Iph'indlela

*Notions of cultural complexity and musical space in
the Field Band Foundation of South Africa*

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Thank you, my Africa
I wouldn't be what I am without you
You've given me the wheel, the wheel to succeed
Thank you for the opportunity
Ngiyabonga, brothers and sisters
Standing behind me, all the way
And it gives me hope and it gives me strength
and it is all because:
Umunto Ngumunto Ngabantu

(Brenda Fassie: *Umunto Ngumunto Ngabantu)*

Ngiyabonga

Writing a master thesis has been a rewarding experience. Having the opportunity to re-visit South Africa every day through this project has been wonderful; it has proven that South Africa is closer than I sometimes feel. On the other hand, the process of writing a master thesis has been filled with ups and downs; it has been interesting, frustrating, eye-opening, challenging and time-consuming. In the end, it has been a process I would not have been without. Many people have been a part of this process. Thank you all.

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To my closest and dear ones: Ingrid, Ellen, mamma, pappa, Oda and all of you who's been hugging me the past months; thanks for the support and for keeping me sane.

Ellen Neverdal; everything happens for a reason. Thanks for being part of my South African adventure; from our first meeting with South Africa in September 2006 up until today. Thanks for reading numerous drafts and discussing all my ideas. Thank you for bringing me back to reality when I needed it. I've learned a lot from working with you.

Oslo, October 27, 2009

Marit Bakken

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Image: About South Africa (About South Africa [URL])

The research participants in this study are from Soweto in the Gauteng province, Durban in the KwaZulu-Natal province and from Macassar and Cloetesville in the Western Cape province.

More than 47 million people live in South Africa (About South Africa [URL]). Statistically they are often referred to in four population groups as in the figure below, all being South Africans. For clarification: in my thesis the term 'African' is exchanged with 'black South African'.
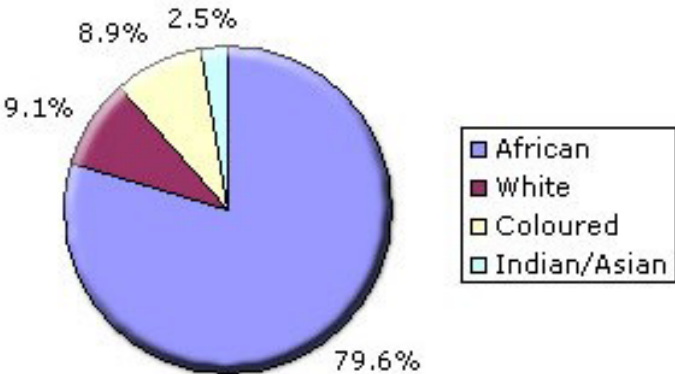
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Image: About South Africa (About South Africa [URL])
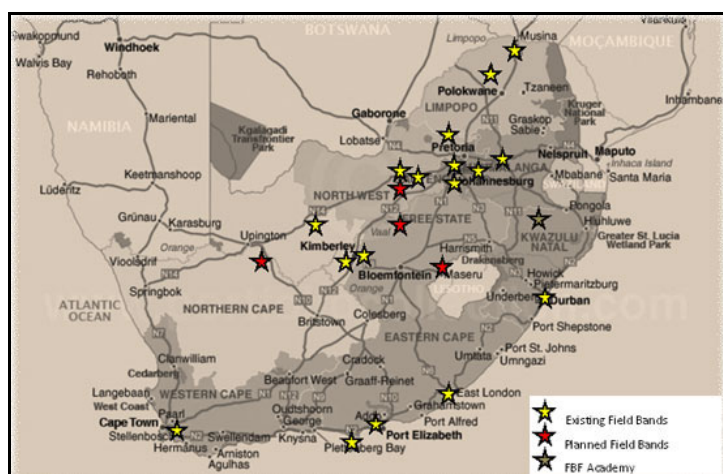
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Image: Field Band Foundation (Field Band Foundation [URL]).

Research participant name	Interview type and Field Band Foundation region
Brown	Individual interview, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)
	Personal communication: emails
David	Focus group, Western Cape
Hope	Focus group, Soweto (Gauteng province)
Itumeleng	Focus group, Soweto (Gauteng province)
Jade	Focus group, Western Cape
John	Individual interview, Western Cape
Junior	Focus group, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)
Kastro	Focus group, Soweto (Gauteng province)
Kate	Focus group, Western Cape
Lanny	Focus group, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)
Lwazi	Focus group, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)
Muchachos	Focus group, KwaZulu-Natal (KZN)
Pablo	Focus group, Western Cape
Papiki	Individual interview, Soweto (Gauteng province)
Retha Cilliers	Personal communication: conversations

Figure 4: Research participants

When I refer to the interviews in the text, I will refer to the research participant with the belonging Field Band Foundation region e.g. *(Brown, KZN)*. Personal communication will be referred to in the text as *(Brown, personal communication 12.10.2009)*. For more information about the interviews and the personal communication, I refer to the reference list in Part IV.

PART I:
Introduction, theory and method

Introduction

Iph'indlela is a phrase in the South African language Xhosa, meaning 'where is the way?' [1] In this thesis the question is asked in a South African context, where I explore notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the South African youth development organization the Field Band Foundation (FBF).

Cultural complexity is a growing part of every society and has in the past years become a popular field of interdisciplinary studies. [2] Hannerz (1992) writes about cultural complexity and finds the term 'complex' almost as 'intellectually attractive as the word messy' (1992:6). On the other hand he finds the term rewarding, as the word complex challenges the generalization of cultures (ibid). Cultural and social transformations play a part in the everyday life of many people, with more cultures living side by side in different communities. This often results in a tension between cultural mixing and purity leading to the discourse on cultural complexity. This tension is in different ways evident in South Africa as well as in Norway. Through the concept of cultural complexity it is possible to organize and make sense out of cultural diversity. In South Africa there have been major changes the past decades, both socially and politically, affecting the everyday life of millions of people. Post apartheid there has been relocation from the 'old' South Africa to the 'new' South Africa, a process with multiple challenges. Culture is in many cases a space where these complex processes of change are clearly visible, which therefore makes culture a natural setting where negotiations relating to cultural identity take place. Allen (2004a) argues that many of these negotiations take place in popular music, being a major field of expression for values and meanings (2004a:83). After apartheid access to a new reality with 'pure crazy possibilities' was available in South Africa (Coplan 2007:7). Popular music was certainly affected by these

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[1] The title Iph'indlela is taken from an article called "Iph'indlela? Where is the way?" written by Thembela Vokwana (2007).

[2] One example is the ongoing university research program at the University of Oslo (2004-2010), called CULCOM - *Cultural Complexity in the new Norway*. The project is interdisciplinary covering five faculties and is concerned with social and cultural dynamics in contemporary Norwegian society (Culcom [URL]).

possibilities, both in a beneficial and in a challenging way, as a part of creating a new everyday in the new South Africa. Through applying experiences, attitudes and reactions from the people who actually influence the urban development, an understanding of a cultural phenomenon can be reached by (Coplan 2007:4). How do South African youth face the cultural complexity in South Africa?

The reality of the post-apartheid South Africa made a range of possibilities of creative expression available, opening up for understanding a cultural complexity. This has affected youth in the Field Band Foundation in different ways. In this study, cultural complexity is approached through the concept of *musical space* in the Field Band Foundation. This musical space is an imaginary room where musical activity in the organization takes place, a concept which will follow this thesis throughout. In the urban townships in South Africa, youth in the Field Band Foundation develop, arrange and consume music as a part of their youth culture. Specific musical practices within the organization are contributing in the shaping of their musical space, both by the imaginative and the sociological (Whiteley, Bennett and Hawkins 2004:1-2). Music becomes a tool to make sense out of the everyday, as it expresses relations and world-views. Through the youth and their negotiations in the musical space of the Field Band Foundation, this project takes an empirical focus. With an interdisciplinary approach within the field of musicology, I use musical space in the Field Band Foundation to describe notions of cultural complexity in the 'new' South Africa.

My interest in South African music and culture developed as I was working as a music teacher in the Field Band Foundation, through an exchange program supported by the Norwegian *Fredskorpset.*[3] Through this exchange I had the opportunity to work and live in South Africa for 20 months, which taught me about a musical culture I never could have read my way into. My relationship to the people, the music and to South Africa changed as my perception changed. Since my South African journey started in 2006 my knowledge has expanded, and my images of Africa have gradually changed. My childhood connotations of Africa as a continent was filled with either poor, starving children, desert and catastrophes or men dressed in leather outfits playing a drum with happy women dancing around in colourful outfits. As I got to know more about the lives of my new friends and colleagues I felt more

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[3] Fredskorpset facilitates the mutual exchange of personnel between organisations and businesses in Norway and Africa, Asia and Latin-America (Fredskorpset [URL]). The exchange program I participated in is called *Bands Crossing Borders* and is an exchange of music teachers between the Norwegian Band Federation (Norges Musikkorps Forbund) and the Field Band Foundation.

attached to the people, the South African music and to the continent. During my stay I gradually became aware of how music is connected to culture, history and politics in South Africa and how all of it is affected by rather dramatic and huge issues like globalization, postcolonialism and race. By using my own reflections about the job I have done, the experiences I have been through and how this has evolved as a part of this research project, I hope the complex issues of postcolonialism and the struggles surrounding the new freedom in South Africa will shine through as important aspects in the thesis.

South Africa - historical outline and empirical setting

South Africa is a diverse country geographically, culturally and socially. Desert, subtropical areas and high inland mountain plateaus with long mountain ranges, together with a long coastal line fronting both the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic Ocean shows the geographic diversity (About South Africa [URL]). [4] South Africa has nine provinces, with vast differences in size, population, geography and economy. More than three-quarters of the South African population are black Africans, but the group is neither culturally nor linguistically homogeneous. With 11 official languages South Africa is a multilingual country. English is widely spoken all over the country as it is the language of business and media. Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele are all Nguni languages with many similarities. In addition there is another group consisting of Tswana, Pedi and Sotho which all belong to the Sotho language group. Together with Tsonga and Venda, the Nguni and Sotho languages are from the Bantu language family mainly spoken by black South Africans. [5] The languages are also connected to different cultural groups and regions in South Africa. The last of the eleven languages is Afrikaans. [6] Afrikaans is mainly spoken by white South Africans of Dutch descendent, coloured South Africans and a few black South Africans. With a variety of official languages all languages have an effect on each other. Words and phrases from different languages are used by everybody and many people use a variety of the languages in

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[4] All information in this subchapter about South Africa is gathered from this source (About South Africa [URL]).

[5] When writing in Bantu languages, a system of prefixes is normally used corresponding to noun classes and to the denotation of singular and plural. E.g. isiZulu is used for the language Zulu and amaZulu is used when talking about Zulu people. In this thesis I do as Coplan (2007) does. I turn to the English usage of the terms, simplifying them by skipping the prefixes.

[6] The language Afrikaans has its roots in 17th century Dutch, with influences from English, Malay, German, Portuguese, French and some African languages.

their everyday life. All the different languages represent a substantial diversity in people and cultures.

Segregation has for hundreds of years been a part of the South African history. The colonial history is long and complicated and will in this thesis only be briefly presented. It is still important to give a short overview of the historical setting, for the reader to be able to contextualize some of the complexities my research participants are facing in the 'new' South Africa. The next section will provide a short overview of the colonial history of South Africa, from the first settlers arrived in 1652 up until the first democratic elections of 1994.

Most of black Africans living in South Africa are of Bantu heritage. The Bantu people are originally from eastern Africa and started moving south about 2000 years ago. In 1652 European settlers under Jan van Riebeck established a fort for the Dutch East India Company on the Southern tip of South Africa, later called the Cape. The fort was established for the benefit of ships on their way to the East. Discrimination and segregation between the settlers and the indigenous people living in the Cape occurred from the very beginning. After ten years 250 Dutch people lived in the Cape, their territory expanded and it was beginning to look like a developing colony. Due to political development in Europe the British took the Cape from the Dutch in 1795. This made the Dutch settlers, later called Boers,[7] move even further north. Slaves from Asia and various places in Africa were also introduced to the Cape colony. In the Cape, descendants of the indigenous Khoisan people who originally lived there, other indigenous Africans, Asian slaves and white colonists interbred. This mix of people gradually formed a mixed race group of people, called coloureds.

In the beginning of the 1800s the Boers were forced to move north and east in the country by the British. This was later called 'The Great Trek'. After many internal disagreements, clashes with various Bantu people and an attempt to try and take over the Natal province from the British, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal became acknowledged as independent Boer republics by the British in 1850. The situation for the local Bantu communities changed drastically as the Boers colonized their land. They could now choose to rent the soil, work as labourers or share their crops with the whites. Most people chose to stay on their land and continue to work as earlier.

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[7] Boer is the Afrikaans word for 'farmer'.

In 1886 gold was discovered in the Transvaal and new inhabitants moved to the area from all over Southern Africa. The British, who also wanted control in the Southern parts of Africa at this point, had two colonies; Natal and the Cape. As Transvaal suddenly turned out to be a gold mine in itself, the British wanted control there to keep their position. A war between the Boers and the British started in 1899 which the British won in 1902. Natal, the Cape, Transvaal and Orange Free State now lost their independence and became four provinces in the new Union of South Africa established in 1910. Black South Africans were barred from taking part in the new parliament.

When gold was discovered, it resulted in a rural-urban population movement which started in the early 1900s. Due to taxes in the new Union and the price of basic food, money was a necessity and the South Africans started to move to the urban areas to get work. Due to the lack of proper housing so-called squatter camps of shacks were established outside of the cities. Single-sex hostels were also built to house large numbers of labourers. To regulate the migration from the rural areas, the government established laws which forced women and children to stay in the rural areas while men moved to the cities to work. In this way the government could control and regulate the flow of people. These living areas were specially designed forr the black and coloured labourers, and were later called townships. The townships were located outside of the big cities, to keep non-whites from the city centres. Townships still exist today.[8] In 1948 the white Boer-dominated Nationalist Party won the election and the politics of segregation escalated. Apartheid as an institution was a reality. Laws were made to secure the White peoples position in the country. Black workers needed passbooks to stay in the cities during daytime. If they were observed in the city outside of their working time or without a passbook, they were punished by the government.

Of the laws which have influenced the lives of my research participants the most, Bantu education was the most important. Black children were given an inferior education, only enough to work as cheap labourers. Segregated education was a natural part of the political system. Education suffered in all fields, including music education (Coplan 2007:219). The Bantu education of the apartheid era still affects whole generations of young black South Africans, because people in the generation before them went through school during apartheid

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[8] Connotations to townships are traditionally negative; confining violence, crime and poor living conditions. Post-apartheid connotations are more varied, as the township also is a place for cultural activity and creativity. Townships are often called location (loxion) or kasi in slang language.

– if they did go to school at all. Parents are not able to help their children with homework. The need for qualified teachers is high, both in rural areas and in townships.

During the 1970s and 1980s it became harder to hold the apartheid position. Demonstrations, international boycotts and a rapidly growing black South African population all challenged the apartheid regime. President F. W. de Klerk started the changes in South Africa, moving away from apartheid. Many apartheid laws were abolished, and in 1990 the leader of the African National Congress (ANC), Nelson Mandela, was released from prison. The ANC won the first democratic election in 1994 and Mandela became the first black president of South Africa.

Field Band Foundation – my scene of investigation

In post-apartheid South Africa there is a significant focus on giving opportunities to previously disadvantaged communities. One of the organizations which started up providing musical activities for children and youth in economically and socially challenged areas was Field Band Foundation (FBF). Field Band Foundation is a non-governmental organization (NGO) which started up in 1997, providing musical activities to youth in the townships of South Africa. Brass bands have been a part of the black communities since the concept was introduced in South Africa by the Salvation Army in the early 1800s, later expanding outside of church-sponsored events. Still today brass bands are popular as entertainment in the black communities (Coplan 2007:104-105, 123). Based on this tradition the Field Band Foundation chose the American show band model for the bands, as show bands allow big groups to participate. In addition to brass, there are also dancing, percussion, African marimbas and steel drums in each band.

In each of the 17 different FBF regions situated all over the country there are between 125-250 members in the age 7-21 years old. They have either one or two bands in each region. Each FBF region has a staff of five teachers, [9] who are young musicians developing to be leaders. The program is an after school activity, where the goal is for members to gain life skills through music and dance. The focus of the organization has been towards townships attached to the bigger South African cities, but since 2006 the organization has also started up FBF regions in the more rural areas. The main aim of the Field Band Foundation can be

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[9] In Field Band Foundation teachers are referred to as *tutors*. In this thesis I will call them teachers, because in my opinion that term reflects better what they do.

presented through their mission statement: *To create opportunities for the development of life skills in the youth through the medium of music and dance* (Field Band Foundation [URL]).

Notions of musical space in the Field Band Foundation involve musical activities on many levels. Different aspects of the organization and how it works, together with terms used in the Field Band Foundation will here be briefly explained. The 17 FBF regions work independently throughout the year. The annual FBF National Championship provides an important meeting place for all the members in the organization. Here they get to watch and hear each others performances and also meet and get to know members from the other regions. Their shows are a collaboration of songs, arranged by the FBF teachers to fit the level in the band. Musically the FBF National Championship is the highlight of the year, where entertainment and aesthetic judgement takes place on all levels.

Figure 5: Pictures showing musical life in Field Band Foundation

In FBF bands, all music is taught and played by ear. Most of the music is also arranged by ear by the teachers. Previously there was one quite distinctive way of arranging and using the instruments in Field Band Foundation. In the traditional FBF arrangements the trumpets play the melodyline together with the tenor steel drum and the soprano marimba. The bass part is played by tubas, bass marimba and bass steeldrum. Rhythmical middle voices are played by mellophones and baritones together with the rest of the pit section. This way of arranging is now changing as expanding knowledge and new musical styles are influencing musical space in the Field Band Foundation. Being different and having their own style has grown to be important to all field bands. Arrangers in the bands are making more advanced arrangements, giving challenges to other sections than just the trumpets. This comes as a result of a higher skill level which makes it possible to do arranging in more creative ways.

Through a development within the musical space in the Field Band Foundation, negotiations surrounding ethnicity, race and nationality happen continuously within the different regions in the organization. Musical activity is the social mediator in the Field Band Foundation; it is a medium which connects members all over the country. Over the past years a common FBF identity has been created through activities on a national level in the organization. At the same time the regions are well aware of how they want their bands to sound, and sound different from the others. This is done by using knowledge combined with their local culture; musical and cultural values. Through activities on a regional and a national level there is a focus on valuing the diversity whilst creating something together. The Field Band Foundation sees this interaction as important in building understanding and respect for other cultures, as a part of building a nation (Field Band Foundation [URL]). There are constantly musical and cultural negotiations between diversity and unity within the organization on different levels.

Through the years the Field Band Foundation has created a FBF National Band with participants from different parts of the country, mostly consisting of teachers. The FBF National Band meets at the FBF National Workshop twice a year and this is where a common FBF identity is negotiated. When the FBF National Band went on their second tour to Norway in 2005, a FBF National Workshop was held in advance to prepare for the tour. They were all asked to participate in choosing songs which led into a huge discussion on songs to use and how to play them. Regional differences in rhythm, style and form were discussed. Together with the facilitators of the workshop, they decided on a common way to perform the songs as one band. These arrangements are still used in the FBF National Band occasions and are also used as a teaching tool for teachers who want to teach songs they are not familiar with to their

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regions. Many of these songs are now used widely in the organization and when I talk about these songs in this thesis I will refer to them as the FBF songs. Some of the FBF songs come from a certain ethnic South African group. Through the FBF National Workshops these songs have spread to other regions as well, where the songs might not be known at all in the community.

Research material

In this study I have chosen three FBF songs well-known in the Field Band Foundation as a starting point for the exploration of musical space in the Field Band Foundation. They are therefore important throughout the whole thesis. The songs represent different styles in the South African music history and are played regularly by many different regions. Amavolovolo is a traditional Zulu song frequently performed in black community weddings (Bangiwe, personal communication 24.12.2008). Pata Pata was originally performed by Miriam Makeba and is one of the first international and most famous hits from South Africa. Dali Wam was awarded 'song of the year' in 2005 by the South African Music Awards and is by the contemporary popular music artist Ntando.

To conceptualize musical space in the Field Band Foundation, I have turned to three FBF regions from different parts of South Africa to gather my empirical data. The regions are given names after their province or township. My research participants are from Soweto, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Soweto is the biggest township in South Africa, and is located in the Gauteng[10] province. People living here are from all different South African cultures, as many people migrated to Johannesburg when gold was discovered in the late 1800s. This makes the whole province a melting pot of people and cultures. Soweto was created in the beginning of the 1900s to house labourers in an area away from the city of Johannesburg. Soweto has grown and expanded ever since and is today a community with people from many different ethnic groups. The Soweto Field Band region has two bands, in Dobsonville and in Kagiso. The Western Cape is a province dominated by coloureds and whites, also with a Xhosa population. The Field Band region in Western Cape has two bands in the coloured communities around Stellenbosch; Macassar and Cloetesville. In KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) approximately 81% of the population is Zulu (About South Africa [URL]). The Field Band Foundation has their field band in the city of Durban, in an area called Inanda.

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[10] Gauteng is a Tswana word which means 'gold'.

Aims and research questions

South Africa has changed drastically the past two decades, still facing huge social, economic and cultural challenges. Based on my experiences working with South African youth, I entered this research project thinking that the cultural reconstruction of post-apartheid South Africa challenge the ways South African youth negotiates cultural identity and self-representation.[11] The aim of this thesis is to explore notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the Field Band Foundation. Cultural complexity and musical space are substantial topics, even when limited to a small youth organization such as the Field Band Foundation. By entering the musical space in the Field Band Foundation I will focus on the significance and the cultural values of the music through the three South African songs Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam. The songs are regularly performed in the organization and represent the musical space under study. I have discussed the songs with young musicians in three FBF regions based on two exploratory research questions:

> What is the significance of the three songs Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam for the youth in the Field Band Foundation?

> What can musical space in the Field Band Foundation tell about cultural complexity within South Africa?

Certain aspects limit the value of this study as it cannot be used to draw generalized conclusions about the South African context. I do not aim to give an overview of South Africa as a whole, but look at aspects through the eyes of my research participants in a small youth organization. The Field Band Foundation has projects in townships and rural areas, also known as the less developed areas in South Africa. Members in the organization are predominantly black and coloured, which leaves out white and Asian South Africans. Within the organization I have chosen three FBF regions to conduct my interviews in. All these FBF regions are from the urban areas, which leave out the rural areas in the organization from the study. This limits my possibilities of providing a full overview of the culturally complex South Africa.

By talking to members in the Field Band Foundation about the music they play and how they value the significance of it I ask; Iph'indlela? Where is the way?

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[11] The cultural reconstruction of South Africa has been discussed by Nuttall and Michael (2000) and Barber (2001).

Clarifying terms: 'black South African youth' and 'black South African popular music'

In everyday life in South Africa and equally in studies on South Africa, the aftermath of racial classification still remains. Terms such as 'black South African youth' and 'black South African popular music' are widely used, not without challenges regarding terminology. Both terms are central to my thesis, and calls for a brief overview of central aspects relating to them.

During apartheid the traditional way of classifying people was through the use of the racial distinctions 'black, coloured, Asian and white'. These classifications still exists in South African society, now relating to 'population groups' instead of 'races' (About South Africa [URL]). I will refer to black and coloured youth in my thesis, as the terms are still used, with variation, amongst my research participants and South Africans in general. Describing black youth as one group in the South African context also has its consequences. Through my study I will show that there are different perspectives amongst the different ethnic representatives also within a relatively small organization as the Field Band Foundation. How the youth view their belonging to their ethnicity, or 'culture' as is a more widely used term in South Africa, is for some people more important than their belonging to the group of 'blacks' or as being a South African. Even so, I also believe it to have been important as a way of keeping people together. After apartheid, the focus was turned away from the race distinctions. In order to still distinguish places and people, ethnic identities re-emerged as a way of categorizing people. Many South Africans talk about their 'culture', their ethnic background as more important than being South African. By culture, I refer to the ethnic groups as Zulu, Xhosas, Tswana and coloureds amongst others. In this thesis I will use both the terms; ethnic group and culture, when referring to the different groups of people.

David Coplan (2005) explains all black music[12] in South Africa to be popular music (2005:11). In terms of terminology, the divide between traditional, neo-traditional and contemporary popular South African music is a study in itself. Coplan (2005) refers to Waterman and his Yoruba slogan 'Our tradition is a very modern tradition' (2005:107). This also goes for much of the black South African popular music, as tradition is maintained

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[12] Philip Tagg dares to raise the question on what we actually mean by 'black music', a term he suspects is used because the meaning of the term seems to be taken for granted (Tagg 1989:285). His article mainly focuses on popular music in the US, but the critical approach might be fruitful also in the South African context.

through changes in the society making various 'modern' elements traditional in the South African context (Coplan 2007:312). Black South African popular music, crossing from 'village voices to Christian choirs to sophisticated jazz quartets to popular shake-your-booty bands' all has a popular audience from all the different cultures and ethnic groups, in all ages and both genders (Coplan 2005:11). Black South African popular music is in nature a fusion, it is and has always been creative and ever-changing combining traditional styles with imported ones (Ballantine 1993:4). All classifications of music are made to simplify it in a bigger context, and in South Africa it is easy to describe musical styles produced and used by the many black people as 'black South African popular music'. This category goes with the phenomenon of 'popular music', a music made for reaching out to a big audience which therefore is made to suit the market. At the same time, this music is not only performed and used by black people but of people from many different ethnicities. This makes the whole classification of 'black South African popular music' a difficult term in itself. Is it called 'black' music because it is *by* black people or because it is *for* black people? In this context black South African music is music made by black South Africans, in relation to black South African culture. It is now used and performed not only by black South Africans, but of South Africans of all cultures.

Overview of the thesis

Part I: *Introduction, theory and method* consist of three chapters. In the 'Introduction' the background of the study has been introduced, followed by a clarification of relevant terms and the presentation of aims and research questions. Following is the 'Theoretical orientation' which will provide a theoretical foundation for the thesis, placing my study within the field of musicology. 'Methodological considerations' presents my research design and will mainly go into the different stages of the collection of empiric data, where focus groups and individual interviews were the main methods.

Part II: *Notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the Field Band Foundation* is divided into five chapters. 'South Africa – an arena for social and musical theorization' continues the lines from the empirical setting in the introduction and the theoretical orientation, by introducing the reader to South Africa today. The socio-political background will lead into a presentation of different South African musical styles. 'Musical space in the Field Band Foundation' presents the complexities in musical space within the Field Band Foundation, where different fields of tension are represented. This chapter is based on

empirical data from the field research period in South Africa. The three chapters 'Amavolovolo', 'Pata Pata' and 'Dali Wam' present three songs from the musical space in the Field Band Foundation with views on the songs significance from my research participants, together with a historical-analytical approach to the songs.

Last is Part III: *Iph'indlela? Where is the way?* Here the different lines presented in the thesis are drawn together in the chapter called 'Cultural complexity in South African youth expression'. This chapter combines my findings with theory presented earlier in the thesis. Part III ends with the chapter 'Summing up' where I will go through the main findings.

Theoretical orientation

Different aspects have inspired and influenced me in the process of working with this project. In a study where the aim is to explore notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the Field Band Foundation I use an interdisciplinary approach to theory, combining aspects from different subdisciplines within musicology. I have found inspiration in theory from popular music studies, sociomusicology, ethnomusicology and postcolonial theory. Finding my musicological voice has been a challenging process. I have ended up choosing sources which are relevant for my project, relating to how I view myself as a music researcher. This makes it impossible for me to follow each of the sub-disciplines entirely. I still believe an interdisciplinary approach is the most fruitful combination for this research project, as boundaries of the different subdisciplines clearly overlap both in the South African context and in my work. In this theoretical orientation I will place my work in relation to the different subdisciplines.

In traditional musicology music is viewed, analyzed and valued as an object where music itself is the main part of the analysis. Analysis is based on the musical work as sound or as written music, in most cases limiting the object of study to the music itself. On the other hand, in traditional ethnomusicology musical meaning is exclusively related to subjective musical experiences presented from people in the cultures under study, traditionally being related to musical cultures outside of the Euro-American sphere.

African music and its history has been under study since the first ethnomusicologists went to observe the natives, the 'negroes' and their basic, primitive musics. Hornbostel was one of the first to study the musics of Africa, doing his first study in 1902-03 (Waterman 1991:169). One of his first famous articles was 'African Negro Music' from 1928, published in the first issue of the ethnomusicological journal *Africa* (ibid). Hornbostel based his interpretation on difference and similarity, which created a gap between musics of Africa and the West that has lasted up until now (ibid). In 1928 he wrote: 'African and (modern) European music are constructed on entirely different principles, and therefore they cannot be fused into one, but only the one or the other can be used without compromise' (Hornbostel in Waterman 1991:171). Before the 1950s, most of the ethnomusicological research done in Africa was based on recording and registration of melodic and rhythmic structures from what was believed to be precolonial times. The music was seen to be contrasting to the 'civilised high

cultures of the colonising European nation states' (Kirkegaard 2002:8). While the musics of Africa were interpreted as entirely different from Western music, it was also presented as music with stylistic similarity, contributing to the historically grounded concept of Africa as one, and Africans as a 'people' (Waterman 1991:169).

Percival R. Kirby and Hugh Tracey were some of the first to study the musics of South Africa (Coplan 2007). They collected indigenous instruments and recorded music in the 1930s, and feared urban Africans to be 'de-culturated' by the Western influences (ibid:100). Kirby and Tracey argued that Western music was not good for the Bantu people, maintaining the divide between Africa and the West (ibid:100). David Rycroft devoted his time to study South African black, urban music. He shared the perception that cultural forms developing in the urban areas were 'not authentically African, but rather diluted, commercial, 'inauthentic' stepchildren of British and American cultural colonisation' (Coplan 2007:5), stating a point which has followed South African music and its critiques since then. South African music has been affected by varying degrees of hybridisation over the years, always being in dialogue with imported forms in the creation of the special sounds of South Africa. Coplan (2007) critiques this view, arguing that musical works chosen to be performed by Africans are African, it is not necessarily the amount of indigenous elements that decides how 'African' the music is (2007:5).

Concepts within both traditional musicology and traditional ethnomusicology have expanded greatly the past decades. In traditional ethnomusicology, the way music is studies has also changed. Alan P. Merriam called for a 'study of music in culture' in the 1960s, involving musical meaning and music's role in society (Kirkegaard 2002:8). Later the study of music in context has also been under critique. Christopher Waterman (1991) questions the limited approach to music in context, and says that it has allowed the ethnomusicological discourse to leave out other more theoretical aspects of importance like colonialism, power relations and the socially constructed meanings produced in music (1991:179). African scholars such as Kofi Agawu (2003a and 2003b) and J. H. Kwabena Nketia (2005) write on how African music is represented in research on African music. Agawu (2003b) argues that only a few of music's many contexts have been given adequate attention in research on searchers for methods in how to achieve a more ethical study of African musics (2003b: 227, 236). In much research on African musics the music is met with the presumption of difference by Western scholars, a presumption left since Hornbostel's days. Agawu does imply that a correct method of representation is non-existing, but suggests to at least 'work towards the direct

empowerment of postcolonial African subjects' (2003a:70). This is done by meeting the music and the people with open ears, ready to encounter both difference and sameness.

Nketia (2005) wanted to approach the study of musics in Africa in a way that would contribute to knowledge, understanding and appreciation of African music (2005:3-4). These thoughts are following Edward Said and his work on the Orientalism (1994) which presents how discourses on 'otherness' influence views on people from other parts of the world. There is still a substantial focus on aspects of difference in today's world. I follow Nketia in saying that knowledge and understanding about contemporary Africa is long overdue. Popular music from different African countries seeks to present a new Africa. This is not done without complexities and many artists hear that their music is not African enough. The complexities surrounding 'African enough' might be a result of the first views in ethnomusicology and especially in African music studies. Due to the early studies of African musics, which were influenced by a static view on musical culture, much African music is still the victim of generalisations. The generalisation of difference and of musical culture being static has been rejected in recent research, but it is still present as a part of how many people, including Africans themselves, view music and culture (Kirkegaard 2002:10).

A more critical approach within the field of musicology, argues how sociological and anthropological perspectives are important in achieving a more contextual analytical approach, which relates musical studies to a hermeneutic tradition. [13] In popular music studies the argument is that it is possible to study 'fun' popular music in a 'serious' matter (Tagg 1982:37). Search for musical meaning is in popular music studies drawn from a study of the relationship between text and context, making the social and relational aspects of the music significant in accordance to the musical text. This explains the close relationship between popular music studies and sociomusicology. Frith (2002) says that to understand the meaning of music you have to be able to hear something in the music that is not present to the ear (2002:249). Music does not mean anything without concerning different layers of interpretation surrounding the music, which also means music is nothing without the music itself (Hawkins 2002, Middleton 2000a). To understand the overall meaning in musical culture both the social and the musical layers must be dealt with. It is in and between these layers that sociocultural identity is negotiated (Kirkegaard 2002:10).

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[13] Critical musicology follows the important works of Joseph Kerman; *Musicology* 1985 and Gary Tomlinson "The Web of Culture. A context for Musicology" 1984.

In this work I am inspired by Born and Hesmondhalgh's (2000) approach. As is prevalent also in postcolonial theory, they believe the relations between culture, social power, ethnicity and class, can provide productive aspects in music studies (2000:3-5). These issues are increasingly being researched in both ethnomusicology and popular music studies. Knudsen (2008) widens the conceptions of ethnomusicology with theory reinforcing the aspect of ethnicity. He finds the concept of a 'musicology of belonging' more appropriate, since it can include a wider range of relations and alliances than a pure ethnomusicologist approach. Regarding my own position in the South African context it is impossible, and it would be rather ignorant, to ignore issues as race, ethnicity and difference. These topics are also highlighted by Hawkins (2002)[14] in an overview of important aspects for engagement in critical musicology (2002:27-29). The ethnomusicological approach has had its challenges, as the 'glorification of fieldwork often make ethnomusicology as positivistic as historical musicology' (Brett in Hawkins 2002:27). Hawkins still encourages studies of different cultures, including issues such as race and class, as they are central to musical interpretation on different levels (2002:28).

Concerning the balance between musical text and context, many scholars have had their say in various ways. David Coplan (1982) presents some theoretical observations concerning the relationships between the musical and the extramusical in music.[15] Any musical performance or activity is about meanings and interpretation (Coplan 1982). Steven Feld (1984) believes music has a fundamentally social life, and argues that the significance of the context is necessary to achieve a meaningful interpretation of music. I support this view, as I also believe that music will not exist without people using it, making sense out of it and enjoying it. Further Feld explains that a certain 'something' might not exist within the music, and in order to understand music we need to engage with the multiple ways sounds are consumed and interpreted, looking at different sets of relationships (Feld 1984:2-4).

Music will always be heard or performed in situations which constitutes of different sets of relationships and communication processes. Every musical experience we have will affect the next experience we have, as we always relate what we hear to what we have heard and

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[14] Hawkins here refer to points presented in "Critical Musicology: A Rationale" by Derek Scott and Stan Hawkins (1993).

[15] Philip Tagg also distinguishes between musical and extramusical considerations for musical analysis in his *Kojak. 50 seconds of Television Music; towards the analysis of affect in popular music* 1979.

experienced before. All encounters with music are based on making associations, both musical and extramusical. Codes we make to understand what is going on with the music we experience bring the object to life. So to say, musical experiences is about coding and decoding the object we encounter (Feld 1984:7). In the article "Communication, music and speech about music" (1984), Feld focuses on what he calls 'the more specifically communicational processes of musical meaning and interpretation' (ibid:5). A musical experience is affected by prior musical experiences and will affect the next we have. In any musical experience, we interpret music through our experience of it. This makes music culturally based and knowledge of the context important for the interpretation (Frith 2002:205–206).

Music is then becoming a mode of communicating information. Through different 'interpretive moves' Feld (1984) explains how the listener experiences music in different ways and interpret what is going on. This is further related to what Thorsèn (2002) calls culturally influenced knowledge about music, as music in addition to being a musical object also is the bearer of social and cultural meanings (2002:53). Hawkins (2002) argues how different perspectives shed light on different layers of musical meaning. Different positions give different meanings, consisting of many different aspects.

In the Field Band Foundation the youth plan, arrange, learn, work, teach and perform together. Taking part in any of these roles is what Small (1998) calls *musicking*, a huge social and musical network. Musicking explains how music cannot be characterized as a thing, as an object for a formal study, but as an activity with a whole set of connotations (Small 1998).

> A musical performance is a much richer and more complex affair than is allowed by those who concentrate their attention exclusively on the musical work and on its effect on an individual listener (Small 1998:8).

Small argues that any musical experience is a rich and complex affair including all roles and relationships in a musical performance. By focusing on all these relationships it is easy to see how musical meaning is social (1998:8). As a social activity, music is unique and Small argues that social meanings 'are fundamental to an understanding of the activity that is called music' (ibid). It is the process of socialization that decides how we think, act and feel about music.

Through music people can identify, define and express relationships to their surroundings. Music is socially meaningful because it gives people something to identify themselves with.

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At the same time music creates boundaries, socially or culturally. Research shows that music is what people want it to be (Stokes 1994:5). It can be seen as a helping tool in 'articulating out knowledge of other peoples, places, times and things, and ourselves in relation to them'. Music and dance do not simply reflect the structures of place, 'they provide the means by which the hierarchies of place are negotiated and transformed' (Stokes 1994:3-4). In this context an urban ethnomusicology has been introduced; where research focus on urban environments transformed by rural-urban migration and the hybrids and flexible music is under study (Stokes 1994:18). Urban ethnomusicology relates in many ways both to popular music studies, ethnomusicology and sociomusicology, which is discussed in the discourse on music and space. By making local knowledge and experiences significant, locally produced music results in a 'local structure of feeling' and gives a notion of collective identity (Whiteley et al. 2004:2-4). Music has a collective character, as its nature is based on communications between individuals or groups, or within a group. Frith argues that 'music works *materially* to give people different identities, to place them in different social groups' (1996:124). Attitudes, identity and behavioural patterns within this group will be a part of socially defining the group identity (Tagg 1982:49). Small (1998) suggests that if we widen our perceptions of a musical performance to include all the sets of relationships that constitutes it, 'we shall see that music's primary meanings are not individual at all but social' (1998:8). Through social meanings, Small argues that group dynamics can be traced in the particular musical space (ibid:33).

> Music, then, plays a significant part in the way that individuals author space, musical texts being creatively combined with local knowledge and sensibilities in ways that tell particular stories about the local, and impose collectively defined meanings and significance on space (Whiteley et al. 2004:3).

This is particularly evident in the Field Band Foundation. Musical participation in the organization has been helpful to many of the research participants in making sense of what happens in society. At the same time, musical style in the organization has changed as the organization has grown both in size and with knowledge. Making music together contributes in creating a common feeling, it makes people feel they are a part of a group, either real or imagined. This is what Blacking refers to as 'fellow feeling'. Popular performance is somehow framed around the promise of evoking this fellow feeling (Blacking in Frith 2002:216). Music can therefore be seen as something people use to recognise identities and places, as music 'is what any social group consider it to be' (Stokes 1994:5).

South African popular music can be related to post-apartheid optimism, having a positive and vibrant feeling. On the other hand, the music itself is not necessarily showing the everyday struggles and challenges South Africans are facing in their everyday life. In 1989 Ballantine described the South African situation as:

> For the majority of South Africans, the promise is that the future will be different, and better – and their music celebrates this. For masses of people in the advanced capitalist societies in Europe and North America, the promise is that the future will be the same, or perhaps even a little worse – a view confirmed by their popular music (Ballantine 1989:310).

Different layers of interpretation will reveal different aspects in South African popular music. In *Music and Its Social Meanings* Ballantine (1984) states that through music we can recognize the world we want (1984:27-28). This explains his first quote, where optimism for the future is celebrated in popular music. His view is related to how Small (1998) describes musical participation as a tool in social definition and self-definition (1998:133). In using music to recognize the world we want, we are trying out different ways of fitting into our society. This can also be viewed as a way of organizing and redefining identity.

Identity is by Frith (2002) viewed as something we try on, something which comes from the outside (2002:273). This suggests that identity is a process, not a stabile object. Ruud (2006) says identity is formed by the histories we share about ourselves, making the experiences from musical participation often more important than the music itself (2006:10). Music and the relations to sociocultural identities have been discussed in newer music studies. Born and Hesmondhalgh present the discussion through two different existing models where music and identity is seen to either *reflect* social relations and structures or *construct* sociocultural identities (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:31). Similarly, Frith shows us an analytic problem which often occurs in the academic study of popular music. He argues that if sounds are seen to represent 'a people' it is often very hard to find the connections between the songs and the people who make and use it (Frith 2002:269). Frith then refers to van Leeuwen who argues that music itself is a social process. Tracing the processes back from the music is not always possible (ibid: 270). Frith (1996) argues that music creates and constructs an *experience*. To make sense out of it, we need to take on both 'a subjective and a collective identity' (1996:109). Hawkins (2002) writes on identity politics and argues that 'pop culture forms a site where identity roles are constantly evolving to fit social needs' (2002:12). With this view popular music adapt to the context, it becomes the symbol of who we are and who we want to

be, relating to both models presented by Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000). They, too, argue that both models fail, and suggest a combination of the two:

> There is a need to acknowledge that music can variably both construct new identities and reflect existing ones. Sociocultural identities are not simply constructed in music; there are 'prior' identities that come to be embodied dynamically in musical cultures, which can also form the reproduction of those identities – no passive process of reflection (ibid: 32).

Music played in the Field Band Foundation can be seen both as a part of representing the young musicians historical and cultural background, and also as a way of reproducing it in new ways in order to represent their present and future sociocultural identities. Musical space in the Field Band Foundation is not a place where sociocultural identities are reflected, but a space where the youth can negotiate and renew their place. Music is then seen as a tool in this transformation (Stokes 1994:4, see also Frith 1996).

Ballantine (1984) argues that in the search for the answer to what kind of music we value, we need to look at what kind of world we want. He then adds that the social and historical values are important in recognizing the world we want through music (1984:27-28). Frith (2002) adds that popular music has the potential to contribute to how we understand ourselves as 'historical, ethnic, class bound, gendered, national subjects' (Frith 2002:276) and that music contributes in making sense of the world we live in, as musical response is a 'process of musical identification' (ibid: 272). In what Ballantine and Frith say I read a deeper understanding of music and the role it plays in the individual lives of people. Popular music is doubtlessly significant to the people who use it, both as a way of showing who they are to the world, to create boundaries to other groups of people and to the construction and negotiation of their sociocultural identity.

Methodological considerations

'Making choices' is an integral part of the process of planning a research design. To explore notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the Field Band Foundation, I have focused on two important sets of voices; my research participants from the Field Band Foundation and the musical text in the three South African songs; Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam.

As my empirical methodology, a qualitative approach has been taken using focus groups and individual interviews as main methods. The main part of this chapter is dedicated to a throughout description of my qualitative research design. In addition I have taken a historical-analytical approach to the music, where different aspects of the relationship between the musical text and the context have been revealed. Combining my preunderstanding with the empirical data, theory and the music analysis, I take an interpretive approach within this research process. My methods therefore seek to systematize information with a view to critical inquiry.

Subjective positioning in the research process

I am acutely aware of my own subjective positioning in this thesis and how this has formed a vital part of my methodological perspectives. As a Norwegian, young, white woman, I am aware of how this affect my approach to an understanding of the complexities concerning 'black South African popular music' and its' significance for 'black and coloured South African youth'. Lara Allen (2006), a white South African female, has presented issues on race and representation in a feminist debate in her very inspiring article about rights and responsibilities in ethnographic research. She asks if white western feminists have a right to research and represent black woman. Allen discusses two issues that affect this debate; race and competence. 'The question of who has the right to represent whom is fuelled by past, present and fear of future and unequal access to power and resources' (2006:54-55). In a postcolonial perspective, the focus on the rights to talk on behalf of people from a different culture than my own is crucial in a project like this. I have throughout the work with this thesis been met with only positive and helpful friends in South Africa. One of my South African friends responded very positively when I told him about the project. He was sure I

would succeed, since I have 'lived under a black skin for so long'. Being trusted is a big responsibility and I hope I will be able to present this project in an ethical way.

Qualitative research

This chapter presents the methodological framework for gathering and processing the empirical data. The different phases are presented in this chapter; planning the research, experiences from the field and processing of the data material.

Research plan

The empirical data material was gathered in a field research period of four weeks, during June/July 2009. I visited three FBF regions, and in each region I did one focus group interview and one individual interview, in addition to visits at rehearsals with the local band. I also did conversations with people in the Field Band Foundation. Additional data material has been gathered through emails both before and after the research period. Conversations and emails will in this thesis be referred to as personal communication.

Qualitative interviewing – a journey to knowledge

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) present two different positions regarding the qualitative research interview. These positions are presented according to different epistemological conceptions; the interviewer as a miner or as a traveller. The miner collects knowledge in his interview, while the traveller constructs knowledge as she goes along gaining insight into a new phenomenon (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:48). The interview is explained as social production of knowledge, where interview knowledge is produced through conversation (ibid:2). Qualitative interview as a research method is a tool in producing new knowledge and this knowledge must be seen as a part of its context. In Kvale and Brinkmann's terms I look at myself as a traveller in the interview situation, where I am out seeking new knowledge. At the same time I compare the knowledge with what I already know and make a new total understanding of the phenomenon. This falls in under the hermeneutic approach to qualitative research. Through the travels for this specific research project, I met people who guided me on my journey and showed me their world. They shared both concerns and joy concerning the music they play in the Field Band Foundation, both as I already had experienced though my previous stay in South Africa but also in new ways. Together with my research participants I discussed songs and musical style in the Field Band Foundation in the way they felt comfortable doing it. All of us were part of producing the knowledge that ended up being my

data material. As one of my research participants said after the group discussion: 'I have learned so much today!' (Jade, Western Cape). This shows that my research participants actually took part in the travelling with me, which maybe led them into new paths where they had not been before.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) define an interview as an attempt to understand the world from the subjects' point of view, a process of listening to their stories (2009:1). Seeing the world through the eyes of my research participants was a prime objective in my field research. Since the people participating in my study also contributed to each others knowledge and evolved new ideas amongst each other, I decided to call them research participants and not informants. Using the term 'research participants' gives the people in my interviews a more active status as a part of my journey to new knowledge than what I feel the alternative term 'informant' does.

Focus group interviewing was the most important method for my data collection. In focus groups the goal is to 'encourage discussion and the expression of differing opinions and points of views' (Marshall and Rossman 1995:84). By doing focus groups with different groups and different individuals 'the researcher can identify trends in the perceptions and opinions expressed' (ibid). The goal is not to find an answer to the topic, but to bring forward different viewpoints of an issue (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:150). One challenge with focus groups as a method is the power balance within the group, which might make it hard for the research participants to disagree within the group. This might affect how open the discussion gets and how honest the research participants feel like being. On the other hand focus groups open up for expressive and emotional views from the research participants (ibid) where the involved parts add on what others are saying, either because they agree or disagree. This perspective makes focus groups suitable for exploratory studies, because of the collective interaction between the participants. In each region I also added an individual interview. This interview was conducted after the focus groups to have a channel to discuss on another level some of the topics raised in the focus groups.

In all the interviews I approached people with another cultural background than my own. It makes it important to be aware of how 'foreign cultures may involve different norms for interaction concerning initiative, directness, modes of questioning and the like' (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:144). Similarly Briggs (1986) points out the challenges of entering a different speech community, where the local discourses are different from what the researcher

is used to. In such an event, the researcher often chooses interview as the means of collecting information since it allows the researcher some amount of control of the situation. What Briggs makes us aware of is the way the interviewer and the interviewee might understand the interview as different kinds of speech events, which will affect the way the interviewer can interpret the information she receives in the interview. This will also affect the analysis of the material (Briggs 1986:39). In a cross-cultural situation, Ryen (2002) highlights the importance of relationships between the interviewer and the research participants in a research situation. She says that all research is concerned with relations (Ryen 2002:235). In my situation I was aware of the fact that race, gender, culture and language could be a barrier in the communication between the research participants and me. Since I only interviewed people I already knew and had communicated with before, I knew they would not be complete strangers. Even if I previously had spent time in the field, I felt the need to reflect on my new role as a researcher. When conducting these interviews my role was different from when I used to teach music to the research participants. In the chapter concerning challenges and experiences from the field, I will present some of my ethical challenges and concerns relating the process of interviewing.

Selection of research participants

I was in contact with the Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Field Band Foundation, Retha Cilliers, to get permission to conduct research in her organization. When granting permission, she suggested I contact the regional coordinators to get in touch with people who could participate. In some of the regions I had ideas of who I wanted to use as research participants. In those cases, I informed the regional coordinator briefly about the project and then I contacted the research participants directly. In one region, the regional coordinator suggested some research participants and made all the prior arrangements for me.

I wanted four participants in each of the focus groups, participants being chosen based on a few criteria. All my research participants have been a member of the Field Band Foundation for at least five years and they have all been a part of the FBF National Band. They are amongst the young generation of leaders in the organization and are between 17 – 21 years old. The research participants in each of the focus groups knew each other quite well, which I saw as beneficial in creating a relaxed atmosphere. The research participants have been exposed to music in different ways outside of the organization and they have different occupations. All of them teach in different degrees in the Field Band Foundation. Some of

them give all their time to the job as music teachers in the organization, in addition some of them study; either at University level or for their last year in high school. I also did one individual interview in each region. This interview was with an older, more experienced teacher than the research participants in the focus group. All three of the participants in my individual interviews have been in the organization for at least nine years and are between 22-26 years old.

The research field

Practical planning and contact with research participants

Gaining access to the field is one of the main areas in the planning process in research design. In my case, I had already established relationships with the people on all levels in the organization. Because of well maintained relations after I left in 2006, it was not hard to get access neither in the organization nor in the direct contact with the research participants. Of practical planning I had to contact and inform the research participants, plan a meeting and organizing a proper venue. The research participants were all people I had worked with previously and they knew me before I contacted them. I experienced it to be fairly easy to get all the interviews organized and I only met a few challenges in performing them, as two participants had to cancel. In one case I found another person who met the criteria to take part, in the other case I decided to go through with the focus group with only three participants as it would be hard to find another day where all five of us could meet. The organizing of venues for the interviews was done by some of the research participants. I wanted my research participants to be comfortable in the interview situation and I needed a place where I could get good soundquality on my digital recorder. I had no problems regarding this. Different venues were used for the interviews; a family house, a small cottage, my car, restaurants and a classroom. Having the interviews in familiar settings was helpful. I also started each of the focus groups with a meal. While we all ate, we talked about everything just to catch up since last time I had been with them.

Conducting the interviews

Before each interview I explained about the background for the conversation we were about to have, knowing that not all of them were familiar with education at University level. What an interview is and how I was planning to use the information was important to share. As Briggs (1986) points out, the interview as a way of communication is not always experienced and understood the same by researcher and research participants (1986:39). I also informed

them that I would use fake names on the research participants in the thesis. Some of them wanted their own names to be in the thesis while others felt safer to be anonymous. One of my research participants is still recognizable within the Field Band Foundation. I have discussed this with the research participant and have been given permission to continue using the material.

In the focus groups I started out asking about music in the Field Band Foundation. My opening question in all three focus groups was: 'Can you tell me about music and musical style in the Field Band Foundation?' According to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009), this type of questions works well as introductory questions since they often end up in rich descriptions (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:135). The main goal was to explore what the music represents for the members of the organization and if there are any differences between the regions. By starting out with a general discussion around musical style in the Field Band Foundation, each of the discussions took different directions and gave me different challenges in getting it 'back on track'.

After the introductory question we continued to talk about the three songs Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam. By using these three songs as examples I made it easier to keep the conversations circulating around the same songs and themes, even if other songs came up. My research questions were kept in mind through the interviews: i) What is the significance of the three songs Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam for the youth in the Field Band Foundation? ii) What can musical space in the Field Band Foundation tell about cultural complexity within South Africa? Based on these questions I conducted semi-structured interviews. When talking about the songs, I was curious to hear their thoughts about the songs on different levels. We went through their personal connections to the song, how it was used in their FBF region and on a FBF National level and also how the song could represent South Africa. In some of the regions topics were covered quite fast and in others the research participants could not stop talking. I ended up getting a wide range of data material to work with.

In the individual interviews I had a more limited and strict interview guide. One of my individual interviews became very short, due to time. I then focused on a few of the interesting aspects from the focus group in that region to get another perspective on the topics. I found it to be a lot easier to follow the plan with only one research participant involved.

All the interviews were recorded on a digital voice recorder. It was a small and easy tool to use, which did not disturb either me or the research participants.

Challenges and experiences from the field: some ethical considerations

My role as a researcher was new to me and it was a novel position for my research participants as well. In addition to having taught all my research participants music in different degrees, I also have a friend/'sibling'/coach relationship to many of them, which brought both a nice and challenging aspect to the conversation. They trust me and they want to tell me things, which made it important for me to reflect on what they told me and why. I did not want them to feel they had to participate in the project, or that they had to tell me everything. On the other hand our relationship made the conversation quite smooth, and in two out of the three focus groups I almost did not say anything except for leading the conversation on to the next topic or asking clarifying questions. As a group moderator and leader of the discussion, I tried to make sure all the individuals in the group got room to speak. In all the focus groups it was one person who spoke more than the others and who had many things to express. This affected the others and took some of my energy in facilitating the communication between the participants in the group.

In planning the interviews I reflected on the role I have as a researcher, still I was surprised by how my presence affected the group and how much I could control. My main focus was for the participants to talk freely, that there was no such thing as right or wrong answers in the discussion. Therefore I introduced and presented the research project, musicology and the research process before each interview. I experienced my intention to inform and explain to color some of the topics in different ways, which made me change my introduction and way of informing from group to group.

I used three songs as an entry point to the discussion, and in the three focus groups the discussion took three different directions. I constantly negotiated with myself on where to draw the line of following my interview guide and the curiosity I felt on where the discussion would lead us. Most of the time I chose to follow the conversation and the process that happened around the table. This was also based on some ethical considerations I had reflected on before the interviews. When I chose to follow the discussion more than my interview guide, it was first of all due to my curiosity on where the discussion would take us, but also due to the fact that all my research participants had been my students. When they agreed to take part in the project, I highlighted the fact that my project only was about their opinions

and their views. They obviously had many things they wanted to tell me, and especially the discussion in KZN took its own turn, not talking too much about the songs as about the complexity they felt being a part of the Field Band Foundation and at the same time studying at University.

Another of my challenges was when the research participants expressed opinions and understandings I found important to discuss further, outside the frame of the research project. My position as previously being a teacher, affected me more than I realized it would and in a few occasions I changed role from researcher to the previous teacher. I did however manage to get back to the researcher role quite fast. Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) refer to Bourdieu who emphasized the respect and sensitivity to the social relations between the researcher and the research participants (2009:83). The role of the researcher must also adapt to the situation and I felt that as their previous music teacher and friend, I had to express my opinions and share my knowledge as well, as I was participated in the dynamic interaction in the group.

Kvale and Brinkmann (2009) have discussed if correct methods are enough to be able to do good interviews, or if personal skills also are needed. In the humanities I do believe we need personal skills as communication and respect in addition to useful methods. The knowledge which is produced in a qualitative interview is based on interaction between the researcher and the research participants. They continue to explain how knowledge about both the topic and about communication is important in knowing how to lead the conversation further in discovering new knowledge (2009:88-89). This is a skill that develops over time, and I do see that I became better as the interviews progressed. Concerning follow-up questions and leading the discussion in the direction you want, requires training and focus. There are always several routes to follow after a statement, and sometimes I found myself forgetting where I wanted to go as something else came up. This was particularly a challenge in the focus groups, where many different statements could be followed in different ways. I managed to control more in the interviews with only one person, but the answers did not turn out to be as exciting as the ones I got in the focus groups. This is also why I am satisfied with the combination of methods I choose to use in approaching my topic. The focus groups gave me a broad entry and in the individual interviews I could go into more detail on the things I wanted to know.

All my interviews were conducted in English. This is the second language of both my research participants and me. Many times I had to ask clarifying questions to make sure I got names right and that I understood what the research participants wanted to tell me. I did

experience a few situations where the participants started to talk in another language than English, but they were always good in getting back to English when I asked them to explain what they were talking about.

Working with data

Transcribing, analyzing and interpreting the empiric material is not a process that happens chronologically. The different stages are visited and revisited a number of times, as the process goes on. In this presentation I have for the purpose of a better structure, divided the stages in two headings; 'Transcribing data' and 'Analyzing and interpreting data', even though analyzing and interpretation started whilst I was conducting the interviews and while I was transcribing.

Transcribing data

All interviews were transcribed word for word. I chose a basic way of transcribing, not paying attention to pauses or hesitation due to the fact that English is the second language of both the research participants and me. It would be hard to interpret which hesitation was because of a sensitive topic and which hesitation was due to the lack of words. I also left out words as 'like' and repetitions, making the transcribed text easier to read. In some situations I added laughter, if I felt it was necessary for the interpretation. When quotes are used directly in the thesis, I have chosen to make the quotes easier to read by deleting repetitions and 'fill-words' as 'ehm', 'like' and 'you see'. I have also corrected some grammar and syntax. In everyday speech grammatical errors are not as evident as in written language.

Analyzing and interpreting data

After all the transcribing was done I started to organize the data material. I based my organizing of the data material on Kvales and Brinkmann's (2009) description of *open coding*, a method presented by Glaser and Strauss in their *grounded theory* approach to qualitative research (2009:202-203). Many different ways of organizing the material was tried out before I found a way I felt worked for my project. I started out with two operations; sorting out the quotes as to which songs they were relating to, and at the same time give each quote a code. There are two different ways of approaching the coding process. One is concept-driven and one is data-driven. In the concept-driven approach the codes are developed prior to the coding process. I chose the data-driven approach, since I knew my interviews were open and contained rich descriptions of the songs. During the research period

in South Africa I had started to think through important concepts, but the main coding process started without having decided on codes in advance, they came on the spot as I read and worked with the data material. The codes I used emerged from the data material and were words which easily described the quotes. My list of codes reflected the information from the interviews and served as an index list for further organizing of the data. Some quotes got more than one code.

As I worked with the coding I started to think about how to organize the codes in fewer categories. I had already placed most of the quotes under the three songs as main headings, in addition a forth heading emerged; Musical space in the Field Band Foundation. Under each of the four chapters, different subcategories were used to organize the data material. [16]

Many different aspects arose from my data material. Factors such as ethnic background, education level, my involvement and group dynamics affected the direction of each focus group. I am aware of the fact that the interpretation process will not facilitate a comparison between the regions, since I did not use a structured interview guide but tried to be flexible and exploring in my approach. That is also why certain aspects in the following chapters are based on data material from one, two or three regions, depending on the topic discussed.

It was challenging to break the interviews down. Through coding and categorizations the data material becomes fragmented and decontextualised (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:207). Through meaning interpretation the statements are put into a broader frame of reference according to the hermeneutic tradition (ibid). In contextualising the data material, there are according to Kvale and Brinkmann three different contexts of interpretation: self-understanding, critical commonsense understanding and theoretical understanding (ibid:214). The self-understanding context of interpretation is where the research participants understanding is presented as understood by the researcher. The critical commonsense

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[16] Here is an example of how each quote was labelled and coded.

1	2	3	4	5
K	M2	In South Africa now we like to play music which has grooves and rhythms, we don't like slow tunes. When you play groovy music, like a house tune, the audience can still feel the rhythm even if they don't know the tune but they can feel the rhythm.	FBF style	Grooves Feel the rhythms

Explanation on coding and categorization of quotes: 1=KZN region, 2=Muchachos quote number 2, 3=quote, 4=main heading and 5=code(s).

understanding is interpretation in a bigger context, where the analysis includes a wider frame of understanding and is critical to what has been said. The third concept is the theoretical understanding, where theory is applied in order to interpret the meaning in a more theoretical context (ibid:214-216). Throughout the interpretation, I will combine the data material with my analysis and interpretation of the music with theory. What is going on musically will be dealt with as I present the interpretations of the data material. In the main part of this thesis I will change between the three different levels of interpretation within the presentation of each song (Kvale and Brinkmann 2009:207-216).

A historical-analytical approach

Three South African songs are used to exemplify the phenomenon of cultural complexity and the concept of musical space in the Field Band Foundation. Hamm (1995) writes that 'popular music, like all music, is both an acoustical and a social phenomenon and thus must be dealt with musically, though not necessarily at a technical level, as well as culturally' (1995:xii). This quote forms the base of my approach to the music in this thesis, as my approach to the music falls under a historical-analytical discourse.

A close relationship exists between the organization of music and social life in South Africa. In relating popular music to the cultural complexity in South Africa, I refer to the theoretical orientation in the previous chapter when I argue that music can not be viewed as an isolated object for analysis. It is not necessarily a contrast between musical and extramusical factors, as I view musical text and context to complement each other. It is important not to oversee the aesthetic value of the music, even if the music also is closely related to functionality and cultural values in the society (Allen 2004b:2). With a focus on different layers of meaning interpretation, the musical and the extramusical elements in music, youth experiences and theoretical concepts, I use the musical material to combine theory and empirical data. It is the interaction between music, people and the social context which is in focus.

I enter the musical space in Field Band Foundation through the three songs Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam. The songs are chosen because they are important songs in the organization. I have used the musical text to exemplify the songs and their significance in a culturally complex musical space. Following Middleton (2000a) I will focus on certain musical elements relating to the field of study. This is done by approaching the music with an open focus, drawing out certain musical elements as form, rhythmical structure, harmonic structure or melodic structure. Analysis of the musical material will therefore not be a

thorough analysis where the musical text is the only focus, but specific elements of the music will be related to theoretical and empirical aspects of the thesis. By exemplifying through musical elements, I have placed the music in relation to the South African music history and musical space in Field Band Foundation. Written music will only be used in the thesis to exemplify certain elements, not being the source of analysis.

Links to South African musical traditions; musical, social and historical, have been important to contextualize the musical material in this thesis. Relevant literature on South African music and history has been studied to create a context for the music analysis and the presentation of the empiric material. This combination also makes this thesis a historiography of South Africa with a focus on music history presented through South African youth's perspectives and a Norwegians interpretation in 2009. The musical analysis then forms a part of the socio-political context in which my research participants live, this project being history in the making.

An argument in taking this methodological approach comes from Coplan (2007). Since colonial times South African musicians have done what they are doing today, combining indigenous elements with Euro-North American, other African and New World African elements into contemporary cultural identity (Coplan 2007:355). To make sense out of musical space in the Field Band Foundation, it is necessary to distinguish local South African elements from imported ones, relating the music to historical and social significance. It is also important to do this vice versa – by taking the significance mentioned by my research participants to theorize and discuss it through musical examples. This approach to the music follows a trend in both popular music studies and ethnomusicology from recent years. Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000) points out that the focus on postcolonialism in music studies has been beneficial, providing new aspects on cultural complexity, hybrid musics and new musical syncretism (2000:25). My position can therefore be called a postcolonial historical-analytical position.

PART II:

Notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the Field Band Foundation

South Africa – an arena for social and musical theorization

Much has happened in South Africa since the first democratic elections of 1994. The post-apartheid era has been a time where celebration of freedom has been the main theme. In this time of freedom, the country is still affected by the unequal power relations that have controlled the country for decades and where the society was separated according to the racial groups decided by the government: white, black, coloured and Asian. The scars from apartheid are not yet healed and this affects society in various ways. Previously separated by race and colour, class is now seen as a divisive factor. Socially, while the middle class is growing, the differences between rich and poor are huge. For fifteen years the country has waited for things to change; people are getting tired of waiting and frustration characterizes much of the society. Today South Africa is both a developing country and an industrialized country. The education system lacks quality and equality, which only helps to create even stronger lines between people with different backgrounds. Unemployment and the AIDS epidemic challenge society and the individual. Cultural traditions are constantly being negotiated by different factors. Global influences, the dream of an African renaissance and social complexities as race and class all affect how youth face and treat their cultural heritage. South Africa has been through decades of traditions in transformation (Muller 2004) and the youth are in many ways both actors and victims in the cultural reconstruction of the country as they are trapped between all the different influences.

South Africa has been through a period post-apartheid where cultural values and equality has been empowered as a part of a cultural reconstruction of the country. This has happened with a focus on different aspects in the society, especially being drawn in two ideological directions; multiculturalism and the African renaissance.

In early post-apartheid South Africa there was a clear focus on multiculturalism, an ideology of multiple ethnic cultures, living in acceptance of each other and recognizing their diversity.

No ethnic or cultural values are central in the ideology; the goal is equal status (Wikipedia 'multiculturalism' [URL]). It was an urgent need for reconciliation, it was necessary to build bridges between the different cultures in an attempt to create a 'new' and better South Africa for all South Africans. Arch bishop Desmund Tutu introduced the term 'rainbow nation' about South Africa post apartheid (Wikipedia 'rainbow nation' [URL]). The term has also been used by Nelson Mandela, first in 1994:

> Each of us is as intimately attached to the soil of this beautiful country as are the famous jacaranda trees of Pretoria and the mimosa trees of the bushveld - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world" (Mandela in Manzo 1996:71).

The rainbow symbolizes the diversity in South Africa, showing different colours (or races) being equal without valuing one over the other. The metaphor is still used in South Africa today. Mandela and his use of the ideology was part of the reconciliation project which contributed in the transition from apartheid rule to a democratically elected government, a transition which held the potential of becoming a civil war. Mandela is in this sense a symbol of freedom in South Africa. After spending twenty-seven years in prison for the liberation of his beloved country, he still included everybody in the nation-building of a new South Africa (Mulemfo 2000:1).

Later a celebration of 'Africanness' became a part of healing the wounds from apartheid. The African renaissance arose with a strong focus on black South African identity. Former president Thabo Mbeki followed Nelson Mandela as the next South African president. Mbeki's presidency lasted from 1999-2008. He introduced the concept of the African renaissance with *The African Renaissance Statement* in 1998 (Mbeki 1998 [URL]). This followed his important parliamentary address 'I am an African' in 1996.[17] Mbeki wanted black South Africans to take pride in their cultural heritage as a part of taking charge of their lives. Although Mbeki stated that he was 'South African first and an African second' (Mulemfo 2000:26), this approach could be interpreted as excluding white, Asian and coloured South Africans from the African renaissance. By telling his people that their culture, history and way of living were not of less value than that of other people, he focused on their rich history as a beginning of their rebirth:

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[17] What is an African? In this context, Mbeki focused on black Africans, not white or Asian people with family lines tracing many centuries back. Concerns are related to this being reverse racism or ethnic based politics, both divisive political strategies.

The beginning of our rebirth as a Continent must be our own rediscovery of our soul, captured and made permanently available in the great works of creativity represented by the pyramids and sphinxes of Egypt, the stone buildings of Axum and the ruins of Carthage and Zimbabwe, the rock paintings of the San, the Benin bronzes and the African masks, the carvings of the Makonde and the stone sculptures of the Shona.

A people capable of such creativity could never have been less human than other human beings and being as human as any other, such a people can and must be its own liberator from the condition which seeks to describe our Continent and its people as the poverty stricken and disease ridden primitives in a world riding the crest of a wave of progress and human upliftment.

In that journey of self discovery and the restoration of our own self-esteem, without which we would never become combatants for the African Renaissance, we must retune our ears to the music of Zao and Franco of the Congos and the poetry of Mazisi Kunene of South Africa and refocus our eyes to behold the paintings of Malangatane of Mozambique and the sculptures of Dumile Feni of South Africa (Mbeki, 1998 [URL]).

Mbeki builds up a pride in the cultural heritage of Africa as a continent. With a focus on heritage and traditions, natural development as a country suddenly being a part of the world, was forgotten. Compared with the multicultural reconciliation project presented by Mandela, the African Renaissance has received critique for being a form of Africanist utopianism. It has contributed to a focus on black South African cultures, where ethnicity and cultural heritage has been valued. Through this thesis it will be evident how this ideology in many ways is in contrast to the modern way of South African life, where influences also come from the outside. The youth generation is by many of their elders criticized for having 'lost their traditions' and 'forgotten their roots' (Bogatsu 2002:8).

With both these directions, the focus was drawn away from the concept of race towards a focus on ethnicity, still making South Africa a country where difference is used to distinguish people from each other. 'Ethnicities are to be understood in terms of the construction, maintenance and negotiation of boundaries' (Stokes 1994:6). These boundaries are tied up to the defining of sociocultural identities, making the focus on ethnicity a problematic and at the same time a necessary part of the cultural reconstruction in South Africa. Both multiculturalism and the African renaissance still impinge upon the debates around identity politics in South Africa and is just a brief frame around a culturally complex country.

South African cultural studies have for a long time been theoretically influenced by postcolonialism. Based on the South African history of segregation, Nuttall and Michael (2000) suggest that the postcolonial focus on difference should be exchanged with other theoretical approaches in order to focus on the creation of a new togetherness in post-apartheid South Africa. They suggest the term creolization to be introduced in South African

culture studies, as it opens up for new theoretical possibilities (2000:5-7). Creolization refers to a combination of two or more previously separate cultures, happening as a result of social contact and mutual influence. It is a dynamic process where cultural elements are exchanged between the cultures. The result is a new, relatively stable culture (Hylland Eriksen 2008: 138–141). The concept of creolization disturbs the already fixed identities in South Africa and allows a wider interpretation of culture-making in the country (Nuttall and Michael 2000:5-7). Globalization has been given the blame for a rapid development of creolization elements in different cultures. Hylland Eriksen (2008) refers to the anthropologist Ulf Hannerz who says that even if the world has become a network of social relations, there is no evidence of a total homogeneous society in any near future (Hannerz in Hylland Eriksen 2008: 134).

On the other hand, all cultures do change. Culture is not static. Human contact is a natural phenomenon and people do influence each other. Creolization becomes an especially challenging term in South Africa. The previous focus has been on segregation during apartheid and a focus on building cultural identity based on ethnicity post-apartheid. Even if it is hard to break down the fixed groups from apartheid, the concept of creolization takes the South African discourse further than both multiculturalism and the African renaissance previously presented as the post-apartheid ideologies. A South African creolized culture is still far away from reality. What happens is a larger extent of hybrid cultural forms where cultural elements are borrowed from other cultures. The mutual exchange and equal influence still remain.

Socially, a lot has happened during the past 20 years in South Africa, with the post-apartheid generation struggling to find their way through the new social organization. In the creation of new conditions the youth find themselves in a conflict zone with both internal and external forces. Popular music has provided a space for expressing values and meanings in South Africa, as has been the case also in black America (Coplan 1982:116). Creating, composing and arranging music in South Africa in many cases involve reinterpretation and reshaping of elements and modes. New South Africa is filled with cultural choices, but specific styles do represent and express social positions and sociocultural identity as popular music is a source of different meanings and interpretations (Coplan 1982:114).

Bogatsu (2002) takes a closer look at the *Y culture,* a new ideology arising amongst black South African youth, which also gives them the name the Y generation. The Y culture is hybrid, appealing to young people across the borders of class, education and taste (Nuttall

2004:435). In the new culture of post-apartheid youth, 'acting locally but thinking globally' frames the cultural space (Bogatsu 2002:3). Modern developments are assets, but loyalty to local culture is equally important (ibid). In an article where the focus is on fashion in clothing Bogatsu (2002) shows how elements from the past, created in the present, is used to exemplify social contradictions common to two time periods; the 'olden days' and the present. Images of beauty queens, activists and musicians from *Drum Magazine,* a popular magazine for blacks during the 1950s, are integrated in contemporary fashion styles (Nuttall 2004:436). [18] This rewriting or remix of the local and the global is a trend happening all over the country for the young post-apartheid generation, emerging from the creation of the musical style kwaito and the life*style* loxion kulcha (Nuttall 2004: 435). [19]

Through comments on the cultural reconstruction in South Africa different perspectives on tradition and contemporary influences have been presented in this chapter. Another approach to understanding the cultural reconstruction and cultural complexity in South Africa is through different *fields of tensions*. Lundberg, Malm and Ronström (2000) present an analytic tool where they suggest the use of fields of tension between contrasting terms, in order to reflect and understand musical culture in a multicultural society (2000:60).

Homogeneous – diversified	Big tradition – small tradition
Pure – mixed	Group – individual
Global – local	Mediated - live

Figure 6: Fields of tension (Lundberg et.al 2000)

In a South African context, the most relevant fields of tension from Lundberg et.al. (2000) are pure-mixed and global-local. In addition I want to add two additional binary opposites also used by Vokwana (2007), as they are relevant in this study.

Rural - urban	Traditional – modern

Figure 7: Additional fields of tension in South Africa (Vokwana 2007)

Vokwana (2007) presents the fields of tension rural – urban, traditional-modern, not as opposites, but as frames around a unique vision of a collective black experience (2007:11). They present the diverse, but still unitary forms of young black identities. For more than 100 years the rural-urban divide has affected South African society, dividing two worlds of living.

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[18] Famous labels are Stoned Cherrie and Loxion Kulcha.

[19] Loxion Kulcha refers to the fashion label with the same name. Loxion Kulcha meaning location, or township, culture.

It is not as significant now as it used to be, even though discourses around local belonging still affect the youth. These fields of tension are visible in South Africa in general as well as in the musical space in the Field Band Foundation in particular and will follow the rest of the thesis with a special focus on local-global and traditional-modern.

South African music history and styles

This short presentation will only present different styles and influences important to the musical space in the Field Band Foundation, as a full overview of South African music history would be outside of the limits of this thesis.

Any general presentation of South African music will definitely deal with the combination of local, traditional ideas and imported forms. From the earliest colonial days up until now there have been various degrees of hybridisation going on within musical life in South Africa. Lara Allen, Christopher Ballantine and David Coplan have all contributed extensively to knowledge on different South African musical styles and the development of popular music in South Africa, with a strong emphasis on 'black popular music'. David Coplan's work *In Township Tonight!* is a comprehensive presentation of the cultural, social and political South Africa seen through music and theatre. This work, combined with works by Ballantine and Allen, serves as the main source of information for the theoretical background of South African music in this thesis (e.g. Allen 1999, 2004a, 2004b; Ballantine 1993 and Coplan 1982, 2001, 2005, 2007).

One of the first major musical influences from outside of the continent was introduced in South Africa by British and German missionaries, affecting both vocal and instrumental music. Influenced by choral music from the missionary churches choral styles have emerged and been developed in South Africa. Western hymns were sung with traditional harmonies; combined with a local choir tradition it gave birth to the a capella Zulu choral musical style called isicathamiya.[20] The roots of the music can be traced back to the early 1900s. Isicathamiya emerged out of struggles and experiences Zulu migrant workers in Natal encountered as their two worlds; the rural homesteads and urban popular culture, met (Erlmann 1999:200). Together with the introduction of American spirituals, the focus on choir and religion introduced by the missionaries gave birth to a huge gospel movement in South

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[20] Ladysmith Black Mambazo is the most famous isicathamiya group from South Africa. They played an important part in Paul Simon's project *Graceland.*

Africa, resulting in present gospel styles both being traditional and pop-fused. Many popular gospel songs are hymns or folk songs arranged for gospel choir and bands. These hymns and folk songs have belonged in the township for centuries, making people feel they belong to the music. Gospel is the best-selling genre in South Africa today and has in many ways become mainstream as it is experienced as an inter-racial genre. It appeals to all classes and categories, even the ones not very religious (Coplan 2007: 322 - 326).

Turning away from the vocal music, the Salvation Army had a huge musical influence in rural South Africa. Brass bands soon became extremely popular, band performances were attracting memberships. The combination of brass instruments and drumming was appealing to many people. In addition the Salvation Army was the only place you could get a music education for free. Mission stations in every province had a brass band by 1895 (Coplan 2007: 63, 103-105). When the black population in the cities grew, brass bands were established in the cities as well where the musical style evolved to suit the city life. The style soon became more similar to New Orleans marching bands than Salvation Army brass bands (Ballantine 1993:30-31). This was a part of new hybrid modes of music making developed in the urban centres, where Western instruments were used to adapt rural songs. These urban brass bands played a variety of music, ranging from traditional African melodies to hymn-tunes either in church version or more secular versions. These brass bands were the first steps towards the variety of styles to be developed in the urban areas in South Africa, as Western traditions and instruments met various traditions from the rural areas (ibid:31).

Affected by the American travelling minstrel shows, flavour and colour was added to the musical culture in the Cape Colony. The coon style which emerged was originally minstrels; American ragtime and blues songs, caricaturing blacks in America (Coplan 2007: 51). Now the style is best know from the annual Coon Carnival in Cape Town, where coloureds perform Afrikaans and American minstrel and jazz music in bright colours and painted faces with a variety of instruments (ibid:439).

In Johannesburg, a historical significant area for the development of black South African popular music emerged in the beginning of the 1900s. Sophiatown, a freehold township where blacks were allowed to own land, soon developed into a cultural castle. Here blacks, coloureds, Indians and whites lived side by side and the diversity in new cultural expressions was a result of this blend. Sophiatown was the first real place for cultural and social interchange between races in South Africa. 'The Sophiatown Renaissance man and woman were local and African but also

cosmopolitan; indigenous but not ethnically divided; inheritors of black rural traditions but urban, well-heeled and sophisticated' (Coplan 2007:207). American styles were influencing both the music and the life in Sophiatown in general. Thousands of black people in the US and in South Africa migrated from the rural areas to the expanding cities. Both groups experienced similar conditions: overcrowding, poverty, segregation, personal harassment and economic exploitation (ibid:178). American movies and the glamorous gangster life soon became an integrated part of the Sophiatown life. The dominant element was an obsession with the United States in general and African-American achievements in particular. The gangsters exercised expressive control over fashion, performance and other trends in popular culture (ibid:176–177). By the 1950s Sophiatown was a little world on its own. It was not going to last. When apartheid was institutionalized, the Sophiatown culture was destroyed. Sophiatown was demolished by the apartheid government in the late 1950s and all its citizens were removed to Meadowlands and other parts of Soweto (ibid:176).

Sophiatown was the place where many of the new South African musical styles of the 20th century were developed. The combination of a need for entertainment, musicians from all over the country and the strong American influence through gramophones and American-made records, were the foundations of two genres that played a significant role to later musical styles in South Africa; *marabi* and *kwela*.[21]

Marabi is an urban African musical style, developed through a combination of various elements from all the traditions that was available in urban Johannesburg (Coplan 2007:114). It is a South African keyboard style, with strong connections to American ragtime and blues. The melodies in this music were drawn from a wide variety of sources, while the harmonic structure was very much like the blues. It was an endlessly repeating chord sequence, mainly based on a I – IV – I – V progression (Ballantine 1993:5 and Coplan 2007:114-115). Marabi has a straight forward walking rhythmic, which is an important element in distinguishing it from the later style kwela, where the rhythmic is swung.

Kwela developed in the townships around Johannesburg during the 1950s and is a mix of 'traditional' South African music and American swing-jazz music based on what Allen names 'African principles' (Allen 1999:227). The most famous feature of kwela is the pennywhistle, an instrument which arrived in South Africa with British troops and Scottish migrants. The pennywhistle was cheap and easy to play, inspiring township kids to take up the instrument

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[21] The contemporary popular music band Mafikizolo exemplifies the two styles in their songs Marabi and Kwela.

(Coplan 2007:190). Pennywhistle, guitar and bass made up the basic instrumentation of kwela. Musical features are swing rhythm, characteristic melody motifs with two-part repeated structure and repetitions of a short harmonic cycle (Allen 1999:192). The pennywhistle made the tempered seven-tone scale popular and familiar to urban Africans (Coplan 2007:196). Kwela inspired to the development of a distinctive dance form called patha patha (touch touch), made famous by Miriam Makeba in her international hit with the same name (ibid: 192).[22]

South African jazz developed in the South African townships from the 1920s and onwards as a result of African-American influences. It started with the marabi style already presented in the previous chapter, a style which developed through kwela and to *mbaqanga*; the popular commercial South African jazz which became popular in the 1950s. Coplan (2007) explains this as the people's own jazz, an expression and celebration of their new cultural identity (Coplan 2007:204). With the similarities to American jazz, Coplan makes an important point: 'African jazz is Americanized African music, not Africanised American music' (ibid:197).

South African popular music is characterized by various styles and is throughout an urban product. It is a fusion of tradition, neo-traditional styles and modern expressions (Vokwana 2007:7). Contradictions as modern – traditional, rural – urban and local – global are used to describe changes in South Africa and since the beginning of the 21st century these opposites have been 'negotiating modes of cultural acceptance of one another' (Coplan 2001:115). These contradictions are also significant for the first post-apartheid generation, an important part in the youth culture, as they continue the repositioning of cultural expression (Bogatsu 2002:7). Martin (1992) refers to Rashid Lania who says that the South African music in the early 1990s was lacking orientation, but explains it with the fact that music reflects the atmosphere in the society. 'A new South Africa has been born into confusion' (1992:196). Coplan also uses the word confusion in his book *In Township Tonight!* when he describes music in the 1990s in chapter 10 'Jazz and other (con)fusions since 1990' (2007:340).

In the early 1980s new styles emerged and 'bridged the transition from high apartheid to high hopes' (Coplan 2007: 294). Dominating were bubblegum, crossover and eventually kwaito. These styles would dominate both politically and musically in different ways. The new

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[22] Kwela means 'Climb up!' or 'Get on!' in Zulu, referring to police vans and the ways police threw the suspects in – or when it was needed to make a quick exit from the scene. Kwela was also a word shouted during the patha-patha dance (Ansell 2005:93).

township style in the 1980s was bubblegum, an eclectic blend of local black popular balladry and a socio-political engagement evolving around the career of female singers such as Brenda Fassie and Yvonne Chaka-Chaka.

Crossover was 'a project in encoding a national identity in sound' in the mid 1990s (Allen 2004a:91). In the musical world multiculturalism is represented by popular music contributing to a celebration of multiracial acceptance and crossover music. The term goes back to the 1980s when racially mixed bands produced music where black musical elements were fused with styles patronized by white South Africans. The goal was to reach out to a racially mixed audience. Allen (2004a) argues that both ideologically, and to a certain extent stylistically, crossover found its inspiration in inter-racial projects of the 1950s, such as kwela (ibid:92). Like the music in the 1950s, crossover music symbolizes a lot more than just music. They visualize a non-racial society, mixing both musical styles and people. Allen also points out that all South African popular music is mixing elements from different styles before she explains how South African crossover was different. In crossover, referring to the 1950s and mixing it with pop, music was intended to have political significance. The fusion in crossover was done consciously unlike in other popular music, bridging both styles and audiences (ibid: 91-92, Coplan 2007: 299-300). [23]

As a reaction to crossover, kwaito entered the scene. Kwaito was a new style of township dance music of and for the township youth (Allen 2004a:85-86). The power of kwaito became so strong, that Allen exemplifies how kwaito musicians 'did not reflect street culture; rather, they actively created it' (ibid:87). Kwaito eventually turned out to be to the African renaissance what crossover was to multiculturalism. This creation did not happen merely through music, but through the creation of a new lifestyle in the townships making it 'cool' to be a part of a township culture (Bogatsu 2002:5).

In addition to these styles, a variety of contemporary musical forms have emerged. By including a few examples, I would like to dwell on what Vokwana (2007) calls a fusion of tradition, neo-traditional styles and modern expressions (2007:7). In breaking down old cultural concepts and bringing elements into the new present, popular music in South Africa is in general affected by

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[23] A famous 'crossover' project including South African musicians is Paul Simons Graceland. Perhaps one of the most famous projects in South African music history, Graceland has received a great deal of comments concerning ethics and politics of culture (Coplan 2007: 303) See also Louise Meintjes' article "Paul Simon's Graceland, South Africa, and the Mediation of Musical Meaning" from 1990.

these opposites. In this field of tension, artists like Thandiswa Mazwai, Busi Mhlongo and Mafikizolo use different approaches to express them selves in the 'new' South Africa. Coplan refers to Thandiswa Mazwai as a 'multi-faceted jewel' (2007:348). Mazwai combines Xhosa rural song with melodic pop balladry, funky rhythms, local jazz and American soul and gospel, making her albums a collage representing a variety within South African music. Busi Mhlongo has done various styles, mostly focusing on maskanda. Her most famous work in contemporary popular music in South Africa, is the remixed version of her album Urbanzulu, an awarded collection of maskanda songs remixed in house versions. Mafikizolo is inspired by Sophiatown, playing both songs as 'Kwela' and 'Marabi', inspired by the styles of Sophiatown, but also songs with more modern rhythms as house and kwaito. All these bands present different examples of combining where they are from, who they are and where they are going, showing that there is not one correct answer in approaching cultural choices in music in South Africa.

'Musical space' in the Field Band Foundation

My concept of musical space in the Field Band Foundation is linked to the Y generation ideology presented by Bogatsu (2002) and to Vokwana's (2007) description of contemporary South African music: a fusion of tradition, neo-traditional styles and modern expressions (2007:7). In this chapter I am going to present different influences and the balance between 'traditional' and 'innovative' in my scene of investigation. The fields of tension between local-global and traditional-modern will also be important in this chapter. By relating the empiric data to relevant theory, the aim of this chapter is to create a better overview of the concept of musical space in the organization. To exemplify I will relate some of the topics in this chapter to the program for FBF National Championship 2009. [24] Generally, music played in the Field Band Foundation varies greatly. David from Western Cape presents a general assumption on musical style in the Field Band Foundation and musical style in Western Cape:[25]

> In the field band every region has their own style about the way they do their songs, the way they put their music together and what kind of music they play. Like for instance in Soweto you will find bands playing all the township songs, all the Sophiatown songs and here in Western Cape you find us playing more familiar songs, more popular songs and in other regions you will find songs that come from way back. (…) most of the time we will play songs that we know, that we – people in the Western Cape will enjoy, that we also will feel proud to present to the rest of the field band (David, Western Cape).

Bands play what they are comfortable with, in a manner they are capable of and in the way they want to present their music. This varies from region to region, even though some similarities are found within the organization. Music from many different genres and styles are played, everything from American R&B, Latin-American music, European classical music and of course a variety of South African music.

South African music played in the Field Band Foundation varies from traditional songs like Amavolovolo and Ubuhle Bendoda,[26] hymns from different churches, gospel and black South

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[24] For a full overview of the program from FBF National Championships 2008 and 2009, I refer to the Appendix.

[25] My coloured research participants from Western Cape did not end up discussing this part of the topic in the same enthusiastic way as the other groups. That is why they have not been referred to as much as some of the other research participants in this chapter.

[26] Ubuhle Bendoda is a traditional wedding song, talking about how to choose the right man. 'The beauty of a man is in how many cows he owns' is the lyrics and tells us about lobola, the price a man must pay for his wife.

African popular music. In the Field Band Foundation black South African popular music includes music of contemporary popular music bands as Malaika and Mafikizolo, 'bubblegum' singer Brenda Fassie and jazz influenced music ranging from contemporary Simphiwe Dana back to Miriam Makeba.

Seven of the seventeen shows in the FBF National Championship from 2009 have a thematic connection to South African music. I will mention a few of them here. South African culture is the theme in three shows. Shatterprufe Northern Eagles present their show *Spirit of Africa* including Miriam Makeba's Pata Pata and Scatterlings of Africa by Johnny Clegg. The Eastern Gauteng band PFG Londolusha Field Band called their show *Celebration of Ubuhle Bendoda (Beauty of the People)* where the traditional song Ubuhle Bendoda, made popular in a new 'suit' by Malaika, is one of their songs. *Life In Soweto (Where Africans Meet)* is performed by the Soweto Field Band. When David from Western Cape described musical style in the Field Band Foundation, he used the Soweto band as one example. He said that the Soweto band plays all the township songs. Their show in 2009 shows their traditional style and way of combining music into a theme. [27]

Two bands focused on Euro-American popular music in the FBF National Championships 2009. Plett Pioneers Field Band is inspired by American R&B in their show *In true colours*,[28] two numbers by Rihanna is a part of the show together with the famous Celebration by Kool and the Gang. Here the choice of celebration can be interpreted to value the 'true colours' making it a political and ideological choice. The Cape Whaler Field Band in Western Cape performed their show, looking forward to the 2010 Soccer World Cup which will be hosted by South Africa. They also played Celebration, and in their show celebration can be interpreted as a part of winning (or hosting a successful world cup). They also included the English National Anthem, the theme song from the Rugby World Cup: World in Union, The

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This traditional song has been made popular through different versions. One of the most popular versions is by the contemporary popular music group Malaika. They remixed the song in 2005, relating it to the contemporary popular musical language of the 21st century.

[27] This show is contrasting to the show they did in 2008 called *It ain't over*, referring to Lenny Kravitz and his song with the same name. It ain't over was also was one of the songs in their show. The show had a 'feel of hip-hop, [with] kind of laidback songs that everybody could relate to' (Papiki, Soweto).

[28] Plett Pioneers Field Band from Plettensburg Bay was started up in May 2009. This is the first band with white, black and coloured members in Field Band Foundation.

Final Countdown, We are the Champions and they finish their show with the already mentioned Celebration.

One of the most important styles to have influenced music in the Field Band Foundation is jazz, South African jazz in specific. Jazz was suppressed during apartheid, and Ballantine (1989) explains why:

> Jazz aspired to (amongst other things) musical and social equality: it was precisely that musical idiom in which and through which urban blacks were proving to themselves and to the words that they were the equals of whites (without in the process abandoning valued aspects of their black culture or of their history as westernising blacks) (Ballantine 1989:308)

Jazz became the musical idiom where the local and the modern could meet and also explains some of the broad popularity jazz has in the Field Band Foundation. This is however not done without negotiations happening. Lwazi from KZN said many bands are turning more to jazz music than to their cultures, something he feels is problematic. Here he put into words the responsibilities many bands feel towards their own ethnicity and culture, the ways they are bound to the local in their music. Lanny in KZN continued this discussion by broadening the horizon, making it a question of playing something *South African*. South African jazz is a cultural part of being South African. Jazz cannot be seen as typical Zulu music, but Lanny connected playing jazz with his South African identity. This is a good example on what is happening in the Field Band Foundation, but also in South Africa. Discourses on what is South African, and South African enough, seem never ending. There are obvious factors in South African jazz making it South African. Lanny believes that if you as a South African play jazz there will always be some African elements in it. 'I'm definitely sure; if you want to make it Western, definitely some beats are gonna be like African, that South African or African people will understand' (Lanny, KZN). South African jazz is both Western and African in his opinion, but it does not make it less valuable culturally.

Jazz is mentioned in all the focus groups as a huge influence in the Field Band Foundation. Itumeleng from Soweto talks about South African jazz as something that connects him with the history of his country and where he is from. South African jazz was developed during an important period in South African history, making it a part of the 'black consciousness'[29]

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[29] The Black Consciousness movement was a grassroot anti-apartheid movement, working for political consciousness in South Africa (Wikipedia 'Black Consciousness Movement' [URL]). One of the most famous people in the BCM was Steve Biko, an activist who died in prison after severe violence from police officers in 1977 (Wikipedia 'Steve Biko' [URL]).

movement, also important in the Sophiatown era. Alexandra Field Band focused on jazz in this year's show *Jazz by the Lake*.[30] Here a broad approach to jazz was taken, ranging from traditional jazz songs, through the South African jazz legend Hugh Masekela and Gershwin's Summertime. Their ending piece places the musical journey in present day South Africa with Simphiwe Dana's song Ndiredi from 2004. Simphiwe Dana sings smooth jazz in Xhosa, with horns and tight harmonies in the backup vocals. This is shuffled with house beats, rhythmically relating Dana's music to another side of contemporary South African music.

Junior from KZN explains music in the Field Band Foundation as music with feel, pulse and beat. To him it is a rhythmic project; he says they are affected by a 'Southern Fever':

> We realized that most of the southern countries got rhythm and they are too rhythmic and they know how to dance. For instance South Africa and also Brazil, Brazil is on the southern side of America. We call it the Southern Fever and I think the Field Band Foundation is affected by that which is quite interesting (Junior, KZN).

Rhythm is an important element in South African music and Junior is right when he comments on the influence from the Southern Fever. Four of the shows in the FBF National Championship 2009 include Latin inspired music, including Junior's band PG Bison Buccaneer Field Band. In their show were e.g. Copa Cabana and Children of Sanchez by Chuck Mangione. Children of Sanchez has been very popular in the Field Band Foundation this year, as it is being played by Mdantsane Field Band and De Beers Musina Field Band as well. De Beers Cullinan Field Band came with their show *La Vida Loca*, also inspired by Latin American music.[31] Latin American rhythmical influences was introduced in the dance music in the townships already in the 1940s, when rumba and conga was combined with African melody and American swing in the townships (Coplan 2007:183).

Feeling the rhythm is important in any Field Band Foundation performance. The three songs in question in my study are all described as 'music that gives us energy' and 'music with the right spirit' by the research participants. The significance seems to be in the immediate gratification (Keil 2005:74) of being a part of the music, or just feeling the beat pushing you forward, as Papiki explains it. Lwazi from KZN says that groovy music is something

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[30] The Lake here refers to Zoo Lake in Johannesburg, a cultural meeting place for people of all colours and cultures.

[31] Latin-American styles have affected musics in Africa in different ways. Artist like Lucky Dube has brought reggae to South Africa. Even more popular is the reggaeton rhythms which are widely used in South African popular music.

everybody can feel, and when you can feel the music you do not have to necessarily know the music. Papiki from Soweto agrees when he says that it is all about having the nice rhythm: 'If it has the nice feeling to dance to and then the nice rhythm, then it is a nice song' (Papiki, Soweto).

'Rhythm' as a stylistic and aesthetic element has been mentioned in all my interviews and also in much of the literature on the field of African music. Frith (2002) suggests that rhythm is what makes people physically participate in musical experiences; rhythm is therefore seen as the easiest way into popular music (2002:142). Since 'participatory music' often is based on an African music tradition, Frith continues with a generalisation about participatory music/African musics, saying it is more harmonically simple and rhythmically complex than more contemplative musics (Frith 2002:142).[32] Chernoff (1979) also writes about this way of approaching music, through responding to the rhythm. Dancing to the music is a response to the rhythm, a way of understanding it (1979:143). When Frith describes the music as rhythmically complex and harmonically simple, he basically walks right in to a war with Agawu who says that some Europeans have 'claimed' harmony and denied it to Africans (2003a:60). Agawu is critical in his descriptions of the Western 'invention of African rhythm' ending up calling it a lie (2003a:61). He wants to make us aware of the dangers in denying how important politics is when knowledge of African music is constructed (2003a:69). Agawu makes some important points for a postcolonial discussion about the future of research on African musics. This discourse has also affected how my research participants look at music, rhythm and harmony. They have certainly been affected by the politics concerning 'ownership' to rhythm and harmony:

> We are not saying South Africa is rich harmonically, it is rich rhythmically. You can find songs which are hard to play, which are South African songs. In a way, we know how to express ourselves rhythmically. The melodies also, we can express ourselves. But harmonies, it is not our strength (Junior, KZN).

In the same interview, the use of chords in the Field Band Foundation was also discussed. Most of the songs in the Field Band Foundation are based on a I-IV-V chord progression, as many popular music songs all over the world. Lanny from KZN has through his music course at the University learned more about chords and progressions than what he has through the Field Band Foundation. He wonders why they do not use different ways of harmonizing

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[32] This is a statement which has been throughout criticized from different angles. I will however not go deeper into this material than what I do in this paragraph, as it is on the side of what I intend to present in this thesis.

music in the organization, thinking it might be that people in the Field Band Foundation do not know these chords or that they are 'afraid' of them. Junior is also a music student and he says that just because they play African music, it does not mean it has to be done the same way they always have done in the Field Band Foundation. He sees that even though many of the traditional I-IV-V-I songs are played, songs with more variation are also introduced in the organization. 'I think it is a part of growing and being more musically in a way' (Junior, KZN). He also sees that not all South African traditional music is based on the same three chords. Much of the traditional music played in the Field Band Foundation has been played this way, songs have been chosen because they are easy to remember and similar to other songs used. As the music is taught by ear, it has been important to find easy ways of learning new songs. Having the same ways of playing many songs made it easier to build a repertoire in the bands. Generally the skill level in the Field Band Foundation has improved greatly the past years, as it has been focus on musical and pedagogical development in addition to the development of life skills. Junior's observation of more harmonic diversity in the organizations arrangements is happening alongside a wide focus on skill development.

Musical development in Field Band Foundation has come about as the organization has focused on providing skills to the teachers. As most of the teachers are young, with their only musical background being from participating in the band themselves, musical, pedagogical and leadership skills have been necessary to be able to develop further.[33] Through the years there have been different kinds of international influences affecting musical style in Field Band Foundation. As a part of skill development, the Field Band Foundation has two ongoing programs with international partners. These programs have affected both skill level and musical knowledge in the organization in different ways. The USA Pioneer Drum Corps and the Norwegian Band Federation both contributes to musical encounters outside of regular activities in the Field Band Foundation.[34]

The US program gives youth from the Field Band Foundation the opportunity to be a part of a three month period of intense work with a marching band in Wisconsin, either as dancers or

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[33] In some regions, members get the opportunity to attend local music schools in addition to participate in the Field Band Foundation either through funding from the organization or with other funding as their parents. This is not the situation to most band members, but the opportunities are coming to more bands as we speak.

[34] There is also a partnership with the Flemish organization VLAMO which started up with providing teachers to the FBF National Workshops in 2007 and 2008. In addition there are various other partnerships with South African skill development organizations.

as musicians. The Field Band Foundation was started using the idea of marching bands and this has affected much of the way the organization has developed through the years. Lanny from KZN has gotten inspiration from overseas when it comes to new techniques and ways to entertain:

> Although, it is the time we have to improve and looking for drumcorps and drumline. Looking for different styles from their websites, how the snares are marching, how the snares are playing...how trumpets are grouping together and how it is happening on the field together. Suddenly you're getting proud of what you wanna do - get the message – about this music you're doing (Lanny, KZN).

Lanny here talks about suddenly being proud of what you want to do. Gaining knowledge is important in this development, being able to play what you want and knowing how to arrange and teach it to the rest of the band. Having skills makes the teachers able to express music the way they want to express it.

The Norwegian exchange program has guided the teachers in arranging music for their bands and given them knowledge in both leadership and pedagogical issues. This knowledge has also been added to the organization with more people attending music schools in the area and lately also through studying at the University. Higher music education in South Africa is based on a Western model. This makes the Academy, with the Western music theory and the European musical canon, a standard institution also in South Africa. For young South Africans, this world is not easily accessible even though many want a 'proper' music education. The Norwegians who teach music on different levels within the Field Band Foundation all come from this kind of background. The scholarships provided through sponsors of the Field Band Foundation also leads in this direction. Thorsèn (2002) refers to Primos when he points out a dilemma:

> Africans are running schools which could enhance or relate to African traditions, nevertheless the schools have to adapt to the European educational system, often even by using pedagogical material produced overseas. At the same time, there is a wish for many students to become acquainted with the European or North American music, which gives them both empowerment and access to the dominant culture (Thorsèn 2002:61).

In primary and high schools, there is an aim on strengthening the African identity via the learning area of Arts and Culture, even though in reality not much except indigenous instruments are covered. Thorsèn argues that due to lack of personal and economic resources, the compulsory schooling is not seen as an alternative to colonial education (Thorsèn 2002:61-62). Thorsèn then highlights the importance of what he calls informal music training

in South Africa. He says that 'making music together with peer groups at leisure time is of growing importance' (2002:60). Björck (2000) also discovered similar results in the work with her master thesis on young black South African music students. Her informants all started out with informal learning. Peer groups, church and family activities were more significant to them than school in choosing music as a career. Based on these results the Field Band Foundation can be viewed as an important learning institution in many ways. Based on brass band traditions, community learning and skill development, the Field Band Foundation connects informal music training with theoretical knowledge. Further these results make it even more important to make sure the Field Band Foundation continues to value local and South African music and traditions, not only getting their knowledge from South African Universities and through the international programs. As a previous music teacher in the Field Band Foundation I know how my Western music education sometimes was lacking the right perspectives, lacking culturally based knowledge about the music being played. This affected many situations where I also learned a lot. My research participants see it as important to value all aspects of musical space in the Field Band Foundation, including their own culture. What they feel is lacking is knowledge.[35] The positive aspect is that they all want to learn more about everything.

'Musical cooking': fusing cultures and 'new stuff'

Musical space in Field Band Foundation is an interesting arena to learn more about South Africa, youth and music. Based on the presentation of musical life in the organization, one can conclude that music played is varied and diverse. Musical space in Field Band Foundation is filled with influences and tensions. To sum up these influences I refer to the artist Gloria Bosman, and her comment on new South Africa jazz:

> You try and find some kind of balance, fuse all that together and keep it young at the same time; trying to stay African (…) There may be a bit of R&B in it without you being aware of it; a bit of pop; a bit from Dorothy Masuka or Dolly Rathebe; things that simply represent the way you're feeling at the time (Bosman in Ansell 2004: 299).

In the Field Band Foundation, musical influences between the bands and from exchange programs and higher education have contributed to a development of the musical space, but also to a sensitive awareness of difference. Papiki from Soweto and Retha Cilliers, CEO in the

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[35] In November 2009 a new project within the Field Band Foundation is starting up. Skill development will be systemized better through the FBF Academy where teachers in the organization will receive their training.

Field Band Foundation, both described the development in the musical space in Field Band Foundation as a *musical cooking process*. Papiki from Soweto introduced the word cooking when he tried to explain what has happened musically in the Field Band Foundation over the past years:

> Now lately we are trying to think widely – out of the box and say, okay, we have other elements of music going on, what if I put this element or that kind of element and take out that thing. It is like cooking! You change your ingredients, so what if I put pepper instead of salt? What if I put vinegar instead of something else? Our music has changed in that way. We kind of look at other cultures around here, other countries what are they playing. So the music itself for the past 10-13 years it has evolved big time (Papiki, Soweto).

A whole set of components, or ingredients, are put together to make something new and creative in the musical space in Field Band Foundation. Both well-known and new ingredients are used. 'If we don't have the cooking, we have nothing' Retha Cilliers says (Cilliers, personal communication), and refers to the value she puts on the creativity happening between people on all levels in the organization. She is excited to see the cooking process happening and she will keep it cooking in the future as well. This scope of creativity is good for the youth as they must constantly face choices in who they are and how they want to represent themselves through music. Through workshops and the annual National Championship, the bands influence and inspire each other musically. Despite the bands being separated most of the time, a common musical space within the Field Band Foundation has been created where they cook new music and renew identities on both a local and a national level. By renewing their identities, they combine the aspects of representing and constructing identity. This combination is acknowledged by Born and Hesmondhalgh as a tool in expressing sociocultural identities through musical culture (2000:32).

In the Soweto focus group creativity was mentioned as one of the interesting aspects of working in the Field Band Foundation. Their township culture is based on different cultural traditions, something they want to express in their music. To be able to represent this cultural diversity they have to communicate, share ideas and make room for creative experiments. In many other bands and groups in the community, everything is decided by one person only; the conductor. Hope thinks this is what makes musical life in the Field Band Foundation different, because they all can come up with ideas and try out different approaches as they go along instead of following one person. It gives room for creativity.

Connections to both local and national culture are important aspects of musical style in the Field Band Foundation. Since 1997 the explorations of these relations have changed. During

the past years a rewriting of cultural image has affected South African youth in general. In the Field Band Foundation this has been like a creative explosion of self-expression. As Bogatsu explains; the new generation is 'drenched in global flows of music, style and fashion' (2002:1). These processes are a part of innovating new cultural forms; within these global flows cultural codes from the past are remade with global resources (Nuttall 2004: 436). The result is an ideology where a rewriting of the local happens in the global.

This rewriting has also happened in the Field Band Foundation. Papiki from Soweto sees the changes as a revolution. When the Field Band Foundation started in 1997 the focus was on local music and cultural traditions from the community. Creating a specific Field Band Foundation style was not an option as people did not have the knowledge to mix their music with other styles. Through international influences and a huge focus on skill development Papiki thinks the organization is becoming broader. He laughs when he tries to come up with an example and ends up saying that he can actually arrange a song in an 'Afro-Norwegian' style. I think his comment, even though said with a laugh, reflects one of the feelings in the organization at the moment; everything is possible. Muchachos from KZN also says that they do not only play music from KZN anymore. Not that they have turned their backs to their cultural traditions, but they are mixing their music with national and international elements, just as Bogatsu shows in the article on fashion in the new post-apartheid generation (2002).

Itumeleng from Soweto sees this development as filled with possibilities, it has given people in the Field Band Foundation the will to learn and try new things. This gives teachers in the organization the inspiration to create their own way of expressing themselves, based on both local and global influences. A general acceptance for experimenting with rhythms, harmonies and instrumentation make them believe that there are many different ways they can express themselves and still keep the ways they were taught to use music in their own bands. Muchachos from KZN explains this with the way the skill level in the organization is increasing, which is what makes the mixing between 'overseas stuff and our culture' possible. Kastro from Soweto sees a shift from around 2005. That was when what he calls 'Western songs' started to be played more widely within the organization, but in their own style, in the African way. This has become more and more evident over the past years, with some really interesting arrangements of for instance the Cullinan band doing the Theme from Mission

Impossible with powerful drumming in 2008[36] or the KZN band playing Survivor by Destiny's Child 'KZN style' in 2007.

A field of tensions

It is not only a positive vibe in the discussions about gained musical knowledge and how bubbling creativity affects the musical space in the organization. When you add something new, something else might loose its value. Some of my research participants find this challenging to deal with as they feel obligated to play music they same way they were taught, either in the Field Band Foundation or in the community.

One of the topics in anthropological methodology is the risk the researcher is encountering in the field by 'going native'. Junior from KZN uses the term 'going Western' about musical development in the Field Band Foundation. He is concerned by the development which makes teachers want to play more Western music than music from their own culture. Itumeleng from Soweto comes up with the same concern. 'We must not forget where we are from' he says. Even if they play American R&B from time to time, knowing local traditions is important to all my research participants. Here the fields of tension presented by Lundberg et.al. (2000) and Vokwana (2007) is shining through, local-global and traditional-modern in specific. These tensions present the diverse, yet unitary forms of young South African identity. By following Vokwana's argument these fields of tension can be seen as frames around a unique vision of a collective black experience (2007:11). To take this even further one can argue that cultures are not a static entity. It has always been influenced, changed and mixed due to people interacting with each other. Using Maultsby (1995) and her chart of the evolution in African American music, we can see how all elements my research participants view as Western (including the jazz which they cannot agree on) is traced back to African musical roots (1995:183). Also South African jazz cannot be categorized as 'Western' anymore, the Western elements being absorbed and has turned into a South African style. This music has become a part of the South African identity, a part of what the youth see as history in their country. Miriam Makeba's hit Pata Pata is an example of this, the song being made to suit the international market but at the same time representing a lot in South Africa. How can it then be said to be something else than South African?

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[36] View a clip of the video at Field Band Foundation webpage (Field Band Foundation Videos [URL]).

Junior has many concerns on the 'revolution' within the musical space in the Field Band Foundation; something he thinks is linked to people wanting to impress other people more than 'playing what we are supposed to be playing' (Junior, KZN). Here he challenges the creativity many others view to be one of the positive aspects in the organization. Being creative is not the negative factor, but how this creativity is used is something he finds important to reflect upon. On the other hand he would like everybody, including himself, to do more research and get more knowledge on how music was performed earlier in South Africa. Here a great source of new inspiration can be found. It is not always necessary to import elements from overseas when there is a range of South African music different from the styles mostly played in the Field Band Foundation at the moment. By gaining more knowledge on their culture, it can be maintained better. The effort should be on using the knowledge they have about their own music and compose around what used to be done 'in the olden times'.

> I've done research on this, most of the African songs are not really done in triads, it is just that people don't want to work throughout and research more on how the songs are really done. Like the Shembe tribe. When they sing, you don't only hear triads...also sharp sevenths and stuff. But we do not always grasp what is unique about the music (Junior, KZN).

Gaining more knowledge on how things used to be done makes it easier to keep the traditions and Junior uses the value of a diamond as an example, saying that a diamond is more valuable when it is uncut. It is two ways of viewing this challenge and Junior does see both sides. On one side interfering with traditional music makes it lose value as it will change and become something new. By looking at it the way Nuttall (2004) and Bogatsu (2002) presents youth culture and trends in South Africa, this process is rather seen as a re-making of cultural symbols. They do not see it as new elements replacing old ones, but rather as a re-making of the past to fit the present.

The fields of tension between local-global and traditional-modern are evident in many parts of musical space in the Field Band Foundation. Another tension which only will be touched upon briefly in this thesis is the racial tensions. Musical space in the Field Band Foundation is filled with ethnic and racial differences and similarities. The 'minority' racial group has since the beginning in 1997 been the coloureds.[37] This has had its challenging aspects. I want to

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[37] The Plett Pioneers Field Band is one of the first to have white members in addition to coloureds and blacks. This band was opened up in 2009. Previously only a few white kids have been members in the organization.

return to David's quote from the beginning of this chapter. He says 'and here in Western Cape you find us playing more familiar songs, more popular songs (…) we will play songs that we know, that we – people in the Western Cape will enjoy' (David, Western Cape). The field bands in Western Cape play a range of songs, from Western popular music to South African jazz. John from Western Cape says that before 2003, they never used to play any African songs in his region. After he went to his first workshop in 2003, they started to use more African songs as well, performed their own way.[38]

My research participants from Western Cape say they now enjoy black South African popular music more than they used to and more than their friends who never listen to that kind of music. As Jade says; 'We were not into like South African, like African music. Kwaito and stuff. But after field band – yoh!' David also says he has started to appreciate music from other South African cultures more as he has gotten more involved in the organization. It makes him feel more connected to other people, cultures and the rest of his country. Kate from Western Cape also commented on this and what she has gained as a part of playing different songs and different music through the Field Band Foundation:

> I think that is what I enjoy about the field band most because you realize now it is just not about you. There are so many other cultures and you don't even know about them. I mean you live in South Africa and that is like the thing that amazes me, you live in South Africa and you don't even know the different things that are like the different kinds of cultures (Kate, Western Cape).

It is interesting to hear how my research participants from Western Cape talk about what they have gained culturally through being a part of the Field Band Foundation. As shown through many comments in my interviews in the Western Cape, they truly enjoy meeting the other bands to play with them. They immediately feel at home in the musical space of Field Band Foundation, playing music not originally from their culture, but songs that belong in the Field Band Foundation. Respecting the cultural diversity in the Field Band Foundation is one of the values the organization works for and therefore culturally influenced musical knowledge is important.

On the other hand, how is this culturally influenced knowledge affecting the opposite direction? In other words; how does the coloured music affect musical space in the Field Band Foundation? Much of the focus has been on how the coloureds can learn from the different

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[38] An example of this will be presented in the chapter about Amavolovolo.

black South African cultures. The impact the coloureds music has affected (or not affected) musical space in Field Band Foundation is another aspect which is a study in itself, and I will just briefly touch upon the power relations surrounding this racial aspect in the organization. During apartheid the coloured people were classified as 'better' than the blacks, generally getting slightly more privileges. This is still affecting the racial power relations within the Field Band Foundation. These relations has not been a topic for my research, but is a crucial and interesting aspect. Concerning language, cultures and the racial distinctions left since apartheid, there is still difference and tension amongst black and coloured youth in the organization. Not many coloured songs have made it into the circle of most well-known FBF songs. The most 'famous' one is Stamp.[39] Stamp is in many ways musically similar to Amavolovolo, the first song to be presented further in this study. The background of the song is however very different. As we will see in the presentation about Amavolovolo, the Western Cape has had its impact in developing musical space in the Field Band Foundation by broadening the horizon of what is possible. This follows the musical cooking process, the 'revolution' happening within the organization by adding creativity and diversity.

Itumeleng from Soweto says in one quote very strongly that 'in field band we are only focusing on our cultures, where we come from'. In the same interview he also values the way Field Band Foundation is expanding and looking abroad for ideas. This complexity is characteristic for many of my interviews. It seems as the motivation to perform music in Field Band Foundation is based on expressing both their cultures, as it always has been, and also being proud to show their new and inspired youth identity where knowledge about different styles is power. The organization do not only use music from specific local cultures, but turn to other music as they feel. This shift in thinking is dominating both the Soweto and the KZN focus group. Junior from KZN is concerned that they are all loosing their cultures. He thinks it should be just as much focus on learning how things used to be musically in South Africa

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[39] Stamp is a song in Afrikaans, used at sports events and weddings in the coloured areas. My research participants from Western Cape enjoy it a lot, because it is a song which reminds them of Amavolovolo but it is in Afrikaans – which gives them another connection to it as well. They explain the lyrics as a way of making fun of each other. In sports events they sing to the losers; why did you even bother to run against him? It is used the same ways in weddings; who told you to marry that guy? You might regret this! They do however highlight that it is all for fun, it is an enjoyable song. In Soweto they think this song is almost the same as Amavolovolo. Musically many of the same features apply. In the Field Band Foundation the songs have many similar parts; the rhythm of the basses and the same chord progression, short melodic lines with only a few notes.

than just learning about the new and Western ideas. [40] At the same time he and the rest of the KZN group want to get out of the box of the way it has always been in Field Band Foundation. They want to keep on developing, gaining knowledge so they can apply new ideas and expand their repertoire. Confusion is evident. What do we want? What do we do? What should we do?

Negotiations of these contradictions still take place which make them highly relevant as a background in understanding the complexities in the South African society. Music has played an important role in both being able to represent, challenge and change existing notions of identity. A social reorganization of South Africa is visible in all music played in the Field Band Foundation as in all South African popular music.

The next three chapters will turn to three South African songs frequently performed in the Field Band Foundation. By taking a better look at these three songs, the aim is to present the research participants view; the significance and the cultural values they find in the songs. In this way these three songs also exemplify both tension and creativity within musical space in the organization.

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[40] Media and internet do play a significant part in the distribution of new music. In this thesis, it is not taken account of how accessibility to the internet has influenced and changed musical style in the Field Band Foundation, as teachers in the organization just started to regularly use the internet.

Amavolovolo

Amavolovolo ended up being an anthem to field band because each and every band (…) play Amavolovolo. This is the first song you have to learn in field band. This is our anthem so to some of us this is the field band anthem and it is very, very sentimental to us (Papiki, Soweto).

Amavolovolo is the unofficial Anthem of the Field Band Foundation. It is widely used around in the organization. In many places it is amongst the first songs the new members learn to play, and the bands are famous for their performances with this song. The rhythmic and energetic introduction is well-known and makes members all over the country bounce and jump for joy. In all my focus groups this song came up before I brought it into the conversations, to use as an example of music in the Field Band Foundation. This reinforces the role Amavolovolo plays in the Field Band Foundation, making it an interesting song in this study.

Amavolovolo is a traditional song, now regularly performed in black community weddings (Bangiwe, personal communication 24.12.2008). Jazz trumpeter Brian Nhlanhla Thusi explains how the song has been used in black communities since the establishment of the KwaMashu township in KZN in 1959 (Thusi, personal communication 17.08.2009). KwaMashu is also another name of the song, relating it to the KZN province and Zulu culture. KwaMashu was the first township to be established in Durban, hosting labourers which came to work in the city. They were often placed in single-sex hostels for influx control, making it a rough environment where political engagement was burning. Very soon the community became uncontrolled; violence and crime happening on a regular basis. [41] Amavolovolo has many historical connotations linked up to it, a wide range of possible interpretations both connected to the apartheid era, to crime and to culture. Now Amavolovolo is widely known as a wedding song used all over the country for celebration, mostly by black South Africans with a certain relation to Zulu culture.

Ngeke siye le la kwaMashu
Sisaba mavolovolo we ma

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[41] KwaMashu still has a rough reputation. Up until the mid 1990s hostels in KwaMashu was the centre of politically-motivated violence in the township (Zulu 1993).

'(Mother), we will never go to kwaMashu. We are scared of revolvers' is the direct translation of the lyrics, linking the song to kwaMashu, fear and revolvers. There are two quite opposite interpretations of the lyrics available from my data material. Most of my research participants explained the song as a song about the fear people in and around kwaMashu felt. People affected by violence and crime are the voices behind the lyrics. This interpretation is easily relatable to the struggles that found a place in the township in the 1960s, and the blood-shedding and the suffering the people went through. Brown from KZN explains the song differently. She understands it as filled with sarcasm, giving the voice in the song to the 'apartheid police', because they were too scared to enter the township to stop the political opposition. When the black people in kwaMashu sang this song it was as a victory to them, having power over the police who was too scared to approach the township (Brown, KZN). This interpretation can explain the happy feeling and the groovy rhythms the song has, which also is recognized in other songs from the apartheid struggle. Music was used to make fun of and fool the apartheid government. Another famous and sarcastic song from the apartheid struggle is Strike Vilakazi's song Meadowlands, which is about the removal of people from Sophiatown to Meadowlands in Soweto in the late 1950s.[42]

Amavolovolo is now used as a wedding song. Thusi says that in this modern interpretation of the text, marrying someone from kwaMashu means you put yourself at risk. It can be the simple fact that people from kwaMashu were not trustworthy, as they might be potential criminals with a gun. He also highlights that many wedding songs do not actually mean what the words are saying, pointing at the rhythm and the action going with the rhythm as the most significant aspects in interpreting the song (Thusi, personal communication 17.08.2009). Papiki from Soweto also explains the interesting aspect of how a song about revolvers and fear becomes a wedding song: 'This is kind of in a happy rhythm and happy spirit, singing it – they can also play it in a wedding despite the lyrics. The rhythm and the melody make it a jolly song, a nice song to play in weddings and parties' (Papiki, Soweto).

Amavolovolo has for many years been the traditional 'in-song' in many of the areas where the Field Band Foundation works. According to the research participants from KZN the song was

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[42] Meadowlands is the popular anthem of the removals from Sophiatown. The forced removals met dramatic resistance from the citizens, as they refused to move. Meadowlands is a song with rich nuances in the lyrics open for different interpretations (Ansell 2005:79). Lyrics are in three languages, Zulu, Sotho and the slang language tsotsitaal (ibid). Translated lyrics: *Let's go, let's go, let's go to Meadowlands. We'll work night and day going straight to Meadowlands. Have you heard what the white people say? Let's all go to Meadowlands, our beloved place* (ibid).

played by their band, by the Zulus, at the first FBF National Championship. Papiki from Soweto was not unfamiliar with the song when the KZN band introduced it, as it had been played in Soweto in weddings and other gatherings by other bands while he grew up. It was a song that most of the black population in the country recognized as a part of their history which kept them reminded of the violence that happened in KwaMashu. Amavolovolo is still a traditional 'in-song' in South Africa. It is performed by different ensembles all over the country. In June 2009 I heard it being played by one of the police bands on a military tattoo in Durban. Amavolovolo is also well-known amongst choirs, repeatedly used in youth choir competitions (Petersen, personal communication 12.08.2009). The Drakensberg Boys Choir has performed it on numerous occasions. Their previous conductor, Rudolf de Beer, has made a choir arrangement of it, which is very similar to the arrangement mostly used in the Field Band Foundation.

FBF identity: A beginners song keeping us together

> For me it feels like the birth of the child – why do we celebrate birthdays every year? The way I look at Amavolovolo it's where we began. It is sort of the source of the Field Band Foundation, it was one of the first songs that everyone – be black or coloured – could relate to. Even if you didn't know the lyrics it was one of those songs. It is part of our history (Brown, KZN).

Amavolovolo is called the Anthem of the Field Band Foundation. It is an important song concerning many aspects of significance to youth in the organization. Not only does the song tell a story of an important and brutal time in South African history worth remembering. Amavolovolo also connects my research participants to the Field Band Foundation as a national organization. It is the song almost everybody know how to play, they can come from anywhere and play it with everybody else in the organization. Playing Amavolovolo generates a feeling of belonging, of being at home. Having a song which generates this feeling is important in building a common ground in the organization. Frith (1996) explains music's power in articulating an understanding of group relations (1996:111). Through music, through cultural activities and aesthetic judgement, he suggests that the individuals in a group get to know themselves and each other as a group (ibid). 'Making music isn't a way of expressing ideas; it is a way of living them' (ibid). Taking part of an Amavolovolo performance in the Field Band Foundation is in effect representing who they are, being an important part of their repertoire (Small 1998:134). It negotiates the individuals place in the organization.

Amavolovolo is mostly famous in the black communities, since it is a Zulu song from KZN. It is used to connect the dots in the history and making people proud of their history, proud of

what their parents and grandparents did. For my coloured research participants from Western Cape, the situation is a little bit different.

> So in a way that song (Amavolovolo) started to ... I think it crossed the borders of the different cultures, you know. And after we started to play that song, we started to do more African stuff in the Western Cape and it is a thing of us... I don't know...like recognizing what the other cultures do also and bringing it into our culture. Yeah, that is a good way of learning about what they do (John, Western Cape).

They did not know the song from their community and they have only learned it through the Field Band Foundation. This song, amongst other African songs played in the organization, has given the coloured community a feel of being more proudly South African, giving them knowledge of another part of their country. It has inspired them to play more of the African songs in their bands and inspired them to think wider and being curious of knowing more about their own country. By playing Amavolovolo and other South African songs they feel they recognize the other cultures, also teaching their members of a more diverse South Africa. This way they have started to spread more of the African music in their own community.

Pablo and Jade from Western Cape use Amavolovolo as an example to express how they easily can relate to other people in other bands by playing the song. Even if they speak different languages, they all know Amavolovolo. 'It is just that everyone plays together, it's just field band, not different diversities anymore. I think that is what Amavolovolo does in the Field Band Foundation. Bringing everyone with different cultures and different backgrounds together' (Kate, Western Cape). This creates the fellow feeling on a national level as well. Some of my coloured research participants say they enjoy playing the song more in the FBF National Band rather than in the regions. It might be the level of playing, but also the sense of togetherness between the cultures. In the focus group in Western Cape they all agreed that playing Amavolovolo in the FBF National Band was something special, making them feel a part of something bigger.

Amavolovolo is also a song reminding my research participants about the time they started in the Field Band Foundation. Kastro, Hope and Itumeleng from Soweto explain how this song specific made them feel like a part of the band. Learning to play an instrument and playing with the others who knew 'everything' was challenging, but this was a song they managed to play. Amavolovolo is a part of that feeling of belonging, which they all express as important in why they continued to play. Here is one of Itumeleng's memories:

> It was this performance, a street parade on Africa day in Johannesburg. (…) I was like new in the band and I couldn't play very well and so hearing Amavolovolo I wanted to be a part of this band, like playing it. (…) I

didn't know how to play but they [the other players] were like no, be a part, play. When it comes to Amavolovolo it was the simplest then. (…) It brings back those days hearing Amavolovolo (Itumeleng, Soweto).

Papiki thinks having a common song in the Field Band Foundation gives a sense of pride. It is including and sharing, just as Itumeleng experienced years back being a student himself. Amavolovolo is in many bands used as the first song the beginners learn when they join the organization. One of the reasons is as many of my research participants tell me; the song is 'easy to play, but also nice to listen to'. Many kids know it before they start in the band, either from hearing it in the streets, in weddings and ceremonies, or because they have heard the band play the song.

Amavolovolo is also built up the same way as many songs played in the Field Band Foundation, using a structure where the bass starts the song before the melody and the rest of the accompaniment comes in. The general form is in an ABA pattern, with two repetitions of a four-bar sequence giving eight bars in each part. One of the most famous intros in all FBF songs is the intro to Amavolovolo, where harmonic and rhythmic structure is introduced.[43] The bassline starts the song, anticipating something exciting.

Example 1: Amavolovolo, basspart

With this opening the energy level rises in any performance. Syncopation gives the bass line a pushy, but heavy feeling. Amavolovolo has a nice beat and makes a groovy feeling, which my research participants feel energy coming out of. This can be related to the findings in DeNora's (2000) study, where all her informants use music 'to get in the mood' (2000:55). She argues that music often is used for self-regulation, either to get a kind of energy or to keep it (ibid:47). The positive energy in Amavolovolo is positive and might also be linked up to the celebration status the song has. Some of my research participants say that playing the song can change their mood; it is a song that gives spirit and joy to them and makes them forget about the outside. To them, this is what makes Amavolovolo unique.

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[43] Many bands have their own versions. This analysis is based on a basic version.

> From the moment I played it the first time and even now, it still just makes me bounce around. When you start playing the song I can't...it is something I can't explain. It is just in me. I don't know the words to the song, but it has this vibe to it, it brings you to life I think. That is how I feel. I can be however moody that day or depressed or whatever, but when we play that song I just want to pick up my instrument and go and enjoy myself and forget about whatever is happening outside, that is what it means to me. And I think that is what it means to a lot of other guys as well, cause I mean all the old guys, all them, they all still enjoy the song you know. It symbolizes a form of enjoyment and happiness in a way (John, Western Cape).

It was not only John mentioning the effects Amavolovolo had on his mood; also Lanny in KZN said Amavolovolo could easily change his mood. It is obviously a socially constructed sense of reality linked to Amavolovolo, as the song brings the field band members into a mood of energy and happiness.

Harmonically Amavolovolo is based on a short harmonic cycle; it is a four-bar sequence which is repeated throughout the song. Looking at the example of the basspart above, harmonic principles also found in kwela is evident. As Allen (1999) writes in her article on kwela: 'the cyclic repetition of a short harmonic progression of primary chords fuses principles from African and Western music: cyclicity and functional harmony respectively' (1999:228). The harmonic progression I-I-IV-V is also one of the two most used progressions in kwela, with primary chords in their triadic form (ibid:229). The last bar in the sequence ends on the dominant, leading the song back to the tonic again making it a never-ending circle. The chords are placed in root position, keeping it clean and simple. In kwela compositions, seventh or substitution chords only occur in compositions strongly influenced by jazz (ibid). Very few variations in the Field Band Foundation add to the harmonic principles, which keep the song similar in almost all the variations. We never get the full cadential ending until the very end of the song where a final tonic chord is added to get a natural ending. By focusing too much on the basic material in the cyclic chord sequence, Middleton (2000b) argues that this aspect easily can become the stereotypically 'other' as the structural use can be traced back to the rural South African music (2000:77). On the other hand it is also well-known from the black, urban styles as kwela, marabi and mbaqanga. These styles do influence much of the contemporary music in South Africa and also music in the Field Band Foundation (Coplan 2007).

The melodic structure is based on the African 'call-and-response' two-phrase, four-bar sequence matching the harmonic cycle. It is not a song built up on *conversation* between solo-chorus or solo-ensemble, but the structure of the melody shows an influence of this major

characteristic element in much African music (Chernoff 1979:55). The melody consist of a A-part and a B-part, each divided in two short motifs.

In the A-part, the first pick-up starts on the off-beat between the second and the third beat, lifting the melody up to the tonic centre in the first bar. This section can be seen as the call, or a question, ending with a raising fourth. The answer, or response, starts midway in the second full bar on the third beat and follows the melody back to the dominant chord which aligns the melody with the bass.

Example 2: Amavolovolo, melody, A-part

Example 3: Amavolovolo, melody, B-part

The first two bars in the B-part centres around the fifth in the tonic chord, giving the B-part another tonal flavour. The response comes in at the same place, midway in the second full bar and with the same response as in the A-part.

Also the melodic structure reminds of kwela, where the common pattern is short melodies or motifs which fit together with the harmonic cycle. Both harmonic and melodic structure reminds of kwela, but it must be mentioned that the rhythm in kwela is much more shuffled than the stamping down-beat in Amavolovolo, not making Amavolovolo a typical example of a kwela song. By relating Amavolovolo to kwela it gives the song another historical connotation which might be seen as more positive than the one to KwaMashu. Musical life in the townships has always been pulsating and dynamic, something it still is. On the other hand, kwela has ideological significance in post-apartheid South Africa. When kwela was most popular in the late 1950s, it 'had become truly and international as well as inter-ethnic ambassador for South Africa' also being a style patronized by a white audience (Coplan 2007:193). Both the musical features and the ideology have been used in contemporary crossover bands like Mange Groove, a band with a cross-racial focus (Viljoen 2002:305).

This four-bar chord sequence, with the bouncy rhythm and the short melodic motifs, are known from most FBF songs and has become a trademark for the organization. Structure, rhythmic and harmony in Amavolovolo is recognized in other FBF songs, like the coloured

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song Stamp used to celebrate a victory in sports events. The memories from their early years in the organization and the way they get happy from playing it, makes the song to be a huge part of my research participants and their FBF identity. Introducing new members to the musical world of the Field Band Foundation through Amavolovolo shows who they are and what they do; the song, and the musical features, is a part of the FBF identity.

Different versions challenging musical space in the Field Band Foundation

It is one traditional way of playing the FBF version of Amavolovolo, which is more or less agreed upon within the organization. Around the Field Band Foundation small changes have been made for the song to suit the different bands. There are a few examples of different key signatures, because the melody line gets easier to play for beginner trumpet players in a lower key. Also different rhythmic patterns in the B part exist, being created for variation.

Most 'dramatic' is the version the band in Western Cape did for the FBF National Championship in 2008. In an innovating, creative organization there will always be someone who tries to do things differently. The band from Western Cape is known to do songs their own way, this time they changed the time signature of Amavolovolo and performed it in 6/8. This version was one all my research participants remembered and commented on, both the ones in Soweto and in KZN. Different views on the new version exist, but what Western Cape did was to surprise the rest of the organization with a version pushing the limits for what was expected. 'The Western Cape Amavolovolo was new and fresh!', 'Western Cape can turn the song into 6/8, but for us – turning the song into 6/8 is gonna be...this is not it! In our culture[Zulu/black township culture], the way we were brought up playing it, it 's 4/4 all the way', 'I think they did Amavolovolo in the way that they like to feel it'. What the field band in Western Cape did was to challenge an existing notion on what was acceptable; they took something old and re-made it to fit their own sociocultural space. They relate to Amavolovolo as a song keeping the Field Band Foundation together, but they wanted to use the song in their own way.

Western Cape's 2008 show was called *New Beginnings* and the last piece of the show was Amavolovolo. John from Western Cape was a part of planning the show and he explains the choice like this:

> I felt it was a good song to use, with the basses, because that was where everything started. We still use that thing, but we just added some new flavour to it. Still sticking to the song, because it is our anthem but

making it a bit more lively. So in a way I think it is also saying that things are changing in the field band. Some things are still the way it is, but a lot of stuff has changed (John, Western Cape).

With Nuttall's (2004) theorization of South African youth and their self-stylization as a backdrop, the Western Cape version of Amavolovolo shows a development where old symbols, as a traditional song, is remade to fit their style. Junior from KZN also sees this version as a way the Western Cape band felt like expressing themselves, they wanted to try something new but still keep the connections to the history of their country and to the Field Band Foundation.

From struggle to celebration – Amavolovolo as a reminder

Amavolovolo tells a lot. It has a message to people (Kastro, Soweto)

Amavolovolo brings back memories, not only to the times when my research participants were members in the band. As Amavolovolo was used during apartheid in South Africa it brings people back to the time of the struggle, bringing back memories about the time that used to be. It is normally used and sung by the older generation, but my research participants see their role in bringing the song into the future, spreading the knowledge of South African history. Regardless of which version one chooses to relate to, the theme is fear. Somebody was afraid due to the violent society in KwaMashu. It is about the struggle for freedom and a better South Africa. By using this song as a celebration song post apartheid, it can be seen as a reminder. In one way it is joyous, but it also inherits symbols of spirit and willingness to fight for freedom. South Africa is now a better place than what it used to be in the 1960s. In many ways the use of Amavolovolo symbolizes how South Africa has changed. Papiki sees it as a reminder of where his people are from and what they have been through. The lively spirit in the song shows that music can change people and societies. 'This song changes people. You sing and pass the message. It works. Cause things have changed a lot since then' (Papiki, Soweto). By using Amavolovolo as one of their main songs, if it is at a school concert, a wedding or a street parade, some of the research participants feel that the Field Band Foundation is acknowledging the elders in their society. Hope tells me about one of her first street parades, where the old ladies in the community were thrilled to hear them play Amavolovolo. These ladies and their husbands were the ones who fought during apartheid; they were there in the struggle. Because of them, South African youth today can grow up in a democratic country. By playing Amavolovolo the Field Band Foundation expresses gratitude to their elders, the ones who were oppressed and the ones who had to live in the struggle.

Amavolovolo tells a story now that as field band kids we have that opportunity that they didn't have. So if it wasn't for them at that time, they fought for us, we couldn't be here now you know, playing Amavolovolo in the field band. It is like the field band is acknowledging those people who were there on that struggle. Now in a happier way we change it in a happier way. This is now, this is the new South Africa (Hope, Soweto).

The celebration song Amavolovolo reflects musical space in the Field Band Foundation by the way it connects members all over the country to each other within the organization, despite the racial and ethnical differences. It embraces everybody, bringing both South African history and history of the Field Band Foundation to the next generation of young South Africans.

Pata Pata

> Pata Pata is one of the ways which South Africans show how rich they are musically. See, we as South Africans we didn't have jazz here in South Africa in the olden times. We heard jazz funky stuff from the States then we took the style and dominated it, changed it, and put it in our culture. We changed everything here, everything we hear we want to put it in our style. As I said before, in the way we feel it, in the way we want to express us in it (Junior, KZN).

As one of the world's most famous South African (and maybe even African) songs Pata Pata has made an impact on all of my research participants, even though the song is not one of the most performed songs in the Field Band Foundation. Pata Pata was used at a National Workshop in 2008, where some of my research participants performed it for the first time. Some of the older research participants have memories about performing it many years ago. Still, what they all agree on is that this song never will die. It is a South African classic, a heritage piece of South Africa reminding them about the 'olden times', the times when musical life in the township was developing. Township music is significant to members in the Field Band Foundation for both historical and musical reasons, relating to the nostalgic glow from Sophiatown.

Miriam Makeba claims to have written the song in 1956, but it was first released on her album *Pata Pata* in 1967 (Makeba 1987:140). It is a swinging marabi-jive number which created Makebas success, it ending up being her theme song (Coplan 2007:230). Makeba and Pata Pata have received an incredible amount of attention. Allingham (2009) shows how elements from two earlier South African recordings contribute with elements used by Makeba in her international hit. The first eight bars are similar to Noma Kumnyama recorded by The Dundee Wandering Singers in 1941. Noma Kumnyama was also recorded on Hugh Tracey's recording *Zulu Music and songs*. Brown Cool Stix recorded a song called Phatha Phatha in 1959, also similar to Makeba's song (Allingham 2009). Regardless of these results, Pata Pata is and will always be connected with Mama Africa; Miriam Makeba. Her world famous recording from 1967 is an international success with ongoing media coverage. The album entered top five on the US charts (Makeba 1987:140). Making the song even more famous is the numerous cover

versions. [44] The version on Miriam Makeba's album *Pata Pata* is sung in Xhosa, with Miriam Makeba talking to her audience in English between the verses. By singing in Xhosa, but explaining special features in English, she invites the audience into the South African township space, contextualizing the song to an international audience (Allingham 2009:7). The township is presented as a lively place, where dance and fun is the symbols presented. This view is in contrast to the general conceptions of the black townships, as earlier presented in this thesis. By singing about the positive features of musical life in the townships, Makeba created an exotic picture of a different South Africa. Pata Pata still makes connections between audience and performers. Hope from Soweto says that when her band sees there is a lot of old people in a crowd, they will play Pata Pata. Then they know their crowd will have a good time and start to sing along. Brown from KZN uses the song as an example of the pride she feels, seeing international guests enjoying the song. When a wide audience likes the song it makes her feel that a part of South Africa is out there being recognized (Brown, KZN).

In the focus groups when discussing Pata Pata, much focus was on the international success Miriam Makeba had, and still has. The way she expressed South African style and culture abroad is highly acknowledged and is a truly inspiration to my research participants. She is portrayed as a style icon and a role model. Brown from KZN actually says that 'if you care anything about whom we are and where we come from, you will know about it [Pata Pata]'. The international recognition has been expressed as an important aspect with Miriam Makeba. She was also one of the South African artists in exile expressing 'black pride' reinforcing an 'African' identification (Coplan 2007:230-231). [45] Her work still inspires and gives hope to young people in South Africa.

> (…) she started to sell our country musically. It is a good thing. We can make something which is interesting to other people out there in the world. Hearing the other was something new to them, which made us proud (Itumeleng, Soweto).

Pata Pata obviously made a huge impact on many people. Makeba herself describes Pata Pata as one of her most insignificant songs. She calls it a 'fun little song with a nice rhythm' inspired by a dance from the South African townships (Makeba 1987:140). As I have

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[44] On You Tube.com I recommend checking out the Brazilian singer Daudès club version and Smood feat. Natascha Grin with their house version. South African Bongo Maffin has also covered Pata Pata in a reggaeinspired kwaito version (You Tube [URL]).

[45] Miriam Makeba made an address before the United Nations Special Commission on Apartheid in 1963 and was declared a 'banned' person in South Africa (Ansell 2005:226).

presented earlier in the contextualisation on South African music, the styles that developed during the 1950s in and around Johannesburg was the beginning of a new era. Dancing and playing were recreational activities and with kwela and marabi, new dance styles also emerged. One of them was the *patha patha* style. Pata means 'touch' in Zulu and Xhosa and the dance was a jive dance, cheerfully and sexy where people touched each other all over the body in time with the rhythm (Coplan 2007:192). In the first spoken lyric part Makeba says: 'Pata Pata is the name of a dance we do down Johannesburg way, and everybody starts to move as soon as Pata Pata starts to play'. Miriam Makeba sang about this dance and made it famous to the whole world. Happiness and pride fills the song and it shows the fun people had, and is political in the way it shows the spirit, the joy of life as the people refused to let all the injustice control their lives.

Lyrics in Pata Pata are based on the lyrics in one of the earlier versions of the song, referring to an event one of the composers had experienced before he wrote the song. 'I was travelling with a friend on a 'first stop' train from Johannesburg Park Station to Umzinhlope station. Inside the train, I played my guitar to sing and dance, demonstrating the new patha patha dance' (Msomi in Allingham 2009:5). The lyrics are sung in a call and response fashion. In Makebas version from 1967, the lyrics are simplified and included these three lines:

Original:	Translated:
Saguquta Sathi Bheka	*We turned around and said look!*
Nantsi Yi Phata Phata	*This is patha patha*
Hiyo Mama Hiyo Mama	*It was mama, it was mama*

Lyrics are telling about the new song, and are linked to the experience in the train where Msomi tried to get people up to dance the patha patha (Allingham 2009:5). In the second bridge of Makeba's version, she talks to her audience again: 'Hoo, every Friday and Saturday night it's Pata Pata-time. The dance keeps going all night long ... till the morning sun begins to shine - hey!' Here the message is clear; keep on dancing.

Papiki from Soweto thinks Pata Pata is different; he says the song is 'outstanding' in terms of the fascinating rhythmic. Pata Pata starts with the significant and very famous bassriff over four bars. This bassline plays an important role in the significance of this song. It is bouncy and makes the song move forward in the way it complements with the melody.

Example 4: Pata Pata, basspart

This incredibly catchy rhythmical bassline is the introduction to the song, and also the bridge between the different parts in the song. As the introduction of the song, the bassriff is only played once, in the bridge it is repeated making the bridge 8 bars. In addition to the bassriff, Pata Pata has an A and a B part, performed in an ABA form. Both parts are 8 bars consisting of harmonically cycles of four bars played twice, and a shorter melodic motif of two bars repeated four times. Harmonically, the feature of the classic four-bar chord sequence known from most South African popular music do become less distinct here than in other songs as the bassline, especially in the intropart. The I-IV-I$_{6/4}$-V$_7$ progression is well known not only from South African popular styles, but as Middleton points out; it is also a classical music cliché, being typical 'Mozartian' (2000b:77). In that European context the chord progression works as a cadence; building up to closure, a grand finale. Combined with the different textures and melodic patterns in Pata Pata, the progression gets another function, being more an endless circle of repetition. Rhythmically the groove changes between the different parts. Lwazi and Muchachos from KZN mention the rhythm in the song as significant to them. They like the way the song changes groove between the two different parts, making it different from other songs in the same style.

Rhythmically the melody mainly consists of straight eights moving against the syncopations in the bassline, but the character changes in the second part of the song. In this example the first four bars are shown. In the A-part and the B-part each of these phrases are repeated with variation throughout the song.

Example 5: Pata Pata, melody, A-part

Example 6: Pata Pata, melody, B-part

The melodic motif in the B-part is within the range of a minor third, an interval contrasting to the A-part. This gives the B-part a more mystic characteristic.

Pata Pata makes us value 'the olden days'

Itumeleng from Soweto says that Pata Pata takes us back to 'the olden days', to the times of Sophiatown, where the South African township styles as marabi, kwela and mbaqanga were created. Brown referred to a show her KZN band did where they played 'old traditional music, very old music from deep in the townships', Pata Pata being one of the songs. As with many other songs performed in the Field Band Foundation, Pata Pata tells a lot about where they are from and where they are going, according to Itumeleng from Soweto. By performing this song now, youth in the Field Band Foundation feel that they look back at how things used to be in the 'olden days'. This is an important history lesson that many of the teachers in the Field Band Foundation feel they can teach their students through music. Songs as Pata Pata are historically significant in South Africa and by performing those songs, both Itumeleng and Papiki hope that their students will become interested in learning more about their history. These are important lessons when the goal is to keep and value the culture. Vokwana (2007) argues that an epoch as Sophiatown through an imaginative recuperating has been accorded significance in black South African history, connecting it to notions of an African identity (2007:6). On the other hand, given South Africa's apartheid history, it is not an obvious link between township and pride. The social mantra of post-apartheid South Africa build up this sense of 'being proud of where you come from' which has affected the significance of 'the olden days' (Bogatsu 2002:4). Appropriations of the township are significant to the Y generation, 'being proudly township has been the equivalent of being proudly South African' (ibid:5).

The Sophiatown era is not only important in black South African history. The research participants in the Western Cape have the same kind of thoughts on Pata Pata. They admit they do not know too much about the song, but they still have memories about it making it significant to them as South Africans.

> The song is more, for me it is this song which your aunts and your uncles will tell you about that time we couldn't go to this club or that club. We couldn't go here and there. And they were in the yards. That was their weekend hangouts (Kate, Western Cape).

Kate also says that this goes for many of their members as well. Their mothers will know the song, but the kids in the area will not know what the song is all about, just as the group in Soweto also worried. David from Western Cape thinks of Pata Pata as a song everybody likes, 'even the people in Cape Town' [sic].

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Pata Pata is significant in musical space in the Field Band Foundation in the way it stands out as a symbol of *pride*. The township culture is highlighted as something creative, positive and inspiring through Pata Pata. When a song about a township dance from the 1950s can become so popular, it also reflects hope amongst my research participants. They are proud of the international recognition the song has had.

Dali Wam

> Ntando is one of the people who is trying to bring back what we are losing in a modern way (Junior, KZN).

Musical space in the Field Band Foundation has changed through the past years. From playing mainly traditional songs from the local culture in the first years, playing contemporary popular music in the Field Band Foundation has been a growing trend. South African, Norwegian and American songs are used with each other in different shows. With a growing skill level a wider repertoire is accessible. It is easier for the teachers to take songs from the radio and arrange them to suit the skill level in the band. The FBF version of Dali Wam, however, was arranged by one of the Norwegians working in the Field Band Foundation in 2005-2006. Øyvind Anda arranged contemporary South African popular music for the FBF National Band, and Dali Wam was one of the songs he arranged. His arrangement is still used; the song is being played throughout the country in both Andas's version and other versions. It has also been included in shows done by the FBF National Band in 2008 and 2009. Dali Wam represents the contemporary South African popular music on the 10 year anniversary CD from 2007.

Dali Wam was released in 2005 by the contemporary popular music artist Ntando on his album *Imvelaphi*. The song was awarded song of the year in 2006 at the South African Music Awards, an award voted by the public. Especially amongst black South African youth, Dali Wam was extremely popular. In the focus groups in the black communities of Soweto and KZN, both the Ntando version and the FBF version were discussed. My research participants in Western Cape did not identify with Ntando's version, as they did not know the song until they started playing it in the FBF National Band. In this chapter, musical examples will be from the FBF version available on the FBF 10th anniversary CD. In contextualizing and interpreting the song to reveal the significance, both versions will be used.

> The minute I heard Dali Wam for the first time I knew that it would end up in the field band because there is a lot of similarity to the style we were then doing. And for some reason that is the other song because of Amavolovolo, it has the same vibe (Brown, KZN).

Ntando's song is a love song. In an interview he says that most of his songs are about weddings, a comment which obviously made his female fans adore him even a little bit more (Mkhabela [URL]). He makes himself available and open, both by the way he expresses his

feelings for his 'Dali Wam' (My Love) in the lyrics, but also how he continues this performance outside of his music, revealing his soft spots. He talks about love and marriage in a straight forward and somehow old fashioned way which appeals to many of his listeners. Papiki from Soweto thinks Dali Wam is 'cheesy', based on the combination of love as the main theme, a slow reggaeton beat familiar from much contemporary South African pop music, and the slick image of Ntando.

We dali wam
Wena sweety wami
Ndithanda wena wedwa nje
Ndifuna nokuk'shada yoo
Makungenzeka khona kusasa lo

Lyrics are in Xhosa, basically saying 'My darling, I want to marry you. If I could I would marry you tomorrow!' The research participants all expressed the main significance in Dali Wam to be related to the traditional way of talking about love in South Africa.

Figure 8: The cover of Ntando's album *Imvelaphi* from 2005

Traditions of charming or cheesy sweet-talking?

Talking about love generated many heated discussions amongst my research participants. What kind of love is Ntando actually putting on the agenda? Papiki is distanced to the song in his interpretation. He thinks this is a love song just like any other love song, where a guy wants a girl and he does his best to get her so they can get married. To the younger, male research participants in Soweto and KZN, Ntando stands out as a role model in the way he is open about his feelings and not shy to express them. Lanny from KZN says it is about 'the comfort of being a good man to that woman. It is good stuff'. Kastro from Soweto means the way Ntando expresses his love is the true African way of charming a girl, the song saying something about traditional marriage; 'If you love someone, you will sing it to her', he says. Itumeleng from Soweto also agrees with Kastro, but he introduces another aspect of interpreting the message where he is doubtful of Ntando's intentions. By calling his lover 'My Darling', it might not be just because he loves her and wants to marry her. Itumeleng says 'sweet-talking' is a common way of pursuing a girl in South Africa. Papiki is taking the sweet-talking a bit further, saying that sometimes the men's pride is more important that the actual feelings, ending up in a situation where the man wants to 'get the girl no matter what'.

To quote Papiki: 'It tells something about South African men actually...I don't know whether it is a good thing or a bad thing' (Papiki, Soweto).

Hope from Soweto is ambivalent in the way she feels about the message in the song. She loves the song and she loves Ntando, but as soon as the topic of sweet-talking is introduced she gets sceptical, saying it is a song for sweet-talkers who only 'say I love you and I wanna marry you and after you've been there they don't marry you' (Hope, Soweto). The topic of love and marriage is something that also affects Brown by the way she views her generation; the way they use love in their everyday life:

> We think that stuff is boring and ancient and as I said, you just say 'let's go to the movies'. Ntando managed to take a concept which reminds us of the culture at the same time make it fun and you can actually say 'Ey, I love you' and in a way that says actually it is not so bad, as I am saying we...there are so many things in our culture, because of this western influence, we so certainly become so ashamed of...you wouldn't find someone saying to you Dali Wam, I would smack the hell out of him cause we don't use that type of language, but he [Ntando] found a way to say Dali Wam and you don't mind cause in a way...the song has this carefree element in it that makes you just wanna...anyway it doesn't matter – that is the kind of feeling you have. Saying it is not so bad to hear someone say it, it is nothing wrong with it. It is part of culture and in a way we...there is a way to still do that and make everyone in the younger generation enjoy it (Brown, KZN).

What is this 'something' Ntando is expressing in Dali Wam? Is it a 'lost tradition' of how to share your love? Is it the 'African way' of charming a girl'? Or is it a way some guys are misusing the tradition to 'get' a girl? Is it about men taking advantage of girls, or men being open about their feelings? Interpretations are always speculative and subjective; Ntando has doubtlessly put a topic on the agenda for discussion which was needed. How Ntando is discussing culture is valued as society has changed drastically. He manages to discuss love and marriage, a topic people fear talking about in today's South Africa, in an easy way. [46] This contributes to an awareness of the 'lost generation' as Brown from KZN thinks the behaviour of young men has changed. This song reminds her of the way the older generation used to do it, which she views as a good thing.

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[46] Love, relationships and marriage are topics with a mixed set of connotations. In South Africa they also in many cases refer to negative connotations as domestic violence, Hiv/AIDS, unfaithful partners and a high rate of teenage pregnancies.

Keeping cultural traditions in popular music

Earlier in this thesis the FBF Anthem; Amavolovolo was introduced. Many of my research participants refer to Dali Wam as 'the second Amavolovolo'. Both songs relate to South African history and society in different ways, with different historical and musical origins. What both songs do is to capture South African musical characteristics that relate the songs to black township life, which is the relation to much of the songs popularity in the Field Band Foundation. In KZN my research participants agreed that Ntando used an old, traditional approach to love as a topic. Musically he has contextualized the love theme in 'a modern way' using 'groovy rhythms' (Junior and Lwazi, KZN). I will give a brief account for certain musical features from the FBF version significant to the discussion on the song being the second Amavolovolo and also elements connecting the song to both South African traditions and musical development in the Field Band Foundation.

The FBF version of Dali Wam is usually performed in a faster tempo than the original, more like the tempo in Amavolovolo. This makes the FBF Dali Wam a more danceable version than the original (Papiki, Soweto).

> I listened to our recording and then the original version. Firstly tempo. It is one....what I realised, these kind of fast tempos is our thing. The field band thing. Most of the songs we do, we do them in a certain fast tempo. The original version is more laid-back, as I said it is cheesy. We wanna make things to be groovy, make people dance. Yes, it is a dance song a pop song, but we make it...we don't push the message. Ntando, Dali Wam – the dancing song – that is what we are after (Papiki, Soweto)

This new tempo is similar to the tempo in Amavolovolo. Together with the rhythmical pattern, the bass groove in the two songs sound surprisingly similar.

Example 7: Dali Wam, basspart

By detaching a tie from the rhythm in Amavolovolo, the rhythm in Dali Wam gets more bouncy all the way through the bar than Amavolovolo. Each bar starts with the same syncopation, giving it the same rhythmic feel.

Harmonically the same three chords are used in both Dali Wam and Amavolovolo, with a small variation in Dali Wam with an added 6th in the IV chord. This is also where the similarities to Amavolovolo end. Dali Wam has eight-bar phrases in a I-IV6-V-I pattern. Here we see the phrase ends on a tonic, giving each phrase a cadential ending. This gives more freedom in the melodic line, which is a lot more differentiated than the melodic line in Amavolovolo. Melodically there are still close connections to the notes in the triad. Interesting in the melodyline is the differentiated rhythmic in the verse and the chorus, the verse being a lot more syncopated than the chorus.

Example 8: Dali Wam, melodyline, verse (first 8 bars)

Example 9: Dali Wam, melodyline, chorus

In Ntando's version there are also differences between the verse and the chorus in the voicing. The verse is sung by Ntando and the chorus by a choir, differentiating between four-part harmony and a variation of call-and-response group singing. This choir part is also presented a capella as the closure of the song, both in the original and in the FBF version. It is interesting how both the voice and the rhythmic changes drastically between the verse and the chorus. This particular feature is also taken care of in the version mostly played in the Field Band Foundation. Instrumentation in the FBF version affects the different voices as Anda's arrangement challenges all sections, giving them time to shine.

Performing out identity

Dali Wam is sung in Xhosa. Brown from KZN is a young, Zulu woman who gets strong connotations to Xhosa culture from listening to this song.

> South Africa is a bit segregated, so Dali Wam is actually a Xhosa song. It is not Zulu. To me it is just another
> insight to another South African culture (…) The only thing I can relate to when it comes to that song is that

it talks about telling someone you love them and thinking of how Xhosa men and Xhosa women do that is more or less the same. You know the pride of the Xhosa people when they sing something in their language or say something in their language, you...it makes you feel like you're having an inside or is visiting another culture (Brown, KZN)

Here she differs more between the cultures than any other of my research participants, creating a distance between Zulu and Xhosa people. Papiki from Soweto does not agree with Brown's views on how Dali Wam presents a specific culture. Understanding the meaning does not necessarily go with understanding the language. He says that if you understand something in the music, then the music is for you. He does not see Dali Wam as meant for one ethnic group or one people as it is popular music made for the people who want to listen to it. Also in the focus group in KZN they did not seem to be as concerned with the language connecting it to Xhosa people. Lwazi from KZN refers to isicathamiya when he tries to explain the choral parts of Dali Wam, connecting a traditionally Zulu performance style with a chorus sung in Xhosa. This connection is done without hesitation or objection from the others in the group in KZN.

On the other hand Brown sees a big difference in listening to the song, when she only hears the Xhosa man trying to express his feelings for his Xhosa woman, and when she performs the song herself. Many of my research participants refer to memories they have from performing the song with the FBF National Band. Brown refers to the tour to Norway in 2008 as a highlight in presenting the diversity of South Africa. In her mind she can easily picture moving from one region to another when they played the different songs. She expressed her own culture in Amavolovolo, by playing Dali Wam she takes the listener to the Xhosa region.[47] There is a different kind of FBF identity performed in Dali Wam than in Amavolovolo. Dali Wam was not a popular song amongst my coloured research participants from Western Cape. None of them had heard Dali Wam before they played it in the FBF National Band. That was when things changed and they started to like it. Many of the memories are connected to performing the song on the tour in Norway, connecting them to their South African identity. Kate from Western Cape says she gets a good feeling from this song and that she likes to listen to the FBF CD where the song is recorded, even though she was not a part of the recording. The memories from the tour are enough to make her happy.

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[47] I did not visit the band in East London, where all the band members are Xhosas, but the research participants in my Soweto group are all Xhosas. To my Soweto research participants it is a huge difference between the Xhosas in Soweto and the Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape, where the Mdantsane Field Band is located in East London. This cultural distinction is too complex to explain fully in this thesis.

Pablo from Western Cape agrees, he says he would never have liked the African songs if he had not heard and played them with the Field Band Foundation. As with Amavolovolo, this song has made them more interested in what happens in the other regions in the Field Band Foundation and also what happens in the other cultures. John highlights the part where he actually learned the lyrics of the song; being a part of singing a song in Xhosa he says it was 'very, very cool!'

I will conclude this presentation on Dali Wam with Papiki's explanation on the two different versions. The quote sums up much of what has been discussed in this chapter, showing what happens with Dali Wam in musical space in the Field Band Foundation:

> When I heard Dali Wam it was just another pop song from this guy Ntando. A nice song to dance to, but what makes this song interesting to me – it is when I play it. That is when I get interested into it – ah, awesome, now I can play this song. Kids started to say, lets try this song and I said, neh, it is not good enough for us. Nah. Boring, just another pop song. And there comes the national workshop and there it was on paper. Ajajaj, Dali Wam! Then I started to put my heart into playing it, then I realized it is quite a nice song with a message, it is a love song, this is okay, now it is getting interesting and it ends up being a song we also can do and perform as a whole band or perform it as a national band. It kind of became like a good song (Papiki, Soweto).

PART III:
Iph'indlela? Where is the way?

Cultural complexity in South African youth expression

Undoubtedly South African music is connected to history, politics and society. Any familiarity with South African music can tell us much about South Africa. The main aim in this thesis has been to achieve an insight into a complex and changing South African society through a conceptualization of musical space in the youth organization the Field Band Foundation. Within this musical space, youth negotiates cultural identity and self-representation. They balance between the binary opposites of local-global and traditional-modern, these being the dominating fields of tension in the cultural and social South Africa. Creativity is highly valued in the organization, as the skill level grows and the organization develops. On the other hand many of my research participants feel inadequate in justifying their musical choices relating to their cultural background. By experimenting with new approaches to music, a fear of losing their original culture exists. It is an ongoing process, where the struggle is to balance the aspects of where they are going and where they are coming from. This cultural complexity affects how the youth access, develop and present their music in musical space in the Field Band Foundation.

A feeling of belonging and knowing where you are from are important aspects when cultural identity is negotiated and formed. Culture and ethnicity is deeply valued in South African society, but the exaggeration of this value might result in more than just empowerment of black South African culture post-apartheid. Through colonization, apartheid and post-apartheid politics, people in South Africa have been divided. Classifications still remains and the existing notions of cultural identity challenge the first post-apartheid generation. Through cultural politics in South Africa socially constructed meanings of what is significant and what is worthless have been created. Mbeki's popularization of the African renaissance can be seen as one example. South African youth has grown up with the effects of the African Renaissance, where culture and ethnicity has been extremely important in the development of cultural identity. Sometimes a strong focus on ethnicity is important, on the other hand

building up cultural confidence with the impact from the African Renaissance must not take over the cultural reconstruction of South Africa.

Musical knowledge is growing in the Field Band Foundation. Through the different exchange programs, music schools and more people attending courses at University level, the level of music literacy in the organization improves. However, most of the musical knowledge is bound to Western principles. Knowledge about popular/traditional South African music is not being taught satisfactorily in the national school system. The aspect of music being the bearer of social and cultural meanings, of important national history, is left out. It is challenging that African musical tradition mainly is an aural tradition, with little literature of printed music available. This now affects the potential for African music education. Culture is in many ways the voice of a community, the realization of a culturally complex musical space. It is important to have a balance between general musical knowledge and culturally influenced knowledge to make the fields of tension easier to live in (Thorsèn 2002:53). By combining different approaches to knowledge about music, both general and cultural, understanding of music as a cultural phenomenon is easier to access. Different 'interpretive moves' can be used and the understanding of the musical phenomenon will be greater (Feld 1984). Knowledge will definitely reduce the feeling of being under a cultural threat, a feeling that many of my research participants feel.

Due to my own involvement in the organization it has been stimulating for me to follow this path. As a Norwegian music teacher previously working in South Africa, I am sceptical to only focus on the values of Western music theory as a foundation for musical knowledge. This does affect the development of musical space in the organization. A strong focus on musical literacy already exists in many parts of South Africa, also in the Field Band Foundation. Knowledge is power and is in this case the only route to a higher music education. The danger is if Western *values* also come with technical knowledge, as Agawu points out when he says knowledge of African music has been constructed by the West (2003a:69). When I get excuses from musicians in the Field Band Foundation about their music, like 'you know we only use this I-IV-V, but we are trying to learn more', I believe the gaining of musical knowledge has failed. It should be a tool in understanding that American popular music is also based on the I-IV-V chord progression and indeed much of Mozart's music as well. By learning about musical elements as a base, a deeper understanding of contemporary popular music will be available. One can analyze a pennywhistle tune to see if it is really kwela, recognize rhythmical structures in contemporary popular music and also see

how other musicians have done their cooking. Other interpretive moves will be taken, based on more than just cultural context, as other features in the music will also be recognized.

Musicking is important to the musical cooking process in the Field Band Foundation. By combining cultural knowledge with musical skills, a broader musical knowledge will be reached pushing the cooking process even further. Like Junior from KZN explains about his involvement and interest in how culture is changing:

> Also, this thing goes through time. In olden times, people didn't wear clothes like we do and they wouldn't consider having a car or a house built by bricks, so I think it is the changing of the centuries and the changing of time. So as time changes, also things must change. We are not blaming anybody for what's happening; maybe it is the start of a new thing. Because obviously, the olden music we listen to, like Ubuhle Bendoda, maybe it was the start of everything. But maybe Ubuhle Bendoda had another style before, so I think it is a changing of style. (…) I think also people had the same problem, just that maybe we don't know. During the time of Ubuhle Bendoda, maybe people had the same problem – we are loosing our culture! See now, it is groovy stuff maybe before they played some other stuff (Junior, KZN).

Junior does see that tradition changes, as he is talking about himself when he presents positive aspects about the development. He sees both sides, the need for more specific knowledge and also the creative development, as something which can be united. Culturally influenced knowledge happens in different ways in the Field Band Foundation. In the introduction to this thesis I refer to Coplan (2007) and how he presents the concept of 'traditional' South African music, including a wider range than just music played on indigenous instruments. One example on how ethnicity and diverse cultural identities has been dealt with musically in the Field Band Foundation is a show the KZN band did in 2007 called *Culture at its best – KZN style.* In this show they aimed to showcase their culture the way they wanted to present it, ending up with a pure mixture of cultures with a focus on youth in their region. The dominant Zulu culture was of course represented in their show, also including Asian-Indian visual elements and jazzy township musical styles. On the other hand they did not ignore the influences brought from pop music and hip-hop, including a hip-hop vibe in their show as well (Brown KZN, personal communication 12.10.2009). Their view on their own culture was a *mix* of the previously presented fields of tension. Here different cultural elements were treated with equal significance, showing a trend where elements were combined in a new creolized culture.

In this thesis the particular tensions between local-global and traditional-modern has followed the whole process. It has been an important part of the topics discussed with my research

participants and also in much of the literature read. What remains clear is that there is still an existing gap between the two poles, created by the focus on indigenous cultures, the 'true' African on one hand and the Western influenced musical knowledge, with Western classical music history and popular industry influences, on the other. There is a conflict between 'a cosmopolitan and a nativist vision of identity and of African culture' existing in large parts of Africa, argues Mbembe (2001:1). It is in this field of tension he argues that all African identities are composed. All these identities consist of different elements, in reality being disparate and therefore they are constantly being rearranged to fit around different social signifiers (ibid:11). This allegory of composing an identity relates to the cooking process within the musical space in the Field Band Foundation, where the composed identities are presented through sound. They try out different arrangements, some with more disparate elements than others, as a way of balancing the relationship to the different surroundings they live in. Musicking, as the social and musical activity happening in the musical space in the Field Band Foundation, is then a product in trying out new ways of self-representation. How the youth relate themselves in the fields of tensions develops as their musical space becomes broader.

Values concerning the fields of tension between local–global and traditional–modern vary from band to band within the Field Band Foundation. The interpretation of local and traditional also varies, related to the issue of being ethnically 'good enough'. The focus on rebuilding a culturally diverse South Africa has contributed in making it hard to value what is e.g. 'Zulu enough'. And what then is 'South African enough'? In recent ethnomusicology, ethnomusicologists such as Martin Stokes critique the idea that a particular music style can represent a particular group (Stokes in Kirkegaard 2002:10). This idea has prompted Kirkegaard (2002) to state that 'there is no original core music belonging to a specific ethnic group or a national entity' (2002:10). What music *can* do is to articulate and create boundaries as it articulates our understanding of ourselves in relation to people and places around us (Stokes 1994:3). Through the three songs Amavolovolo, Pata Pata and Dali Wam the research participants have articulated their relation to each other, to their local community and to South Africa in different ways.

In this thesis, the fear of 'going Western'[48] has been displayed from different angles, as a term representing the modern and the global influences within the fields of tension in South Africa.

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[48] Term introduced by Junior in KZN in the chapter '*Musical space' in the Field Band Foundation.*

The global influences affect contemporary popular music, youth culture and also youth in the Field Band Foundation. South African music is identified as a hybrid especially where American influences have been significant. Much of its critique is that it is too American, a critique which also exists in the Field Band Foundation. Youth in post-apartheid South Africa are, by many of the adults, being blamed for losing their real identity (Bogatsu 2002:8). Coplan (2007) confronts the critique by saying that today's generation is not any worse than the older generation, as American music and styles have engaged with South African social and creative imagination for more than 150 years (2007:354-355). The same happened in the 1930s, at the height of the rural-urban migration. The older generation blamed the urban developments for the 'cultural negligence of the younger generation of the times' (Bogatsu 2002:8). A large part of this development happened in Sophiatown, a place still significant in contemporary South Africa. Sophiatown as a place and a cultural space can be used to exemplify much of how South African music incorporated American musical elements, creating musical styles that are still popular. The Sophiatown renaissance in South Africa is significant to the musical style in the Field Band Foundation, even if the music in those days was inspired by American jazz and other influences as well. Like Miriam Makeba's Pata Pata, a song representing the township and the local, by being created for the international market. Now Pata Pata is a symbol of Sophiatown and the musical life in the 1950s. The nostalgic glow of Sophiatown is important both in the Field Band Foundation and in South African musical life in general, but as Coplan (2007) argues; this nostalgia is contradictory. The music valued from the 'olden days' is not traditional indigenous South African music, it is African music influenced by American styles – just as today's musical language is African, still influenced by American styles. Performances become African when Africans choose to perform them, not necessarily when all indigenous instruments are used (Coplan 2007:354-355).

In the process of cultural reconstruction, the 'new' South Africa becomes a place for remodelling new identities. Here something 'old and traditional' is morphed into something 'new and modern'. This is happening as old concepts are challenged through a continuous self-definition where new identities are formed (Nuttall 2004:447). Ansell (2005) sees this as the musical future: 'breaking barriers and building new musical communities on African foundations' (2005:299). Notions of musical space in the Field Band Foundation are a part of these negotiations as it continuously reproduces the ways sociocultural identities are

represented. More than ever the fields of tension are a place for negotiating the past, the present and the future.

Finally, the idea of the musical space in the Field Band Foundation arises from the musicking going on in the organization, as personal creativity and cultural heritage is brought along by the young musicians in their arrangements and shows. The act of musicking in the Field Band Foundation converges on the musical space, an imagined room where musical cooking is a continuous happening. It is a give and take process, where the individuals work together in creating something in common. Small (1998) suggests that as a group changes 'so do their styles of musicking' (Small 1998:133). It might be the ethnic mix of the group or the values that change, but over time these changes happen in all groups – including the Field Band Foundation. By actively, and perhaps also unconsciously, contributing to development of the musical space in the Field Band Foundation, youth in South African townships use music to perform and develop their sociocultural identity. The music they play consists of more than just the music, as it represents who they are and also who they want to be. The musical idiom points in different directions and connects aspects of their contradictory everyday lives together in one syncretism.

In the musical space in the Field Band Foundation youth from different ethnic South African groups come together and share ideas and values through music and dance expressions. The combination of different individuals in one group will always affect and develop the musical space. In addition influences from Norwegian music teachers and other guests, learning institutions all over the country and a broader knowledge of music in Africa and other parts of the world, affect the musical space. These encounters challenge each and every ones personal cultural identity and develop it from day to day. How the field band in Western Cape chose to perform Amavolovolo with 6/8 as the time signature shows a broadened mind. Amavolovolo is 'the anthem' and not a song many in the Field Band Foundation would feel comfortable in changing. By presenting this version at the 2008 FBF National Championship, musical space in the Field Band Foundation was challenged. People started talking and thinking. Maybe it is possible to change one element in a song without the song losing its meaning and social significance? The Field Band Foundation contributes in guiding the youth on their way to make sense out of their everyday experiences through musical activities, a process which does not happen without heavy negotiations. Social relations between regions are developing and changes happening within musical space in the Field Band Foundation are interesting and necessary.

Significant in the Field Band Foundation is the will to create a combination of the past and the future to express the present, equivalent with what musically happens in the rest of South Africa. It is groovy rhythms, new styles and influences, together with symbolic links to the 'olden days'. Bogatsu (2002) says cultural memory is selective in 'what is remembered and how it is remembered' (2002:7). In the musical space in the Field Band Foundation, this memory is currently working out *how* to remember *what,* as a challenge remains; how do we play what we want and at the same time play 'what we are supposed to play?' Through all my empirical material this stands out as one of the most challenging aspects. Within the same interview and from the same research participant I got conflicting information. It is obvious that negotiations and changes are happening. Musical style in the Field Band Foundation is a mixture of resources from different cultures, representing hybrid music. Adapting to the new ways of relating local and global into the 'FBF space' will take some time, but as many of my research participants have pointed out; things do happen. They just need to find out where to go, and how to get there.

It is not my intention to present the concept of musical space in the Field Band Foundation as a utopia. Through this thesis I have focused on the different aspects of how the fields of tension between local-global and traditional-modern have affected musical activities in the organization, being notions of cultural complexity and musical space. I am aware of other existing tensions being equally important to the group dynamics, such as gender and race. However, I do believe playing together and crossing the racial and ethnical borders have an effect on the respect, the reconciliation and the valuing of diversity between the members country-wide. In the Field Band Foundation the different bands are separated most of the year, due to geographical location. Through the Field Band Foundation some of the members get the opportunity to meet and negotiate their sociocultural identity in a common place; the musical space in Field Band Foundation. Other studies also show how groups construct a musical space for negotiations, as processes which take time. Riiser (2008) writes about the West-Eastern Divan orchestra in her master thesis, an orchestra with young musicians from all over the Middle East. This area is filled with complexities and tension based on nationality and ethnicity, to an even larger extent than in South Africa. In her critical conclusion she argues that 'the creation of a common identity and common social values occur *because* a negotiation takes place' (Riiser 2008:90, my emphasis). Through activities on a national level in the Field Band Foundation negotiations do happen. Members from different areas get the opportunity to meet and to play together, to listen to each others music and get to know each

other. Through musicking, the pushing of borders, internal conflicts and increased musical skills youth in the Field Band Foundation are actively empowered to develop, renew and transform their personal and collective identities within musical space of the Field Band Foundation.

I want to suggest continuing re-evaluation, discussions and balancing between different factors in the musical cooking process, as it will keep on changing faster and faster as more ingredients are added. What will be even more important as the cooking pan expands is to distinguish the elements from each other, which eventually will lead to a pride, to an understanding of why this particular music is significant and what it does in developing the musical cooking, the musicking happening in the musical space of the Field Band Foundation. Then the gap between the poles in the cultural fields of tensions might be reduced.

Summing up

Musical space in the Field Band Foundation has provided an extremely interesting arena to study notions of cultural complexity in South Africa. The relationships South African youth experience in relation to their own society has been shown as both filled with pride and complexities, being significant in the way they negotiate around their sociocultural identity (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000:31).

The aim of this thesis has been to explore notions of cultural complexity and musical space in the Field Band Foundation, South Africa. In the introduction I presented two research questions: 1) what is the significance of these songs for the youth in the Field Band Foundation? And 2) What can musical space in the Field Band Foundation tell about cultural complexity within South Africa? Through working with both the empirical material and the music, I have often detected conflicting results. As shown in the previous chapters, diverse meanings arose. Different connotations to culture and tradition are revealed through the search for significance in the three songs included in this thesis. Through an interdisciplinary study of the songs, it is throughout this thesis shown how they contribute to musical space in the Field Band Foundation in different ways

The celebration song Amavolovolo is originally about a fear of revolvers, but now reflects musical space in the Field Band Foundation by the way it connects members all over the country to each other within the organization, despite the racial and ethnical differences. It embraces everybody, bringing both South African history and history of the Field Band Foundation to the next generation of young South Africans. However, there are different layers in how this song is valued and found significant within a historical and political framework. Amavolovolo has strong historical connotations to the Zulu people, an aspect mainly pointed out by the research participants from KZN.

Pata Pata is significant in the musical space within in the Field Band Foundation in the way it stands out as a symbol of *pride.* The township culture is highlighted as something creative, positive and inspiring through Pata Pata. When a song about a township dance from the 1950s can become so popular, it also reflects hope amongst my research participants. They are proud of the international recognition the song has had, and this pride also affects the pride of being from the township.

Dali Wam brings the theme of love and relationships to the table, illuminating a topic sometimes difficult to discuss openly and in-depth. It is a contemporary popular music song, taking a traditional theme as a wedding and presenting it in a modern way. The music is danceable, making it easier to relate to the lyrics as well. Old traditions do not have to be old-fashioned.

By revealing the significance these three South Africans songs have amongst the research participants, it is evident that social and cultural history is present in youth expression. This is a tendency existing in much of South Africa's youth culture, representing fields of tension between local-global and traditional-modern. There is always a fear that when music blends, the authenticity of the music will be lost. I would like to repeat what Lanny told me in KZN. 'I'm definitely sure; if you want to make it Western, definitely some beats are gonna be like African, that South African or African people will understand' (Lanny, KZN). Culture has never been static and it is not realistic to view culture as a pure entity (Hylland Eriksen 2008:134). In South African society knowledge about what is happening is important, especially because of the huge focus on the different cultures and ethnic groups. Music and culture determines who we are and who we want to be. Musicking in the Field Band Foundation is not necessarily based on anything else other than what the youth want to play. However, what a band chooses to play does say something about their place, their relationship to their surroundings and their cultural values.

Many fields of tension characterize South African society; a society in rapid transition. I believe that with an increased musical knowledge, youth in the Field Band Foundation will be better suited to balance these fields, contributing to change the field of tensions from divisive factors to unitary ones in their own lives. Huge class differences, an unbalanced education system and unequal power relations still control their world, making the struggle from colonization and apartheid a continuing struggle.

In South Africa today, difference and classifications are still evident, something which also affects the Field Band Foundation. A goal should be to reveal how the different cultures are related in a South African context, local culture being a part of South Africa. It is allowed to use elements from other cultures without degrading yourself or taking something from somebody else. By taking up other elements from other parts of the country, it will be a symbol of valuing the diversity in South Africa. This brings back the argument of creolization being a useful term in South African culture studies as presented by Nuttall and Michael

(2000). In creolization different cultural elements from two or more different cultures blend together, not valuing one over the other. There are no equal influences between the different cultures in the Field Band Foundation today, but the borrowing of elements is starting to happen. The music is becoming more hybrid than earlier. Having one style is not necessarily the goal, as it is not the goal in South Africa for everyone to have the same culture. What should be the goal is to try to accept the influence the different cultures have on each other, valuing it instead of being fearful. By still focusing on both basic music knowledge and cultural music knowledge within the organization, I believe the youth will be better suited to take advantage of the positive aspects of growing up in a culturally diverse South Africa.

South African society still works hard to find common ground, to relate people to each other and create a national identity. In the lack of togetherness in society, the Field Band Foundation creates a space for negotiations surrounding national identity and sociocultural identity through musical activities. Through musical space in the Field Band Foundation the young musicians form a common FBF identity, an identity which is relatable to the national South African identity. As South Africa still is extremely segregated, spaces where national identity is negotiated are not easily accessible in everyday life. Whiteley et.al (2004) explains how *place* often is replaced by *space* (2004:3). In this case negotiations within the musical space in the Field Band Foundation can be juxtaposed with negotiations towards a national identity. My assertion is that making music together, crossing ethnical and racial borders, is vital for the youth in the organization. In the Field Band Foundation a common FBF identity is negotiated through activities on a national level. South African youth need to face the past in order to find out who they are now; to find out who they want to be as *South Africans*.

Surely, this is all about finding the way forward. The way the different regions feel comfortable in presenting their music; presenting their own cultural identity. All the FBF regions in my study are doing their individual cooking, all being influenced by other regions and at the same time trying hard to be different from the other regions. The importance, all along, must be to value the cooking process and open up for new ingredients and new combinations without taking all the existing ones away. The musical results we see in the Field Band Foundation will then both reflect where they are from and construct where they are going (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000, Frith 1996, Stokes 1994).

Vokwana asks '*Iph'indlela?* Where is the way?' when he is discussing African identity and popular music in post-apartheid South Africa (2007). I do not think there is one way, but

rather many that lead in the same direction; into the future. In the Field Band Foundation these paths are constructed within a musical space, where relations in everyday life are negotiated and renewed though notions of cultural complexity.

Thank you, my Africa
I wouldn't be what I am without you

PART IV:
References and appendix

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Personal communication: interviews

Interviews might contain personal information which potentially can identify the research participants. Therefore the transcribed material is not attached to the thesis.

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material.

KZN individual interview: Brown. 07.07.2009. 6 pages transcribed material.

Soweto focus group: Itumeleng, Hope and Kastro. 20.06.2009. 23 pages transcribed
material.

Soweto individual interview: Papiki. 7 pages transcribed material.

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Appendix

FBF National Championship program 2008

Alexandra Field Band "Tribute to Brenda Fassie"

De Beers Blouberg Field Band "Limpopo Spirit on Fire"

De Beers Musina Field Band "Hot Sunny Day"

> Burn Out Sipho Mabuse
>
> Aqua Marine Vusumzi Sikuphelo
>
> The way I are Timbaland
>
> Clap Clap Song The Klaxtons
>
> Gonna Fly Now "Rocky" Soundtrack

De Beers Cullinan Field Band "Diamond Warriors"

> Intro from "The King" Musical
>
> Landscapes
>
> Mission Impossible
>
> Exceprt from "The King" Musical

Shatterprufe Northern Eagles Field Band "Open your eyes and Fly"

> Man in Motion John Parr
>
> Feather Merchant Count Basi
>
> Fly me to the Moon Bart Howard
>
> Eagles Wings Reuben Morgan
>
> I get wings to fly Celine Dion
>
> Gonna Fly Now Rocky theme song

PG – Black Like Me Field Band "It ain't over!"

> Excerpt from the Godfather
>
> You can hate me now
>
> It ain't over
>
> Every Step I Take

Anglo Coal Field Band "Rhythm of the Coal City"

Stocks- Anglo Field Band "Music Connection"

De Beers-Black Like Me Northern Cape Field Band "Afro Latin Fusion"

Guantanamera

Samba

La Bamba

Chilemtina

Mambo No. 5

Phata Phata

Daveyton Field Band "African Fusion"

Final Countdown

Puleng

Kwela Kwela

Sunday Showers

Dance with Me

Hell-Fire

Cape Whaler's Field Band "New Beginnings"

A Whole New World

Nobody was supposed to be here

Day by Day

Amavolovolo Traditional

PFG Londalusha Field Band "Going to War!"

Senators

 Modern Girl

Spirits

Victory

The Storm is Over R. Kelly

Mdantsane Field Band "Dance with different Rhythms"

Siyaphambili

Walk a Mile in my Shoe

Music of the Night Webber

Expressivo

De Beers Kimberley Field Band "Where it all started!"

The Beginning

The Cream of Clapton

Light Walk

Intrada Festivo

PG Bison Buccaneers Field Band "Serve it hot and tasty!"

Not yet Uhuru

The Hammer

Jimmy Dludlu Jimmy Dlulu

Maru Apula

Genesis

Salut

Feel the Heat

FBF National Championship program 2009

Alexandra Field Band "Jazz by the Lake"

Walila Umntwana (traditional) (arr X Qoma)

Stimela – Hugh Masikela (arr X Qoma)

Summertime – G Gershwin (arr X Qoma)

Ntyilo-Ntyilo (traditional) (arr X Qoma)

Ndiredi – S Dana (arr X Qoma)

Stocks Anglo Bafokeng Field Band "Culture Excellence "

Circle of Life – Lion King

Wado Wado – Yvonne Chaka Chaka

Hello Mr – Rhythmic Elements

Mobodue – Seramphetshana

Drum Solo – Paseka Seabelo

Heal the World – Lucky Mokgethi

Royal Bafokeng Holdings Field Band "Experiencing New Beginnings"

Not yet Uhuru - Letta Mbuli

Too late to Apologise - Malaika

Another one - Malaika

De Beers Blouberg Field Band "The Harmonic Journey of Blouberg - Striving for Excellence"

Cornfield Rock - Jacob de Haan

Olympic Spirit – John Towner Williams

Highland Cathedral – Uli Roever and Michael Korb

Written in the stone – Earth, Wind and Fire

Rhythm Madness – Victor Lopez

Best of the Best (movie sound track) – David Michael Frank

De Beers Black Like Me Northern Cape Field Band "Gospel according to DBB"

Ek is dors (Arr.Paul Mathebula)

Ask (Arr.Peter Graham)

Blessed be the the name of the Lord (Arr.Richard Phillips)

Drum Break[Gravity] - By Gregory Matibako

Majesty (Arr.William Gorden)

Now we are gone - Black.

De Beers PPC Kimberley Field Band "Essentially yours"

Funiculi Funicula (Arr. Peter Aaron)

En Natt Forbi (Arr.Frode Raydland)

Brindisi (Arr.Peter Aaron)

Drum Break- By Neo Lemphote

Jellicle Song (Arr.Peter Aaron)

Habanare (Arr.Peter Aaron)

De Beers Cullinan Field Band "La Vida Loca"

Samba

Accidentals

A Marte

Drum Break;   Party time

Does Nothing

Mas Que Nada

Woza December

PFG Londolusha Field Band (Eastern Gauteng) "Celebration of Ubuhle Bendoda (Beauty of the People)"

Celebration – (Arr Morten Sanner)

Ubuhle Bendoda - Malaika

Osiyeza - Juluka and Johnny Clegg

Soul Bossa Nova - Iyven

Umqombothi - Yvone Chaka Chaka

One Love - Bob

I Feel Good - Quincey Jones

Tsoga Africa - Tsepo Tsula

Mdantsane Field Band (East London) "Heart of a Child"

Children of Sanchez – Charles Mangione

Pin Ball Wizard – Blue Devils

Michaelangelo – Sigvart Degsland

Blood Sword – Young Blood

PG Bison Buccaneer Field Band (KZN) "It's Time / Ke Yona"

Hot Hot Hot - Arrow

Copa Cabana - Barry Manilow

Hit of the Day - Ndabo Bombo

Rainforest - Norwegians

Ballad - Ndabo Bombo

Children of Sanchez - Chuck Mangione

Calypso – Unknown

Legend of the One Eyed Sailor – Unknown

De Beers Musina Field Band "Thunder Knock"

'LA' Musica - KB

Gauglione - Perez 'Perez' Prado

Drum Solo-Tshediso

Children of Sanchez- Chuck Mangione

Braveheart Theme Song- James Horner

Chresent City- Young Blood Brass Band

Plett Pioneers Field Band "In True Colours"

Release Me – Agnes Carlsson (arr Justin Rondganger)

Disturbia – Rihanna – (Arr Juston Rondganger)

Celebration – Kool and the Gang (Arr David Esau)

Please Stop the Music – Rihanna (Arr Justin Rondganger)

Glayer – Eugene Ndlovu

Shatterprufe Northern Eagles "Spirit of Africa"

Scatterlings of Africa – Johnny Clegg

African Market Place- Brass brothers

Stimela Sase-zola – Mbongeni Ngema

Sarafina, freedom is coming –

Pata-Pata – Miriam Makeba

Drum break – Eagles Percussion group

Anglo American Tsantsabane Field Band "The new start"

I see you when you get there

Sizohamba ka ncane

Johanna give me hope

Soweto Field Band "Life In Soweto (Where Africans Meet)"

Maria's Life (Arrngd By Khaya Benele)

Sarafina By Mbongeni Ngema

Intonga By Stompie Mavi

Drum Solo By Bongani Goliath

Africa Day By Zim Ngqawana

Pit Solo By Bobo

Samba By Brazilians

Cape Whalers Field Band "Grand Finale 2010"

English National Anthem

SA National Anthem

African Dream- Vicky Samson

World in Union- P J Powers/Dame Kiri te Kanawa

Percussion Strike

The Final Count Down

We are the Champions- Queen

Celebration - Kool and the Gang

Anglo American Emalahleni Field Band "Tribute to Bongane"

Take 4 by Xolani

Mash the Trash

Love ballad by Freddy Mondhlana

Phumelela by Jacob Mhlapheng