraging the advancement of social actors oppressed under apartheid, also serves the interest of businesses and people who benefitted from apartheid.

In that context respondents to the interviews all claimed that a number of their individual struggles are caught up in the red tape of the state and the industrial super structure. In the case of the latter they emphasise the recording industry and business approach of music rights administration organisations often impede their individual growth. The interviewees also contend that rules and regulations are imposed by those in power, and there is no engagement with small enterprises as to what might possibly work, from the perspective of the small enterprise. Mr Activist remarks,

> In my position as a venue operator, where I take business risks and create space for cultural expression, there is complete disregard for the problems we face with the police who are responsible for implementing the law. They have little qualms with stopping a gig before the end, stating that we have the wrong liquor licences. The bottom line here is that they want to receive bribes from us, and when we cannot cough up

> the money they shut us down. There are occasions when they arrest us for illegal trading. In instances, black venue owners have had to endure jail cells for weekends, when thousands of rands were needed for release (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg 2011).

Interviewees also claim that individual efforts sometimes run unnecessarily high risks because there is no support from the banking sector, government and similar institutions. The major recording companies in South Africa represent good examples of this type of phenomenon. Mr Artist comments,

> "The recording industry is terrible, exploitative. (Royalty) percentages are dismal. Coming from a band as a platinum seller we got 8% royalties from Gallo. You were shocked that they took so much. It's the recording industry generally. Promoters are as bad, they don't understand the business of promoting artists. Since government does events, promoters don't do the biz, they depend on government. There is no live music" (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg 2011).

If one traces recent industrial history of the South African music industry – and as is so often remarked by the current Moshito chairperson – this industry was dominated by the recording industry (Adorno, 1941; Hersmondhalgh, 2002). Shifts in the world's economy and the fast changing pace of technologies have created a period that is equipped to challenge an economistic approach to development; but as is the case with systems, the residue of a previous era endures during a period of transformation – a period in which old systems either find new ways of being or give way to the new.

In a developmental context it consequently becomes incumbent upon any business or institution to support social and economic development. This type of support, however, remains wholly deficient on the part of multinational recording companies. Echoing a disparaging perception of the major recording companies, Mr Producer B remarks,

> "Conditions are not good, record companies are not investing in product development. Most artists are learning the equipment, so they fall short on making the music" (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg 2011).

At the same time organisations, conscious of the broader societal needs that accompany developmental tasks, need to engender a type of consciousness amongst firstly its own members and then among its backers and supporters. The interviewees asserted that, as industry operators, they cannot promote a developmental consciousness in the superstructure of the music industry (banks, record companies, promoters, government, managers, cellphone companies content providers, disseminators in general) without having changed their own consciousness about enterprise and culture. In response to market access strategies and place of operation and work, Mr Deejay remarks,

> "I live in Soweto, work in Newtown. Recently the music trade between producers and retailers has improved with the digital distribution. Producers are able to release their music without the help of a major record label or any record label. Retailers give producers access to distribution and access to keep track of sales. Besides the cost of technology, the markets are there and the challenge is for one to find them. The use of social networks is by far the best tool I have used to access markets," (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg 2011).

Mr Producer B, from his perspective as a producer, acknowledges the advantages of technological advancement for musicians, but suggests that access to markets is severely hampered by an inability (for South African musicians) to engage globally. He states,

> "I have access to technology, knowledge and information. We have some leaders in digital development. We have technology. But what people are doing with it is another story. People must start thinking "*glocalisation*". Access to markets, historically, has misled the music biz. It's been genre based and there is a bias here. I'm in a place where I got enough analysis to say what prevents access to markets. (It is) the understanding of intercontinental skills transfer and collaboration vs what is authentically African.

> Outside of Americans and Europeans I don't know a genre that has exploded outside of its own country. The West has had longer time to plant influences across the world. The more we try and fight, (the more) we won't find solutions to enter other markets. I mean as much as we preserve indigenous music and if someone is rooted in a particular style and I'm coming with an authentic cultural sound, it won't be easy to penetrate them without my music having an influence that they used to. For e.g. Abdullah (Ibrahim) is Cape but authentic jazz. We should communicate what the roots of the music are, the polyrhythmic elements of African music and then people will start understanding how to reach other markets. Unfortunately we don't understand this but it will assist us with getting our music out there and popularising our sound" (Interview, Johannesburg 2011).

Furthermore, and in view of how important intellectual property rights are to producers, musicians and composers and given that they potentially translate into significant earnings (Shaw, 2007), we discussed the relationship between performers, composers and producers of the music on the one hand and those who administer music rights on the other. This relationship is significant in relation to the individual's economic development.

What was significant in this regard was that a number of the interviewees appeared to have stressed relations with collection societies or music rights administration organisations. Mr Artist is of the opinion that

> "(an organisation such as) SARRAL was not organised, it had problems of incompetence and lack of integrity. They needed good admin. The business models used by collection societies are often out dated. Collection societies have also become powers unto themselves, in fact too powerful. They manipulate the situation and need to be engaged. As musicians we need to hold them more accountable" (Interview, Johannesburg, 2011).

Mr Producer A holds the view that the role of collection societies is to enable development for producers and musicians and composers, stating that,

> “Collecting societies in my opinion rakes more artist income, and most of the time it’s not properly accounted for. Most collection societies make their money by administering publishing opportunities created by musicians and their managers. In my understanding they should create platforms for the music, for e.g. the use of music in advertising” (Fieldwork Notes, Johannesburg, 2011)

Voicing a connected, though dissimilar, opinion Mr Producer B communicates that he has an ambivalent relationship with collection societies. This according to him stems from how it is that they (i.e. collection societies or music rights administration organisations) do business. He states,

> “My relationship is good and bad. We differ on principles, how they account and keep records. We have a history of hostility. Since being a member there has not been agreement on how they distribute royalties, on their business policies. For example, they take the interest that our royalties earn; yet they charge interest on advances they issue. In the case of SAMRO they see this as a loan. But moreover, they are not consulting their members. They just do what they do and then report on it at the AGM” (Interview, Johannesburg, 2011).

Does the above context suggest an imperative to integrate economistic thinking with the social realities of small enterprises? Does Moshito, in the opinions of the interviewees, deliver on its mandate and enable development? In other words, according to the interviewees, what is Moshito perceived to have delivered on, and what is expected of it?

Networks and development according to Moshito

When I asked what Moshito means for them (the interviewees), practically all interviewees, concurred that Moshito delivers on its mandate of knowledge and information sharing, extending networks and building operational intelligence among music industry practitioners (Field, 2003). Offering his understanding of Moshito Mr Deejay comments,

> "Moshito was a network for the industry to connect and map the future for the South African Music Industry and I still have the same opinion of it. I think Moshito has grown a lot from what it was in the beginning to hosting thousands of delegates and artists in recent years. By providing information through various channels like the conference and the website and getting the industry to give feedback I think Moshito has delivered on its promise" (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg, 2011).

What the aforementioned also indicates is the application of networks to the realities of individuals and, for our purposes, small enterprises operating within a larger industrial system, albeit independently or subordinate to the powers of transnational corporations and music rights administration organisations, such as SAMRO. Consequently it is worth answering what, other than financial resources, will influence the effective operation of a given network. Emphasising the importance of information sharing and networks for SMEs, Mr Producer A holds the following view,

> "I understood that Moshito was an information portal for the music industry and in my opinion it still is. Moshito has changed in many ways, by continuing to attract the most sought after speakers around the globe. It has managed to strengthen knowledge networks and you see more musicians travelling to perform (elsewhere) or do business through opportunities provided by Moshito. Benefits in attending Moshito are endless networking opportunities, access to information with regards to arts and culture, funding opportunities and working as a collective in the music industry" (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg,2011).

Mr Producer B indicated that when he initially attended Moshito it was a “talk shop and people used to complain a lot” He however no longer holds this opinion, stating that Moshito is now a space where “people make deals and share information”. Mr Producer B also observes that live music is receiving more attention and that there are “more news reports about Moshito”, in addition to “international speakers having embraced it”. Mr Activist, referring to his expectations of Moshito, comments,

> “I am of the opinion that organisations such as Moshito should be continuously engaging with the various practitioners of the business, and the powers that be in government, to try and implement some of the things we all know ought to be done, no less the recommendations of past reports. Nationally, for example, there hardly exists a network of “reliable cultural venues”, that is fundamental - what role can Moshito play in their creation? The music “fraternity” in our country is rather fragmented. What can be done by Moshito, for example, to regularly engage music practitioners? Monthly forums perhaps? We need a space where especially musicians can always engage, and there can be an exchange of ideas, a new sound to be born, etc” (Fieldwork notes, Johannesburg, 2011.

Moshito in the context outlined, seemingly, represents a context-transforming agent in the service of operators in the music industry. This is what the interviewees expect of Moshito. For example, according to Mr Producer A, Moshito still has a lot of work to do in attracting small enterprises, operators and music industry practitioners from elsewhere in South Africa, stating that “we need to reach out to other provinces”. This remark also signals the limitations of an organisation that was decidedly intended to position itself in Africa and the world, failing to popularise its mission among ordinary South Africans or music industry practitioners located outside of Johannesburg. This condition, perceived as a weakness by Mr Producer A, possibly indicates that Moshito’s mission is one focussed on achieving a global competitiveness. Arguably, it also expresses the neo-liberal policy that created Moshito. Consequently, the manner in which Moshito’s development links with social and economic development at the local level is frustrated by the logic of globalisation and the latter’s effect on local development (Bourdieu, 2003).

Whilst acknowledging certain of Moshito's successes the views put forward by the interviewees also shed light on the limitations of social democracies under conditions of globalisation. South Africa – including its cultural industries – is no different to other countries with similar conditions and histories (Alexander, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2002). At the same time, and given that the organisation has accomplished certain objectives that enable development, there is also a perception and expectation from the interviewees that Moshito should and / or could do more for development of the South African music industry.

Nevertheless Mr Producer A and Mr Producer B both acknowledge how, for example, certain artists and bands - following a showcase at Moshito - managed to tour other parts of the world. What – in their opinion - is significant about this is that it provides incoming revenue for the country and the band. It also locates Moshito as an organisation that is consistently gaining ground in its ability to address the needs of small enterprises. With specific reference to music rights administration organisations, the interviewees are sceptical about how these organisations conduct business. However, what is important for us to consider is how in the international context there is a growing movement to enforce intellectual property rights in developing countries. This sector and small enterprise development in the cultural industries in general, according to international agencies such as the ILO (2003:57-63) and Commonwealth Foundation (2008) remain pivotal for development in African countries.

In addition, interviewee references to "the mainstream", "deals", the imposition of "rules and regulations" that impede individual economic growth and so on, indicate that indeed they are – as social actors in the music industry - engaged in the business of music. What I am also able to deduce is that small enterprises in the music industry are beginning to shape their own identities; simultaneously embracing a type of enterprise culture that theorists reference as entrepreneurship (Keat and Abercrombie, 1991, cited Hesmondhalgh, 2002).

A linked observation is that black South African men in the music industry are increasingly aware of the possibilities and limitations the present environment presents to them; but unlike their conditions under apartheid, they believe democratic South Africa provides them with an environment to develop, grow and realise their potential. Considering the development of black men in American society for example, bell hooks (2004) reckons of that type of empowerment in relation to “real” black men,

> “Using their imaginations to transcend all the forms of oppression that would keep them from celebrating life, individual black males have created a context where they can be self-defining and transform a world beyond themselves (2004:147).

Lastly, technology, an awareness of how the terrain of the industry, together with maximising the access Moshito provides to information, networks and the exchange of knowledge in general, enables the interviewees to take charge of and direct their personal development.

What follows in the concluding chapter is a summary of whether or not Moshito embodies a type of intervention that presents real possibility for reconciling past injustices and promoting development for small enterprises in the South African music industry. I also explore certain implications arising from Moshito’s dependency on government.

CHAPTER FIVE: MOSHITO MITIGATES DEVELOPMENT OF SMALL ENTERPRISES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN MUSIC INDUSTRY

Normalising social divisions and exclusions in the historical context of South Africa's music industry, arguably, invokes varied responses to what Moshito offers this industry in a post- apartheid South Africa. Through hosting a music conference, trade exhibition and live music showcase Moshito, principally, provides the South African music industry with a vehicle that encourages debate and information sharing, raises intellectual discourses and knowledge reserves of industry professionals and businesses, as well as expands business networks for those who attend its annual editions.

In this report I interpreted and analysed Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition. Using available and relevant literature I paid special attention to how five small enterprises, operated by social actors who represent the individual and combined perspectives of an activist/venue operator, deejay, two music producers and artist perceive and experience Moshito. I also elaborate on their experience within a broader music industry. My findings have led me to certain conclusions I elaborate on below.

Having emerged from policy interventions that sought to create an enabling environment for (black) South Africans to realise their economic potential in the music industry meant that industry and government shaped the vision and objectives of Moshito. What the findings also illustrate is that since its inception Moshito experienced a number of ruptures and shifts. In the period between 2004 and 2006 there is seemingly a commitment on the part of industry organisations to build Moshito. However, towards the end of this period, RISA, SARRAL and SARA leave Moshito, citing irregularities in its corporate governance.

Soon thereafter, the organisations that remain behind, under the stewardship of SAMRO engage another construction process. Within months, AIRCO, CASA and MMFSA are co-opted onto what (in October 2006) becomes a formally constituted board of Moshito Music Conference and Exhibition. What is also significant about the three dissenting structures is that SARA is the only one that continues to work for the

benefit of black South Africans and is consistent in its programmes of skills development for technicians in the music industry. The allegiance of RISA to the South African development project will forever be questioned by organisations and businesses in the domestic industry. This stems from its historical location that represents the interest of multinational recording companies; its multinational members' mission to sell foreign repertoire in South Africa translates into remittances destined for bank accounts in overseas territories (SAMEX, 2009). In the case of SARRAL we observe how a High Court ruling in 2009 called for its liquidation.

In documenting the aforementioned we immediately close a gap in the memory of the music industry. This research also provides an opportunity for industry and government to reflect on the aforementioned; and at the same time embodies an area of research that has not been undertaken. Furthermore, there is no research which outlines the perceptions and expectations of small enterprises in relation to Moshito. Consequently, what Moshito offers small enterprises, in their local and international contexts, occupies a central part of this research paper. Through Moshito, as the interviewees also point out, there appears to be a collective energy that underpins collective responses to global scenarios. This assertion is exemplified in the reality that industrial arrangements at the international level persist in their ability to frustrate local development (Bourdieu, 2003, 2005). Moshito in that context provides a mechanism able to shape, form and market African music to the world. In so doing it addresses the unstructured character of the African music business that Dibango (1991) alludes to.

We also, in this recognition, need to remain cognisant of how Mr Producer A, Mr Producer B and Mr Artist, to a noticeable extent, remain sceptical about the business models and practices of music rights administration organisations and that SAMRO remains the largest rights administration body in the African continent. SAMRO's involvement in the incubation and leadership of Moshito, in addition to it being one of the most established businesses in the music industry indicates that it occupies a very powerful position in the music industry and within Moshito. It also calls into question its relation to other powerful institutions in the music industry as well as its relationship with small enterprises, including those that are operated by some of the interviewees. For our present purpose we will focus on the latter. SAMROs commitment to ensuring that Moshito is a successful intervention for the music

industry illustrates that it recognises the historical oppression of black South Africans (Fanon, 1967; Gwangwa and van Aurich, 1989). Yet, at the same time, it seemingly frustrates the mobility and growth of certain small enterprises represented in this research.

What the aforementioned also conveys is the presence of a dialectical dimension to and within Moshito. SAMRO, though committed to building industry institutions such as Moshito, often fails in its engagement with smaller players. In following the logic of such contradiction, there summarily emerges a danger that Moshito can fall into the control of existing elites (Commonwealth Foundation, 2008). What compounds the scenario outlined is that Moshito remains dependent on government for its programmes. The organisation has yet to attract any meaningful support from the corporate sector. Furthermore, Moshito has not reached a stage in its development where it is able to trade and earn an income from what it produces (i.e. conference, trade exhibition and showcase). The organisation's recent publishing of industry research entitled 'Mapping the live music circuit in South Africa 2010' might indicate that producing information is a possible source of income as the organisation moves forward, but this remains to be seen.

Nevertheless, the research shows that there has indeed been a shift during the pre and post 1994 dispensations for black South African men who operate and own small enterprises in the music industry. Though there is an assertion about how the industrial super structure and state agencies such as the police obstruct their personal development and growth, social actors represented in this research hold a generally positive view about Moshito. They also think that Moshito has accomplished much of what they believe it needed to do. Certain interviewees do however take issue with Moshito's inability to attract more South Africans operating in provinces and cities outside of Johannesburg and Gauteng. It is also important for us to remind ourselves that some of the expectations the interviewees have of Moshito (e.g. hosting regular sessions with musicians) falls outside the organisation's mandate. At the same time, that the interviewees have these expectations of Moshito might well signal that Moshito, in their view, appears to be working well and therefore it can extend itself and take on more work.

Concurring that Moshito has been a positive intervention, the interviewees also communicated in which ways this occured. For example, through Moshito, bands toured other places in the world. Moshito also enabled an expansion and widening of their individual networks, and consequently created more business opportunities. One interviewee pointed out that it was within Moshito that he learnt about processes of project planning and implementation and that he learnt about the conditions and experience of music industry operators located elsewhere in the continent.

In view of what has been presented in this research report I think there are a number of dynamics that require attention and consideration as Moshito moves into another phase of its development. These include the relationship between government and Moshito, guarding against elite control and developing an appropriate sustainability model for the organisation.

Moshito in this context needs to engage government and establish clear parameters and mutual commitments. For Moshito to sustain and endure, it requires a commitment on the part of government to invest in its activities. In this way it potentially alleviates the tension and anxieties that accompany the uncertainties of its current relationship with government. Moshito also has to locate its own identity in the service of economic development for the South Africa music industry.

Furthermore, the possibility of organisational control falling into the hands of elites compels Moshito to always locate the development project at the centre of its objectives. This should take place nationally and internationally. It needs to consistently report on its activities and communicate this to the domestic and international music industry as well the general public. It is equally important for Moshito's board of directors, subcommittees and operations division to regularly engage music industry networks and the resource agencies that presently support its efforts.

For Moshito to embody an intervention that addresses past injustices in the music industry, the organisation must consistently reflect on the nature of such injustices. In this recognition Moshito must influence social actors that connect with it, in ways that ensure its contribution to a more equitable and just music industry.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Consent forms for interviewees

Interviewer Details

Student Name: Lee Walters
Student Number: 0516691F
Institution: University of Witwatersrand
Department: Wits School of the Arts
Topic: Moshito and Small Enterprise Development

Interviewee Details

Name of Interviewee: _____
Contact Telephone: _____

Agreement

1. The interviewee and interviewer accept that the results of the study will be made available to Moshito, but that all data will be held in the trust of the University of Witwatersrand and Lee Walters

2. The interviewee agrees the researcher can use verbatim quotations as part of the research results

3. Until such time that the University has completed its evaluation of the research project, the researcher and the University of the Witwatersrand will keep all recorded research data emanating from the research project

4. I, the undersigned hereby agree to be interviewed and recorded by Lee Walters and trust she will respect my wishes with regard to any material I wish to be off the record. I also accept Lee Walters will honour my privacy and inform me about how she will be using the information as part of her study, and should I require a transcript of the interview this will be forthcoming. Furthermore, I hereby request that should Lee Walters require clarity about anything I might reveal during the interview process, I will make myself available for this purpose. Lastly, I agree on the following:

Interview Venue: _____

Time & Date for Interview: _____

Signed by: _____ on this _____ day of _____

Year_____ at _____

Appendix 2: Interviewee Questionnaire

1. When did you first become involved in music and the music business?
2. Did you require formal training or education in order to access the industry? If yes, where did this take place?
3. What types of music projects do you busy yourself with, generally?
4. What do you believe is your central role in the music business?
5. What role does music play in your life and the lives of those in your surroundings?
6. How do you go about producing your work? What are the tools you require and how do you access these tools?

7. Where do you live, work, and what, in your opinion are the conditions and environment for producers and traders in music? Do you believe you enjoy sufficient access to markets and technology? What is your access strategy?
8. When and how did you first hear about or attend Moshito?
9. What did you understand about Moshito? Is your opinion still the same, or has it changed in any way? In your opinion, has Moshito delivered on its promise of building information and knowledge networks? If not, why so? If it has, can you highlight specific benefits?
10. How do you go about marketing and advertising your work? Has Moshito assisted you in any way?
11. What is your experience with recording and promotion companies?
12. What is your experience with the public broadcaster in radio and television?
13. What is your experience with collection societies?
14. Do you believe you have sufficient access to digital marketing platforms?
15. Are you able to survive and live on your earnings from your music or trade?
16. What prevents you from earning a living from music; or what supports your success?

17. Who listens / buys your music and comes to your shows
18. What do they have to say about what it is that you produce?
19. How do you know they say this? From where do you get your information?