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# Performing management: how ten jazz musicians approach career organisation

**Ndzuta, Akhona**

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CHAPTER ONE

***"A musician needs to realise that they are also business people"- Makhuzeni***

## Introduction

A younger generation of jazz musicians are showing trends of formal organization in the way they manage[1] their performance careers and are possibly doing so due to operating from a socially and politically different context to their predecessors (Galeta, 2005; Schadeberg, 2007; Mojapelo, 2008). Preceding generations of jazz musicians did not get an opportunity to formalise their craft and endured social and political strife within an apartheid government system[2] which, among other things, condemned black[3] musicians and performers associated with the nature of the amalgamation of cultures of which jazz was born (Ballantine, 1993; Coplan, 2007; Zakwe, 2005). In contrast, the contemporary generation of jazz musicians live during a time where self-determination is barely deterred or influenced by politics (Schadeberg, 2007).

Previous generations of jazz practitioners had scant educational opportunities in their chosen field of work due to living during a time when there was an absence of formal music education past missionary schooling (Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007; Schadeberg, 2007). These musicians were compelled to learn on the job, or be apprentices, in contrast to the many contemporary musicians who have undergone formal training in jazz music (ibid). The latter jazz performers have also amassed some music performance sector acumen at formal and informal institutions of learning that have burgeoned across the country since the 1980's (ibid). Such institutions include private tutorship, independent colleges and universities. The universities of Natal[4] and Cape Town, in particular, both introduced jazz education programmes into their curricula during the

[1] For the purposes of this report, to 'manage', "the word *management* or its synonym *administration*", refer to "performing the activities of planning, organizing, staffing, leadership, and control so as to achieve goals effectively and efficiently" (Shore, 1987: 7).

[2] Apartheid involved a variously institutionalised system of "laws that forced people of different cultural and language backgrounds to live in separate places, and be treated unequally and often unjustly before the law in South Africa (1948-1990)" (Muller, 2008: 30; Lipton, 1986).

[3] The word 'black' in the context of this report refers to the social construct of race in the South African understanding, and it includes formerly disenfranchised ethnic groups such as people of African, Asian and Indian heritage, or ancestry (Coplan, 2007; Southall, 2004).

[4] This university is now known as the University of Kwa-Zulu/Natal (UKZN).

late 1980's, whilst the informal transfer of skills and training at independent institutions was, and still is, being achieved mainly through private lessons or apprenticeships with practicing jazz musicians (ibid; Devroop & Walton, 2007). One of the consequences of formal and informal training has been that the younger generation of musicians is more attuned to business practices in the performance music sector, the changing socio-political dynamics of the country and the concept of music as a commodity (Abrahams, 2003).

It is interesting to observe, therefore, that different jazz musicians, particularly those active in the post-1994 era, model their careers in various inventive ways (Mojapelo, 2008). An example of such modelling is how jazz musicians structure live performances to suit corporate events settings and settings in foreign countries (Markusen et al, 2006; Makhene, 2010). More examples are how they organise their financial methods to suit requirements expected in foreign markets, negotiate the economic value of their bands in such environments and sometimes arrange their bands in ways that suit requirements specified at music festivals (Nkabinde, 2009). By so doing, they organise themselves and their bands strategically, and similarly to business units. Through this modelling they also navigate local competition, managing their bands in a manner that is adaptive to the environment of commerce[5] affecting jazz music-making and its performance, particularly, in the city of Johannesburg[6] (Coplan, 2007).

An example of some of the commercial factors that local musicians traverse, and those that have affected jazz music in recent times locally, and internationally, is the variety of formats in which recorded jazz music is available due to technological advancements that have revolutionised the way music is marketed and consumed (Wallis & Malm, 1983; Passman, 2003; Katz, 2004). Another example is that, possibly due to the altering cityscape and changing patrons[7], in

[5] Allen (2000: 145) makes it clear that even by the 1950's, music making in South Africa already involved "explicitly commercial structures driven by the profit motive", but at the same time, throughout her thesis she points out that this affected only recording companies instead of musicians. This report, however, highlights the direct agency of contemporary musicians in the economy of the music sector.

[6] The locus of this research report is Johannesburg. For a detailed explanation on the reason for this see the Methodology section on page 10.

[7] In Ansell (2005: 269), Damon Forbes pointed out to one of the socio-economic changes in the Johannesburg cityscape through its changing patrons. Forbes envisioned a future jazz market as such: "I just looked at the market and I saw the economics of the people of South Africa changing, due to better access to education… [And] the workplace was going to change; a lot more black people getting into jobs that are of medium and higher income levels… With all that comes the aspiration to listen to better quality music. [So] the market in the long term is going to increase." Firstly, this vision Forbes has confirms that the black middle class is now part of what Richard Florida (2005; 2006) terms the 'creative class', whose members are distinguished by their lifestyle habits, their

Johannesburg jazz music lacks the small venues traditionally associated with live jazz music performance (Coplan, 2007; Dancer, 2008; Makhuzeni, 2009; Wyatt, 2010). This decline in jazz venues, and the 'tenuous existence' of live music in the city, may also be attributable to specialist venues not being able to cater specifically to the small jazz market and consequently adapting to "emerging trends" that duly demand such attention (Coplan, 2007: 347-365).

As local jazz performers are adjusting themselves to changes in the local and international music markets, they tend to manage their operations on the music scene in a manner that acclimatises to their working environment. One of the examples of this acclimatising includes that they make larger earnings from travelling to foreign jazz festivals and other music events more often than was possible during the apartheid era (Coplan, 2007; Devroop & Walton, 2007). They also initiate other music-related projects to support their primary income base, and as such, work as session musicians in other music genres (Kganyago, 2009).

Notable, however, is that while contemporary jazz musicians are commercially strategic they also participate in the social and artistic advancement of jazz. They do this by, among other things, regularly participating in traditional jazz practices such as jam sessions that also function as networking sessions (Ndzuta, 2007). This, therefore, shows that regardless of the end result of these modelling and adaptive measures, these factors indicate that the efforts of these musicians subject their practice to "a commercial and a cultural or artistic rationality" (Bjorkegren, 1996: 3). As an effect, jazz musicians plan and adapt to the social changes in Johannesburg, and the evolving business culture of the city. Collectively, these factors have a bearing on their commercial success and artistry.

With these developments in mind this study documents how formal organisation is approached by a select group of live jazz performers in the pursuit of career longevity. The implication here is that they perform management by planning, organising, recruiting, leading and controlling

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influence on cityscapes and how education makes them, as human capital, particularly significant in local entrepreneurial culture. Secondly, this increasing black middle class, as participant in the larger SA economy, is only slowly being realised (www.economist.com). Simultaneously, however, the influence of this 'black middle class' spending power is not clearly measurable in music sales, but is often approximated (Newton & Joffe, 2008). Thirdly, in contemporary times, there is the complication of increasing numbers of 'substitute leisure' goods, such as Digital Video Disks (DVD's) and videorised games, in direct competition with live music performances, theatre productions as well as cinemas (Nhlapo, 1998: 38). Lastly, and coupled with these factors, is that the South African music price, on hardcopy, is already "perceived to be too high" especially in light of the large figures of unemployment in the country which reveal a potential market that is untapped (Nhlapo, 1998: 89).

their projects and careers, like other businesses do (Shore, 1987)[8]. Simultaneously, there is awareness in this investigation that it is not accurate to portray the local jazz scene as a broadly professionally organised sphere, since not all music performers have business or career perspectives of the music-making and live performance processes. It is, nevertheless, reasonable to make the supposition that some individual musicians do recognise that planning for consistent monetary benefit implies the longevity of music projects and music careers. A few such musicians were identified for this investigation to explore the consideration and planning they undertake to organise themselves for economic success and longevity, especially in view of the peculiarities and dynamics of the performance music sector (Hesmondhalgh, 2007).

Moreover, there has been recognition throughout this study that jazz bands regularly form and organically disband (Monson, 1996; Jeffri, 2002). The dialogue in this study, therefore, is with individual musicians instead of bands. These musicians reveal some of what informs the changing personnel in bands and most of what concerns their strategic planning for getting an income. This study also considers other role-players such as music promoters[9] in the live music performance sector who share in some of the managerial control and planning in live music, particularly at places such as music festivals.

## Rationale

In his book, *The Cultural Industries*[10], David Hesmondhalgh (2007) engages in the state of management and working conditions of cultural workers. He explains that creative workers often "trade financial reward and security for creative autonomy" (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 207). In the

[8] Shore (1987: 26) deduces that managerial jobs and styles in the arts are different to those in large corporations, but agrees that the core functions of management "planning, organising, staffing, leading and controlling'' prevail in both environments.

[9] In this report, the majority of promoters discussed are those that market music festivals. Shaw (2005: 286) describes promotion as a tool for many purposes in the music industry, and an on-going process of 'making customers aware of product availability and value' through a variety of means.

[10] The terms, 'cultural industries' and the 'creative industries', as they refer to many creative sectors, will be used interchangeably for this report to situate the music industry and the arts-and-culture sector (Hartley, 2006). Landry (2003: 23) lists sectors that make up the cultural or creative industries as music, the visual arts, the publishing sector based on writing and literature, the audio-visual and media sector, the performing arts, the multimedia sector, crafts, cultural tourism, the cultural heritage sector, design, industrial design and fashion, and the graphic arts.

local live jazz music circuit[11], this account by Hesmondhalgh (ibid) seems applicable since a great number of local jazz musicians predominantly want control over their creativity, while they are not always able to negotiate their commercial worth. This is due to the fact that many local musicians cannot afford to hire third parties to manage their careers or agents to seek gigs that pay well for them (Gegana, 2010). At times musicians do not see the need for a third party (Makhuzeni, 2009; Ferlito, 2010). As such these musicians personally try to choose what they conceive to be the best possible route to ensure that they are remunerated accordingly for their work and consistently acquire employment whilst maintaining a certain level of creativity demanded by the genre of music they have espoused (ibid).

Jazz musicians also either comply with government tax laws or disregard them for a litany of reasons, one of which is the lack of strict industry regulation and monitoring (Ansell et al, 2007; Mojapelo, 2008). Sometimes, for example, some band leaders do not use *bona fide* employment practices in terms of how much they compensate their band members, while others do (Wyatt, 2010). In this regard, this research brings forth a socio-economic understanding of aspects of the careers of local jazz performers by interrogating the circumstances under which these musicians make decisions on issues of management and remuneration, or the social and economic policy climate under which they operate.

Ten jazz musicians are the focus of this report. This number was chosen to show some of the scope of experience among musicians who manage their performance careers and the variety of ways through which the musicians achieve similar goals or are affected by their work environment. For example, some jazz artists are aware of the business resources they can use to better sustain their livelihoods, or which state policies affect them. Others are altogether unaware of what factors influence their sector, how to improve the administration of their careers or how to protect themselves from bad conditions of employment in the unregulated performance sphere (www.mio.co.za; Shaw, 2005; Ansell et al, 2007; Joffe & Newton, 2008). There is a dearth of literature in this branch of local jazz study, and therefore further exploration is justified.

[11] This research came about as a result of this author having been an aspirant jazz performer who questioned the likelihood of survival through making a living purely as a performing musician. This writer subsequently undertook research on the live music performance circuit in Cape Town, which revealed much about the conditions under which contemporary performers work and why they made so little from their careers. The findings of that research process formed the basis of the outlook of the current report. Some of the social, historical and economic factors that were significant to the careers of the Cape Town musicians parallel those of musicians in this report.

It is also standard for musicians to earn as little as between R300 to R1000, per band member per two hour session an evening, for live music performances at restaurants and other live music venues (DAC, 1998; Ansell et al, 2007). Sometimes these musicians only get as few as four such performances in a month (Mtshali, 2010). This report, thus, probes some of the methods musicians use to buffer themselves against the impact of low salaries on the local live music circuit. Performers do all this while simultaneously trying to secure more employment in a country that has limited revenue and infrastructure with which to encourage the arts despite having policy documents such as the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage of 1996 (WPACH) in existence in support of cultural development. Although such documents purport to be inclusive, to some participants in the local music industry[12] they are considered inadequately representative of the role players in this sector (Coplan, 2007)[13].

This paper links with the social and historical dimension of an existing body of knowledge on the SA jazz performance narrative, such as previous research by David Coplan (2007), Gwen Ansell (2005), Valmont Layne (1995), Michael Nixon (1997), Nishlyn Ramana (2004), Hotep Galeta (2005), Thomas Dancer (2008), Colin Miller (1999) and others. What this study offers is an interpretation of the economic activities in which jazz performers partake. It makes the connection between contemporary discourses on the performance environment of local jazz musicians with considerations of how some jazz musicians interact with their broader social and economic working environment. The report sheds light on some of the current conditions of a performance career in live music. This is a slight departure from existing studies on local jazz and its continuity, which have focused mainly on the historical, social and political perspectives and the bearing of these perspectives on the development of the genre (Coplan, 2007; Ansell, 2005). This report seeks to show that through the strategic business intervention of local jazz

[12] Jonathan Shaw (2007: 20) defines the music industry as "built around deriving revenue from [the] music product. It consists of a variety of different industrial and service sectors. The products of these sectors can be physical products, services and intellectual property."

[13] In Coplan (2007: 363), Andre Le Roux is quoted as thus: " the existing White Paper on the music industry reflects the views of the major recording companies, who have influence with government…the document regards music as a recorded product, when live music is equally or indeed more important as a source of direct, career-sustaining income for musicians…" Like other stakeholders in this industry, Shaw (2005:20) confirms that the music industry consists of a multi-faceted 'value chain' of "the publishing industry, the live performance industry, record industry, the music brand industry, the recording/music production industry and the music broadcasting industry". All of these industries are linked by the "intellectual property embodied in musical songs" (ibid). This means, therefore, that the record industry is solely one aspect of this value chain and that self-employed performing musicians are also a part of this value chain (Stokes & Wilson, 2002: 39).

musicians, the genre has become more commercially viable, and that this element of commercial growth sometimes transcends what the genre represented during its formative years in SA (ibid; Ramanna, 2004). The rationale, thus, is that jazz musicians may have become more artistically and economically strategic in planning for career longevity.

## Research Focus

The research topic is discussed through four aims. These aims map out the research discussion. They also interrogate ways through which musicians balance their commercial and artistic interests to achieve longevity in a performance career (Aggestam, 2007).The first aim is to give an account of the various approaches that jazz musicians use to manage their bands, and to interpret these approaches as tools to popularise and sustain the jazz genre in Johannesburg. For example, jazz musicians frequently play at popular music events held in and around the city. These are live music events that are marketed as jazz festivals but do not solely feature jazz music (Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007). This practice is potentially an attempt by musicians and music promoters to keep the jazz genre economically viable and for it to attract a larger audience following than the traditional jazz market, similarly to how it is done in other parts of the world (Connolly & Kruger, 2005). In a holistic view, therefore, the way in which musicians strategise and operate as business entities may have an impact on the overall jazz locally. The proposal at this juncture is that jazz musicians use business management as a survival strategy to gain recognition from the state and to maintain prominence at music events in Johannesburg and elsewhere.

The second aim is to explain how the participants of this study respond to the environment of commerce affecting jazz music-making since the end of the cultural boycott[14] against SA, an environment which Coplan (2007: 408) describes as occupied by the "economic dictates of globalisation". This report will show how these musicians sometimes borrow an idea from a "business concept that has been put into practice" (Mair & Schoen, 2005: 3). Some of the business concepts that they derive ideas from are financially successful local or international bands, on the basis that these ideas are progressive for the continuity of jazz. Some of these ideas

[14] The cultural boycott, which advocated the non-exchange of cultural goods such as music between South Africa and the world due to government injustices with South Africa, was initially called upon by the American Actors' Equity in the 1940's, by the Anglican priest Father Huddleston in the 1950's, widely advocated by the politician Albert Luthuli in the 1960's and instituted by the United Nations (Muller, 2008: 54-68).

involve self-management, financial management, company registration to formalise a legal operating status, tax law compliance, compilation of business contracts, marketing and publicity, securing employment, keeping business records, managing human resources and adapting the music product to suit different performance settings.

The third aim is to show that although the musicians establish and arrange businesses to better manage their careers, they have varied access to industry resources. The individual decisions they take on profitability, creativity and longevity vary their fortunes. Access to networks and resources of 'cultural production and consumption', therefore, differs among the musicians (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 238). Furthermore, this goal involves explaining how these performers gain access to "gigging circuits [and] informal knowledge networks", while paying attention to how other role players such as music promoters affect the performance formats in which these performers tend to work (ibid:237).

The fourth aim is to get an indication of the avenues available to jazz performers who seek sustainability within the context of their performance formats. This perspective reveals the resources available to them as business units and in their individual capacity. This focus helps describe the milieu of administration and traverses how jazz performers actually make a living.

## Methodology

Since this research is predominantly of a subjective nature, detailing the varying perspectives of ten people, qualitative methods were applied to pronounce the judgements and experiences of the musicians (O'Leary, 2005). Therefore, this study only reflects a handful of diverse approaches to career management and cannot be generalised over the entire population of SA jazz performers or be representative of this population (Davies & Mosdell, 2006). Furthermore, since the data gathered here is qualitative in nature, it did not require numerical encoding (O'Leary, 2005).

In-depth interviews were the primary means of data collection for this report (Davies & Mosdell, 2006; O'Leary, 2005). The secondary method of data collection used here was document analysis (ibid). Most of the interviews were recorded through taking notes and on audio equipment. The interviews were through personal contact with the participants. The structure of

each interview was different, but incorporated established core questions[15]. As a result of the standardised core interview questions, data from each interview could be compared during the data analysis so that common themes could be found[16].

Semi-structured interviews were used for flexible probing and to enable the garnering of more information (O'Leary, 2005). The one-on-one interviews gave the interviewee more freedom to express themselves with less inhibition than if the interview were conducted in a group setting (ibid). The interviews were informal for the participants to be at ease in their chosen settings. Informal interviews allowed the ideas of the participants to influence the manner in which the questions proceeded, through the respondents also generating questions further than the original inquiry, and therefore informing the outcomes (Bartlett, 1987). This also stretched the study into other significant dynamics which were brought into the gaze of the study by the participants (Woolgar, 1991).

Only two of the interviews were conducted with more than one musician at a time. These interviews were necessitated by the arbitrary time-schedules and uncertain availability of the musicians involved. The four musicians concerned were working in the same projects and had similar schedules. These four musicians were interviewed in pairs. The first duo was of the drummer Bongani Khezo and the pianist Luyanda Madope. The second pair was of the pianist Valentia Ferlito with bassist Mlungisi Gegana, who are both part of the Mlungisi Gegana ensemble. The only impact of this method on the study is that the information these musicians provided became aligned as they were in the same room.

Musicians who regularly perform live jazz in Johannesburg were recruited for this study. The reason for selecting musicians based in this city was due to limited travel resources. Gaining access to informants who live in Johannesburg was also convenient since this author lives in this city. Apart from Johannesburg being the economic capital of the country, the reason for choosing

[15] The core interview questions are detailed in the appendix.

[16] The arrangement of the interview questions in this manner made it possible to automatically engage the performance career management perspectives of the participants and a previous generation. Therefore, demographical data proved no longer necessary, as originally planned, to show the divergent approach to the careers that contemporary musicians have in comparison to earlier generations of jazz practitioners. The information subsequently gathered for this report also could not validate a significant emphasis on this divergent generational approach for a study of this nature.

musicians based in Johannesburg is that the SA music industry is mainly centred in this city and offers more work opportunities (Ramanna, 2004; Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007).

As mentioned previously, this research is not representative of the contemporary live jazz music scene in Johannesburg as a whole and as such the sampling of the participants is not an attempt at being fully representative. Sampling in this research context is based on the understanding that portraying the entire local jazz scene as a broadly organised sphere is inaccurate, as only some musicians have a business or a career perspective of the music-making process. The musicians who have participated in this study are some of those performers who do plan and aim for consistent revenue so that the longevity of their music projects is possible. The jazz musicians who met this criterion were identified on the basis that they had registered business entities and played jazz, in that way through purposive sampling (Mugo, 2005). Since the pool of musicians, based on this criterion, became limited after some time, the snowballing sampling method was employed. Snowballing involves building a further sample, based on referrals made by the originally identified informants of the study, to more informants who meet the research measure and boundary (Davies & Mosdell, 2006; O'Leary, 2005). The musicians interviewed were, therefore, asked to recommend more musicians that could be approached on the basis of this criterion so as to extend the list of interviewees and the former obliged.

The choice of ten musicians was appropriate for the time constraints and scope this research would allow. The identified performers are six band leaders and four session musicians. Band leaders creatively direct the bands they form, but are sometimes also hired for the live and recorded music projects of other artists. Session musicians are recruited to bands, hired as instrumentalists on recording projects, which are referred to as sessions, and are hired for live performances with various bands. The band directors are Mlungisi Gegana, Linda Mtshali[17], Concord Nkabinde, Tlale Makhene, Khumo Kganyago and Marcus Wyatt. The four session musicians are Luyanda Madope, Siyavuya Makhuzeni, Valentia Ferlito and Bongani Khezo. Consulting both session musicians and band leaders was an attempt to balance the views that would result from this report. In having both session musicians and band leaders partake in this

[17] Linda Mtshali uses 'Mimi Ntenjwa' as her stage name.

research there was a better chance of being impartial and having a broader understanding of the performance circuit, that of the employees and that of employers[18].

During the sampling phase, the intention was not to only consider musicians who are formally trained. All the participants, but one, were formally trained in jazz studies. Valentia Ferlito did not enrol at a formal institution, but was tutored by other musicians. The study participants all have a constant relationship with jazz in that as much as they usually perform in other genres of music they also continuously perform in jazz outfits. The participants may not play jazz on a full-time basis, but are involved in the jazz practice as often as some of them would desire since they had jazz music training (Madope, 2009). The understanding here is that there may be no such thing as a full-time jazz musician, since musicians frequently dabble in different genres (Wyatt, 2010; Makhuzeni, 2009). This research identified musicians who are formerly and informally trained in the jazz idiom, those who predominantly record jazz music and those who perform within live jazz music outfits. An important condition for this sample was also that these were self-managed artists who own registered business entities that administer multiple facets of their performance careers independently of recording companies (Leadbeater & Oakley, 2006).

In documenting some of the complexities in contemporary live jazz performance management the data captured sought to identify areas where the musicians saw a need for change. The data reflects some of the external factors that jazz musicians encounter regularly, aspects that are not solely of an artistic nature. These are issues that hinder and aid the genre locally. Examples of these issues include securing employment at live music events, financial management, tax law compliance and the distribution of administrative responsibilities.

The data analysis has been through interpretation of the recorded interviews and comparing each perspective against the next. From the interviews, concepts and themes that were prominent were explored. Meaning was created through seeking the differences and similarities in the themes and concepts that arose. Some of these themes were how business records were kept, how business relationships were formed and contractual agreements were managed. Thematic analysis was used to compare the information generated from the findings. Through interpreting the

[18] Of course these roles are fluid and interchangeable. Any session musicians can be a band leader, and vice versa.

prominent themes and their implications, the findings of this research could be analysed (O'Leary, 2005). The themes that arose during the interviews were aligned with the original aims of the research project throughout the study.

The interviews are only from the singular perspective of each interviewee. There is no point of verification for each perspective, since each perspective is relative to the individual experience of each participant. The view of each contributor is self-referential, but the recurring themes from each perspective have enabled some comparison to sources of similar data (Olsen, 2004).

The participants were approached in three ways. Firstly, they were treated as authorities in their field, and as such the Harvard convention was used to reference them so as to enunciate this authority, not authorship (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). These sources were treated as experts, and this author as a non-expert, so as to manage their authority during communication (Walker, 1991). This has been the case throughout this report as they are primary sources of information, and due to these musicians belonging to a wider community of local musicians which has its own networks and knowledge systems (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999). The reason was also to expose and validate the present networks of work and resources in this community, thereby describing the milieu these musicians operate within. This community of musicians also represents what Shore (1987: 175) describes, when referring to arts organisations, as a form of 'information system [or] a network of people […] and techniques that combine to provide [the participant musicians] with a flow of information that is invaluable in controlling [their] enterprise." This outlook ascertained that there is a social and commercial context to the planning the musicians undertake, and was guided by the recommendation that Semali and Kincheloe (1999) make that knowledge production should be considered in context.

Secondly, due to being a trained musician who is conversant with the researched field of music performance, this author distanced herself during ethnographic fieldwork from preconceived ideas about the examined music in order to keep an open mind to new information from the participants. Despite no longer performing jazz the author accepts that she is fairly implicated in this area of study. The advantage of being an 'insider' provides familiarity with some jazz performance discourses (Bray, 2008). Simultaneously, this familiarity could have had epistemological implications for this report since the report would have been framed by a prior, and possibly distorted, knowledge of local jazz performance formats and networks. A process of

negotiating familiarity with the field was consequently employed, as that used by 'native anthropologists' when doing field research (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984). This process involves the opinions of the author being distanced from the process of collecting information while those of the participants are embraced (ibid). This prior knowledge of the field, as a result, did not give way to subjectivity from the author, but encouraged consistent transparency. The views of the author were balanced through using only accounts expressed by the research participants (O'Leary, 2005). The author negotiated the reality and prior experience of the field through conscientiously scrutinising her voice and suspending judgment on the views given by the participants until the conclusion of the overall research undertaking (ibid).

Thirdly, this writer related what each musician contributed to each prominent theme. The author focused on key thematic material from the interviews and structured the report in a way that laid the themes out as succeeding each other in conversation among the musicians. This approach was also to "erode the commonplace assumption that subjects provide empirical data, whilst theory and interpretation is furnished by the scholar", and reinforce that the participants of this study have framed this research beyond the primary fieldwork and data collection (Allen, 2000: 14). This focus, however, also provided a shortcoming for this report. The approach limited the ability of the author to clearly decipher concise models[19] of the way these musicians organise their business units. Due to focusing on prominent themes and overlooking the reluctance by musicians to part with information of a numerical nature, there was inadequate access to empirical data patterns and evidence of consistency (Seale, 1999).

In finding a systematic[20] approach to the methods of the respondents, each perspective was considered on its own merits. The notion that a rigidly structured approach exists in all their career management methods was disregarded. Allowing the expression of all perspectives gave the respondents the freedom not to alter their responses about their business affairs in a manner they felt would be appropriate to the research process. Additionally, through involving both prominent and less celebrated musicians, from the sampling phase onwards, this study amplifies

[19] Business models are defined by Weill et al (2004: 5) as "consisting of two elements: (a) what the business does, and (b) how the business makes money doing these things."

[20] The systematic approach defined in this case is viewed as a conscious approach towards "taking certain inputs (resources), processing or converting them into some kind of output (results), and then gathering feedback (or information) to compare that output against expectations or targets specified initially. In other words, observation of the output provides information that is used to regulate the input" (Shore, 1987: 16).

some marginal voices, particularly those of young jazz musicians who are rarely documented in local jazz study despite representing the continuity of the music form.

During the sampling phase, this writer still had to prove some previous knowledge on the subject of jazz music even after an explanation on the purpose of this project. At times it was also necessary to legitimate why there was a personal need to be involved in such research. These reservations, however, came from musicians who decided not to participate in this study. As a result, this author became aware that when approaching potential respondents, her credibility could be judged on the basis of being a young black[21] female researcher, and as such needing to prove her credentials. Consequently, with the musicians who participated in the study, the author persistently reminded herself of the rules of engagement within traditional jazz circles and the dynamics of the culture that affects local jazz. The author thus considered the colloquial portrayal of jazz as an exclusive and masculine genre, that jazz is often inaccurately associated with more mature male individuals (Allen, 2000; Ake, 2002). These barriers of exclusivity and male involvement ultimately informed the decision to review the focus age group to incorporate young musicians. As mentioned previously, young people fall outside of the local colloquial imagining of jazz due to not fitting the traditional cliché of mature male involvement in jazz music. Women and people who are not of colour are also some of the people who are not represented by this stereotype, and as such they are included in this study.

## Literature Review

The literature review has been divided into categories of local jazz performance history, SA and its politics, the management of music performance, music in the creative industries, and the consumption of popular music and marginal music.

[21] In this case race mattered since being a black researcher was sometimes met with wonderment and at other times questioned with disdain as the majority of music researchers in South Africa have been white. This disdain towards the researcher being black was also related to complexes of 'black ineptitude' caused by the residues of apartheid ideology (Allen, 2000: 27-31). With jazz music appreciation being, often and inaccurately, viewed as a 'black' occupation, and the researcher being black, it seemed pointless to some of the respondents that the researcher was trying to find out about a subject in which she was already situated (Ramanna, 2004: 121; Martin, 2008). The researcher then had to situate herself as an inconspicuous insider (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984).

## Local jazz performance history

In order to contextualise this study, research that explored pertinent social and historical accounts in the local jazz performance circuit was consulted. Examples of the most cited of these texts are *Soweto Blues* (Ansell, 2005), *In Township Tonight* (Coplan 2007), *Marabi Nights: Early South African Jazz and Vaudeville* (Ballantine, 1993), *South African Music: A Century of Traditions in Transformation* (Muller, 2004) and *Focus: Music of South Africa* (Muller, 2008). In detail, Gwen Ansell (2005) gives an account of the foundations of jazz and other popular music forms in SA, traces their social history and influence by local politics, consults with role-players in the local music industry from different eras and discusses the conditions that have contributed to contemporary jazz. Coplan (2007) describes the social, historical and political developments of three centuries of urban SA popular music forms and entertainment, particularly related to the black population. Carol Muller (2004; 2008) concentrates on specific musicological contexts and analyses mainly in regions such as Kwa-Zulu/Natal and the Western Cape, gives a synoptic history of SA music as affected by local politics and social change, and makes connections with popular culture inside and outside of SA. Ballantine (1993) explains the period of 1920-1940 in relation with *marabi* music, its progress and contribution to the kind of jazz characteristic to SA.

## SA jazz and its politics

Muller (2004), Ansell (2005) and Coplan (2007) cover the history of SA jazz, but also explain much of what happens in contemporary jazz. One can, thus, proffer that some of this literature plays dual roles that form a backdrop to an analysis and understanding of current jazz performance and management. The literature reviewed on contemporary local jazz also included papers like 'The Politics of Place' (Ramana, 2004). Here Ramanna (2004) illuminates the distinct nuances of contemporary jazz in different regions of SA. He also highlights the social manoeuvres of performers in those regions, with the sound of jazz as a signifier of locality.

It has been a struggle to use local literature on the economics of jazz. Most of the literature that exists on SA jazz focuses on the history of performance and its relationship to politics. Another significant corpus of work on SA jazz constitutes biographical data within the historical timeline of jazz music (Muller, 2004; Crossley, 2003). An exception has been the recently completed study, 'Wired for Sound: An Investigation into South African Live Music Performance and the

Johannesburg Live Music Scene', which has confirmed some of the findings in this report (Birkholtz, 2009). The few sources that glance into what happens in the business management of the performance industry in SA are regional or focus on the 'politics of place' (Ramanna, 2004). A musicological study, which has contributed to this topic, encompasses themes on jazz performance and popular music, working conditions of musicians, matters of gender as well as different aspects of the music industry is the thesis by Lara Allen (2000). This study, titled 'Representation, Gender and Women in Black South African Popular Music, 1948-1960', although focusing on a previous era, gives historical insight into how local jazz and popular music have progressed. For example, some of the grim working conditions described in Allen (2000), still prevalent in jazz performance of the contemporary era, are discussed in this report.

**The management of music performance**

Literature on advisory measures for musicians, in SA, who manage their careers in the local music industry, is increasingly becoming available to the larger public. The most accessible of these sources, employed for this study for the purposes of its clear outline of the music industry, is *The Music Business in South Africa* (Shaw, 2005). Another comprehensive book available through a sound engineering institute is the *South African Music Law and Contracts - The Smart Musician's Guide To How The South African Music Industry Works, How To Negotiate The Best Possible Contracts, And How To Make Money From Music In South Africa And Overseas* (Matzukis, 2009). The books by Matzukis and Shaw provide specificity on the local music industry history and its structure, legal stipulations, matters of artist management, aspects on marketing and financing the music product. The books provide pointers into regulatory structures, where musicians find both difficulties and benefit.

As support to literature that clarifies the general music business, although the book was written for the US context, *All You Need to Know about the Music Business* by Passman (2003), was also referenced to broaden the scope of discussion on commonalities with SA that could be obtained. Passman (2003), similarly to Shaw (2005), provides a detailed map of the music business and advises on how musicians could operate optimally, avoid unfair contracts and unfair industry practice. The latter books offer overviews of global and local realities of the industry. Other literature consulted on musicians as self-employed contract workers includes

*Singers in the Market Place* (Towse, 1993), which focuses mainly on the ability of the singer to determine their own economic worth.

The sources referenced in order to understand the jazz music performance working environment are not all from SA. Towards understanding the interaction of jazz musicians with their social contexts on and off stage, parallels were drawn from findings in *Saying Something* (Monson, 1996). This book provides a US context but explains a global live jazz performance culture. Secondly, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), a US based agency, published a study in 2002 called *Changing the Beat: A Study of the Worklife of Jazz Musicians*. This latter study explores aspects of the socio-economic conditions that regularly affect jazz musicians in the US and covered issues ranging from employment, resources available to musicians to support their careers, income and the networks in which jazz musicians operate. Some of the matters explored in the NEA study benefit the intentions of the current report.

Within the limited literature on the present status of economics in jazz performance and its management in SA, local independent and government reports assisted the descriptive purposes of this study. At the risk of over relying on Ansell as an information source, she is the only author who has produced accessible publications on both historical studies on SA jazz performance and the economic impact of this music. An independently commissioned report on the music industry by Ansell, Barnard and Barnard (2007) was consulted. The study by Ansell et al is titled 'Report on the Micro-economic Development Strategy for the Music Industry in the Western Cape' and makes recommendations for regional policy. Ansell et al (2007) tendered the report for the Department of Economic Development and Tourism in the Western Cape Provincial Government. The government report reviewed here was the 1998 'Cultural Industries Growth Strategy: The South African Music Industry' (CIGS). Although some of the deductions on the operations of the music industry from the CIGS document were relevant, others were dated since the music industry has changed[22] significantly worldwide over the last decade.

[22] It was in the beginning of the 20th century that music began to be disseminated by mass media, in the form of music records on gramophone and phonographs (Malm, 1993). At the forefront of the changes in the music industry since the 1970's is the use of accessible media technologies to produce, store, distribute and consume music (Wallis & Malm, 1983). In recent times, the internet has been the core driver of this change (Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Connolly & Kruger, 2005). Coplan (2007: 359) suggests that the global music industry, including musicians and record companies, has had an "inability so far to adapt adequately to digital music production and the distribution of music over the internet and other digital media." Much of this digital media technology equipment

Another source which assisted in framing the independence of the participant musicians from previous practices in the industry is the dated, but applicable, research report called 'Strategic Options for the South African Music Industry' by Nhlapho (1998), which contains interviews with the recording companies that dominate the South African music industry.

**Music in the creative industries**

Since this research paper deliberates socio-economic issues within the arts, the perspective by Hesmondhalgh (2007) offers a foundation from which to discuss the dynamics of the music arena of the creative industries. *The Cultural Industries* by Hesmondhalgh (2007) traverses the complex politics and economics involved in the different sectors of the cultural industries. The book relates the evolution of the cultural industries, including how self-employed contract[23] workers in such industries regulate their economic worth. Further literature consulted in this vein includes essays edited by Hartley (2006), titled *Creative Industries.* The essays give an account of cultural and creative enterprises as in flux and depict how cultural products are valued since the impact of new technologies. Another book that guided this report in understanding the management of creative enterprises is *The Culture Business* by Bjorkergren (1996). Here, Bjorkergren traces the history of aesthetics, art and cultural produce in the market place, as well as making examples of the different forms of industrialization and commodification that such products have undergone. *Arts Administration and Management: A Guide for Arts Administrators and Their Staff* by Harvey Shore (1987) was used to understand the administrative process of organisations in the cultural sector and how this process takes place in arts organizations. This literature makes a comparative study with SA possible.

Marketing within the arts sector is addressed using Bernstein's (2007) *Arts Marketing Insights: The Dynamics of Building and Retaining Performing Arts Audiences*. Bernstein (2007) discusses approaches for arts organizations towards visibility, communicating the product value and understanding the arts audience. Some of these approaches are already discernible from the

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was, in fact, originally developed and introduced to the music industry by the music industry, in some cases by record companies (Wallis & Malm, 1983; Bjorkegren, 1996).

[23] Musicians are entrepreneurial contract workers (Aggestam, 2007). They provide or 'sell a service', in this case live entertainment, and are compensated 'in the form of a fee for service, often (but not always) based on the amount of time the service requires" (Weill et al, 2004: 13). The contract usually stipulates the terms under which the musician agrees to perform the service, and other conditions related to the party for whom the service is provided (Towse, 1993: 6).

practices of the participant musicians in this report. Additionally, *Entrepreneurship in the Creative Industries: An International Perspective* (Henry, 2007) contributes to the interrogation of initiative, enterprise and innovative administration by the musicians. Henry (2007) offers case studies of envisaged administrative methods to assist continuity in the creative sector.

**The consumption of popular and marginal music**

For the conversation on contemporary global issues affecting music markets, especially in terms of decline and cases of growth in music consumption, this paper includes deliberations from *The Global Music Industry* (Bernstein et al, 2007). This book gives evidence that SA is also affected by First World music consumption trends. In terms of aspects of technological changes and the impact such changes have had on the economics and socio-cultural politics of music markets, especially in developing countries, this report draws from discourse in *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries* by Wallis and Malm (1984), and other literature by these authors influenced by this text. Although the latter book is dated, it is relevant to this study as its discussion includes the music policies that affect contemporary practice and the systems that permeate the bartering for music between the developed and the developing world.

## Chapter Outline

This research report consists of five chapters. Chapter One introduces and presents the research material, states the focus and rationale of this investigation, details the methodology used, reviews the main literature consulted during the research process. Chapter Two contextualises SA jazz performance history in Johannesburg and introduces the study participants. Chapter Three discusses informal exchange and the business relationships that exist in the performance sphere, the complex relations between promoters and performers, contractual agreements and business records, self-management, as well as team management. Chapter Four explores financial management through bookkeeping, attitudes towards tax and Close Corporations, defines how musicians are social entrepreneurs, how being informed about business management has changed paradigms, the ways they tackle publicity, how they balance time for administration with time for creativity, and music administration though the roles personal managers play, as well as the logistics musicians now undertake as opposed to record label management. Chapter Five concludes this investigation by reviewing the aims and making suggestions on the findings.

CHAPTER TWO

***"Create your own gigs" – Gegana***

## Introduction

This chapter begins by clarifying the jazz genre and its consumption in this context of study. The chapter proceeds to provide a brief historical background to SA jazz performance as it affected the city of Johannesburg. Contextualising this performance history reveals legacies of the pre-1994 era, as they relate to current jazz performance practice. Chapter Two also introduces the participants and discusses their affinity to jazz as a choice of music performance, locating the genre within their non-jazz music performances. Creating this distinction is important to establish the circumstantial relationship the musicians have with jazz, (Kganyago, 2009).

## The Jazz Genre

Although music genres are fluid cultural and historical constructs, and since "no inherent qualities separate one musical category from another", it is still important to acknowledge that jazz is openly regarded as an aesthetically distinctive genre with its own canon, which developed as a result of a particular history and musical experimentation in the United States of America (US) (Ake, 2002: 42-61)[24]. To varying degrees, this is also how jazz developed in SA. It is in the vein of these constructed traditions[25] of this genre, its musical synthesis and its history that some of the consulted musicians should be understood. For example, some of the participants consent to the problematic 'jazz-as-autonomous-art' complexity and therefore restrict the musical characteristics and evolution of jazz music in relation to jazz performance (Ake, 2009: 54).

[24] In fact, Ake (2002) clarifies that the processes of genre formation are fraught with politics and have questionable measures with which to include and exclude musicians in their chosen canons. He states that there is historiographical privileging of certain musical forms and that 'genre labels always refer to a great deal more than simply a musical style, as a variety of meanings and associations coalesce around and even help to form each [musical] category…' (Ake, 2002: 44).

[25] See Giddins (1998) and Gridley (2006) for discussion on jazz traditions.

With no intention of being essentialist[26], and based on the understanding of its historical and cultural constructions, this report deliberates local jazz within and outside of these parameters (Turino, 2008). As such, the report recognises that traditionally and stylistically, jazz performance is known to involve experimentation and interpretation (Gridley, 2006). Songs are often based on chord progressions common to the genre and the rhythmic complexity derived from the diverse musical heritage of jazz, of which the genre is a syncretic[27] product (ibid).

A prevalent factor in jazz definitions is improvisation, which is regarded as central to jazz performance (ibid). In fact, some of the participants here allude to it. Improvisation takes place when individual performers who are part of an ensemble take turns to play impromptu solos[28] over set chord[29] progressions (Monson, 1996; Tiltestad, 2004). Likewise improvisation also occurs intermittently in popular music, but it is more synonymous with the musical innovation for which jazz is reputed (Monson, 1996; Ndzuta, 2007). Moreover, popular music forms are structurally "often more simple than that of jazz" (Bjorkegren, 1996: 80).

This report will not dwell on the technical characteristics of jazz, but makes a distinction between music of the jazz genre and other forms of popular music. This is to highlight the positionality of the performers with their musical training since they studied jazz, and not, for example, western art music. Furthermore, it is important to segment the jazz genre from the potpourri of music performances at festivals in order to highlight the scope of music represented at such events. This distinction is made despite the warning Miller and Shahriari (2009) give about misconstructions, ambiguities and limitations in the course of labelling music(s). It is for purposes of "identification" within an economically based understanding of popular music that such a distinction is made (ibid). For example, popular music is generally understood as "widely

[26] Like Ake (2002), Deveaux (1991: 540) warns against putting too much emphasis on a 'jazz tradition' or jazz as "an organic entity that periodically revitalizes itself through the upheaval of stylistic change while retaining its essential identity", especially without considering the history involved in the construction of this 'essence'. Much the same, Ansell (2005) makes it clear how inclusive jazz music is, especially because of its history and the contemporary approach that musicians use to create continuity within the style. Michael Titlestadt (2004: 23) also notes that "the 'meaning' of jazz performance…is never limited to its harmonics, but extends to the ways that it resounds between multiple plateaux of signification."

[27] "Syncretism is the combination or blending of elements from different religions (or cultural) traditions" (Seymore-Smith, 1992: 274). In other words, syncretism is "the fusion of two or more originally different inflectional forms" (http://www.merriam-webster.com).

[28] A musical solo is when a musician plays alone in a band situation.

[29] A chord is a set of notes, distanced by specific intervals, played simultaneously or sounded as such.

disseminated by various types of media and supported by a broad base of relatively casual consumers" who perpetuate the large volumes of production of the genre (ibid). The jazz idiom, in economic comparison, is not as widely distributed (Connolly & Kruger, 2005). Miller and Shahriari (2009: 4-8) also indicate that popular music functions and is produced such that it "needs to appeal to a broad spectrum of the population in order to achieve financial success". SA jazz no longer achieves such popularity (Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007).

Jazz is not a commercially successful music and therefore offers its practitioners limited financial scope as a career choice. The only time jazz was part of mainstream popular culture worldwide was in the 1930's to 1940's (Gridley, 2006). In SA, jazz was also at its most popular during that era. This means that since then, few local jazz performers have attained record sales comparable to those of popular music or have penetrated the popular music market through a jazz album (Ansell, 2005). Only in the 1990's did a number of local jazz musicians get recognition in the popular music market (ibid).

Some of the musicians pronounced that jazz is influenced by the public just as much as by the musicians (Titon, 2002). As any style of music is always affecting as well as being affected by its social context, the jazz genre is also constantly being modified by such changing contexts in its historical timeline (Shepherd, 1991). It is true that "while formal musical elements define a musical style, that style derives its meaning and affective power primarily through its association with the socio-political positioning and social values of music participants [and] through the sensuous experience of those who encounter it" (Meintjies, 2003: 9). In light of this deduction, the meaning of jazz lies beyond the music alone and encompasses a lifestyle. The derivation of lifestyles from music genres not only affects audiences, but the musicians who make the music as well since "human beings invest music with value and meaning and use it as a way of defining themselves socially and binding themselves into groups" (Ellis, 2009: 55). In other words, the jazz musicians themselves use the genre of jazz as a way to give meaning to their social and career realities (Turino, 2008). Furthermore, the contemporary audiences and musicians in local jazz engage with jazz music in a way that continues to transform its traditions and consumption, thereby redefining the socio-economic space of the genre (Coplan, 2007).

## Overview of Jazz Performance in Johannesburg

An explanation of the history of SA jazz, and especially in Johannesburg, is necessary to understand the local conditions which gave rise to contemporary jazz performance and the legacy of the pre-1994 era. Briefly, SA jazz came about through the syncretism and interpretation of jazz music from the US, fused with colonial and pre-colonial music found in SA (Coplan, 2007; Titlestad, 2004). The genre was therefore localised and simultaneously moulded by responses to the adverse socio-political conditions of slavery, colonialism, migrant labour and other factors in SA during its early development[30]. Jazz, however, was only heard in Cape Town around 1918, through the first jazz recordings brought over by US sea merchants (Galeta, 2005).

From the late 1800's, SA experienced a wave of industrialisation and saw migration from farm lands to developing urban areas (Rorich, 1989). As a result, prototypes to local jazz developed through the urbanity of industrialisation in compounds where labourers lived on the periphery of cities like Johannesburg (Ballantine, 1993). Around this period the state implemented population control laws to monitor the movement of non-white people (ibid). Consequently, black city dwellers could only socialise at *shebeens*[31]on the compounds (Gwangwa & van Aurich, 1989; Ballantine, 1993). It was here that liquor was sold and *'marabi'*[32], the precursor to jazz, was developed[33] (ibid). *Shebeens*, although not conducive to live music performance provided an opportunity for musicians to keep performing in urban Johannesburg (Gwangwa & van Aurich, 1989: 147). By the 1930's, the state implemented policies to move non-white populations further away from the city to 'townships[34]', consequently destroying *marabi* (ibid). Nonetheless, by the 1940's, various parts of the country had numerous ensembles which played early jazz music (Ansell, 2005; Nixon, 1997). This was despite black musicians having scant educational opportunities past missionary schooling and learning on-the-job (Ansell, 2005).

[30] See Ansell (2005), Ballantine (1993), Coplan (2007), Erlmann (1991), Galeta (2005) and Martin (1999) for a discussion on factors in the early development of jazz in SA.
[31] Shebeen in "Irish slang", means a "'little shop': term for an unlicensed black drinking spot usually in a private home" (Ansell, 2005: 330).
[32] Marabi involved an interpretation of indigenous as well as other syncretic music forms, with repetitive three chord cycles, played on Western instruments (Ballantine, 1993; Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007).
[33] See also Ballantine, 1993; Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007; Muller, 2008.
[34] Townships are "the title given by white [apartheid] local authorities to the Spartan residential areas they constructed for black citizens" (Ansell, 2005: 330).

More laws passed by the state between the early 1900's and the 1980's would adversely affect jazz practitioners and the growth of live performance. Since black people could not be registered as professional musicians in terms of state policy, non-white musicians had to maintain non-musical day jobs in order to legally reside in the city (Ansell, 2005; Gwangwa & van Aurich, 1989). State policies maintained that black musicians were classified as vagrants (ibid). This meant that black musicians could only be semi-professionals, and could, therefore, not be self-employed performers (ibid). Race laws also demanded that musicians of different races could not perform together, and very few clubs where jazz was showcased employed black musicians (Ansell, 2005). Some of these clubs were unwilling to pay for the services of these musicians (ibid). Furthermore, black musicians were neither permitted to join a white musicians' labour union, nor were they permitted to form their own (Ansell, 2005; Gwangwa & van Aurich, 1989). Therefore, even though there were musicians who recorded music, they did so without being aware of payment owed to them since they were not educated in that regard (Ansell, 2005).

During the 1950's, with the advance of the instrument-heavy and technically focused improvisational Bebop[35] style of jazz in the US did not prove to be very popular, and with the grave local political mood at the time, audience interest waned (Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007). Jam sessions[36], which were synonymous with Bebop, became another way for musicians to practise their craft, network and learn jazz playing informally (Ndzuta, 2007). In the 1950's urban areas[37], hybrid styles of music such as jazz became a meeting point which "reconciled the cultural contradictions"[38] of the post-war era (Allen in Coplan 2007: 177). Race laws, however, progressed in austerity throughout SA in the 1950's, restricting musicians in what time, where and with whom they could perform (Muller, 2004; Ansell, 2005; Olwage, 2008).

[35] Bebop is a style of jazz rampant during the late 1940's and mid 1950's, which made wide use of small combos, rhythmical and improvisation, as well as altered chords. (Monson, 1996; Gridley, 2006)

[36] A jam session is music presented on a private or a public platform where musicians play solos, sectionally, over commonly known jazz repertoire for their own enjoyment, without prior discussion or written music (Ndzuta, 2007).

[37] Sources such as Allen (2000), Titlestadt (2004:29-35) acknowledge that the emergence of SA jazz coincided and was "coextensive with the formation of a black urban proletariat in the context of South Africa's rapid industrialisation…[comprised of] a large proportion of migrant workers (whose experience of the city articulated in complex ways with a more rural periphery) and an increasing number of people desperately seeking to maintain a foothold in a consistently hostile urban context", especially since "South African cities are visual blue prints of separation and power ". The measure of jazz as an inter-cultural and cross-cultural social link in urban spaces is still true to contemporary times, even including the 'black middleclass' (Southall, 2004).

[38] Muller, (2008: 39) details how US jazz 'developed multiple layers of meaning' for different ethnic groups in South Africa, and how the music connected these groups to the rest of the world.

In the 1960's, jazz performers could not play in the inner city and as such 'stopped playing and got poor' (Rathebe in Ansell, 2005). Jazz Festivals, in townships like Soweto, during that decade became an opportunity for the employment of jazz musicians (Ansell, 2005; Coplan, 2007). The musicians were, however, paid very little (ibid). Jazz became even less main-stream in the ensuing decades, especially because the radio service was informed by Radio Bantu[39] policies of the government, which shunned jazz (ibid; Hamm, 1991). By the 1980's[40], however, jazz programmes were established at colleges and universities (ibid). This led to a more integrated public display of jazz, continuing into the 1990's (ibid).

**History in context**

This section outlines that "jazz has never been a pure domain, culturally or musically" (Ake, 2002: 61). Some of the root causes of the management-related conditions in contemporary jazz music are highlighted by the historical account in this section. The socio-political[41] consequences of restrictive laws of movement are also stressed. The cumulative effect of these conditions aggravated the already weak professionalization of local jazz performance. As Ansell et al (2007) point out, even though it was through the urbanity of industrialisation that local jazz grew, the conditions of apartheid eventually suppressed this growth and the multiculturalism of jazz. From this history arises evidence that musicians had a limited scope of employment in live music performance in urban areas. Moreover, as much as "segregation … never wholly destroyed cross-community musical collaborations ... the audience culture of attending paid music events in the suburbs and townships was severely eroded" (ibid: 16-18). Also, as a consequence of apartheid policies, the diversity of venues in the live music circuit and its

[39] Radio Bantu was a strategic system of broadcasting. It was one of the implements for ethnic division constructed by the apartheid government to shape the attitudes of the South African populace towards the acceptance of racial, cultural and tribal difference (Hamm, 1991; Ballantine, 1993).

[40] Muller (2008: 54-68) intimates it was during the 1980's that international audiences were reintroduced to South African music due to coinciding with the growth of the marketing of music to the West from remote parts of the world, now commonly referred to as 'world music,' and, particularly, the *Graceland* project undertaken by US musician Paul Simon in contravention of the cultural boycott. Muller (ibid) as well as Bernstein et al (2007: 100) also voice that the *Graceland* album 'also highlighted issues of African creativity and the need for proper compensation' of SA musicians.

[41] Included in some of these socio-political factors is the stifling of the growth of a black middle class during apartheid times (Southall, 2004). As a result of such policy, the black patrons of jazz were gradually disenfranchised from participating in such cultural activities.

function as a place where musicians "progressed, 'paying their dues' and honing their skills and product, disappeared" (ibid).

Other important points that Ansell et al (ibid) make are that the potential of music market growth was thwarted by apartheid policies and that "apartheid significantly underdeveloped the infrastructure of the majority industry and the working patterns of practitioners" (ibid: 10-19). Similarly, there was restricted information dispersal and the stifling of labour unions, as trade unions for black men were banned for a long time. Owing to that there was also no room for musicians to network. As a result, "a thorough understanding of royalties as a source of income failed to take root among musicians of colour" (ibid: 20). This also contributed to the culture of musicians hiring "themselves out as background studio musicians" or supporting themselves by getting employment unrelated to music (Gwangwa & van Aurich, 1989: 150; Allen, 2000). While the terrain might be somewhat different due to changing economic, political policies and practices; jazz musicians are still subjected to the tough economic realities of this genre.

## The Participants and their Roles in Jazz

### Music training

This section gives the music background of each musician and explains their roles in jazz performance. The band leaders are Mlungisi Gegana, Linda Mtshali, Concord Nkabinde, Tlale Makhene, Khumo Kganyago and Marcus Wyatt. The four session musicians are Luyanda Madope, Siyavuya Makhuzeni, Valentia Ferlito and Bongani Khezo[42]. As discussed at a later stage, apart from their work as performers, these musicians are active in other roles as music practitioners, such as being producers and film score writers.

Mlungisi Gegana is a bassist in his forties who has performed extensively in the SA jazz idiom as a leader and session musician. He is from the Eastern Cape and was both formally and informally trained in jazz performance, including studying at the University of Cape Town. Linda Mtshali, whose stage name is Mimi Ntenjwa, is a vocalist from Boksburg on the east of Johannesburg. She is in her twenties and studied jazz music performance at the University of Cape Town while she was a session musician. Concord Nkabinde is a bass guitarist in his thirties

[42] Bongani Khezo is not the real name of this particular musician. The musician requested that a pseudonym be used for the sake of his privacy.

who studied jazz music at The University of Natal. He is from Soweto, south of Johannesburg, and has played widely as a session musician and band director. Tlale Makhene is a percussionist in his thirties, also from Soweto. His formal musical training was at the Funda Centre in Soweto. Makhene leads his own band and gets hired as a session musician. Khumo Kganyago, from Soweto, is a guitarist in his thirties who was formally trained at the Federation of United Black Artists (FUBA) in Johannesburg. He works as both a band leader and a session musician. Marcus Wyatt, from Port Elizabeth, is in his thirties, plays the trumpet and cornet, studied jazz music at the University of Cape Town and works in different roles, including being a band leader.

The session musicians are Luyanda Madope, who is a pianist in his thirties from Port Elizabeth, received his musical training at FUBA. He works in roles including being a producer and in live, and studio, session work. Siyavuya Makhuzeni, from East London, is a vocalist and trombonist in her twenties. She was trained in jazz and classical music, at various music institutions across the country, including Pretoria Technikon[43] and Rhodes University. Valentia Ferlito, from Pietermaritzburg, is a pianist and producer in his forties. He trained with musicians in local jazz and works a great deal as a session musician in SA and abroad. Bongani Khezo is a drummer who works widely as a session musician. He is in his thirties and received his music training at the University of Natal.

**Crossing genre boundaries**

The discussion began with whether the musicians considered themselves jazz musicians or not, so as to confirm their relationship with jazz music. The resultant views gave an indication that the musicians indeed play jazz music on a continuous basis, but that jazz has made them adept at playing and accessing other musical styles due to its ability to encompass many musical forms. Similar to Merz in Ramanna (2004), the musicians in this study, therefore, perform jazz as well as other genres of music and are often hired as session musicians across these musical genres. They have indicated that the musical style itself is an art form they are trained in, have chosen to espouse due to not only their preferences, but also because jazz is an historical tradition which furthers their creative aims.

[43] Pretoria Technikon is now called the Tshwane University of Technology.

As Khumo Kganyago (2009) explains, "I'm just a musician… I can play jazz and other styles as well. I'm not confined to just playing jazz". This statement, and similar declarations below, denotes a relationship with jazz music as a form of practice, passion and a channel through which jazz musicians approach other genres (Mtshali, 2010; Gegana, 2010; Wyatt, 2010). Kganyago (2009) also elaborates that his jazz training moulded his flexible music career in that it gave him aptitude for other music forms.

> *The reason I think I decided to go for jazz [was] so that harmonically I can survive with all these other genres and theoretically as well I can be able to analyse music quicker…jazz allows you to do that. Jazz, I think, is closer to everything*

Although Siya Makhuzeni predominantly performs in jazz bands, she deduces that jazz is only one of the things she can do (Makhuzeni, 2009). She equally acknowledges that as much as she is a session and live musician in various music genres, being labelled by the media as a jazz musician has afforded her good publicity. Makhuzeni adds that performing across genres

> *Doesn't mean that there's a level of denouncing that jazz aspect. It's my background, but I think the growth comes like at that other level of being a creative person. Being like essentially an artist, you know, and being able to express yourself irrespective of the style of music…you can't really be like angry at getting any kind of publicity… If they're pulling you into that world of jazz … it's also important to let people know if you think that you're more than that*

These testimonies highlight a point Monson (1996) makes about the flexibility in the social context of live jazz performance and of jazz musicians. Monson (1996:15) argues that in the activities and performance contexts of jazz, "it is acknowledged that any individual might simultaneously or consecutively occupy several positions in the jazz world" or sometimes does not play "only what falls under the musical category of jazz". She also notes that in such contexts, there exists a "fluidity with which individuals negotiate their positions in the music industry" (ibid). This view on versatility recaptures how these musicians have chosen to play jazz music and the genre has made them able to play other forms of music. Valentia Ferlito, for example, plays other music styles but regards jazz as his primary style of music due to the flexible element of improvisation or creative interpretation at the core of jazz performance. He suggests that because of improvisation he can put his identity in the music of any genre, noting

> *No matter what kind of music I'm playing, but that's my style, you know? Improvising or, you know? Playing my way, or the way the band wants to play [a song]… It's always free…whatever style it's in, we like put our own flavour into it...That is a jazz attitude, you know? It's constantly trying to find your voice, or your higher thing…And that is a jazz man, the essence of a jazz musician, the constantly exploring*

Of course this genre versatility is also informed by more than artistic rationale (Towse, 1993; Markusen et al, 2006). Sometimes the adaptability of jazz musicians to work in other music environments is determined by market factors such as if there was a reduced availability of jazz gigs or reduced jazz market demand at any given time. To give an example, jazz scholar David Ake (2002) pronounces the circumstance of how even supposedly 'genius' jazz musicians in history have had to succumb to the demands of the music professional sphere in not only playing music for which they had an affinity. Ake (2002: 54) states that "each player's economic survival necessitated accepting and negotiating most of the same institutions and circumstances as his or her forebears." He concludes that conditions like work scarcity have in history "even helped enhance professional prospects, within a commercial marketplace" for musicians (ibid). Jazz musicians, as such, are also able to be less affected by adversity if it only affects the jazz music market specifically and they are able to perform in other music formats (Ramanna, 2004).

Concord Nkabinde (2010) finds that many musicians like him constantly combine genres and perform in non-jazz formats easily (Khezo, 2009; Makhene, 2010; Wyatt, 2010). Nkabinde studied for a Bachelor of Music degree, majoring in jazz, which, he purports, permitted open-mindedness since it

> *Covered popular styles of music, a lot of indigenous music from all across the world… when I finished the course, already I knew, even whilst I was studying the course, I knew that I wasn't planning to pursue a career in a purely jazz box... I wanted to do music, whatever music would mean at any point in my life. But jazz was a good grounding for me, that in terms of being open to learning anything, in terms of improvising, in terms of expressing in your own type of way and …in order to be able to play any kind of music*

The statements by the musicians deem training in jazz as widely applicable to the performance of most music genres, in a manner similar to the universality with which western art music training is often afforded (Monson, 1996; Ake, 2002; Ansell et al, 2007). Their philosophies also reveal

that it is with training in jazz performance that they have the flexibility to access music performance spheres outside the boundaries of jazz traditions. This flexibility to play across music genres extends to the administrative structures the performers set up to manage their music careers.

## Conclusion

This chapter explained jazz as a constructed tradition, and an urban music shaped and shared by people of multiple ethnicities. Chapter Two briefly discussed the constituents of jazz music so as situate the musicians in jazz performance and outside of it. It clarified that SA jazz is syncretic in nature, was interpreted in the local context from US jazz. This clarification highlighted how the melange in local jazz enables SA musicians a wider scope of music performance that reaches outside of the jazz genre, especially when jazz performance work is rare. The jazz genre was discussed in the chapter as a way for musicians to negotiate their skills within other genres in music performance. The musicians established that they are music performers foremost. They do play various forms of music even though they choose to perform jazz for their artistic aims.

Chapter Two recounted the history of South African jazz as it relates to the economic and social sphere of contemporary jazz in this study. The chapter highlighted that previous generations of black jazz musicians lived during an era where their trade was not and could not be recognised as a profession. Also highlighted was that local jazz music performance could only partially develop. Moreover, the development of music professional standards was prohibited by the state making it illegal for black musicians to form or join trade unions. As a result, few musicians of colour could be enterprising with their music skills or create work for themselves.

The chapter showed that jazz musicianship experienced employment instability, inadequate venues and diminished concert audiences due to the gradual unpopularity of jazz and repressive state laws. Cumulatively these factors contributed to musicians repeatedly accepting low remuneration at live music venues for the sake of an opportunity to regularly perform. These socio-economic dynamics, inherited from the apartheid era, have moulded contemporary SA jazz. One such factor is the lack of a labour union or an effective professional interest group to set employment standards for musicians or monitor performance venues.

CHAPTER THREE

***"Why are we paying tax if we're not recognised as workers?"–Khezo***

## Introduction

Chapter Three explores how self-employed contemporary musicians approach business management and how the idea of self-management gained ground. Focus points are the nature of business relationships that exist, informal exchange and the currency of favours. The chapter also discusses the complex relations between promoters and performers, contractual agreements and how the participants keep business records. It also examines team management through the idea of allocative control, staffing, planning and organising, and efficiency within limited resources.

## Business Management

### Business relationships

Considering that the music industry in SA is structurally "fragmented", it is not entirely surprising to find that the networks within which business agreements take place are mainly informal (Ansell et al, 2007: 42). The nature[44] of relationships where business is conducted generally depends on the basis of person-to-person relations, where individual personality factors such as 'chemistry' matter (Passman, 2003: 11-26). The majority of musicians interviewed here have concurred that creating business opportunities or relationships in their industry depends on stakeholders creating lasting impressions, especially since business dealings are fostered by networking and acquiring 'connections' (Bjorkegren, 1996: 93-100; Shaw, 2005: 293; Ansell et al, 2007: 74). Added to this manner of establishing business contact, is the preference by musicians for sound personal relations between themselves and their business associates (Nkabinde, 2010).

[44] As Davies and Thurlow (2009: 2) indicate, distinctions have been made between informal activities and informal employment' in the economy even though there is a more complex co-existence of these aspects. Formal employment can, thus, exists between informal entities, and informal activities or employment can also take place in formal agreements (ibid; Chen, 2006). This is to illustrate that there is, as will be clearer later in this study, a dual 'formal-informal' nature in the business activities, relationships and employment of local musician. At times, for example, musicians are hired formally, with contracts that have benefits, while at other times they do not. At other times musicians participate in trade that is informal although they have formal businesses.

The musicians deem this way of relating important since in the music performance industry the pitching of the personal image of an artist by another party is customary. At times this pitching is done using erroneous information, with dire results, thus leading to artists guarding against the exploitation of their creative concepts or the representation[45] of their personal values (Mrubata cited in Ansell, 2005: 270). Wyatt (2010) admits he has experienced "trust[46] issues in terms of trusting other people with what is so precious to me", illustrating scepticism in reference to having someone else managing him after years of doing so himself. As Ferlito (2010) expands, the hired person "has to be on the same wavelength" as the musicians and there has to be a "vibe" of understanding that exists in such partnership to uphold the closely guarded values of that artist as reflected by the music. Likewise, Muller (2008: 60) attests that musicians "often argue that they simply want their music to speak for them" with respect to their values.

This personality-based way of conducting business is informal and may challenge strides towards the creation of formal industry standards[47] and uniting the fragmented music performance sector. The challenge may be exactly this peculiar business etiquette here. The demarcation of roles, measurable efficiency or a focus on profit margins are not exclusively what determines whether an association will be accepted by parties in a business arrangement. Whether or not a partnership will be successful is not determined by the measurability of inputs. Similarly, Hesmondhalgh (2007: 4) observes that people in the cultural industries tend to manage their projects in ways that "do not coincide with the interests of capitalism", such as profit margins, and the formal structures akin to capitalism (ibid: 54). Personality-based agreeability is what an assessment of a good working relationship would depend on, especially in instances where the musicians are making that kind of decision. Nkabinde (2010) explained his personal account of this predicament this way,

[45] *La Distinction* by Bourdieu (1984), as quoted in Hesmodhalgh (2007:66), distinguishes between representation and presentation. In the text, representatives are said to be the intermediary between 'producers and consumers' (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 66). In the context of this report, the music is the presentation which signifies certain values and the musicians, as well as their business associates represent what the music signifies.

[46] Alllen (2000: 23) paints a picture of mistrust that exists as a result of exploitation musicians have experienced from third parties

[47] Occupational standards are customary for most industries. Towse (1993: 6-10), for example, outlines that in Britain there are different bodies, 'professional organizations' or trade unions, that negotiate and determine professional standards of occupation, including those of musicians. Such occupation-specific standards include the hours of work, minimum payment rates and categories of employment within a profession.

> *Relationships, friendships seem to run at the core, [of] even the business side of things and management, the booking agent that I use now are people I've engaged with on other projects before and realised that actually I love these people as people. And therefore I think I can work with them*

The ability to do business with someone, is, thus, based on affinity or the personal views of one party over another, or what some of the musicians here refer to as a 'contact' in music business circles, and the level of trust that exists between the 'contact' and the musician. Sometimes decisions on partnering with potential administrative team members are made, intuitively, from the gut or a judgement is based on intangible factors such as the 'vibe', sensing the 'passion' and determining the 'chemistry' that exists with the potential partner (Ferlito, 2010; Mtshali, 2010; Nkabinde, 2010). Passman (2003:14) also points out that business relationships in the music performance industry depend on financial factors, but sometimes also on intangible factors such as 'belief', without regard for the capacity for one party to carry out a task or judging whether that party can deliver tangible results. This assessment by Passman (ibid) confirms what Hesmondhalgh (2007: 67) distinguishes of cultural workers, as having different occupational benchmarks and "working independently of business imperatives than other workers."

**Informal exchange and the currency of favours**

Apart from conducting business with non-creative partners, there are informal means through which musicians handle business among each other (Jeffri, 2002). An example of such a scenario is when instruments are swapped, where bartering is based on 'favours', or indeterminate terms, and sometimes intangible items and, therefore, is informal in arrangement. Items like drinks and other favours, technical equipment, standing in as substitute musicians for each other at performances or recordings, an agreement for musicians not to get paid for rehearsal time in exchange for being featured on the pending album of another musician are some of the 'items' or currency traded in aid of running music projects (Gegana, 2010; Nkabinde, 2010). The borrowing of live performance equipment at low prices or sometimes at no monetary fee at all is something that also happens. For example, during the interview with Gegana, he called a musician friend[48] of his for a favour. The goodwill involved the borrowing of a keyboard so that

[48] Jazz musicians work as individuals in groups that organically change, however, these musicians also belong to a network of other musicians, who are usually friends. Jeffri and Heckathorn (in Jeffri, 2002: 48) surmise that "one

Ferlito could use the instrument for a performance that weekend since Ferlito had no keyboard available for the approaching gig. Gegana made the phone call to the friend and a 'gentleman's agreement' was arrived at, between Gegana and the friend, without a fee. "We pay him in kind" was how Ferlito (2010) described the currency used when the keyboard was borrowed in exchange for something the musician who owned the keyboard would benefit.

This situation of exchange is not necessarily negative since jazz musicians, in various parts of the world, belong to a network of music practitioners where "social relationships serve as conduits through which resources flow" (Jeffri, 2002: 48). The sometimes inequitable exchange of resources could have, however, been curbed by the existence of local 'music business infrastructure' to support the performance sector, and in this case the hiring of live music equipment for reasonable prices within short time frames in this sector (Bernstein et al, 2007: 109). Of course musicians could make such a service available for and to each other, which in some cases they already informally[49] do. In other words, this judgement is not held with the view that the government is responsible for and should provide all amenities for the music industry (Wallis & Malm, 1992). The judgement is, however, in acknowledgment of the self-demarcated role of the national government, as outlined in the WPACH, as 'facilitator' to the arts[50], which

indication of the resources potentially available to an individual is the number of others to whom that individual is linked. This defines the size of the individual's personal network, and it serves as an indicator of social status [, and] also serves as an indicator of social capital."

[49] Musicians are in this instance of informal trade engaged in the informal economy, which generates less tax for the state than the formal economy (Davies & Thurlow, 2009). The informal economy in SA generates tax slowly and in small amounts, if at all, partly because it is quite small (ibid). 'Formalisation' of these 'survivalist' activities in the informal economy could be beneficial to the state (ibid: 2-8; Chen, 2006).

[50] The mere existence of certain art forms in various communities means that those art forms serve particular cultural or social needs within those communities. This, therefore, means that the intrinsic social benefits and value of those art forms has already been recognised within those communities, and that the government does not necessarily need to further underscore this intrinsic value within its argument on the 'instrumental value' of culture (Holden, 2004; Gamiet, 2009). The WPACH delineation of the government role to use the arts for social development, therefore, ignores the fact that the existence of these art forms is already a way in aid of social development by the artists or communities within which the art forms stem, by virtue of the existence of such art forms. It is, therefore, not the social development of the arts that is in question, but the economic development and the facilitation thereof. As Henry (2007) informs, the creative industries have been growing at such a rate that in significant economies they receive prime attention for their fiscal contribution from the government, even exceeding the manufacturing sector. With that noted, however, the perspective of the SA national government may be as suggested by Joffe and Newton (2008: 9), who deliberate that the creative industries' "economic value is derived from their cultural value or symbolic value". This latter view by the state, however, could be read as perpetuating the use of the arts for the advancement of usually political ideological ends instead of viewing them, as Shaw (2005: 156), like Towse (1993), relates to music as "a business…capable of generating a significant amount of money" and subsistence for artists. Using the lens by Venturelli (2000: 23), it seems fitting to consider that the

are described as industries, and their economic involvement (Smiers, 2003). Chapter 3 of the WPACH delineates this role as to "develop policy which ensures the […] development of all art forms and genres" while the provincial government "develops cultural industries", with one of the seven crucial areas to address being the "integration of arts and culture into all aspects of socio-economic development" (DAC, 1996).

As suggested by Ansell et al (2007: 10), unlike in SA, countries like Jamaica have fee waivers on instruments for 'professional purposes', which makes it easier[51] for musicians to access cheaper equipment (Wallis & Malm, 1984). Another cause for this informal bartering is that "most city venues overseas have 'back-line' – sound equipment, a piano or keyboard and basic drum-kit minus customised elements such as cymbals – permanently available. This is not a common practice anywhere in South Africa" (ibid: 65). Local musicians perform at live music venues that are not fully conducive for live bands since there is no adequate live music equipment available. There is also no organization[52] that actively regulates and monitors these conditions with and for musicians, and so informal practices like the swapping of musical instruments carry on unmonitored in the sector, making a proper currency of exchange in the live music performance sphere unattainable and indeterminable at the moment to also fully grasp the kind of value that exists in the industry (Joffe & Newton, 2008). There is also an opportunity to monitor the exchange that happens among musicians (Makhuzeni, 2009).

Monitoring, the development of infrastructure and forecasting growth may take some time to implement in industries such as music performance. As Joffe and Newton (2008) report, the state policies that affect the local creative industries are still not focused or monitored. The policies are at a stage where they put emphasis on the conservation and preservation[53] of culture while

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"time has come to see cultural and creative vibrancy in terms of social, economic, and political conditions governing the production and distribution of expression" and less in instrumental terms.

[51]Wallis and Malm (1983) advise that for the supported growth of local music industries, national governments 'must be aware of current trends in the international music industry [and] make sure that their musicians and composers have access to a reasonable level of technology'. In SA, this is not always the case in practice.

[52] Like in other parts of the world, there is evidence to show that local jazz musicians "lack a consistent institutional affiliation" by choice (Ansell et al, 2007; Jeffri, 2002: 49).

[53]The White Paper on Arts and Culture (1996) is an example of an arts policy document that focuses on preservation. The document states the first of its underlying values as that "access to, participation in, and enjoyment of the arts, cultural expression, and the preservation of one's heritage are basic human rights; they are not luxuries, nor are they privileges as we have generally been led to believe…" (DAC, 1996: 5). Section 3 of Chapter 3 also declares that ", the prime role of the national and provincial governments is to develop policy which ensures the survival and development of all art forms and genres, cultural diversity with mutual respect and

being stuck in aims to develop this sector. Joffe and Newton (ibid), also observe that economic development is glossed-over in the current arts policy, as a consequent to the government investing in this sector largely by way of offering arts organisations funding, and therefore ignoring other possible channels through which to grow the industry. They purport that "the CIGS[54] process was to advocate for government to focus on the creative industries as a growth area", but that no policy has been implemented to support such growth (ibid: 114).

From this conclusion by Joffe and Newton (ibid), it becomes clear that artists in the creative sector of the economy have to be proactive and act independently of state support to rectify the conditions in their industry since policy is dated and not in touch with the continuous, and dynamic, activity of this sector or its potential areas of growth. At the moment, the consequence of this approach where favours are the currency are that there remains no paper trail to support the activities and legitimacy of the live jazz performance trade or to perpetuate the seriousness of the live music industry, especially for smaller performances. On this level of the music industry there is as such no coherent sense of formal trade among the participants, hence "the majority of employment in the music industry is part-time and unstable, [and] has the capacity to provide jobs relatively cheaply" (DAC, 1998: 41). Makhuzeni (2009) worries that if an organization would monitor all trade in the live music performance sphere in SA it would be met with no

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tolerance, heritage recognition and advancement, education in arts and culture, universal access to funding, equitable human resource development policies, the promotion of literature and cultural industries" (DAC, 1996: 10). This focus on preservation is due to that during the apartheid regime the idea of culture was used to divide citizens ethnically and tribally, and the legitimacy of indigenous African traditions and heritage was unrecognised.

[54] The "Cultural Industries Growth Strategy" report of the Music Industry was drafted in 1998. The document calculated that "In 1996 the South African industry accounted for R585 834 743 of the total R160 billion gross turnover of the sound recording industry [and that] the South African recording industry represents 0.375% of the total turnover in the world's recording industry" (DAC, 1998: 26). According to the CIGS report, "the South African music industry is worth approximately R974.7 million" in album sales at wholesale costs, performance copyright revenues, mechanical copyright revenues, retail, and sound and lighting (DAC: 1999: 38). The strength of the document was its proposition of the South African music product as an export, and its encouragement of regional trade and other multilateral agreements to expand to expose the local industry and its product globally. Since the document was written before some of the consequences of music digitisation had become starkly clear, it has become unreflective of what happens in the global music industry structures or what kind of facilities are currently in use. Some of the weaknesses in the CIGS report are its extended focus on the end product of music in its recorded format, and the great attention paid to the music product quality as opposed to the course of and conditions within the production of the music. The report explains earnings in the local live performance sector as that they "reflect the instability of and disparity in earnings that is characteristic of the global music industry in which some artists are multimillionaires and others are paupers" (DAC, 1998: 41). If this statement on the disparity in music earnings is to be accepted as the norm, the circumstances of such a deduction could lead to what Landry & Matarasso (1999: 26) asses is one of the quandaries when policy makers consider cultural policy, that "some cultural activities, typically libraries and museums, are seen to be a natural part of public provision, while others, such as fashion or popular music, are left to market forces."

database of the participants within the sector, that few occupational standards apply, that there is no form of registry of the frequency of performances, no records of productivity or accurate method to measure the benefits of such an industry on the immediate social environment or the broader economic environment. There is no formal or direct system linking this industry to archival statistics by the state except from selective and government department or privately commissioned studies, such as those used here by Ansell et al (2007), and Joffe and Newton (2008), which do not continually monitor the dynamics of the situation.

**Complex relations with promoters**

Partly as a result of the informal business arrangements that transpire, some of the musicians find it difficult to access performance spaces such as jazz festivals, which are guaranteed to have large audiences and opportunities for wider exposure. The ambiguities within these informal networks sometimes hinder access to performing to large audiences[55], which are continually a challenge in most performing arts disciplines (Bernstein, 2007). For example, there is suspicion among the musicians that their access to festivals depends little on the music product, but more on the kind of personal relationship any musician or their management have with the promoters of such events. Makhuzeni (2010) argues that the role of a promoter in the career of a musician should be that of someone who "respects what [a musician is artistically] trying to do". Makhuzeni, however, believes that the "promotion of music in this country is about money…it's not about the quality of the music". This outlook mirrors the abovementioned case of respecting the individualistic and creative values embedded in music projects where a mutual understanding of those values has to be created through the artist relaying of those values to the potential representative or business partner, in this case a promoter. There are, of course, other factors involved in the selection of acts to perform at such festivals, notwithstanding music trends and financial imperatives (Ansell et al, 2007).

Like Makhuzeni, Mtshali (2010) interprets securing deals to do with the music business as happening irrespective of the music. Mtshali explains that "it's not about the music" when musicians try to get their music to a wider audience. She emphasises the idea that the non-

[55]Jazz musicians, like other performing artists, are faced with the quandary of whether their music performances are "the source of changing ticket purchasing power or whether people are responding differently to how [jazz] is packaged and communicated to its publics" (Bernstein, 2007: 5).

creative parties involved in the arena of getting music to a wider market make the deal with an artist if they have good relations with an artist or are already acquainted with a musician, but not on the basis[56] of the content of the creative product. She states that "it's about relationships, relationships, relationships. You have to know these people... No-matter how good [the music] sounds!" Indeed other factors also determine the desirability of any artist to promoters, factors such as the needs of the music market at any given time (Passman, 2003). The latter statement by Mtshali, however, highlights the limited relations between promoters and performers.

A statement which further supports the view that Mtshali has on the irreverence towards the quality of music products by music festival organisers is the compromise that Nkabinde observes happens as a result of logistics such as travel and accommodation costs. He states that "at festivals that are far away […] it usually becomes a gripe if you have a big band […] for promoters, so they often try to negotiate with musicians to bring smaller bands to the festival". As much it is important to consider the financial implications of large ensembles, this statement gives credence to the idea that the artistic principles of the music product to be showcased are surpassed by the precedence of convenience for the spectacle at these festivals. The finances are invested in having many bands at festivals than in the quality of music at the festival (Birkholtz, 2009). A scenario is, therefore, created where jazz musicians are defensive over what they value and become sceptical about who to best work with that accepts their performance requirements.

Madope (2009), like Aggestam (2007), finds that it is possible to have an equal footing in music business relationships and mutual respect for what each party has to offer. He states this situating the business and artistic worlds as dichotomous, but acknowledges, like Thompson (1999: 211), that the two worlds can merge successfully if managed with proper consultation. In the quotation immediately below on such mergers, Madope provides a further example that artists are not always wholly involved in the business development or administration of their career projects. Confirming that business-art partnerships are co-dependent in the creative industries, Shore

[56] It is often inferred that the basis of getting music distributed widely through various channels depends on which record label an artist is contracted and how much financial muscle that recording company has (Nhlapo, 1998; Passman, 2003). Nhlapo (1998: 37-38) insinuates that major record companies become an entry barrier for smaller role players in the music industry, among other factors. He states that "large firms enjoy special preference [by other companies within the industry] because of their long experience and presence in the industry, and because some of them happen to be wholly-owned subsidiaries of multinational corporations which have access to finance around the globe"

(1987: 150) deduces that "in many arts organizations leadership is shared by two people, one having primary responsibility for artistic decisions and the other having primary responsibility for administrative matters." Ansell et al (2007: 86-87) find that even with such partnerships, musicians need to recognise that they "do work in an industry and need certain capabilities beyond music making in order to derive the optimal benefits from this career." Ansell et al (ibid), therefore, purport that musicians still need to be empowered with business management knowledge. As much as Madope finds business-arts collaborations are possible, he finds relations with non-creative commerce-savvy partners also a 'risk' as he suggests that musicians are often dictated to and undermined when in such relationships (Aggestam, 2007). He admits,

> *I like the guys who've got the money, who come to the musicians […] we team up, because at least you know one is gonna be financially [skilled,] looking at that side. You will work on the art, but everybody is happy at the end of the day […] At least you find guys who really love music but they are not musicians and they see that […] but they see a business opportunity too*

In relation to some promoters, specifically, and musicians agreeing on terms that secure a performance opportunity at such festivals, their relations are also based on personality agreeability. Khezo (2009) makes this observation,

> *Each and every promoter in this country's got his own festival […] We know that in March, you're going to Cape Town. October, August you're in Jo'burg, Durban at the end of the year [.] We don't have neutral festivals [.] Each and every promoter has his own festivals and calendar and his own favourite musicians. So, if you're not a favourite of any promoter, it means you'll be doing your own festival*

It is important to note that even though the artist selection processes at festivals "are often opaque", the personality agreeability referred to above is not always based on favouritism (Ansell et al, 2007: 68). The choice of musicians at a festival may be according to the aims of a festival, whether 'developmental' or 'export-friendly' (ibid). The selection of artists may also be due to "poorer infrastructure…and less-evolved business practices" from promoters or other parties in the music industry (ibid: 67). The line-up may also be based on the experience of positive working relations. Some promoters may prefer to work with musicians they have a successful working history with from previous business engagements. Moreover, every musician

has a different experience of business contracts from events of this nature, and every case has its own peculiarities (Towse, 1993). Musicians have also been known to be unreliable when it comes to living up to the pre-agreed conditions of performances in the past, and thus weakening the chain of building trust between these parties (ibid; Coplan, 2007).

Khezo (2009) finds that there is another complication in the relations between promoters and musicians, that of power. He notes that festival sponsors give funds directly to promoters to run festivals, thus leaving the onus completely to the promoters to "book those they like [and] those who they see and hear on TV", thus only choosing music that is visibly popular instead of discerning according to the musical product. He explains that by the sponsorship funds resting directly with the promoters, manipulation of the festival outcomes and as such influence on what seems popular or available in SA music rests with the choice of promoters. He suggests that promoters can in fact influence the face of SA music in what they regularly showcase to the public. Khezo gives a historical account of musicians and promoters, explaining that in a different era musicians were capable of providing the sound and music for performances, but required the promoter to find venues. He stresses that musicians hired promoters and not the other way round (Madope, 2009; Khezo, 2009; Makhuzeni, 2009). His views highlight that roles have altered in the relationship between musicians and promoters, and that an inversion of functions has occurred due to musicians independently managing their own marketing, finding their own gigs and undertaking such responsibilities (Stokes & Wilson, 2002; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Birkholtz, 2009). This transposition, and sometimes overlapping, of roles is one that recurs in this sector within different levels and functions in creative and non-creative teams (Birkholtz, 2009). Sometimes relationships in this sector are the cause of tension due to roles that are not demarcated within and outside of creative teams (Passman, 2003). The roles of promoters are just one such example.

**Contractual agreements**

When promoters or other role-players in the sector conclude contracts with musicians, the process sometimes comprises "less-evolved business practices" due to the lack of training in such responsibilities and the general lack of infrastructure to facilitate such training in the country (Ansell et al, 2007; Joffe & Newton, 2008). In some instances in SA contractual deals are still done over the phone and as such aid further informality and sometimes the neglect of

documented contractual agreements. Makhuzeni (2009) agrees that this is not the best way to handle binding contracts since there is a possibility for the 'vague' overview of a situation, yet she confirms that "a lot of people still [believe that] your phone is your livelihood". Madope and Khezo (2009) also suggest that there are cases of misinformation with phone calls. The latter musicians say that it is possible for a performer to be called about a gig and have the requirements explained over the phone, only for the musician to physically arrive at the gig and be met with different remuneration terms and creative conditions than those discussed telephonically. The duo further explain that because some situations are so spontaneous that if a musician is required right at that moment of the phone call, another musician could respond just as immediately due to the infrequency of work on the live music performance scene. Madope, specifically, speaks of many 'deals' that come up when he is chatting online[57] and when someone calls requiring a specified instrumentalist (Madope, 2009). He advises that despite the possibility of inaccurate information on such communication forums, he will tell the person on the other end that

> *"You know, I've got that!" [Because] maybe [the person] was calling and didn't know [that] I know a drummer. So I know somebody who can play these drums man. Then I call a drummer or a pianist, you know what I mean? So, it's that chain, you must keep it going. That communication thing… and again, you must be able to see if it's a lie. You know, it's those dynamics. But again, for one to survive again, you must be cheated at one point*

In Madope stating that he sometimes accepts gigs over various media, he enlightens that even with the chance of being cheated, musicians still accept and rely on calls to get work. This highlights that verbal agreements are a risk worth taking (Towse, 1993; Kganyago, 2009; Gegana, 2010, Makhene, 2010). Wyatt (2010) describes it this way, that

> *…especially in the jazz scene, and to musicians who are not specific to only doing one [genre]. There's a lot of word of mouth things, you know. So, people will call you, or people will hire you for little projects*

Since the nature of business relationships is predominantly informal, verbal, and is through personal contact, Gegana (2010) provided an example of the effectiveness of concluding deals in

[57] Madope often uses the chat tools on the Facebook social networking site, to communicate with musicians and non-musicians.

person. He explained that if he was trying to secure a significant deal with a promoter he thought it would be valuable to convince the promoter in person. He noted that he had recently sent an email to a promoter, but he actually wants to seal the deal in person. This links with an important perspective that Makhuzeni raised earlier when she mentioned the matter of unclear agreement terms when musicians do not get the opportunity to sign contracts (Shaw, 2005; Birkholtz, 2009). Local musicians have been known to be at the disadvantaged end of improper or informal agreements, leading to impecunious circumstances (Shaw, 2005; Makube, 2008).

Due to the scope of logistics involved in bands travelling from one performance venue to the next, it is necessary that contracts are binding and protect musicians beyond the performance remuneration (Towse, 1993). It is unfortunately a regular occurrence that contracts are not signed in relation to travel logistics. Even when a performance contract exists with reasonable performance terms and conditions, that contract often precludes unforeseen circumstances, like considerations of at-gig damage other than musical instruments, or travel insurance[58] for the musicians, who often risk "working uninsured" (Ansell et al, 2007: 64). Makhuzeni suggests that

> *You've got to take care of people in a certain manner... For instance you know how many people have gone off to do a gig in Durban or whatever and they land up in a car crash[59] […] and who has to pay for that, usually? Because there's nothing signed in the contract where those guys have to take the responsibility, right, which means musicians don't sign contracts, because musicians don't give out contracts*

At times, in cases where agreements are not clinched over the phone, they are concluded via a process over email, and this procedure usually involves written documentation (Makhuzeni, 2009; Nkabinde, 2010). For example, to avoid people who "try and negotiate a fee with me on the phone" and as such getting inaccurate information, Makhuzeni (2009) finds that it is important for her to have a 'booking system'. She further explains that for herself as a session

[58] Shaw (2005: 349-354), by not mentioning it as the responsibility of event organisers, intimates that travel insurance is the responsibility of artist management. He states that "the event organiser is obligated to provide reasonable assistance to the artist prior, during and after the event" (ibid: 351). In fact, the most explicitly stated damage provided for in contracts is usually for the damage to music instruments (Passman, 2003; Shaw, 2005; Weissman, 2006).

[59] As far as back as the 1950's musicians have taken the onus for accidents that occur in the course of performance tours (Allen, 2000: 178). This recurrence of travelling without insurance became habitual since it was not feasible to have a musicians' union or an organization that would protect the interests of, particularly black, performers (Allen, 2000: 151). Musicians had to take the risk to travel so as to keep their performance careers active (ibid: 180).

musician, working with so many different people means that she may have to explain her income to the tax authorities. The booking system, thus, is proof of how she makes her money. She also estimates that as much as the events' organisers who hire her find it a difficulty to get paper work done, they usually are able to explain their income and expenditure "because they make sure that everything is written down" and so should therefore not have complications with her reciprocating the creation of records for her funds. Her booking system is comprehensive in that she asks the people who hire her to

> *Drop me mail […] put down all the details for the gig because […] If you do that then I'll be able to get back to you. In fact on that website, if you go onto that page and if you drop me this and that, then I can send you a quote. Once you find the quote, then I'll send you a contract, and once we sign the contract there'll be 50% deposited into my account and then we know that we are in business because my side of it is protected and your side of it is protected*

**Keeping business records**

Nkabinde (2010) also refers to sending emails as necessary to getting gigs, send proposals and to have recorded transparency when communicating with his own band. He insists that

> *Everybody must have email. I do send them text messages to say please check your email. And I even send them a set list of which songs we'll choose [...] and I just find it makes people more at ease. They can plan better, if there are other gigs that they want to take. They know that I'm at his gig at such a time. So, in the morning I could go and do a recording session, or this and that, because with [some] bands I find myself having to block out the whole day because I don't know when things are happening*

Mtshali (2010) concurs that emails have become a method of creating business records, particularly when it comes to managing financial records[60]. She concomitantly speaks of a similar booking method to that of Makhuzeni, the system of creating invoices and sending them via email. She describes part of this method thus,

[60] It becomes clearer later in the report that musicians are not always able to balance their financial books (Birkholtz, 2009: 64). Specialists like accountants are hired to tally the figures for musicians. It is therefore under the pressure of making these figures connect and balance that the musicians have to have a system that stores the in-and-out flow of cash amounts and to document the communication that explains transactions.

> *...before you perform, you ask for 50%. The way we work, we ask for that 50% prior to the gig. And then obviously that will come, so you've given them an invoice. Which goes via email and then they pay into the account. Usually it's not that difficult [to trace]…*

Like Nkabinde, Gegana and Makhene, Wyatt (2010) uses email as a cross-border exchange communication tool as well as to keep business records. Wyatt (2010) emails in "trying to plan gigs […] answering quotes and things so that people have an idea of what you charge." Most importantly, he uses email to keep a database of the people who attend his performances, collecting their email addresses, and thus keeps a record of his immediate audience and market (Bernstein, 2007). He invites this audience to his shows, as an extra measure to advertising on newspapers or social networking websites because he estimates that "word-of-mouth's always been there, that's always been a good one. But it's most now… email. It's the web" (Wyatt, 2010). Wyatt, therefore, uses 'e-mail marketing', which involves the cashless transaction between the musician and patrons who "sign up to be part of an organization's email list…trading something they value – their privacy" for information about his service, the music product (Bernstein, 2007: 180-185). Some of the benefits of email marketing are that it is direct, immediate and cheap (ibid).

Resources like email are another way to curb the costs of marketing, and since these musicians are self-managed, the need for a marketer in a team becomes reduced. Gegana (2010) concurs, arguing against unnecessary administrative personnel due to percentage cuts on gig payments. He points out that

> *People like Zim [Ngqawana], people like McCoy [Mrubatha]… They're doing [self-administration]… I do it myself. I don't go to anyone … If somebody comes, like the international jazz festivals, when we did that [gig] I was dealing with them directly*

Ferlito also agrees that if "you deal with them yourself … you by-pass the middle man. If you understand what you want and then know how to negotiate, why not do it yourself?" Ferlito explains that when a musician begins[61] a career in music, that musician needs to build a relationship with

[61] This outlook corresponds with how Shaw (2005: 157) and Passman (2003) describe the 'lifecycle' of a musician new to a performance career, that the musician begins by structuring every aspect of their career. Shaw (2005: 157) considers that "when the artist begins their career they may have no need for management", but that the artist may later find it 'impossible' to simultaneously "perform the creative function…as well as perform the management function."

promoters and be on good personal terms with them. He encourages though that at a later stage when the musician can afford to hire someone who understands their idiosyncrasies and as such 'represents' the musician, promoters should be able to recognize what the artist requires from the representative. Ferlito indicates that it is only when a musician is properly represented that the musician "can concentrate on the music". Similarly, Kganyago is of the opinion that "a true musician really doesn't get time[62] to function fully as a business person." He explains,

> *You never stop learning music. You still have a lot to learn on your instrument. So, I think that people like promoters are necessary to go out there and get the shows. To organise what they are organising, the festivals you know all these events and promoting musicians... I think that they are necessary because really I think that if we were to say that as musicians we would promote ourselves, it wouldn't be as effective as how promoters do it because I think we would have a lot on our plate…I don't agree really with everything that the promoters are doing, but then I try also to understand that they are also business people*

**Self-Management**

Musicians did not always undertake administration. Traditionally[63], a musician who records for a particular record company would have a product-specific management deal contained within the recording contract of the same record company (Shaw, 2005; Passman, 2003). This in-built product-specific management deal would be planned around the looming release of a newly recorded album or an envisaged album, as stipulated by the record contract (Passman, 2003). The record company would plan and organize the marketing and publicity of the new album, its sales, promotion, production, finance and legalities for distribution in local and international territories (ibid). Sometimes record companies would determine the 'branding' of that musician as part of

[62] These statements on time dedicated to creativity by Kganyago and Ferlito address an activity that is constant in the lives of music performers, that of rehearsing and learning (Towse, 1993). Performing musicians are always learning new ways to approach their music, over and above the training they already possess at any given time (ibid). This process of learning is also important for generating creative ideas towards future projects, whether it is learning through many hours of practising or through getting lessons (Birkholtz, 2009: 165).

[63] 'Traditionally' in this context refers to a period where unrecorded musicians were more dependent on record companies to forge recording careers in the music industry and to be able to reach wider audiences due to having been recorded and the recorded music sold through conventional retail outlets. Such recorded music would make the wider recognition of an artist possible and thus lead to opportunities in an artist performing to larger audiences. This traditional period and mode of operation, although not completely over since many musicians still choose to operate this way, was prior to the DIY era where more musicians had easier access to digitised music production and electronic means to market their products.

the album marketing (Shaw, 2005: 216). With the product-specific deal stipulating the management of the production, marketing and distribution of the album, musicians would thus, on their onus, either prior to deciding on a record company or later, hire a personal manager who would assist in the selection of a producer, lawyers, agents, contract amounts, band personnel, packaging, publicity and promotions strategies (Passman, 2003; Shaw, 2005). At times, musicians who are past the preliminary stage of their recording careers would hire a business manager to administer financial records, taxes, investments, and financial planning (Passman, 2003; Shaw, 2005). Some of the live performances by musicians who sign in-house record company management deals would also be planned, by the in-house agents as well as the personal manager, around the release of the related recorded project, as part of promoting the project (Passman, 2003; Shaw, 2005). Alternatively, the concerts would be arranged by agents hired by musicians to "book live personal appearances" at live venues, link them to promoters who organise music events and tours (Passman, 2003: 55).

As mentioned previously, jazz artists in SA tend to administer their own careers (Coplan, 2007; Gegana, 2010). Local jazz musicians, therefore, apply the four functions of management through "planning, organizing, staffing, leadership, and control" to meet career objectives usually sans personal managers (Shore, 1987: 7). For example, the participants work independently of record company management[64], thereby, steering the direction of their performance careers (Ansell et al, 2007). In recent years there has been a deconstruction of the world-wide music industry from being major-record-label-centric to one with more empowered individual musicians, due to the wider accessibility to digitised music production and consumption (Shaw, 2005; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Ansell et al (2007: 43) note that "digitization has enabled people to handle more tasks on their own." As a result, more musicians are opting out of recording contracts with major record labels and choose alternative performance career management paths as well as "creative autonomy" (Wyatt, 2010; Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 55-72). This is despite the area of self-administration being an area where artists have had minor success (Makhuzeni, 2009; Mtshali, 2010; Nkabinde, 2009).

[64] Allen (2000: 148-152), reveals practices during the 1950's where musicians were not "receiving a regular salary, or a certain amount per side recorded" and instead given money when they needed it. Record companies administered their careers holistically, including performance payments, recording payments and payments for publishing. Sometimes musicians were compelled to renounce their copyrights to music they composed.

## Team Management

### Allocative control

Some of the participants control and manage their individual careers by teaming-up with individuals, or companies, with particular expertise to manage certain aspects of their performance careers and guard their interests (Madope, 2009; Nkabinde, 2010). The performers also tend to keep a small core administrative team and outsource[65] functions such as financial management and distribution to specialty companies (Nkabinde, 2010; Mtshali, 2010). This type of control and selective involvement by the musicians in running their careers is similar to what is stated in Hesmondhalgh (2007: 62) as "allocative control", which is used by bigger cultural production companies. Allocative control includes the power to make decisions on how 'productive resources' are generally deployed to enable the manifestation of the end goals (ibid).

### Staffing

As Madope (2009) suggested earlier, there are musicians who prefer to manage only the artistic aspects within the partnerships or administrative teams they build. In doing so, the musicians overlook other aspects of administration and entrust all aspects outside the creative to their staff or business partners. This means that those musicians usually decide on "artistic (as distinct from business) policies" since their strengths lie in the creative product (Shore, 1987: 201). Partly due to this complex schism of "art versus business", the musicians who opt for managing solely their artistic domain do not link all functions of management, or are not always aware of all the areas they could better administer their careers (Shaw, 2005: 19; Leadbeater & Oakley, 2006). Staffing is, therefore, an important managerial function in the case of musicians who prefer this kind of 'allocative control', since these musicians hire personnel to administer the non-creative aspects of their performance careers (Hesmondhalgh, 2007: 62). As one of the five functions of management, staffing involves "keeping jobs filled with capable people" and is undertaken through "recruitment, selection, training and development" (Shore, 1987: 105).

[65] Outsourcing involves a business evaluating its competencies among its activities. During this process, areas of strength and weakness are identified. The weaker areas, services or functions, are usually as a result of insufficient resources within the business to internally carry out particular tasks. A decision is then made to either source such functions externally or to continue sourcing them, or producing them internally. When the business finds an external organisation to source some of its services, products, or functions, this is outsourcing (Handley & Beton, 2009).

Correspondingly, as much as there are musicians who employ management functions such as staffing for reasons favouring their own exclusive creativity, there are also those musicians who use staffing to get more involved in the overall 'business policies' that guide their careers. For instance, Nkabinde (2009) considers that during the process of staffing or when establishing or maintaining a management team "[a musician] needs to know exactly what the role of the people in [their] team is, have a clear understanding of what a booking agent does as compared to a promoter."

Nkabinde (2009) further explains that primarily the management team "implements the artist's vision and ideas", embarking on and executing a plan that is collectively agreed upon and expected by the musician. By this point on the allocation of administrative roles, Nkabinde also makes reference to the idea of leadership. He states that in order for the musician to effectively allocate tasks among the team, the musician also has to be clear about what to lead the team towards and relay this goal to the team. His suggestion corresponds with the idea that the management function of leadership incorporates the ability by a manager to effectively communicate the determined vision and objectives of the endeavour and to introduce change for necessary improvements (Shore, 1987).

The importance of the clear communication of the values and the vision of the musician to administrative team members is also highlighted by Makhene (2010). He similarly notes that his leadership involves him choosing a team to work with and to sufficiently represent him at what he is not skilled at carrying out. He states

> *I will know my limitations so, I will get the right person who will know exactly what I want and accept that he will be different in […] the execution. So now, the little difference there is I will have to stomach it so that something else comes out of that structure that I know that will be inspired by me. It's what I want, but then it branches out, but then, still I'll have to be honest in telling that person now you're pushing it away from what I want it to be*

**Planning and organising**

Makhene and Nkabinde stress that the intermediaries hired to represent performing artists are expected to translate the values of artists on the basis that musicians are responsible for the efficiency of communicating this vision and these values through these administrative teams.

Similarly, Mtshali (2009) underscores the importance of adherence to this predetermined vision. The implied vision and career goals are determined by musicians, during the planning function of management (Shore, 1987). Inherent in planning is the devising of clear objectives and the formulation of policies by "generating guidelines for the management actions needed to achieve [the] stated objectives" (Shore, 1987: 49). In this context, these policies encapsulate the personal values, vision, long and short-term objectives of the musician or the business of the musician. Mtshali (2010) advises on the advantage of musicians leading and planning, systematically with objectives in mind, stating

> *Make sure that your cd's are available in the stores, make sure that your distribution is correct, make sure that your publicity is correct. In that way, you kind of build a brand. In fact then, let me say have a vision [and] have a team that is strategic*

In essence, Mtshali reiterates that musicians cannot promote their careers without the administrative assistance of staff (Kanyago, 2009; Shore, 1987). Furthermore, she also engages with the management function of organising, which comprises identifying "work activities [that] are necessary to accomplish the plans" (Shore, 1987: 71-72). Organising encompasses the logical division and allocation of plans to people who carry those plans out as task specialists in a way that is compatible with the skills of those hired individuals (ibid). She implies that through organising what is needed to achieve identified objectives the musicians are then able to directly supervise team progress according to the stated objectives, and the team members account to the musicians. Mtshali, points out that "when you have the right team that is behind you and you understand your vision collectively, [you know] where you want to take your concept."

**Efficiency within limited resources**

Wyatt (2010), who does not yet have an administrative team, acknowledges that

> *Obviously it would be lovely to have an entire team working on getting the music out there … having us to travel [ to] play festivals… in amazing parts of the world … and to take the music there and experience all of that and grow...It would be people who … would have to believe in what it is that I do… I think once you've become more established in the sense that you're able to generate income, and to provide for a team, it becomes a little bit less important that some of those more minor players within that*

> *structure are not necessarily… believing in what you do because then at that point it could become for them a job [.] They need to have… the same vision that you do*

As the immediate quotation above suggests, some of the participants, seem less preoccupied with a rigid system through which administrative teams are channelled to specifically realise large instant financial outcomes. The focus predominantly remains on long-term performance career-orientated outcomes even though there is due consideration for the cost of administrative teams and what the teams could achieve for long-term artistic plans and benefits. This attention to long-term performance career goals may be due to concerns about career longevity or the current uncertainty on stable sources of revenue in the global music industry in recent years (Hesmondhalgh, 2007). Live performance is the most constant global revenue source in the music industry, especially at the moment, as "concerts provide a larger source of income for performers than record sales or publishing royalties" (Connoly & Kruger, 2005: 4). The SA music sector has not been different in how it has been affected in comparison to other countries, even though the country possesses peculiar socio-economic dynamics (Bernstein et al, 2007).

Throughout the interviews, the musicians were more concerned with gaining wider exposure for better access to audiences instead of immediate financial gains (Makhene, 2010). The cause for this disposition is unclear; however, Bernstein et al (2007) provide clues. Bernstein et al (ibid) suggest that musicians accept the limits of the cultural industry of the continent, hence their attempts to regularly tour Europe in particular. The musicians are also cognisant of the small[66] size of the SA jazz market though (Makhuzeni, 2009). Bernstein et al (2007: 101) note that

> *For African musicians, it is unfortunate that making a living is a matter that doesn't tie into their artistry or even their record sales [.] The combination of the low standards of living with the necessarily low retail[67] of (even legal) [music on hard copy], the government tariffs added to recorded products, and the inconsistency or total lack of performing rights income paid to musicians and songwriters creates a gloomy picture for local musicians*

[66] In 2005, however, Shaw (2005: 129) demonstrates by using a graph showing the All Media and Products Survey statistics that jazz enjoys average, as opposed to low, followership in the country in comparison to genres like mbhaqanga. Of course these figures are only an approximation of taste, and do not as such demonstrate figures in consumption. The figures may have changed in the last few years (ibid: 130).

[67] In terms of the research done by Nhlapho (1998), however, South African music on hard copy retails at very high prices when compared to other countries. In contrast, Shaw (2005: 123) suggests that "a cd has an average value of R37, which is significantly lower than the international market."

In reality, administrative teams are afforded by few live music performers (Wyatt, 2010). Teams are not feasible for all these musicians due to the disparate, and usually meagre, earnings[68] from live performances or recorded music sales over a period of time as compared to the consistent salary costs involved in maintaining such teams (Ansell et al, 2007). Moreover, this report later reveals that the majority of participants who have recorded music and sell it usually hire only one person to manage their bookkeeping, and possibly another individual to assist them in the search for gigs (Makhene, 2010; Wyatt, 2010). Conversely, some of the participants also record music and sell it, but personally see to functions like bookkeeping (Gegana, 2010). The participants may, while maintaining a small team, also 'outsource' certain administration roles to specialist companies or experts who are not necessarily contracted to work with them on a full-time basis (Mtshali, 2009; Nkabinde, 2010). Administration teams, for the performers who keep such teams, are also in aid of creating individual music brands (Mtshali, 2009; Makhene, 2010).

## Conclusion

This chapter showed that business relationships are formed strategically between musicians and non-creative role players in the performance sector. Business relationships are mainly formed through informal networking or being part of a network of 'contacts' and 'connections'. Such relationships are established for many reasons, including the gaining of career growth, for supportive infrastructure, and to access resources such as employment channels. The vital point of connection in such relationships is the collective understanding of the artistic and personal values of the artist who leads the project.

The chapter established that some musicians conduct business deals and activities that have no paper trail. The deals are encouraged by the lack of industry monitoring and development of formal trade structures. Some of the participants have shown that they often manage relationships with other performers through using 'favours' as their currency. This exchange points to inadequate industry monitoring, caused by the lack of forward-looking state cultural policy in this sector. These favours are evidence that musicians find they need to be proactive,

[68] It is important to also note that as much as it is to be expected that recorded musicians whose music is copyrighted and gets airplay, and/or gets performed live, those musicians usually make most of their revenue from direct *cd* sales or live performances. Smiers (2003:73) informs that "artists do not currently earn much money through copyright...research indicates that the expansion of copyright in general favours investors over creators and performers". A small number of musicians are able to make a living from their copyrighted material (ibid).

resourceful and self-sufficient when faced with the conditions of poor industry development, a lack of industry regulation standards and the inequities that come with such conditions. The participants are, thus, proactive by finding solutions and curbing power struggles between themselves and role-players such as promoters. Some of these musicians hence, partner up with business-savvy individuals who take on the non-creative responsibilities with them and for them.

It also emerged that some musicians follow particular procedures when undertaking contracts while others rely on often unclear verbal agreements. Some of the musicians have created booking systems and devised ways, such as using email and invoicing, to document the conditions to contracts. Email records are used as a way to keep business records, to create a paper trail for tax purposes and to maintain transparency between parties in a contract. Due to a history of unpredictable eventualities such as death while on music projects, some of the participants use contractual agreements to also cover obligations like travel insurance.

Chapter Three proposed that occasionally when musicians opt for a verbal agreement to a performance contract, this may be due to pressures such as the sudden availability of a gig in times of work scarcity. Alternatively, the aim may be that the musician acts as a point of contact for the employment opportunity of another musician. Although verbal agreements seem risky to the participants, they acknowledge that self-employment involves deciding on which risks are worth taking. The participants adapt the risks they take to their individual career interests, and view these risks as possible links to a chain of other career events.

The chapter showed that the musicians would only get administrative teams for long-term reasons, built on their artistic values and vision, and that few of the participants can afford such administrative teams. However, since musicians are able to perform tasks that record companies used to perform they choose to manage their own careers. Self-management enables the participants to implement functions of management such as planning, organizing, staffing, leadership, and control. Furthermore, some of the participants either partner-up with non-creative parties for skills they need to better manage their careers, or allocate the control of some aspects of their careers to their personnel. The kind of administrative involvement the musicians choose depends on how much they want to participate in the business or artistic domains of their career.

CHAPTER FOUR

***"It's important to actually support your local music. It also helps the economy"- Ferlito***

## Introduction

This chapter continues on the theme of business management. Chapter Four, specifically discusses financial management, focusing on the perspectives of the musicians and the methods they use. The scrutiny is on bookkeeping, the attitudes that exist among the musicians towards tax and what they see as the benefits of Close Corporations, as well as the idea that musicians are cultural and social entrepreneurs. The chapter secondly reviews how accesses to business management information influences choices the musicians make. Thirdly, the chapter concentrates on how the performers handle publicity for their projects. Subsequently, the chapter explores how the musicians balance time they use for administration with the time they use to be creative. Lastly, the chapter looks at performance and music administration in relation to having personal managers and carrying out tasks for which record labels were previously predominantly responsible.

## Financial Management

### Bookkeeping

The participants most commonly hire specialists for bookkeeping due to acknowledging that they are not sufficiently skilled at keeping financial records or calculating tax. Khezo, Gegana, Makhene, Makhuzeni, Mtshali, Nkabinde and Wyatt all have formally registered Close Corporations[69] (CC's). As such, they are obligated by law to keep financial records of their CC activities, for those records to be monitored by the government agency, Companies and

[69] According to the Close Corporations Act 69 of 1984, close corporations must have a maximum of ten members and a minimum membership of one. Close corporations are usually small companies that operate with few formalities. Corporations of this nature in South Africa are the simplest to form and do not contribute tax until they generate a prescribed turnover in a year. A fee is payable at the registration of the entity and there is an obligation for the disclosure of annual financial statements to the state. Should the company have liabilities, none of its members are held liable for the losses of the company as the company is a juristic person independently of its members.

Intellectual Property Registration Office (CIPRO[70]). These participants have disclosed that they in fact hire accountants or bookkeepers to assist them with their bookkeeping and administering their tax matters. For example, Makhene has a friend who handles his tax for him. Makhene reasons that hiring someone to deal with that aspect of his business simplifies the process since he is not compelled "to run around." He states, "I give her the information then she takes care of it" (2010). Makhene makes a salient point on delegating tasks, implying that he needs to be fully aware of what the hired party does when he cannot accomplish the task himself. This statement shows that over time it is possible for participants to learn about the various tasks and functions for which they hire administrators, and are not always uninformed about their finances. He explains,

> *The only time delegation helps me is when I have an idea of what the other person is gonna do, [but] cannot do it thoroughly … but then [I] actually know how they should do it so that [I] know how better they should do it every time*

Since the bookkeepers and accountants hired are not always permanently employed as part of these administrative teams, these roles could be viewed as outsourced. For instance, Mtshali mentions that "we have an accountant who assists us, but works [somewhere else]. He handles the balance sheet, the budget and everything, petty cash and all that." In pointing to the fact that he has full-time employment elsewhere, she indicates that the accountant who sees to their financial regularities is not fully employed by her own company. She also indicates that the reason her company has an accountant at all is due to the responsibility of financial accountability that her company has as a result of being a formally registered CC company. Mtshali explains that, "because we are a company that is registered with CIPRO [,] they have a record of what's going on in our accounts [.] They can go [into our accounts] at any time and check." She finds, therefore, that it is simpler to outsource the functions her company cannot accomplish internally (Mtshali, 2010).

Below, Nkabinde (2010) admits that he has not always had a coherent financial management system or a bookkeeper. He recalls that before he could afford to pay for financial assistance he had to ask a family member to help him manage his cash flow. Nkabinde, here, inadvertently

[70] CIPRO has since the 1st of May 2011 been replaced by the Companies and Intellectual Property Commission (CIPC), as a result of the implementation of the New Companies Act (Act 71 of 2008) (www.cipro.co.za).

involves the control role of management. This function encompasses 'managing by objectives', controlling human resources, controlling financial resources such as cash-flow and costs, and controlling these from goals previously set (Shore, 1987: 171). The control aspect of management is "the process of ensuring that resources are used wisely in accomplishing stated goals… setting up performance measures and standards, comparing accomplishments against those standards" (ibid). Nkabinde, articulates that

> *The first thing I did when I registered the company, [because] it was around the time when I released my first cd. The money that was going to come from the sales of the cd, I couldn't let it come into my regular account just because it'd be difficult to keep track of, so I opened a separate account for that and got a family friend to be a signatory together with me. So, I cannot just access that money whenever I want to. He'd have to ask me 'why do you need it?' 'What is it for?'…that's the account I give to the retailers who are selling cd's and whenever I sold cd's at concerts, I deposited that money directly into that account ... it's a very difficult thing to do. Especially on those days when my general account was dry and I needed money. I knew there was money sitting in the other account, but I had to exercise that discipline to use that money for other project related expenses like doing marketing or posters or that kind of thing. And in fact the second album was partly funded by funds from the first album… managing your finances is also a continuous struggle and effort, and I don't think in any way I've nailed it... I've seen the results of what happens when you do manage your finances. And it actually sits at the core of running one's company or business*

**Attitudes towards tax and the benefits of Close Corporations**

Similar to Mtshali, above, Wyatt (2010) finds there has to be financial regularity, transparency and accountability when owning a formally registered business entity. He recounts that,

> *When I registered [the company] more and more people [said], just hold on, you can't just suddenly do that, it's not that easy, as it used to be. Now, my tax guy, for the last couple of years, I phone him up and I say 'what about this?' He says rather just do it in your personal capacity because you can, you know, you can get more out of it that way… there were less penalties then when having a CC. Now… the actual CC needs to be examined, once, twice a year now? … Audited. You have to pay a certain thing every year. You know? There's new things coming in*

Nkabinde (2010), on the other hand, hints at some resistance over tax in performance circles by other musicians as a result of insufficient information in the industry. He states

> *I've got an accountant, a bookkeeper… I've got to keep my monthly statements, for the accounts for all the expenditure and so on. And pay my provisional taxes, which is hard as a person who doesn't earn on a regular basis because sometimes my bookkeeper would say we need to pay tax for the past six months and at that time I would have no money to pay… I would hate to find myself on the wrong side of the law … So I do my level best to take care of that. The other side of that is that, working as a company now means I'm also paying other musicians that I employ and I come across a lot of resistance when it comes to being on top of things when it comes to taxes. Guys want to operate on an individual capacity, but they don't understand why you have to tax them. And I constantly have to explain this, and I have to explain that for you to get your tax back, or part of it is that you've got to register and I'll give you IRP5's. And some, you give them the IRP5's but they just sit with them and don't take them to the receiver… I've been encouraging guys to set up their own CC's. I just find it makes administration a little easier if they take care of their taxes. So, I don't have to tax them, they will take care of that*

Makhuzeni (2009), like Nkabinde above, relates that some musicians resist tax payment. Her opinion though is that there are benefits for musicians who pay tax

> *We're still dealing with a lot of musicians who run away from tax, because apparently it's a bad thing. But if you look at it in the scope of why you need to have those things […] they lose out on a lot of returns. They lose out on a lot of [government] support that they can get eventually… if they were part of the system, for instance*

Khezo (2009) remarks on the disadvantages of operating as an individual musician as opposed to operating as a CC, which is taxed less than individuals. In this instance Khezo cements what Chen (2006: 4) alleges that 'most informal workers associate operating outside of the legal regulatory framework with costs rather than benefits'. Khezo elaborates,

> *I, myself, as a musician cannot even go to a bank to ask for a loan to buy a venue. They'll want things which I don't have. They'll want [employment] papers. We are not even recognised as workers in this country*

Kganyago concurs that working in his personal capacity as a musician is problematic. He recounts that he is not recognised as an employee like other citizens who have employment[71]. He cites that he cannot attain basic items necessary for someone who has a family, observing that

> *My kids are worse off though because musicians don't qualify for a [government] grant and I also don't qualify for a bond. For you to get subsidised[72], they say [you need to earn] R1500 a month and less. If the parents earn R1500 and less, you can apply the kids for a grant. So, obviously I don't earn that much per month, but still I can't buy a house. I don't qualify for a house. I'm an artist. I'm a risk*

Due to not being recognised as an employee, Khezo (2009) finds it perplexing that as an artist he is not exempt from tax. His opinion is that he does not benefit directly from being taxed, like other workers, except for his annual tax returns. Khezo also complicates the issue on tax by referring to trade union 'structures', which are established to protect the interests of musicians and other workers in the creative industries. He believes that the structures, as they currently exist, are 'not effective' at addressing such issues (Khezo, 2009). In this manner, he mirrors a deduction Makhuzeni (2009) made earlier in this report about established 'structures' that inefficiently engage the lack of 'infrastructure' and operational standards for musicians. Khezo notes,

> *We are taxed. I pay tax. We pay heavy tax because our structures are not properly in place. When we do something for the SABC we get taxed 35%. We pay it. …we don't get pension fund. We don't get medical aid [,] while other industries they get*

Madope (2009) testifies that "on that R2000 or even on R1000 they tax you". By this statement he also insinuates that he regards those earnings as already measly, even though they are at the going-rate, for the amounts to still be further reduced by tax deductions. His testimonial is an indication of why some musicians are averse to tax reductions on their earnings, especially considering that for session musicians "the work is intermittent and not easy to access" (Ansell et

[71] Chen (2006: 8) finds that in many cases, under different labour laws, the idea of a relationship of employment, where an employee 'provides labour or services [to an employer] under certain conditions in return for remuneration', has tended to exclude self-employed service providers.

[72] Contrary to the view Kganyago holds on the reasons for not being subsidised, Stokes and Wilson (2002: 43) find that whether businesses in the creative sector are operated by their owners as sole traders or as independent entities, due to their small size and vulnerability to their uncertain economic path and sectorial environment, smaller businesses are often unable to "provide [the] level of security required by the lender."

al, 2007). Another popular rationale is that musicians accrue high costs as a result of their operations or the demands of their jobs, especially when they are self-employed, while they still get taxed like other workers (Towse, 1993; Shore, 1987). Some of these costs are incurred in the event of travel, buying and maintaining expensive musical instruments, using and acquiring music technology, and sundry (ibid). None of these costs are exempt from tax unless a musician has a CC by which they are employed and through which to administer those costs (Mtshali, 2009; Nkabinde, 2010; Wyatt, 2010).

Ferlito (2010), below, proposes another dimension to why musicians may want to resist tax. He points to the status quo of local music content on the radio and that foreign musicians who get airplay reap more benefits than SA musicians (Abrahams, 2003). Ansell et al (2007) as well as Bernstein et al (2007: 106) verify that on the African continent "foreign repertoire dominates airplay, most of the income from performing rights goes not to domestic composers and songwriters but to famous pop writers, who are typically found in the United States and Europe." Ferlito suggests that were there tangible results of the recognition of local musicians by the government through forums such as broadcasting resources and festivals, that the people of SA would be educated about what local music was available[73] to them and would consume it. He suggests that local citizens would, thus, not consume so much music from other parts of the world at the rate at which they are consuming it, saying

> *The more music out there is exposed, exposes everything [,] plenty gigs to work with. Then the general public at least knows, from free[74] concerts that there's 'these guys'. So, you'll find that that's where you can win over people who've never even thought they listened to jazz… That's how you educate people. You get to win over fans, and it grows… Just look at every type of popular music out there that is happening that most*

[73] In her address at the Moshito Music Conference in 2005, Michelle Constant, arts commentator and current head of Business Arts South Africa (BASA), also affirmed that SA radio stations tend to play less diverse music. She also stated that more radio stations focus on the "commercial benefit and market forces" thereby ignoring music which represents a wide scope of the music genres available locally (Constant, 2005). She also contextualises, however, radio stations are part of the media 'big business' whose concern is the magnitude of consumer figures. Contrary to the latter view, however, Wallis and Malm (1983) intimate that radio stations and similar institutions, in their role as 'gatekeepers' to public tastes, also have a 'cultural responsibility' towards the public when deciding on which music to circulate, apart from their commercial role.

[74] According to Ansell et al (2007: 69), "Government-sponsored festivals are often free events, and while this builds audience and increases access – particularly for disadvantaged communities – it is seen by many performers as anti-developmental for the industry, since it further erodes the culture of paying for music performance. Musicians argue these erode work opportunities and enhance perception of music as a 'free good'".

*people know about. It's because they play it every day on the radio, two, three times a day. Which is terrible for us because then foreign*[75] *[musicians] earn money off our radios we must pay tax for. So, that's the truth about it. But that's why people love that [music]. They take the rubbish that can't sell anywhere else in the world, and sell it here in South Africa. They bombard the people with it. [Listeners] must love it after a while*

Nkabinde, however, insists that the reason there is resistance to tax payment is due to the lack of simplified and comprehensive information on tax available to artists. He reasons that

*[Yes,] there is a lot of resistance. But it's just an education kind of thing, to sit down with people and explain it. Maybe with people in the industry who can engage SARS and get their agents to, but people who can speak in a language that artists can understand*

According to Makhuzeni, the benefits of tax compliance and CC registration include being liberated from living 'hand-to-mouth[76].' She has, thus, been able to do projects out of choice and preference, and is able to apply for funding for those projects. She insists that

*[Role players] regard you with a little bit more seriousness […] essentially, if I know that I have the set up much like having a small business, which is what most people have to do, and I have these papers and I am in a position where then I do go for funding and all of that, it's not just me coming in. It's a certain like level of business… It's a company and I'm coming in with the motivation that that's what I'm trying to do. That's what I'm aiming to do, but if I'm gonna carry on being Siya who gets called over the phone and takes the gigs because you know what? It's another extra R2000*

[75] As observed in Shuker (2008), the case of foreign musicians earning more from local consumers than local musicians do is not unique to SA alone. A similar situation in New Zealand, for example, happened as a result of the complex reciprocal nature of cultural imperialism and 'transculturation', the national government not imposing pragmatic strategies to support and get involved in different facets of the music industry, the power multinational record companies wield, the lack of cooperation between various organisations and role players in the music industry, etc (ibid). Importantly, Shuker (ibid: 280) also warns that 'the local must not be overly romanticised and valorised', particularly as a sure signifier of national identity or, as significantly different to other forms of syncretic contemporary music(s) from other countries.

[76] Ismail Mohamed (2009), the director of the SA National Arts Festival, has also emphasised the prevalence of the hand-to-mouth existence among SA artists due to ineffective and informal means through which artists sell their ideas and talents. He underscored that artists should liberate themselves from such an existence, be self-sufficient and not depend on their creativity alone, but also learn to market and package their talents and output in a way that relies less on attaining funding. Mohamed, therefore, advocated an 'entrepreneurial spirit' amongst artists and generating ways through which to 'build their audiences' (www.artsblog.co.za).

Makhene (2010) also finds that through having a registered company and paying tax he has gained career freedom (Leadbeater & Oakley, 2006). He states that he is able to initiate projects and steer them according to his own discretion, and has benefited from the diversity of gigs he now gets. Referring to the government as 'Caesar' in the excerpt below, he asserts that

> *The government makes you register your company. You're working… The next thing you're not making it. They still want their money... you're being taxed. Fine, there are ways [to] declare your company dormant … it's just a small hump you cross, a pothole. But the bigger picture is, those potholes, they make you know how to drive with your eyes wide open … It makes you a better driver. You make sure that you're good at what you do 'cause once you register a company, that means you have to make it work… if you don't make it work … You have to take care of things. If it works, or when it's smooth then … I cannot worry about a gig, that 'when is the next phone call [,] for the next gig or, the next session'? I'm not worried about that. What I'm worried about is what concept can I do now? Because … I've got my company and I'm not doing this company illegally … But now I have to sit down and calculate everything that I've made, otherwise it'll all be taken away… So, Caesar collects even when he has nothing to do with it. So, that's the way of the world. That's how you get to protect yourself, by making sure that you know what Caesar does… at the end of the day you cannot run away from Caesar*

Like Makhene above suggests, and others, below, Davies and Thurlow (2009) purport that businesses operating in the tax-paying region of the economy gain some autonomy regarding what they produce and consume, as well as the freedom of the regions in which to do business. Mtshali (2009) concurs that registering a business and paying tax benefit the stability of a performance career. She explains that

> *As a musician you don't get a salary [.] We've got a credit card now, but we don't have credit cards. All the things that other people enjoy, people who wake up and do 9 to 5 jobs, so having a company helped us with that. We could have a stable thing to show that these people are actually serious about their careers and there is money coming in. Oh, so we can give them a credit card [.] Now we issue those salaries [and] the business is running all of that. The benefits are immense because at the same time we have to pay tax, you see? You don't [want to] find yourself somewhere down the line being told that*

> *you owe R3 million which you have no recollection of accumulating ... I think it's good to have a stable, a business [,] but just to manage your affairs*

Wyatt (2010) also suggests that as much as registering a business formally is a big task, due to auditing regulations that demand intricate processes, the business enables him to separate himself from his projects. He is as such an entity separate from the CC, which is an independent entity. Wyatt maintains that as much as dealing with tax matters can sometimes cause confusion, registering the CC has been beneficial for the practicalities of getting paid. He states that

> *It's more of a liability now. But it is useful in some senses [.] If you have money coming from a sponsor, or, like now, when we go play in Europe, they need a, they can't just pay you in your personal capacity. They need, like some sort of structure to pay you [through]*

Nkabinde (2010) affirms that having a registered company, and being a member of that company, permits better travelling prospects. He assesses that travel is difficult when undertaken on a personal basis sans an affiliate company, due to the bureaucracy involved in attaining visas. He states,

> *I've also seen when you apply for a visa, [,] to go overseas, there's a difference between applying as Concord, or applying as Concord the director of a company [be]cause then, it says to them you've got things to come back to[.] So, it's been good in that sense, and it's also brought education to me…[You are] operating in a space where you know that what I've created I've now put channels or an infrastructure of some sort to get the music out. I relax more*

**Cultural and social entrepreneurship**

The section above indicates that for the participants, having 'employability' and, having bookkeepers and accountants is a step towards financial regularity, which affords them due recognition as legitimate business entities within the formal economy[77] (Hui, 2007). This rationale also shows that the musicians realise the benefits of complying with government

[77] The musicians discussed here are, by virtue of having registered and government taxed companies, part of the formal economy (Davies & Thurlow, 2009). Moreover, since musicians are part of the creative industries, which "are central to the success of most developing and advanced economies", this should make them inadvertently part of the formal economy (Henry, 2007: 1).

regulations on having balanced financial records and contributing to tax (Makhuzeni, 2009). The musicians, as such, recognise that they are self-employed entrepreneurs[78] who need to manage their business adequately to sustain aspects of their performance careers (Towse, 1993; Henry, 2007). In doing so, these musicians are managing their cultural and economic roles.

Stokes and Wilson (2002: 40) put forth a portion of the cultural perspective of musicians engaged in managing their often small businesses. The authors propose that even though some of the activities musicians partake in to make a living in the music industry are not always formally recognised 'within a business context', all music performers have a significant role in the music industry "however modest their abilities." Simultaneously, Stokes and Wilson (ibid) contend that despite not being entirely economically recognised, musicians also make an impact on the formal economy through "employment, if not by income and sales generated." The participant musicians, therefore, pursue good financial management because they recognise and associate with the role their businesses play in the formal economy.

In being entrepreneurs in the creative sector, therefore, these musicians are also part of the creative economy which possesses creative capital[79]. This form of capital aids them in attaining 'financial wealth' through logistically turning their ideas, within a context of risk and opportunity, into valuable products and services (Parston, 1998 in Thompson, 1999: 209). Likewise, by managing independent small-to-medium businesses in the music sector, they are as such 'cultural entrepreneurs' (Stokes & Wilson, 2002). Cultural entrepreneurship is also what performing musicians are engaged in when they go beyond the scope of the composer-performer

[78] In this report entrepreneurship is considered socially and culturally, but also as "managerial behaviour which consistently exploits opportunities to deliver results beyond one's own capabilities" (Parston, 1998 in Thompson, 1999: 209). It is often noted that there is a 'stigma' attached to musicians considering their career management as entrepreneurial and that "the business-y connotation of the term 'entrepreneur' still rubs a lot of artists the wrong way" (Miller, 2007). This intolerant attitude may be attributable to the belief among some musicians that there is a prohibitive chasm between arts and commerce (Towse, 1993; Shaw, 2005). Nonetheless, it is important to reiterate that the musicians who undertake business management in their performance careers are entrepreneurial for different reasons to simply achieving commercial success (Markusen et al, 2006). As Miller (2007) quotes Beckman, the "reason [musicians] want an entrepreneurial lifestyle is so they can continue to practice their art." Moreover, some musicians, like Thompson (1999: 209) purports happens in the wider business sphere, are proactive in the realisation that there is a "need to create jobs and not expect secure employment from large, established organisations" and as such more entrepreneurs are developing.

[79] Due to more economies being led less by industrial means, but by service-oriented entrepreneurship, Venturelli (2000: 19), like Evans (2001), suggests that countries need to adapt the innovation that comes from "linkages between the arts, humanities and the sciences", linkages which become the creative economy based on the creative capital that results from knowledge, innovation and creativity.

activities, and venturing into 'value-adding' activities such as "music publishing, artist management, concert promotion, recording services" and other online music undertakings (ibid: 40).

Simultaneously, performing musicians engaged in such activities can also be described as social entrepreneurs since they are "taking a business-like, innovative approach to the mission of delivering community services [and] maximizing revenue generation from programs by applying principles from for-profit business without neglecting the core mission" of music artistry (Pomerantz, 2003 quoted in McLean, & Peredo, 2006: 58). This outlook may also be more proof that since 1994 "government legislation pertaining to the promotion of entrepreneurial activities, especially the small and medium-sized enterprises (SMMEs), has had [spin-offs] in the music industry" (Nhlapo, 1998: 31).

**Publicity and Advertising**

The majority of the musicians find that unlike in previous years information is now more readily available for musicians to better oversee the administration of their performance careers and companies. Khezo (2009) adds that musicians can now carry out administration tasks they were not able to hitherto execute. Alluding to more accessible information and the opportunities that have sprouted recently due to more local musicians striving for recognition as legitimately employed, he reflects that

> *[More musicians] now have managers. They've got proper infrastructures than before, you know? Before, a promoter would pay the band director, but these days things are different. There's a manager and they don't deal with us directly, they deal with our managers you know. The structures are there, you know. We even have proper registered companies these days, even proper accounts…Everything must be properly managed […] they must have proper managers, proper accounts [and] proper companies*

Makhuzeni (2009) implies that with tools, such as registered companies and management structures, musicians can better position themselves within the performance industry because

'the information is out there'. The internet[80] is one of the forums where the information and other supplementary resources are generally available to the public. It is widely acknowledged that resources available on the internet have encouraged the idea of self-sufficiency, and thus self-management, among musicians (Pasman, 2003; Katz, 2004; Shaw, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007; Kganyago, 2009; Wyatt, 2010). Some of these technological means on the internet are the increasing availability of DVD's and books sold on the internet on how to navigate the music industry (Weissman, 2006). Alternatively there are video channels such as *YouTube* where musicians can upload information about their projects and their self-made music videos. Others are the music sales and artist marketing forums such as *MySpace* and *Facebook*, the countless means through which to create or join social networks with other music industry specialists, locally and around the world, and the growth of numerous music sales channels (Pasman, 2003; Katz, 2004; Shaw, 2007; Hesmondhalgh, 2007). As a token of these technological advances, there are musicians who undertake a 'do-it-yourself' (DIY) approach to managing their careers (Wallis & Malm, 1983). They use these technological routes to cut down on the costs of placing themselves at a visible advantage for career growth (ibid).

Ferlito, like all of the participants, has a page on the Facebook social network for the purposes of business networking. On the site, they also place information about their upcoming shows for marketing value. For example, Nkabinde alleges that he is constantly networking for various reasons. He also uses social networking sites as publicity utilities. Nkabinde points out that

> *I try to inform people about anything and everything that I do that I think is of importance towards the brand … Even if I'm not doing a Concord project, but I'm part of a project. So when I worked with Johnny Clegg I would send press releases to say Concord is performing today at such and such a gig … It's part of the networking thing which one has to work on constantly. But also, publicity again, your websites, even forums like MySpace and Facebook. Some of those forums are not widely used by so many people, so one can find ways to use them so they work for you*

Online publicity is also something that Wyatt uses and takes care of himself. He informs that

[80] The worldwide web has become a 'new revenue stream' for independent entrepreneurs, through its capacity to enable direct marketing and selling to the public, instead of focusing only on retail outlets (Nhlapo, 1998: 75; Passman, 2003). Simultaneously, however, the internet poses a threat to intellectual property rights (ibid; Stokes & Wilson, 2002; Venturelli, 2000: 8).

> *If you're trying to get people to your gig, you must [use publicity]. So, whatever's available, like newspapers. You know when I started with Sheer*[81]*, around 2000. That was a lot of print publicity, there's a lot of magazines, and newspaper and… you'd find yourself on an aeroplane magazine, or radio, well at least part of it when they played a lot of instrumental music. Nowadays, as I said, I'm quite happy to almost operate outside of the industry, in terms of just, you send it out on Facebook, you've got MySpace… you go through people's emails, you just do it that way, collect emails... Carlo [Mombelli] does that very well. He's got a huge database*

Wyatt personally manages the publicity of his projects and he tries to stay visible to his market. For example, between travelling for performances abroad and local gigs, he gets articles in local newspapers without imparting information on forth-coming projects. Below, he narrates that

> *I came back from India now, I'd been speaking to [a journalist] about doing a story when we came back [because] I was trying to push some gigs before then. And so we did… It was a good article in the paper last week, like a whole page… I didn't have anything to announce, in that article that was in the near future. I mean, the Cape Town festival is still in a month now, or whatever. So, that was merely just publicity, I guess, to say hey I'm around*

For the sake of publicity and giving her music a continual electronic presence, Mtshali (2009) confirms that she uses social network tools as well. She talks about using

> *The obvious ones, YouTube, MySpace and this video thing where we take a video from our last performance and we post it on there*

When publicity is not achieved through electronic means, a few of the musicians still manage to use traditional channels such as print and broadcasting media. Makhene (2010) proposes that

> *I did my album but I haven't done my other album and I just perform. Sometimes I don't get to perform as much as I want to and I get to be seen by people in other people's works, which sometimes dampens who I am or washes me away from what I should be doing. But then, I should find another outlet of making sure that Tlale is still there even though he's [not performing]. The fact that I'm there, the mind of the people says Tlale is still there… Whether I'm on E-money on Sunday talking about music, or on Channel*

[81] Sheer Sound is an independent record company.

> *Africa talking about something else, or I'm on a children's programme talking about music [.] I'll always speak about my album and every time I speak about my album, it still feels like it's a new album to someone else who didn't know*

Other forms of publicity that some of the participants undertake are implied by what Nkabinde describes, that

> *I guess everything can be publicity. I mean what we're doing now. The end result is going to have publicity spinoffs in a sense. But the first and foremost type of publicity is how you live your life…The word of mouth is much more important ... the press releases, which I do myself because there's something special about people picking up your passion in the press releases that you bring out as opposed to orchestrated and cleverly written press releases*

Mtshali, unlike the other participants, has hired a specialist to manage the publicity of her band and her performance career. She explains that

> *I have a publicist that I work with, and we have to. [There is] no other way for people to know that there's a new BMW series, if you don't advertise it [.] In order for them to know, you create a demand, basically so that they go out there and say ok I want to buy[.] Honestly, there is no other way to get ourselves out there except aligning yourself, being in good relations with the media*

**Time for Administration versus Time for Creativity**

Mtshali (2009) keeps a small team for the sake of cutting down on administrative costs, and so that she can focus on her art and what she deems as immediate goals in her career. Some of the participants opt to administer every aspect of their business on their own, and thereby also cut down on administrative costs (Gegana, 2010). Self-management, however, involves balancing the amount of time spent on the primary task of being creative with the amount of time spent on administration. Concern for the loss of creative productivity time is, thus, one of the reasons some of the musicians outsource particular tasks to record labels or specialist companies.

In addressing the time spent focusing on administrative tasks and the time costs thereof on the creative responsibilities, Kganyago (2009) is of the opinion that "a true musician really doesn't get time to function fully as a business person." He reasons that musicians have a bigger

commitment to being creative in order to better their performance. He argues that this primary commitment of giving good live performances depends on time spent honing their musical skills, by practising often on their musical instruments or doing more rehearsals. This sentiment is also hinted at by Mtshali (2009), when discussing this balance of time, that

> *Because you tend to concentrate more [on administration], you're trying to push this business, at the same time you don't want to fall behind on the musical side as well in such a way that our rehearsal time is limited … if I don't … answer those emails and I get to those meetings and I do this, and I pick up that phone, this and that. It means that there's no money to pay our bills*

Similarly, Nkabinde is of the opinion that administrative help is necessary since his experience during the establishing phase of his company was taxing on time. He declares that although at the beginning of his business it was necessary to focus more on the administrative component of the business, he was happy to do that because he gained more knowledge about the business side of his performance career within the broader music industry. Nkabinde (2010) states,

> *I could spend 2 months focusing mainly on the admin side and the creative side suffers a little bit. [Sometimes I would find] I'm spending more time with the music. But, when I registered the company, I'd say, for the next 4 years, 3 to 4 years after that, the focus was really on the business side of things and I'm glad I did that. I learnt a lot from that. So, now that I'm refocusing towards the creative side of things, I've got other people assisting me with the admin side of things. I know exactly what they're supposed to be doing*

Considering the sentiments stated, it is not surprising then that Madope (2009) is of the view that SA musicians do not spend enough time honing their musical skills. Although, in stating this opinion, Madope was specifically referring to the time musicians spend at rehearsals, he raises an important perspective. He relates what some musicians find they should spend their time doing for the benefit of their careers, money and creativity. He finds that, above all else, performers should dedicate more time to their principal craft[82].

[82]It is important to note, however, that Madope co-owns a music production company with a non-creative partner. As co-owner of the company, Madope is responsible for only the creative activities and output of that company, while his partner handles the business domain.

Madope also believes that SA musicians 'should' get paid for the time they spend rehearsing like musicians from the US, whom he regards as highly professional. He suggests that

> *[If] you know you have got a gig for a month. A gig for a month doesn't mean you play every day, but you practise, you've got rehearsals, you work on the craft. That means you're getting paid, your whole attention is there... in terms of production, our production is still lacking. Because we don't spend time in the room rehearsing, trying to get things right*

Ferlito (2010), correspondingly, underscores that musicians need to focus on the music as much as possible. He cites that

> *…that's how it should be [for musicians.] Because that's our place… the more you're into the music, the more it gets better. Ideas come, the more songs come… You start getting in depth with yourself*

Considerations of the time constraints administrative tasks put on time needed for creativity have contributed to how most of these participants operate and, therefore, in what the performers regard as administrative roles necessary for their long-term plans. Nkabinde, for instance, has a small team to administer his performance career, while he outsources other aspects to a specialist company. In as much as Nkabinde has a bookkeeper, however, he has control of all his bank accounts and is always informed about his financial documentation as well as other functions of his administrative team (ibid). He explains that his team updates him on a regular basis, stating, "as an artist I'd find it hard not to be interested in managing my own business and my own finances, or having a say in how my business or finances are managed."

Nkabinde, like Makhene, shows that some of the musicians have a concise understanding of what their teams are meant to carry out. As such, the participants focus on what they determine to be the more pressing goals, such as financial management and publicity, while trying to be cost-effective and direct the creative domain of their companies. They are economical by either not hiring teams at all or keeping only small teams to tackle priority functions, roles sometimes outsourced to individuals or specialist companies since the musicians cannot independently manage these.

## The Role of Personal Managers

Performing musicians still, to some extent, hire personal managers to oversee many elements of their careers and personal lives (Passman, 2003; Nkabinde, 2010). This role is, however, undergoing change. The musicians are tasking several people with this role at the same time, but are not hiring these people formally, thereby using agents or network 'connections'. At times the musicians undertake the role individually. Like Khezo and Madope who are independent session musicians without personal managers, but still manage to get hired in different projects, Gegana and Ferlito do not have an administrative team or a personal manager. The latter duo effectively manages all the administration of their band together. Since their music project has only been recently established, they are still looking for booking agents (Gegana, 2010). They also concur that having a manager is beneficial as it makes it possible for musicians to be able to solely 'concentrate on the music' (Ferlito, 2010). Gegana and Ferlito use the 'contacts' they have acquired to sustain the momentum of getting promoted and booked, for performances locally and abroad (Gegana, 2010; Ferlito, 2010).

At the time of the interview, Kganyago also did not have a personal manager or an administrative team and relied on existing connections with people he has previously worked. He was still looking for one, but temporarily relied on word of mouth, referrals and creating his own opportunities (Kganyago, 2009). Makhene, on the other hand, has a personal manager and has hired a family member to handle his finances and his tax affairs (Makhene, 2010). According to their agreement, his manager is supposed to take care of his marketing and draw up contracts over the conditions of his performances.

## Doing what Record Labels Used to Do

Even as early as the 1980's, there have been musicians who have been trying to run their career operations like those of record companies, deconstructing the 'complicated system' of internal record company functions (Wallis & Malm, 1983). Ferlito and Gegana, for example, are in the process of forming a company to produce and publish their own music (Ferlito, 2010). The music Gegana makes is at the moment produced and administered through his CC, *Mlugeg Music*. He recorded his last album with a major record label, but did not agree to an advance payment from the company, which the company would deduct from his album sales figures

(Gegana, 2010). The deal he had with the company mainly involved recording and promoting that album. As such, Gegana did not have financial obligations towards the company when the contract with the record company ended (ibid).

Also formerly contracted to the same major record label as Gegana, Makhene recorded his first album through the major record label. His music from that first album and is still being marketed by the label since the company owns the recording rights of the album but not his music publication rights (Makhene, 2010). SAMRO[83] monitors his published material. Since his departure from the record label, he undertakes the marketing and publicity of his projects with his manager (ibid). Like many other musicians who are taking advantage of the independence offered by 'internet economy', in the future he intends to sell his music, in digital and other formats, from his website (Smiers, 2003: 100). Makhene is raising funds to record his next album and to market it himself. His motivation is that,

> *[The] problem with recording companies is that you don't become partners with them. You get hired by them and get hired for what you produce, and they themselves cannot produce. They are just a vehicle to make sure that what you produce is heard and they make money out of what you have and they don't have, but still they own what you have. So, now you get to earn a 10% or whatever per cent of who you are… even worse. You can even blindly give them the ownership of your works, which is publishing*

Nkabinde tackles few logistics since he has a booking agent and a personal manager, who is rooted in events management but also positions the Concord Nkabinde brand. He publishes his music through his own company, *Drocnoc Publishing*. He outsources the distribution of his packaged music through a "company called IMD, *Independent Music Distributors*" and also sells his music through online stores. Prior to outsourcing to IMD, he distributed his own material for six years, asking friends who were spread across SA to keep extra stock of his compact disks in case the retail shops he worked with ran out of stock. At the time of the interview, he was looking for someone to monitor his music abroad. The reason for the latter, he states, is that

[83]According to Shaw (2005: 32), SAMRO "administers the performance rights of composers and authors of compositions as well as publishers, and collects royalties for this right. [The organization] covers television and radio broadcasting, public performance film synchronisation and works in a diffusion service." "SAMRO [also] protects …with the addition of [works'] rights of adaptation and of mechanical production, including photocopying" (Nhlapho, 1998:18).

> *…if there's someone in Spain that wants to use my music, I can licence it to them, but there's no one there to monitor it for me. So, one of the things I'm looking at is to sign self-publishing deals with other publishers overseas*

Makhuzeni (2009), parallel to Nkabinde, personally sees to all her administration. Below, she lists some of the logistics involved in her career and defines what she needs in order to be an efficient independent working musician,

> *...essentially, a musician needs to realise that they are also business people. So, if you have your business side sorted out, if you have a website, if you have booking system, if you have a publishing system, a distribution system, all of these things that really need to fall into place… You may go out there and get the work from a manager or someone like that because theoretically that's what they're supposed to do for you, but if you know what you want to get out there, then with the technology that we have out there today, it should be us doing it. It should be a musician uploading their own website because it's their music that's up on that website [.] Even in terms of distribution [,] I can say things like this because I don't belong to a major company… I've tried to get into the major companies ok, and they have their own ideas about who I'm supposed to be… We have to be business men and women. We have to learn to be our own masters. We have to learn to basically steer the boat in our direction… There are courses … You just need to basically need to be more proactive [.] That's what I'm struggling with at the moment… And so the huge question of making money against creating music or creating art, it always just applies [.]Arm yourself with knowledge*

The last music album Mtshali recorded was with an independent record company. She intends to record her next album with a major label record company and have it produced by her own company, *Mdumo Productions*, which currently manages her performance career (Mtshali, 2010). One of the reasons that convinced her to move away from an independent music record label was due to problems she encountered with album distribution (ibid). Mtshali finds the distribution of music has become an area in which major record labels have acquired a monopoly[84] (Nhlapo, 1998; Ansell et al 2007). For marketing of her brand, she has hired a small team of two people through *Mdumo Productions* (Mtshali, 2009). While Mtshali leads her band

[84] Nhlapo (1998: 37) posits that "independent labels…continue to have their distribution done by majors" and that "it is normal in the cause of [the major record company] operation to obtain limited shelf-space for their own product first, then other companies for which they distribute will be attended to last" (Nhlapo, 1998:92).

and is consulted on all decisions made by her administrative team, she clarifies that "*Mdumo Productions* has somebody to run it for us, so that we can concentrate on what we do best, while the business is running." Overall, therefore, she keeps an accountant, a brand manager, a contracted booking agent and a publicist (ibid). At the time of the interview, the distribution of her *cd's* was contracted to a company called *Iris Distributions*, while *Mdumo Productions* monitored her published music through an independent publisher.

Wyatt recorded one of his previous albums, *Africans in Space*, with *Sheer Sound*[85]. On the album, most of the administration of published material, distribution, marketing and publicity was managed by *Sheer Sound* (Wyatt, 2010). Since that album Wyatt has not had an administrative team as such, executing all tasks himself except for his financial books which were taken care of by his bookkeeper (ibid). The bookkeeper he has worked with over the years also advises him on tax matters. He has recently appointed a manager on contract, but handles the marketing and publicity himself. An online store, based in the US, sells his music in digital and *cd* formats. For distribution, he is in partnership with *Jassics*, a distribution company based in Cape Town. Wyatt is of the opinion that

> *…administering your own publishing is very basic. All you have to do is register the songs with SAMRO. Make sure you do all that properly and become a member, and that's it, that's all you do*

## Conclusion

The chapter shows that one of the points of delegation that happens when these musicians run their administration is due to their obligation by law to keep their CC financial records accurate and transparent. In order to efficiently keep their tax and financial records accurate, the performers hire bookkeepers and accountants. By this outsourcing, they recognise that they are not sufficiently skilled at that particular task. Simultaneously, through learning from the bookkeepers, they also keep abreast of what the process entails so that they can decipher their financial status. Moreover, this outsourcing creates a pattern of employment for people outside the immediate music pool.

[85] Sheer Sound is a South African record label established by Damon Forbes.

In the chapter, the musicians reveal reasons for the ambiguous relationship performers generally have with paying tax. Firstly, the suspicion towards tax is partly caused by the generally low earnings in the sector and performers operating with scant knowledge of the benefits of being registered for tax. Secondly, musicians are not always cognisant of the fact that they already are part of the national economic system despite sometimes taking part in informal trade activities, or not being recognised as employed, due to the lack of industry regulation. Thirdly, due to their profession not being fully recognised by the state as a specialised field of employment, and as a result of ineffective representation by trade unions, they do not qualify for specific social grants. Fourthly, tax does not always work in their favour since work in the sector is irregular and musicians do not get tax returns for the kind of expensive equipment constantly required by their trade. Lastly, considering that much airplay in SA is dedicated to foreign musicians, local musicians feel they are not protected by policy to counter this occurrence, and are also therefore not provided with the opportunity to make enough money to comfortably pay tax.

From the discussion in Chapter Four it can be established that artists with a registered company that pays tax are more able to undertake projects of their own choice, especially if those projects are funded by an external source. Performers are, as such, able to seek directorial roles in the music projects they initiate. By having a legally compliant company, they are regarded with more seriousness by funders who partner up with them. This ability to choose projects means that there is less dependency on performance gigs from other artists or promoters. Artists, thus, become more versatile in the work with which they are involved. Their pool of revenue becomes wider, from activities such as value adding services. Moreover, the musicians also gain creative autonomy on where to perform, with whom to perform, when to perform, or whether to perform at all.

Furthermore, it can be deduced that through operating in the tax-paying sector of the economy the musicians gain financial stability. This happens when a musician who owns the CC is also registered as being employed by the CC. This gives a status of a formal employee. In that way the musicians are able to gain access to services, like credit facilities, provided by financial institutions. The CC is an entity separate from the musician who owns it, with a separate bank account. This offers a formal channel through which sponsors pay the company directly for services rendered, and the company in turn pays the employed musicians. Thirdly, as a separate

entity to the CC, the musician who directs the company has more opportunity to find various channels of distributing their music and services through either physical travel or connecting to networks outside the country. Being the director of a CC gives musicians the legitimacy to travel on business, without always needing a sponsor in the other country. Due to musicians with such companies being able to acquire visas to foreign countries, more trade routes and a wider financial pool is available to them.

Chapter Four determined that the musicians are seeking constant engagement with the formal economy by complying with state regulations on keeping company financial records, especially because some of the trade activities they take part in during their careers fall outside of the formal business framework. They are also pursuing recognition and autonomy as specialist self-employed entrepreneurs in the formal economy. This autonomy would provide them with even more scope in their artistic choices. By their compliance, the musicians are thus managing their art through having a healthy business status. In doing so, the musicians negotiate their cultural autonomy using an economic motivation. At the same time, it is precisely through their creative capital that the musicians are able to participate in the economy. The way the musicians engage with the economy, therefore, is in their role as social entrepreneurs. In this role they provide artistic services that are consumed by the broader community, but do it in a business-like manner, for profit.

In this chapter the musicians conveyed that they tackle more administration than they could in the past due to having easier access to information on how to better manage their performance careers. As a result, they can seek appropriately skilled counterparts to delegate tasks to or do research on how to expediently equip themselves for administration. The musicians named the internet primarily as a resource for being informed, and as such being empowered towards self-sufficiency. On various internet modes, like *Facebook, Youtube, MySpace* and emails, business networking and contacting journalists are possible. Constant publicity and advertising to both potential business partners and the niche market are also practical. The musicians pointed out that the internet forms the foundation of their managing of information for their projects. They still use more traditional means of disseminating information, like print and broadcast media. Despite the creative liberty offered by the internet, they acknowledge that their audiences do not all participate, or are completely immersed, in the digital age.

In this chapter one can discover that as much managing their own career has provided the musicians with independence and the reduction of administrative costs, it has also been taxing on their time at being creative. As a way of cutting down on creative time lost, therefore, some of the musicians hire administrative teams to run their business. Other musicians outsource administrative tasks to specialist companies, handling the bare minimum administration so as to focus on their principal craft. It is important to highlight that according to one of the musicians, learning about how to manage different aspects of his performance career took years. In his testament, learning about the business meant that he neglected the main purpose of his company. He also acknowledged though that after those years he became so acquainted with running his business that he could competently supervise the administrative team he put together. As a result, even though he is not directly involved in all the administrative duties, he is well informed about his business and his music projects.

The chapter confirmed that administrative roles that were previously occupied by recording company employees are changing, currently being controlled by musicians directly as they relate to their circumstances. One such role is that of a personal manager. The bulk of the session musicians does not have a personal manager and undertake the tasks of that role independently from record companies, or through using people with whom they network. In effect, the duties and role of personal managers are being shaped by the musicians to suit their financial situation. Roles such as marketing and publicity are also undertaken largely and flexibly by the musicians. A similar flexibility is with the publishing of music, where a few musicians have indicated that they use their own companies to publish and monitor the usage of their published music. The production and publishing of music is not solely in the domain of record companies because the musicians realise how little they make from such revenue when compared to the record companies. In these areas of record company management, however, the most unchanging is that of distribution. This corner of the music business is proving difficult for musicians to penetrate. This is due to it being dominated by record companies that have the capacity to handle the large volumes of music regularly distributed all over the globe, and the rigid networks these companies have created and maintained over the years.

# CHAPTER FIVE

***"A true musician really doesn't get time to function fully as a business person"- Kganyago***

## Introduction

This chapter which is divided into two sections concludes this report. The first section of the chapter provides a brief review of the goals set out in Chapter One. Linked to this review are connected findings that are salient in the different chapters of this report. The second part provides suggestions based on the findings of the study.

## Study Aims and Related Findings

As stated in Chapter One, the themes discussed here were shaped by the predominant issues that came up in conversations with the musicians. The first aim involved giving an account of the variety of approaches with which jazz musicians manage their bands. This was achieved by the key categories of management the musicians relied upon, namely, business management, self-management and financial management. Part of the first aim was to interpret these approaches as tools to popularise and sustain the jazz genre in Johannesburg. These include the relations between musicians and promoters, and how much power promoters wield in this relationship. In essence the findings were that promoters usually want to make as much revenue from music events as possible, while musicians want as much exposure to audiences as possible. If the musicians comply with requirements often imposed on them by promoters, the musicians fulfil their aim by being part of music events and get exposure to existing and new audiences. The concessions musicians make are often both economic, in terms of how much they negotiate payment, and artistic, in terms of their music product. This usually happens at music events that are not purely jazz music specific, where promoters showcase acts that are economically viable. Jazz musicians are as a result open to widening the reach of their music to consumers of all genres. Music events such as festivals, for example, pay for more than a regular small-scale live music gig. Consequently musicians tend to pull more long-term rewards by performing at such events. Appearance in festivals of this nature functions as a survival strategy. Payment from festivals yields more money to fund further projects, or to prepare for times of work scarcity.

The second objective was to show how the participants of this study respond to commercial factors affecting jazz music-making in a global context. By looking for gigs and other types of employment in territories like Europe, the musicians already operate in this global environment. The data reveals that they have access to global audiences through live performances in Europe, selling their music online and by joining networks that provide this access. Similarly, by using information on the internet about the music business, they join global communities that share a seemingly universal knowledge about the industry. At other times the musicians scout for information on what musicians locally and globally have done to gain an economic advantage in the music industry. They use aspects of successful music business models, adapting this information to their businesses in the local music environment. For instance, a significant portion of the aspects the musicians emulate involves how publicity and advertising are undertaken through using new media. In addition, a significant aspect is the setting up of tax-compliant registered companies by which to administer the logistics of a performance career. They also note that effective trade union representation supports a healthy music industry for local musicians. The participants have voiced that unlike in other countries, and other professions, there is ineffective protection of their rights to participate in the economy by the existing trade union. The paucity of firm representation leads to haphazard compilation of business contracts by some musicians. In this respect, some musicians have not responded to such a global norm. Operating within globalised media, musicians also get influenced by the ideas of promoters who follow trends in the music marketplace. Performers may give in to demands by promoters to adjust their repertoire on stage so that the performance appeals to more popular taste.

The third goal was to show that the musicians establish and arrange businesses through varied access to industry resources, like promoters, the internet, gigging networks and more. The different choices they make about how to structure their administrative teams is an example of how they each arrive at their intended outcomes. The study found that through the various networks in which they do business, they have access to diverse channels of employment. By participating in these networks, most of the time through word-of-mouth and electronic resources, they access even more gigging circuits. Another indication of how musicians can get different outcomes in their career is how they perceive the division between commerce and art. Consideration of this schism dictates how much confidence each musician gives to their business efforts. For example, those who privilege the business side and use current market resources

derive different benefits from those who value honing their musical skills over developing the business aspects. Most of the musicians highlight not having time to do both with similar results.

The fourth aim was to get an indication of the avenues and resources available to jazz performers who seek career sustainability. This involved traversing how jazz performers actually make a living. The evidence emerging from the discussions with the musicians describes the circumstances they encountered when documenting financial and business records. This finding was particularly highlighted by how they saw to the effective balancing of financial books while not feeling competent to personally undertake this task. Most of them hired an accountant or a bookkeeper for this function, but also had to stay abreast of the status of their finances. By documenting their business records electronically they not only kept records of business communication but also tracked payments made by their businesses. Up to date financial records were useful for auditing and tax return purposes and also allowed them to feel recognised as active in the formal economy. On the other hand, there is a level at which some of the activities they partake in are not formally recognised in the economy. For an example this happens when they use the currency of favours, instead of money. This aspect of trading emphasised the absence of regulation in this sector and the lack of arts policy to support some of the entrepreneurial efforts discussed above.

## Recommendation

A number of issues emerge in view of the aims and findings discussed above. Firstly, the interpretation of this study does not claim that the economic activities in which contemporary jazz performers partake are ideal in comparison to musicians in previous eras. Instead it shows that in spite of the freedom to choose how, where and with whom to trade, jazz musicians are still struggling to fully realise their cultural and economic value. Needles to say, there has been a socio-economic paradigm shift since 1994. Thus the current performance environment of local jazz musicians is more favourable in terms of this freedom. Yet due to the still existing lack of formal facilities that entirely support this sector, musicians continue to operate arbitrarily under different social and political circumstances. Accordingly, this report does not allege that the business approach to management of these musicians is a conclusive solution to improving the current conditions under which musicians work, but that it suits some of them and enables professional development.

It is true that these jazz musicians have become more economically strategic in planning for career longevity. As a result, through the strategic business intervention of musicians like these, the genre has become more commercially viable, especially at events like music festivals. It is also true that the economic outlook of the participants gives them the agency to improve aspects of their working conditions, but this agency is somewhat limited. It would then be inaccurate to suggest that an entrepreneurial approach to career longevity is the only solution to improve the current environment of jazz performers. Sometimes the business approach does not work for the circumstances of every musician. Not all the musicians interviewed here can afford to hire personnel to assist them achieve their commercial goals. Few of the musicians have more than an accountant because administrative staff comes at a financial cost. This may explain why a number of musicians do not have registered companies. It could be that they cannot afford to even hire an accountant to keep their finances updated. This means that the activities of the later musicians remain unknown by the state. The report also showed that there are no guaranteed holistic benefits to musicians getting into partnerships with business-savvy counterparts. As much as a performer may focus on the artistic section of the business, and the partner is able to focus on the business management, the overall business well-being still largely depends on the artistic output.

In view of the findings of this report, a few suggestions seem necessary. It bears stating from the onset that the points raised in the recommendations are co-dependent, and in synergy. Of primary importance is that musicians have the onus to mobilise effective trade representation, in the form of either a trade union or some professional structure. The activities of this body would be informed by musicians, and given a mandate to conduct tasks pertinent to the livelihoods of all kinds of music practitioners. Musicians would also need to be prepared to fully participate in the governance of such a body. For stronger bargaining purposes, this structure would keep a database of its members and proactively find solutions to existing problems. Within the structure, musicians would take the responsibility of drawing up a set of operational or trade standards that would protect them and create stipulations for new practitioners. Such a trade body would also be a central place from which all members could get equal access to salient employment information. This would be the kind of information that provides musicians with details on the process of tax, the legal framework their sector is governed by and various networks through which to look for gigs.

Upon the establishment of the representative body, the norms established by the body would in turn inform the overhaul of existing arts and culture policy as it relates to this sector. A review of existing arts and culture policy is required to cater for the complexity of this sector, and represent the full gamut of role players in the music industry. This review would need to factor-in how to support the current economic activities of music performers and the conditions of trade in this sector. In addition, the revised policy would also assist the state and private sector to recognise musicians as formally employed, as they have trade bargaining power.

The recommendation discussed immediately above depends on the following processes. The music business has changed greatly in the last two decades. Musicians now get most of their revenue from employment in the live performance sphere of the music industry. In the review of the policy, it needs to be considered that the activities that take place around live music performance are assessed. The range of activities involved in the sector requires monitoring for state demographical statistics and tax. This monitoring would also encourage the formation of formal trade norms. Musicians could benefit from this. Moreover, this monitoring would determine the patterns of work and earnings musicians, making the process transparent. This could also enable the arrangement of partnerships from various institutions, in the public and private sectors, to promote the cultural and economic value of this sector. The kind of legislation and policy that would emerge would be forward-looking and support the constantly changing entrepreneurship of this sector. With forward-looking policy, *SMEs* could be given the opportunity to compete with large industry players like multi-national record companies, so that services like the distribution of music are more closely beneficial to the local small industry role players.

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Bongani Khezo. 11/12/2009. Ormonde, Johannesburg

Luyanda Madope. 11/12/2009. Ormonde, Johannesburg

Tlale Makhene. 31/01/2010. Soweto, Johannesburg

Siyavuya Makhuzeni. 30/11/2009. Melville, Johannesburg

Linda Mtshali (*nee* Mimi Ntenjwa). 08/02/2010. Newtown, Johannesburg

Concord Nkabinde. 15/10/2009 and 15/01/2010. Braamfontein and Killarney, Johannesburg

Marcus Wyatt. 18/02/2010. Brixton, Johannesburg

**APPENDIX**

Interview Questions:

1. Do you consider yourself a jazz musician?/ How did you become affiliated with jazz?
2. Would you agree that jazz enjoys more patronage in Johannesburg than other major centres of trade in S.A?
3. Do you find that jazz bands organise themselves as business units more often now than before?
4. What do you think encourages the low salaries in the live music industry?
5. Can you please tell me about the role and influence of promoters, and record companies, in the "jazz music industry"?
6. What do you consider a well-managed musician is?
7. How do you feel about jazz and other music festivals?
8. Where do you think change is necessary for the success of live music?
9. What kind of planning do you do for your career?

10. Why do you plan?
11. How have you been affected by registering your company?
12. How do you take care of matters pertaining to tax?
13. Do you handle your financial documents yourself?
14. How do you recruit band members?
15. How do you find work for your band?
16. How often do you perform?
17. Do you have a manager?
18. Do you have a standard set out plan on how you pay band members, or do you remunerate them on an ad-hoc basis?
19. Who markets you or your work?
20. Apart from performing, and your music, do you have alternative income?
21. What do you think you need to do in order for you to operate optimally as a band, or at the best level as a performance musician?