

Sounds of Change –

Social and Political Features of Music in Africa

EDITOR STIG-MAGNUS THORSÉN



African music is intricately interwoven with development issues. The texts of twelve authors – and the music on the attached CD – mirror ways in which music reflects and interacts with development of society. Music is a dynamic and highly charged force that affects and embraces intellectual property rights, democracy, economic growth, censorship, media, tradition, globalisation, and education. The discussions extend over issues of oppression of women, culture, and human rights.

Audio examples

Sida Studies No. 12

Sounds of Change – Social and Political Features of Music in Africa

EDITOR: STIG-MAGNUS THORSÉN

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APPENDIX: AUDIO EXAMPLES

1. **Oliver Mtukudzi & The Black Spirits:** *Wasakara* (7'27").
2. **Remmy Ongala:** *Mambo Kwa Soksi* (8'01").
3. **Maryam Mursal:** *Somali Udiida Ceb* (5'38").
4. **Matoub Lounès:** *Sserhass Ayadu* (4'01").
5. **Roger Lucey:** *Lungile Tabalaza* (3'25").
6. **Wendo:** *Marie-Louise* (3'22").
7. **Georges Ouédraogo:** *Rosalie* (4'09").
8. **Doundosy:** *Djecka* (3'22").
9. **The Perfect Generation:** *Kakoolo No. 1 Hit* (4'49").
10. **Rose Quaye:** *Enyidado Egya* (5'25").
11. **Kwanongoma College of Music:** *Amaxoxo* (2'07").

Total playing time for all audio examples: 52'16"

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Further notes and comments on the audio examples on page 217.

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Sidastudies

Foreword by Sida

One of the aims of Sida Studies is that they should be a bridge between good scientific work and popular reading. They should be of innovative value to development and be interesting and relevant for readers outside research institutions and universities.

In the study *Sounds of Change* a number of music researchers and stakeholders from Africa and the Nordic countries describe the role of music in political, social, economic and not least, cultural development on the African continent from their own different points of departure. To Sida, the articles of the individual authors form a stimulating and thought-provoking view of the role and possibilities of music, not only in its own right but also as part of the development agenda. Here we can acquire knowledge to improve our analyses and follow-up of the overall objective of Swedish development cooperation “to help create conditions that will enable the poor to improve their lives.”

Sida’s point of departure is that all development is generated by people within their own societies and can never be created from outside. The links to poverty reduction and to the goals of development cooperation in the cultural field are often not evident at a glance. However, this report will help us. Amongst other things, the study touches upon music as a political protest, and thus illustrates the role of music as a mobilising factor for political change; and it also touches upon music as a product for export and import and thus illustrates the role of music as a factor in economic growth.

With the aid of illustrations and the attached CD with audio examples, the study takes up conflicting circumstances, events and attitudes in society, exemplified in the concepts of modernity, tradition, colonialism, gender, identity, censorship, profit, resistance and political oppression. The positive influence of music vibrates between the expressions of conflict in the lines and tones of this study – both as a goal in itself and as a means to achieve change in the everyday lives of people, in which conflicts are often present.

The study is intended for an interested public and for cultural workers and cultural institutions inside and outside Africa. It is also intended for researchers and research establishments working in the field of music and social science, and for libraries.

We would like to extend our very warm thanks to Professor Stig-Magnus Thorsén at the School of Music and Music Education at Göte-

borg University, who has been the editor of this study and who has performed his task with great skill and sensibility. We would also very much like to thank the editorial group, Krister Malm, Mai Palmberg, Maria Arnqvist and Maria Gasch for their dedicated work in the study and, finally, we would indeed like to warmly thank all authors to the different chapters.

Stockholm, November 2004



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Head of Division for
Culture and Media
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Introduction

STIG-MAGNUS THORSÉN

Is it possible to hear when societies are changing? Yes, in fact. Sound – in the form we call music – plays an important role in the life and development of societies. We can say that music has social and political features, among many other things. In this book you – the reader – will be given concrete examples of ways in which music operates in Africa, with an emphasis on different social processes, which you can also *listen* to on the attached CD. In future cooperation between Nordic and African countries it is important to understand what is common to these conflicts from the global perspective, and what is specific to Africa. The texts will hopefully provide musical insight and inspiration as a contribution to cooperation of this type.

The discussion in the book is based on the idea that culture is a central factor in the life of societies. Music is certainly an arena of its own. It has its own ways of thinking and communicating. Music also intervenes in and exerts an influence on discussions taking place in other sectors. Music is a cause of, and a reflection of, changes in societies. Thus, for example, freedom songs (*Chimurenga* songs in Zimbabwe, the *Toyi Toyi* dance in South Africa, or Remmy Ongala's songs in Tanzania) have provided powerful support for democratisation processes. At the same time, the desire of the younger generation for modernisation of society has been expressed in current rap lyrics. Richard Ssewakiryanga summarises the conflict between modern global rap and local traditions in Chapter 8 with the words "bringing the global home". Several themes recur throughout the book, which demonstrate this dual bond between society and music: the conflict between different economic systems, the after-effects of colonialism, or the practice of democracy.

Music is both volatile and concrete in its character. Think, for example, about the *mbira*, which is described in Chapter 1. This is a musical in-

strument that means a great deal today in the interaction between tradition, spirituality, and current politics. The first colonisers regarded it as a “thumb piano”, believing that it was merely a primitive copy of the Western instrument. However, the instrument – a sounding board with metal tongues, often with a calabash, which amplifies the sound – has been extensively developed in many African countries. Its multi-faceted tone system is a bearer of symbols and attitudes that cut right through verbal rhetoric. Different types of *mbiras* indicate affiliation, Western influence, or authenticity. Social changes, the potential for development and vital functions interact in this way with the tool of concrete music. The man-music-society triangle is present whenever a tone is sung or a dance-step is taken, an assumption that will be nurtured by the evidence in this anthology.

Sida gave me and an editorial group the assignment of collecting new texts that discuss music in Africa. Gradually several different aims emerged in this project: in the first place an aspiration to provide material that would provide an understanding of the role of music in the development of societies. In this respect, it is also important to shed concrete light on current conditions for African music – a field that is often surrounded by myths and notions. One central idea was also to present the perspectives of European and African researchers and stakeholders to initiate a debate between experts from different parts of the world.

In the book, you will meet twelve different voices, accompanied by eleven pieces of music. All are interwoven by the following themes.

Symbols of Resistance and Alternatives

Listen to the CD track *Wasakara* (CD track 1), performed by Oliver Mtukudzi, and put it into context by reading Mai Palmberg’s article (Chapter 1). A power game emerges on the soundtrack in the form of music and lyrics that symbolises President Mugabe’s struggle against his old age in a political system in crisis. This is done in veiled terms but, for anyone living in the middle of the struggle, the meaning is clear. The representatives of official power are irritated about the elusive song and for, the opposition movement, the song symbolises something that they cannot speak about. Thus music, texts, singers’ voices, instruments, and performances can be used as political weapons. Opposition and alternatives are thus experienced and processed at a deeper level than through political slogans.

Susan Makore takes the discussion on developments in Zimbabwe fur-

ther, and sees the role of music from a feminist perspective (Chapter 2). Women artists face a double challenge – to be treated as serious, talented performers; and to change the stereotyping messages and images about women that are communicated through music and other forms of popular culture. Such messages have an enormous influence in shaping the real language of gender and power relations in a culture and a counter-discourse is desperately needed.

In both Palmberg's and Makore's chapters, we can read how the established powers can use the power of music to their own advantage. Mugabe's political power is exercised, for example, through a culture of propaganda. The men in the media industry possess the means of production, which are also used for reactionary purposes. A further force in the struggle for freedom in Zimbabwe for example is the growth of gospel music. On the one hand, this genre provides a hopeful alternative to poverty and despair, on the other hand it is an extremely lucrative musical practice. In fact, gospel is the only form of music in Zimbabwe which is financially viable. The genre is the subject of dispute. It is a question of whether this Christian music solves problems for individuals but hampers the political struggle. In other words the role of culture in modern Africa is complicated and unpredictable.

Political and Commercial Censorship

There are several structures that filter the free flow of music and reduce artistic freedom of expression. Censorship is a multi-dimensional phenomenon of this type. Annemette Kirkegaard (Chapter 3) describes how music has sometimes been subjected to political oppression. A musician, Remmy Ongala, has been the champion of democracy in Tanzania for a quarter of a century. Kirkegaard describes how his role as "spokesman for the poor people" rapidly came into conflict with those in power. The result: censorship and self-censorship has become a complicated, destructive power directed against the democratic potential of music and poetry. The antidote is implicit humour that winds its way through the vines.

Ongala is described by Kirkegaard as an example of how a musician can take advantage of the functions of music to intensify the political features of music. She analyses a piece of music in which the path followed by the music is changed in interaction with the text and an invitation to dance. Ongala also tackles the Aids issue in the film "Bongo Beat". Listen to the same theme in Ongala's much-discussed *Mambo Kwa Soksi*

(Things with Socks, CD track 2). Ongala seems to be very well aware of the double meaning of texts.

The issue of censorship is also examined by Maria Korpe and Ole Reitov (Chapter 4). Their point of departure is the work done by FREEMUSE, an organisation that monitors the censorship of music on a global basis. The authors describe the negative effect that censorship has on society in general. It is not merely democracy that is suppressed, the music industry and potential economic growth are also held back. On the CD (track 3–5) we can listen to three singers, each of whom is a tragic example of enforced silence. Today, Maryam Mursal from Somalia lives in exile. She shares her fate with hundreds of celebrated African artists that have been silenced in their home countries. Another case reported in the chapter deals with the exiled Berber singer Lounès Matoub from Algeria who was brutally murdered while visiting his homeland Algeria in August 1999. Further, the promising career of the South African protest singer Roger Lucey was ended by a security police branch policeman. Lucey's songs about the injustices of the apartheid system were too challenging.

The Western music industry also plays a dual role in the new genre that is known as World Music. This music wants to give prominence to music from countries that do not have a music industry of their own. Many listeners and musicians are internationally curious and have feelings of solidarity. At the same time, the most important music from an African perspective is not always desirable in the West. It seldom passes through the West's aesthetic and commercial filters. Originally, the Christian and Muslim missions determined what was good music or evil music. Today the global market works in the same way, with a tough, realistic grading of African music as either attractive and marketable or uninteresting and of no value. Thus, economic censorship has an effect on the export of African music.

Music in Trade and Industry

Commercial connections between Africa and other continents have been possible for hundreds of years. From late 19th century, trade in cultural commodities was intensified. Traditional music from Africa was dispersed abroad via tours and the media. During the same century, the latest European fashion hit the African continent. Odeon – a German company – started recordings en masse in Congo around 1910, while the new technology was rare in many countries in the North. Quite soon, distribution via wireless media became a frequent phenomenon even in rural African

areas, and the music industry abroad was eager to use African music as a well for domestic and world markets.

This development continued in post-colonial Africa, but then new powers entered the stage. An increasing degree of commercialisation led to warped business relations in music production. Africa became a market place for music produced on other continents. The establishment of African companies and recording studios did not meet domestic expectations. The neo-colonial dominance of big multinational companies inhibited local activities. Political power struggles and issues of author's rights were, and are, other insistent elements in the growing media economy. Accordingly, in addition to the economic censorship mentioned above, the major companies in the West have a commercial interest in controlling the African music market.

The history of the emergent music industry is summarised by Wolfgang Bender (Chapter 5). In a recording from the 1950s (CD track 6), we can hear the legendary artist, Wendo, sing the song about Marie-Louise. This song represents a broad repertoire of African media music, which was issued by, among others, the Congolese record company, Ngoma, between 1948 and 1960. The company produced thousands of titles every year. The enormous popularity and high sales figures achieved by various African artists rarely came to the attention of listeners on other continents.

Through an interview with Richard Traoré (Chapter 6), we are given an insight into a musical production workshop. Seydoni Productions, which has the ambition of producing and distributing local music, works under very difficult circumstances in Mali and Burkina Faso. On the CD, there are two examples that represent different styles in production – the music is both global and local. Georges Ouédraogo (CD track 7) sings *Rosalie* in an old manner where the style of singing and melodies, backed up by a big band, is dominated by foreign models. The younger song artist, Doundosy, (CD track 8) sings the song *Djecka* with a much stronger tribute to the African music of today, where tradition is of great importance in the sound of the voices. This style indicates an exciting development of well-established local styles, but it is nonetheless in harmony with global genres.

Traoré also shows the consequences of the cultural policies of different countries. In recent decades, the cultural policies of Mali and Burkina Faso have moved in different directions. Where Mali is concerned, the government's specific national culture policy of the 1960s has a considerable effect on shaping musical skills in the country. On the other hand, Burkina Faso did not have a culture policy and the government opened

the door to foreign music imports. Consequently, Congolese music, French music, and other foreign music that was better recorded and arranged became stronger on the market. The article also shows the obvious difficulties relating to issues such as copyright and pirate copying. The conflict revealed here between different economic systems is difficult to solve. Judging from Traoré's account, the answer is not only laws on copyright. Such laws are broken or counteracted by stronger forces.

Krister Malm (Chapter 7) also takes up these issues, but at the overall level. He points out that the prevailing copyright system does not benefit African music. The main reason why African states have not entered the international system for intellectual property rights has been that, in all African countries, more foreign music is imported than domestic music exported. This would mean more payments to foreign right holders than income to domestic right holders. Moreover, the international system for intellectual property rights is not compatible with indigenous notions of ownership in music and other arts. Can equitable economic principles be created that are based on different approaches to ownership and copyright? The conflict between international and African copyright systems is a challenge to the major Western companies. Is African music caught in a trap which, on the one hand, forces them to pay for imported music and, on the other hand, restricts the possibilities available to them to export music?

Tradition and Modernity in Conflict

Changes in economies, means of production, and political systems have been rapid. Modernisation has not always come through slow organic processes, but rather as epoch-making leaps between tradition and modernity. Uneven conditions for livelihoods entail an almost painful difference between, for example, rural and urban settings, between suburb and city, between poor and rich. The remote urban Western image of Africa is still impregnated by dominance of the rural, the traditional, and destitution.

Extrinsic forces such as missions, colonisation, or neocolonisation often evoke a striving towards modernity. Sometimes this is followed by clashes between diverse African environments. Yet, many Africans seem to be able to cope with, or even easily navigate between, past, present, and future. Music as a means of communication between persons and even within a person has meant much for the solution of such conflicts.

A typical meeting between tradition and modernity takes place when

a young person discovers the big world outside his family and his own street. Richard Ssewakiryanga (Chapter 8) describes, through flashbacks to his own musical career, how the dream for change was nourished by pop music from the West. The radio and gramophone records brought international life into the local arena. Through absorbing these styles into the bands he played in, a form of African modernism came into being. “We did not have to follow any orthodox styles but invested and reinvented, drawing from the energies that our imagination could afford us and the technologies that we could mobilise to live and celebrate our imaginations.”

In 1993, the song *Kakoolo No. 1 Hit* (CD track 9) was a big hit. It is based on a fairy tale from Buganda, which is sung or told to small children with the aim of teaching them to be careful with strangers. The song was mixed with modern rap and eventually performed by the band “The Perfect Generation”. It was a success and a new music style evolved which combined the old song with American rap groove.

Modern broadcasting media takes on the conflict between tradition and modernity. South African television broadcasts a number of programmes that are based on local musical styles, but characterised by the new forms required by the media. Caleb Ukumu Chrispo (Chapter 9), who has studied music programmes directed specifically towards Africans, saw how this transformation resulted in new ways of unifying the behaviour and ways of thinking of rural and urban areas. He poses important questions on whether the African identity is preserved or thwarted in the television programme format.

African or European Music Education?

Culture in Africa is living in a historical process. The legacy of colonialism is ever present, not least in the music. Political systems are changed and new laws are written, but the ways of thinking that are formulated, for example in different artistic expressions, still live on. There it is possible to find – to put it simply – the soul of society. Different historical stages in this process of social change can be found in music education.

The colonial educational systems have, in general, been inherited by the independent states. James Flolu (Chapter 10) shows how the conflict still exists in Ghana between the indigenous content and methods of teaching and learning versus their colonial counterparts. For a person eager to learn traditional African music there are, however, several routes to take: informal learning in families and ethnic communities, in music

bands, traditional settings, etc. But Western-based standards, with European music as the norm, overshadow the arena of professionally recognised knowledge.

The ambiguous or conflicting value systems complicate cultural development. Music is closely connected to spiritual areas. The new religion introduced by Westerners stood in contrast to the indigenous African religions but, at the same time, the local attitude was accommodative to several religious paths. Today, this hybridity is often expressed in voices and instruments. Listen to Euro-African cross-over music (CD track 10) from the Musama Disco Christo Church and discover the blend of musical practices.

The objective of colonial music education followed – and still follows – strategies of the mission and the colonial governments, as described by Stig-Magnus Thorsén (Chapter 11). In many countries, control and supervision of European inspired syllabi and examination systems were in the hands of the colonial governments. Where a large amount of settlers lived, the music education on higher levels was imprinted by the needs of the minorities to preserve European culture. In countries like South Africa, the settlers' culture dominated the stage for music performance, education, and scholarly activities. The British Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, which still conducts examinations, started its work in South Africa around 1900 and is still a vital part of music tuition in many African countries.

In Zimbabwe, the mission of the Church of Sweden was strong and had a predominant component of music education. The musicologist and missionary Olof Axelsson was instrumental in remanufacturing the indigenous *mbira* and *marimba* (an instrument with wooden bars tuned to different pitches which is played with mallets) in co-operation with the Kwanongoma College in Bulawayo. He aimed at preserving, as well as directing, the development of the instruments for use in schools. African and Western musical idioms merged into a specific style of Euro-African music that can be heard in *Amaxoxo* performed by an ensemble at the Kwanongoma College (CD track 11). Gradually, the *marimba* became widespread in mission churches all over Southern Africa.

Tradition and Modernity Reconciled

The final chapter in the anthology ties together many issues by giving the floor to J. H. Kwabena Nketia (Chapter 12). The chapter starts with a presentation of Nketia and his significance for African music research. In the

interview, he takes up, among other things, ways in which his own life reflects the conflict between tradition and modernity. Nketia points out the importance of colonialism for the ways Africans regard their own traditions. Old music was felt to be uncomfortable since it was considered to belong to a past era. Eventually, in the liberated African states, a vacuum arose that needed to be filled by music with a new identity. Nketia was an active motor in this process, which reshaped traditional music to fit into the new environment. The relationship between history and the present has been of importance for both music theory and practice.

Music in Zimbabwe's Crisis

MAI PALMBERG

Audio example:

Wasakara performed by Oliver Mtukudzi (CD track 1)

On December 29, 2000, one of the most popular musicians in Zimbabwe, Oliver Mtukudzi gave a concert in the huge Harare Convention Centre. The repertoire included the lead track from his freshly released album *Bvuma* (Tolerance). The lyrics of this song *Wasakara* (You Are Worn Out), encourages an un-named person to realize that he is too old now, his time has passed, and he should step down. Not surprisingly, the audience thought of President Mugabe. Somebody persuaded the lighting technician to swing the floodlight on President Mugabe's portrait, which overlooks all public halls in Zimbabwe. He was arrested, but released after four days. Mtukudzi himself went public, vehemently denying any allusion to the president. No, he had been thinking of himself, and had been inspired for the song when he had seen one of his younger relatives. The song could live on, and so could people's thoughts.¹

Mtukudzi and Thomas Mapfumo are the best known musical commentators in Zimbabwe, and also musical giants and innovators in their own right. As early as during the liberation struggle, both Mapfumo and Mtukudzi and many other musicians supported the struggle against settler rule. Their long career and music reception deserve deeper studies.² What is interesting in this context is that their use of lyrics differs. Thomas

1. The incident is described in Eyre 2001, p. 80 and is widely told in Zimbabwe. *Wasakara* became an unofficial anthem of the opposition party, the MDC.

2. Thomas Turino's well-researched book *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (2000) is to a large part a detailed analysis of Mapfumo's musical career, and the influences forming it. Banning Eyre is working on a full-length biography of Thomas Mapfumo. A study of Mtukudzi is still lacking.



Oliver Mtukudzi has his own style of popular music, called *Tuku*, which also is his nickname. His subtle lyrics is full of moralist allusions to things gone wrong, but he avoids open confrontation. He is popular both among Shona and Ndebele, and energetically tours the country. The photo is taken at a concert in Bulawayo in December 2002. Photo: Mai Palmberg.

Mapfumo's lyrics are often much more direct than those of Mtukudzi, and he has earned a long and solid reputation for his political messages. He is something of a musical hero.

Mtukudzi is known to have his own specific musical style, called after his nickname *Tuku*. It is a mixture of the fast-beating *mbaqanga* rhythm, and fast percussive dance rhythm *jit*, blended with gentler *mbira* rhythms.³ One can say that the *Tuku* music in itself is a statement of an inclusive nationalism, as it includes the *mbaqanga* style of Bulawayo.⁴

In Mtukudzi's 44th album, the allusions to the country's leadership crisis are less than subtle. The picture of the album *Vhunze Moto* (Burning Fire) shows a Zimbabwe burning, and some of the lines in the title song *Moto Moto* are: "Even embers are fire. Why wait until it's a huge flame to accept it's a fire? You have made the fire, making it on your own, to prove that it is a fire." (*Song of Zimbabwe*, Oliver Mtukudzi 2003).

3. In an interview in April 2003 Mtukudzi says he never used this name, coined by his fans, before the 1990s, and that there have been new elements brought in, such as percussion and female vocalists. Interview with Meron Tesfa Michael, April 4, 2003.

4. I am not sure whether he actually refers to *mbaqanga* as Ndebele music, since it is also one of the music styles of the South African city of Johannesburg.

Maputo's music style since the 1970s has been that of *Chimurenga music*. *Chimurenga* was the word for the joint Ndebele-Shona rebellion against the British in the 1890s, and was adopted by the nationalists for the armed struggle in the 1970s. Initially Mapfumo meant by this term the adaptation of old Shona songs, which with their words on misery and drought were given a new meaning when sung during the armed liberation struggle (Turino 2000:284ff). Later it has become a term for the specific musical style, where the *mbira* is played with an electric band.⁵ Yet, another meaning of *chimurenga music* was given when Mapfumo emerged as a critic of the ruling group.⁶ This he did as early as in the 1980s when he released a song *Corruption*, about the first big public corruption scandal involving the top layers of society. "Through his recordings and concerts during these years, Mapfumo helped guide a large sector of the population to the point where they could imagine opposing ZANU-PF in the service of greater patriotism", writes Banning Eyre. (Eyre 2001:66)

Just after Mapfumo had received an Honorary Degree from the University of Zimbabwe at the end of 1999, he released *Chimurenga Explosion*, whose title track gives a good example of his direct language (Eyre 2001:69):

Mother of my child, there is disaster here
 Disaster within our family
 Disaster within our house
 Man, there is disaster here
 Disaster in our country
 Man, there is a lot of corruption in our country
 Our country is full of corruption
 The crooks are going to finish us

Mapfumo moved to the United States after the June elections in 2000. With Mapfumo no longer in Zimbabwe and his music practically, if not formally, banned, those who see protest only in clear political messages could gain the impression that resistance in music inside Zimbabwe is dead. I will try to show that reality is much more complex and interesting.⁷

5. Interview with Paul Brickhill 21 October 2000.

6. On the cover of a CD with Thomas Mapfumo's collected "classic cuts and rare tracks" from 1978–2002 one can read: "We call this Chimurenga music. The word means struggle and in my songs I speak against oppression and try to give voice to the people who cannot speak for themselves."

7. A caveat: I discuss here only popular music in the two main cities, Harare and Bulawayo. My paper is limited to how musicians relate to the present crisis, and should be read as notes for discussion, not as results of concluded research. The manuscript was finalised in January 2004.

For the example of Mtukudzi's *Wasakara* related above, there are bound to be many others, which have escaped recognition, because they are subtle. Subtlety is a professional working method in all societies with repression and/or censorship. In Zimbabwe, we also find specific cultural influences in the biggest ethnic group, the Shona, whose oral tradition and behavioural ethics are based on allusions.⁸

It is in any case the nature of artistic production that the contents cannot be analysed like an editorial or a political speech. It is another language, but sometimes as powerful. An artist is an artist, not a megaphone. And, in the end, it is the function, whether intended or not, which counts. The artist creates, but the audience shapes. For all these reasons, what cultural resistance there is can easily escape an outside observer.

After discussing the background and history of the present situation, the first part of this paper discusses how different music genres relate to the current crisis in Zimbabwe.

The Multiple Crises

When, after several years of liberation struggle in the 1970s, Zimbabwe achieved independence in 1980, it was the breadbasket of the southern African region, with a fairly diversified economy, and a fairly high proportion of citizens with some education. ZANU-PF, with Robert Mugabe at its helm, won the independence election in 1980 and has ruled Zimbabwe ever since.

Political independence had been won, but the land question remained unresolved. Most of the good farmland was in the hands of white farmers, a colonial legacy of the occupation of the country in the latter part of the 19th century by British/South African forces. With their harvests of tobacco and other crops, the white farms gave the new state a good source of foreign currency.

Zimbabwe has been severely hit by a number of political, social, and economic crises. Living costs have soared, and galloping inflation (the government boasted in April 2004 that it had brought down inflation from above 600 to a little less than 600) has depreciated the value of money, while high unemployment, and the land policies of the government, exacerbated by repeated drought, has made the food situation critical, and virtually exhausted the possibilities for the cities to absorb migrants from

8. The concept "ethnic group" can be discussed. I am using it here in its common-sense definition as a group with a common language and a perceived common identity. In the past "Shona" has been more of an umbrella term covering several different groups, speaking different dialects.

the rural areas. When food aid has come in, it has often been used as a political weapon, and denied to others than ZANU/PF supporters.

Despite the fact that the government recognised the presence and perils of the AIDS epidemic in the early 1990s, it has continued to affect all too many men and women in the productive and reproductive ages. It is believed by many to have affected the artist community particularly severely.

The lack of foreign currency for spare parts has meant the run-down of equipment. Foreign funding is decreasing rapidly because of the political situation. Unfortunately, while the European Union boycott is directed against the top leadership in its "smart sanctions", Western development aid agencies and funding organisations tend to shun support for cultural institutions if they have any links at all to the state, for example the national art galleries.

There is no denying that Zimbabwe is in crisis, but in the politically polarised situation, the interpretations of the causes and the blame vary. In my view, many of the current problems are of the government's making, and even though some come from other sources, there is seldom any remedy offered by the government.

The social and economic crisis, marked by deterioration in the living conditions of ordinary people, began in the early 1990s. The government cannot be squarely blamed for all aspects of it. Zimbabwe shared with many African states the scenario of the International Monetary Fund, which demanded that the states to which it gave loans should dismantle anything that looked like a welfare state in favour of rampant privatisation and the cessation of food subsidies to the city population.

The political crisis, with a political stalemate, violence against regime opponents, and a shrinking redefinition of nationalism and belonging, is wholly the making of the ZANU (PF) government and of President Robert Mugabe.⁹

When a popular opposition party, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), proved to be a serious contender for power, the government began to politicise the state apparatus to an unprecedented degree. Despite the lip-service paid to multi-partyism, an effective opposition is not tolerated, and the state apparatus and paramilitary groups, such as armed youth brigades (the Green Bombers), are given a free hand to punish those considered enemies of the ruling party.

The whites have been alienated as a consequence of the haphazard violence of land evictions since 2000, and through a government campaign to "Africanise" industry and trade. The land evictions have hit the farm

9. Hammar, Raftopoulos & Jensen 2003, and Bond & Manyanya 2002 describe the crises well. and with perspectives similar to mine.

workers particularly severely. Many of them are descendants of immigrants from neighbouring countries and are now denied Zimbabwean citizenship.

It struck me when I visited Zimbabwe in late 2002, and even more on a new visit in mid 2003, that this was a country where nothing was changing for the better, and a lot for the worse. And yet, this is not the whole truth. Some benefit greatly. In some parts of Harare, most glaringly in some areas of the suburb Borrowdale, you can see luxury houses – recently built or under construction. Also, land, from which white farmers have been evicted, is there for the taking for those who can prove ZANU membership.

Background: The Road to the Politicised State

Today's crisis in Zimbabwe is also a crisis of nationalism. To understand why we need to look back. After independence, Zimbabwean political development was largely locked by the stipulations made in the Lancaster House agreement, which preceded independence in 1980. Jocelyn Alexander summarises the period well:

The transition to independence in 1980 was, however, hedged in by the constraints of a negotiated independence, and the related choice of the new Zanu (PF) government to emphasise “moderation and reconciliation”. In stark contrast to today's rhetoric, the government defended the central role of whites in the economy. Rather than targets of attack, white farmers rapidly became “something of a protected species” [Palmer 1990:167]. Moderation and reconciliation also left much of the Rhodesian state's bureaucratic and security structures in place. This was a highly centralised and powerful state, ill suited to accommodating popular demands. Post-independence efforts at decentralisation were notably ineffective. Newly elected representative institutions at district level were imbued with neither decision-making authority nor substantial control over resources. Instead, Zanu (PF) used the powerful state it had inherited to reinforce its control over popular movements as well as over political opposition, most dramatically in a violent campaign against Zapu. (Alexander 2004)

The violent campaign against ZAPU refers to the atrocities in Matabeleland in the early 1980s, when the North Korea-trained Fifth Brigade was sent in to uproot armed “dissidents” (of whom there were quite a few), often defining all civilians in the area as their accomplices. The two main ethnic groups, Shona, the majority group, and the Ndebele in the West-

ern part of the country, Matabeleland, had provided the respective main bases for the two liberation movements, ZANU and ZAPU. At the end of the war, they joined to form the Patriotic Front (PF), but this was more a tactical move than real cooperation.

The Fifth Brigade flag, and thereby the war itself, was named by Robert Mugabe, then Prime Minister “Gukuharundi”, translated variously as “the Storm”, “the Spring Storm” or “the (storm) sweeping away rubbish”. Most significantly, people in Matabeleland interpreted it as the last-mentioned version, and felt they were described as rubbish.¹⁰

While Thomas Mapfumo was praising ZANU in his songs in the mid 1980s, and cultural nationalist George Kahari could exclaim that protest song was all gone¹¹, this cruel war, which killed between 3,000 and 10,000 people, was effectively silenced, at home and abroad. No songs of protest against the atrocities were created, as far as I know. Instead, there were several songs condemning the dissidents. Thomas Mapfumo wrote one song called *Nyarai* (Be Ashamed) against the dissidents.

The dissidents were groups of armed guerrillas who had not joined the new united Zimbabwe National Army. They had no new agenda, but “sought a return to the unrecoverable pre-conflict state, and saw the war as a one for survival in which tribalism had replaced ideology” (Alexander et al. 2000:181). The perspective of tribalism was also used from the government side, for example, when ZANU/PF minister Enos Nkala, himself an Ndebele, proclaimed that dissidents were “Ndebele who were calling for a second war of liberation”. (Alexander et al 2000:185–186). Apartheid South Africa contributed to the worsening of the conflict by attacking government bases, and training so-called “super-ZIPRA”.

By and large, silence has reigned around the trauma in Matabeleland, which put the question of the belonging of one fifth of Zimbabwe’s population so crudely on the agenda. Only now, commentators, historians, and cultural creators revisit this beginning of Zimbabwean independence. Although Yvonne Vera’s book, *Stone Virgins*, in 2002 was not the first to mention the conflict in Matabeleland, it was the first book by an established writer to give prominence to the violence and pain.¹² Linked to its central theme of violence, pain and healing is the question of the place of

10. Alexander et al 2000:191. The source is Richard Werbners’s interviews in his *Tears of the Dead*. He points out that for some informants Gukuharundi was nothing but a meaningless Shona name for the Fifth Brigade.

11. Chitando 2002, p. 44. Kahari made the statement in an article in the review *Zambezia*, published in 1981. Apparently, Kahari defined protest as opposition to ZANU, since (as Kizito Muchemwa has remarked to me, protest song is clearly established in Shona culture.

12. Alexander Kanengoni in his *Echoing Silences* (Baobab Books 1997) does mention the civil war in a context where the protagonist reflects that “war is the greatest scourge of mankind”. Some books in Ndebele and Shona have also mentioned the war.

Ndebele in the nation. Literature scholar, Robert Muponde, notes:

What I also think is radical in her narration is the remembrance of Ndebele history into national memory. ... Vera does see the Ndebele as an integral part of the new nation, as national subjects, but still remains within the usual binaries of colonizer and colonized when it comes to white and black relations.¹³

In the West, the new government in Zimbabwe enjoyed a honeymoon with former backers like the Scandinavians, and former foes like Great Britain alike. Robert Mugabe was praised for the wisdom of his policies of reconciliation with the white community in the country, his willingness to limit socialism to rhetoric, and his go-slow on land reform.

Only when confronted with popular opposition, did Mugabe, in his panic at losing political power, elevate the land question to highest priority. The war veterans' pressure for taking over white farmers' land came in handy, and was boosted by the government directly, by a helping hand in evictions, and indirectly, by closing eyes to atrocities. And only then did he lose the support of the West. Only then did violence in Zimbabwe come on the agenda of the Western press.

The foreign press has focussed on the violence against the 3,000–4,000 evicted white farmers, while the displacement, often violent, of about 200,000 farm workers (Sachikonye 2003), often with roots or ancestry in neighbouring countries, has received some, but less, publicity. Citizenship for these two groups has been under attack through various laws. Citizenship is also raised in a broad sense – who is counted and treated as belonging to the nation of Zimbabwe? Not only specified groups but everybody opposing the government is treated as an outsider and enemy in the country, which is in a stage of siege.

From Defiance to Silent Resistance

The political crisis in Zimbabwe can be dated to the year 2000. In September 1999, the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) was formed, with Trade Union Congress leader Morgan Tsangvirai as its leader. MDC set as its goal a new government, but this did not at first shake ZANU/PF.

Mugabe announced a referendum for February 12–13, 2000 on a proposed new constitution, which, among other things would significantly increase the powers of the president. One clause said the president could

13. "The Stone Virgins – Robert Muponde and Terence Ranger..."

not be prosecuted in office and could pardon anybody else. With its long experience of organising, and the strength of the ZANU/PF, the government was sure to win. But when the votes were counted, Mugabe had the political shock of his life. 697,754 had voted against, and 578,210 in favour of the government draft. It was “a first and massive defeat for both Mugabe and the ZANU-PF” (Chan 2003:144). Mugabe’s new convert, formerly regime critic and now Minister of Information, Jonathan Moyo, set the tone for one of the refrains in the official liturgy to come, by claiming that the vote was swayed by a massive turn-out of whites, without which the government would have won (Chan 2003:145).

The defeat in the referendum opened the doors for the often unauthentic “war veterans”, who were claiming land without compensation and without any legal process, i.e. the right to evictions. Mugabe gave a free hand to Chenjerai “Hitler” Hunzi, the leader of the Zimbabwe Liberation War Veterans Association,¹⁴ without any national plan, and without the knowledge of the whole political establishment. The first land occupations took place around Harare, but later spread to most parts of the country. A better cause to exploit in order to cling to power could hardly be found. Two decades after independence, 4500 white farmers still occupied 70 per cent of the cultivated land, or 11 mn hectares, while one million black farmers controlled 16 mn hectares, often in drought-stricken areas. Yet the key question why this so suddenly, so violently and disorderly sailed to top priority was never answered.

The next political popularity test came in the election for parliament on June 24–25, 2000. Mugabe felt secure with the backing – and threatening language against “sell-outs” – from the “war vets”. Violence was looming as a threat. In April, the first handful of white farmers had been killed, as well as some MDC activists, and in May 14 MDC activists were killed. Mugabe won the elections, but did so by “committing violence against his own people” (Chan 2003:159). However, the MDC won the whole slate in the local elections in both Harare and Bulawayo, which has led to a strange “dual-power” situation in these urban centres, with MDC-run local government in a hostile ZANU-PF state.¹⁵

The atmosphere during the election campaign was, despite the violence, one of spirited opposition and self-assured protests. The MDC embraced the multi-party elections, and were sure of amassing enough protests to eventually win and topple the government. Musical concerts

14. Hunzi had himself taken “Hitler” as his *nom de guerre*, but had in fact not fought in the liberation war, but was trained as a doctor in Poland. Not all of those called war veterans had in fact been in the liberation war. See Chan 2003, p. 149ff.

15. Predictably this state of affairs has not been accepted by the government, which unseated the MDC mayor of Harare in the beginning of 2003.

often became manifestations of protest. The MDC invented two symbols to be used by all those in opposition against the government: in contrast to the ZANU-PF clenched fist, the MDC supporters waved with an open hand. And with the help of some opposition newspapers, red cards were handed out, like those used in soccer games by the referee to indicate foul play. Thomas Mapfumo has reported that, when he performed during the time of the run up to the 2000 elections, his crowd would often raise their hands with the open hand salute. (Eyre 2001:26)

With the presidential election in March 2002 that gave Mugabe a new term of office amidst reports of violence and intimidation, the atmosphere seems to have changed. Government condoned or sponsored violence had successively increased, as had the unwillingness of the authorities to prevent or look into wrongs committed against suspected opposition elements. When the MDC staged a successful stay-away in March 2003, the government answered with massive arrests and police violence.

On November 30, 2002, I had the opportunity to attend a concert with Oliver Mtukudzi in a packed Bulawayo City Hall. There were no open hands, no red cards. But I was not the only one watching, there were also three policemen near the stage. But no overt symbols were needed when the turn came to *Wasakara* in the rich repertoire. Some songs from Mtukudzi's own gospel album were also included, where God is appealed to as the source of a higher ethics than the one reigning.

Probably Oliver Mtukudzi comes close to many concerned and frustrated Zimbabweans when he speaks for national unity. When asked whether he is disappointed at the way things have turned out in Zimbabwe he answers:

Of course, I am – the dreams and the struggle for independence were shared by all. I still don't understand why our government has chosen to sacrifice so much to retain the reins of power. The lack of tolerance toward dissenting voices is a great disappointment to me. Party politics will be the ruin of Africa especially when there are so many serious issues facing the country right now, like famine and AIDS. Why we can't just combine all our energies to deal with these real-life issues is a mystery to me. ... Dialogue and instilling a discipline of non-violence are the only ways to remain victorious over the many challenges that are currently facing us as a nation. That is a message I would like to convey to all those who are perpetrating senseless acts of violence on fellow Zimbabweans, as they can never wash the blood off their hands.¹⁶

16. "Song of Zimbabwe. Interview with Oliver Mtukudzi", April 4, 2003.

Seeking a Solution in God

One feature of the ZANU/PF ambitions to achieve hegemony, through all means possible, is a thorough polarisation of the political debate in Zimbabwe. Extreme partisan positions dominate, and the question “Which side are you on?” seems more important than “What do you think?” This polarisation, by labelling each other as belonging to different “camps”, is also present in music life. However, there is one significant difference – there is, what seems like a swelling middle ground in music, which one finds through gospel music, which clearly reflects despair but does not take overt standpoints.

Gospel music is spreading like bushfire over Africa, and its rise can easily be associated with the general societal crisis. In Zimbabwe, its march to success started in the early 1990s, and has not abated.¹⁷

Gospel music in Africa does not represent a particular musical style, unlike the gospel music created by Thomas A. Dorsey and others among black congregations in the United States in the first half of the 20th century who created an original style on the basis of negro spirituals, jazz, and blues. The music called *gospel* in Africa is rather defined by its lyrical messages of Christian salvation. Gospel is the message of Christ, having left the space of the church and entered the arena of popular culture. Often the gospel represents the testimony of “born-again” Christians.

What is the role of gospel in Zimbabwe’s crisis? Let us look at what one of this genre’s most ardent defenders in cultural studies, Ezra Chitando from the University of Zimbabwe, says:

– “The musicians are sincere Christians.” Chitando indeed bases his definition of gospel music on this unverifiable criterion. He evidently wants to rebut the view of gospel musicians as cynical betterers on where money can be reaped. He adds that gospel musicians themselves do not see any contradiction between Christian belief and financial success, but it is rather a sign that God is with you.

– “Gospel lyrics often show ways of handling the crisis”, not escaping from it. According to Chitando, gospel musicians are cultural workers who are sensitive about their social contexts (Chitando 2002:8). They take up issues such as disease, suffering and death, spiritual poverty etc. Here Chitando rebuts the view that gospel music is an escape phenomenon in a time of crisis.

On the last point, it seems convincing that gospel musicians quite often base their lyrics on the woes of everyday hardships and suffering. There

17. For the section on gospel music I am indebted to the pioneering study by Ezra Chitando 2002.

is a two-tiered approach: first a recognition of social misery in this world, but then an offer of remedy by turning away from the world to seek salvation through God. One is left to wonder whether the assumed previous lack of total trust in God is also the source of the misery. Whether the turning to Jesus and God will lead to any social protest or action will depend on the Christian communities the saved souls join.

Lyrics from two gospel songs from 2001 (by Douglas Siziba and Fungisai Zvakavapano respectively), translated from Shona, illustrate the two-tiered approach of social critique and divine solution that Ezra Chitando sees as typical of gospel (Chitando 2002:61, 62):

Give your country an injection, it has been infected
 Children no longer find jobs
 Diseases have multiplied, while medical fees have become expensive
 Father God, heal our country, our country is ill
 Intervene, because we ourselves have failed.
 (Douglas Siziba)

I have seen the country being troubled
 Today people are asking:
 "The prices of all basic commodities have gone up
 Bread is now expensive
 How are we going to survive tomorrow?"
 I have here an answer: There is Jesus, Our Father, He is able
 The future looks bleak.
 Nobody knows about the future.
 He is able, our God, he is able.¹⁸

Chitando writes that gospel music also provides ethical guidelines, not least through comments on and rejection of corruption. The question is how frequent these anti-corruption stands are in gospel music. My tentative conclusion would be that gospel music in Zimbabwe often provides a communal acknowledgment of the pain by pointing out some things that are wrong and cause suffering, but it rejects collective action to rectify the wrongs and instead only offers an individual solution in salvation. I therefore question Chitando's claim that: "through gospel music, artists hoped to engage in a radical transformation of society" (Chitando 2002:63).

18. From *Kurarama Inyasha* [To Live by Grace] on Fungisai Zvakavapano's album *Tinokutendai Ishe* [We Thank You Lord], vol. one.

If gospel music were overt resistance music, it would be difficult to explain why there does not seem to be any contradiction between gospel music and the ZANU (PF) government. Some gospel concerts are held in the ZANU (PF) hall in Harare. The government-run ZBC television and four radio stations give ample air time for gospel music, so much so that there have been complaints that Christianity is unduly favoured at the expense of traditional religion. The broadcasters certainly avoid songs with more pointed texts. There is enough toothless gospel to go around. "The government is pushing the gospel agenda", one media worker says.

There are also examples of gospel musicians performing at party functions of the ZANU (PF), sometimes ostensibly to pray for Zimbabwe, but often with very politically charged speeches by the party stalwarts. It is reported that, in one such speech, president Mugabe was labelled as the archangel Gabriel.

One cannot exclude the possibility that the favoured status of gospel derives not only from its pacifying function, but also from an ideological choice. In the first place, the government might hope to pacify not only the people but also the churches. In the second place, Christians are a large part of the constituency of voters. In the third place, the prosperity encouraged in the gospel must sound like a brilliant justification for the political elite to enrich themselves – ostentatious wealth is just a sign that you are among God's chosen few.

In the end, though, the meanings of the lyrics and rhythm of gospel music will not be determined by the presence or absence of overt resistance found in it by researchers or rulers, but by those who seek and find something in it. More research should be done in this area of popular reception and construction of meaning.

One could add that there is one arena where gospel music offers an alternative, and can be seen as progressive. Gospel music has become a safe arena in music for women, who are otherwise largely excluded or abused.

Playing it Safe

While the popularity of gospel music seems to be on the rise, the best-selling musical style is *sungura*, where the elements of resistance are hard to find. Eyre describes it as

...essentially a Zimbabwean adaptation of the guitar-driven "rhumba" sound that blasted out of Kinshasa in the late 50s and early 60s, moved to

east Africa and came to Zimbabwe during the 70s and 80s via Tanzania and Zambia. This is what you mostly hear in the growth-points, residential clusters between rural and urban areas. (Eyre 2001:33)

For all performing musicians, the road to success is getting people to buy your records, and flocking to listen to you. The musicians in this genre bank on people's needs of entertainment, of getting together to enjoy and forget, and of staying away from trouble. A *sungura* musician expressed his social role in this way:

When I am writing my songs, I do try to avoid (politics) myself. I don't want to put myself into the political situation. I don't want to be there. What I have to do is just write my songs about our life and our livings. How are we living, and how are we surviving? (Eyre 2001:57)

Like so many others, this musician sees "politics" as party politics, while actually making a political statement on how he has to sing about surviving. It would be worthwhile to study how the audiences create meaning pertaining to their daily life, political in a broad sense, from even the most apolitical music.

Other up and coming genres are *rap* and *hip-hop*. In a mail message from Harare reported in a US paper, rap music is described as the sound for the "pleasure-seeking, irresponsible and careless" middle-class youth, the so-called "musalad":

The term describes the new breed of youths who have fallen terribly in love with American hip-hop culture, whose mode of expression is rap music. Musalad means "the salad person". And "salad people" are those stylish and restless youths from well-to-do families. Rap is the music of masalads, (the plural of musalad). (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 2002)¹⁹

The description above sounds a rather like any older generation's condemnation of new and "foreign" fads among youth. Yet it is interesting that there are hip-hop and rap in Zimbabwe in a middle-class fashion without the ghetto rejection of rich and established society by black youth in US ghettos.

Rap and hip-hop in Zimbabwe, like in many other countries, should perhaps first of all be seen as a youth expression, and one should not be surprised if there were different variants of the music. What is special for Zimbabwe is that hip-hop and rap belong to the category of government-sponsored musicians. One of the videos repeatedly shown on the state

19. Another name for the middle class rappers is "nose brigade", said to be come from the way the DJs in Radio 3 talk (remark by Johannes Brusila).

television features a happy band of unmistakably urban hip hoppers who, together with some awkwardly dancing plain people, get on a truck and, still dancing and singing, start working in the field in a playful fashion, exuberant over the role of new farmers. *Chave Chimurenga* (Now it is War) is just a jolly hip-hop excursion.

Hip-hop does seem to be a favoured musical style in the government media, along with gospel. One radio station, 3fm, plays a lot of hip-hop, and has also started a recording company, where hip-hop recordings are made. The station was recently transformed into Power FM and plays exclusively Zimbabwean hip-hop genres called Urban Groves, targeting an audience under thirty years of age.

Government-Sponsored Music

Culture is also used as a weapon in the new “Chimurenga” (revolution or war) that the ZANU (PF) government has chosen to call its war on the political opposition, which it brands as traitors and tools of hostile British interests.²⁰ Some musicians are willing to take the money that government offers. For example, a musician called Tambaoga wrote a song whose lyrics say that “the only Blair I know is a toilet”, a pun referring to a type of outdoor toilet developed by the Blairlaboratories, and which has become very popular, particularly in the rural areas.

Other musicians have been recruited to write songs that have been played as political advertising on the national radio (ZBC), and as video episodes on the national TV, for example Comrade Chinxs, a war veteran²¹, whose *Hondo Yeminda* (Struggle for Land) was launched in the boardroom of the Ministry of Information, in a collaborative effort with another war veteran, *sungura* musician Marko Sibanda, who did the Ndebele part of the album. The *Zimbabwe Republic Police Band* backed the two musicians.

Another war veteran now singing about the land issue is top-selling *sungura* artist Simon Chimbetu, who released an album *Hoko* (Peg!), exhorting his listeners to follow his example in pegging their own plots. Other musicians who are favoured by the government include Andy Brown and Roy & Royce.

The Minister of State for Information and Publicity²², Jonathan Moyo,

20. Recalling that Mapfumo's music and his critique of power misuse also is called “chimurenga” we see here contested claims to the term in the cultural field.

21. His work during the war was to entertain the soldiers and boost their morale with patriotic songs.

22. This is an office in the presidency, not a separate ministry.

has put a lot of emphasis and money into using music for mustering support for government policies. On a two-year contract starting in 2000, the ministry paid for adverts in the form of songs and videos.²³ These jingles on the radio and TV were played every half hour. In light of the fact that the government is generally indifferent or hostile to developments in Matabeleland, it is interesting to note that some of the songs were in Ndebele. Most were in Shona, and none in English. Hip-hop was included in this direct sponsorship with a video showing unmistakable urban youngsters hopping around for joy over newly acquired land, with an older woman trying to dance in their style.

The sponsorship can also be subtle and take the form of indirect economic pressure. If you get a handy income from being played on the national radio, you do not want to get lifted into the basket of the untouchables by performing for any organisation seen to be critical to the government. For example, when the Media Institute for Southern Africa (MISA) invited the Roy & Royce band to play at the Press Freedom Day on May 3, 2003, the band declined, fearing that they would lose government-sponsored opportunities.

One interesting case is Andy Brown, who was regarded as a critic of the regime with a song called *Sadza Nyenya*. Then he suddenly turned up as a supporter of the ZANU-PF land policies as a writer of propaganda songs. The Daily News (9.6.2001) wrote that the government had supported his Stone Studio with millions of dollars.

It can be mentioned that the present government includes two ministers who write songs: besides Jonathan Moyo himself, the Minister of Youth, Gender Development and Employment Creation, Elliot Manyika (together with an up and coming chimurenga musician and sculptor, Taurai Bryan Mteki), released an album before the presidential election in 2002, with *Nora* as the cover track. The song declares that ZANU-PF is a “party of blood”. In all this government-sponsored music, one can note that the lyrics do not contain a personality cult for President Mugabe, but rather extol the policies, threaten the opponents, and legitimise violence.

The government thus uses music in two ways for its purposes: firstly, by directly buying songs and performances, and secondly, by favouring those groups that desist from criticism, and inviting them to festivals, having their records played on the radio, and helping them make video clips for the TV. In Mugabe’s Zimbabwe, this kind of “sanctionship” – to in-

23. Because of the economic crisis and campaign against foreign-owned companies the slots for advertising were empty, and so were the coffers for advertising income for the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation. There was nothing much else advertised for than Coca Cola and condoms.

roduce a new term for an underestimated phenomenon – is as important as censorship. But it is not just a question of intervening in the market. There is also the threat of violence that the government neither takes responsibility for, nor tries to prevent.

Threats

Banning Eyre calls his Freemuse report on self-censorship in Zimbabwean music *Playing with Fire*. In 2001, when he wrote his report, there was no legalised censorship in Zimbabwe, but since threats and mob rule are the order of the day, there is a lot of fear and uncertainty. With no legal basis for suppression, the measures are all the more unpredictable and insidious.

Playing Mapfumo's records on the government-controlled radio and TV is not prohibited, although rumours claim that an internal memo has been circulated to this effect. Mapfumo, or at least all his critical songs, are in any case not played.

One musician made allusions to unfair treatment of workers, and men in plain clothes threatened him, saying "we know how to deal with you, we can silence you." Yet, he felt free to sing what he liked, as long as he does not name anybody (Eyre 2001:50–51). Another was harassed on the phone after singing a song on rising bread prices. The men harassing him said they were from ZBC. (Eyre 2001:52).

Another musician, Portia Gwanzura, had to leave in 2002 after threats turned into violence. She was a successful businesswoman in the music industry with her handpicked 12-member band *Hohodza* (Wood-Pecker) and a form of music, which blended traditional and modern pop. Her music made no political comments, but expressed a national pride in Zimbabwe. In ten years she produced ten hit albums. Problems started when she said yes to an invitation to play at the launch of the MDC as a party in September 1999. Two members of the government secret service, the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO), visited her before the launch threatening that the whole band could be in danger if they played. (Pittsburgh Post-Gazette 2002)

The band withdrew, but regretted it soon after and decided not to shut up, but sided openly with the MDC. They wore MDC T-shirts, and ended their concerts waving the open-hand in the symbolic MDC gesture. After one concert in 2002, one of Gwanzura's singers was ambushed and beaten to death. She was convinced it was a political killing. In another concert in March that year some men grabbed the microphone and shouted:

“Down with Portia, don’t let the white puppet live!” (She had married a white mechanic, and MDC is, in ZANU terms, a front for whites). The concert was interrupted, violence broke out, and she fled, followed by ZANU thugs. Portia Gwanzura now lives in England.

Oliver Mtukudzi was also harassed at one of his concerts, in Mutoko, a small town near Harare, where on February 9, 2001 war vets tried in vain to force him to wear a ZANU-PF T-shirt. (Eyre 2001:80)

But those who want to silence dissent do not always carry the day. Mapfumo is outside Zimbabwe, but he is also significantly present. He is able to return regularly to give concerts and seems too big to touch. He has relentlessly continued to produce records, which issue warnings against the ruling elite. Just before he returned to give his traditional end-of-the-year concert in December 2001, his new record *Chimurenga Rebel* sold 30,000 copies in two days (Eyre 2003). In his the latest record, *Vunze Moto* (Embers), he sings, for example, that you are eating the food yourself while pretending to feed the children.

Zimbabwe as Shona

In the cultural field, Zimbabwean identity has become equated with Shona, while the Ndebele and other non-Shona groups are, if not excluded, then omitted.²⁴ Matabeleland has strong cultural and linguistic affinities with Zulu society, and the South African influences have always been strong, with Bulawayo as a vibrant centre.

There is not a total exclusion of music from Matabeleland. For example, the Cool Crooners in Bulawayo, which is a revival of two music groups from the 1940s and 1950s, are popular guests in Harare. The same is true of the Amakhosi theatre company from Bulawayo. One may still ask whether they are not the exceptions that confirm the rule, which is that Ndebele artists are on the margin of the Zimbabwe music scene. There is no recording company in Bulawayo, and Matabeleland artists have a hard time to get recording companies interested in them. The companies blame the market, and say that their type of music represents only a minority audience. The new S-FM radio station is based on Monrose studios in Bulawayo, but transmits in English only and provides no scope for local popular music. There are no call-in shows on the radio in

24. Other groups which are neglected include the third largest ethnic group, the Tonga with its original music, *Ngoma Bontibe*, which is usually played for funerals and other ceremonies. Other groups, like the Venda, and Kalanga usually do not figure at all in discussions on Zimbabwean culture. I have to admit that this article, too, suffers from this skewness.

Matabeleland where listeners can ask for their favourite music to be played, but plenty in Harare. And so on.

One can debate the role of ethnicity in Zimbabwean politics. I believe that the killings in Matabeleland in the mid-1980s displayed an essentially political conflict, where the ruling party ZANU, with Mugabe at its helm, felt their hegemony threatened, and used the opportunity to quench the support base of its nationalist rival, ZAPU, in Matabeleland. Ethnicity was used but was not the cause. Ethnic hostility is not part of everyday life in contemporary Zimbabwe. Yet, there is a whole ideology, which could legitimise and explain conflict, particularly the myths of the Ndebele as warriors who crushed the Rozvi Empire, one of the realms counted as ancestors of the Shona. Historians and archaeologists have revised this myth, but it is still held by many Ndebele and Shona. (Pikirayi 2001)

Three Quarters Domestic Content – but What Content?

A decree in effect from 2002 stipulates that the omnipotent Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (and any other broadcaster should it be allowed)²⁵ must raise its local content (i.e. locally produced cultural products) to at least 75 per cent.²⁶ This puts the definition of nationalism in cultural terms on the agenda. In May 2003, the Information Minister, Jonathan Moyo, said he might go for 100 per cent local content (and one of the radio channels, Power FM followed suit).

The Zimbabwean music industry is quite capable of delivering the goods. After one year, the rule on local content has already had a visible effect. There is more Zimbabwean music being played, more Zimbabwean plays performed etc., and people are said to appreciate Zimbabwean music more. But not any or all Zimbabwean music is being played. There is the suppression of music with critical lyrics. And there is also an ethnic aspect to the decree. In the end, it is a question of defining the essence of unity as pluralism or as homogenisation.

In Matabeleland, the local content decree has potentially absurd effects. Much of the locally produced music belongs to the same cultural family as music among the Zulu in South Africa. Ndebele and Zulu are so close that it is quite possible to understand and appreciate the lyrics in either language. The music scene in Bulawayo grew in close contact with the town-

25. The law followed the rise of the private Capital Radio and its fall by government intervention.

26. This form of cultural policy has been introduced internationally by the French government. In the case of Zimbabwe its introduction had to do with the quenching of an upstart radio station, Capital Radio in 2000.

ships of Johannesburg, from where both the penny-whistle music of *kwela* was imported, and its follower, *mbaqanga*.²⁷ Although these musical styles had their heyday in the 1950s through the 1970s, they are still popular.

With the local content rule, much of what is seen as “our music” by the Ndebele could be branded as foreign in Harare. Pathisa Nyathi, who has created a name as a Matabeleland historian and defender of local culture, and works for the government in education, even (to my surprise) goes to the extent of saying that he would be willing to go for a prohibition of the South African-sounding popular music of Bulawayo in order to favour something “truly Zimbabwean”.

One could just as well argue that much South African music could be included in “local content”, as it is the kind of music that Ndebele identifies as their own. But South African musicians are often critical of the violence in their neighbouring country, and perhaps as much as one million Zimbabweans have migrated south. The three-quarters local content rule only adds insult to injury to the Bulawayo music world.

Traditional Modernity in the Rise of the Mbira

The story of the mbira is an interesting example of complex perceptions of the meaning of “Zimbabwean” (Turino 1998:85). The *mbira* was traditionally used in Shona ceremonies, called *bira*, and is believed to be a very ancient instrument.²⁸ The same type, or very similar instruments, can be found in many different parts of southern Africa, under different names, but is called *mbira* only in Zimbabwe.²⁹ And, more importantly, only in Zimbabwe has this instrument become the focus of a modern music movement, revivalist in ideology and part “world beat”³⁰ in orientation (Turino 1998). Among the many localised indigenous instruments of Zimbabwe, the 22-key Zezuru *mbira* (known in the literature as *mbira dzavadzimu*) has become synonymous with Zimbabwean music in the international imagination.

This type of *mbira* was played among the Zezuru, a group of Shona

27. See Coplan (1985) for a description of the *mbaqanga* of Soweto with *Malathini and the Queens* as models.

28. The word *mbira* is the instrument and *bira* the ceremony, where *mbira* playing is central.

29. Europeans have called it “thumb piano”, which is a thorough misnomer, as it has nothing to do with the construction or sound of the piano, and is often played with more fingers than the thumbs.

30. Turino uses the term “worldbeat” for what by others is called “world music”, i.e. popular music with a Western market and following, based on Third world music, which usually is adapted to suit Western taste for the neat rhythm and melody and distaste for what is perceived as “noise”.



The Mbira De Nzenharira group is considered one of the best groups playing in the tradition of the ceremonial Shona mbira, which they study for many years before performing and recording on instruments they make themselves. Photo: Mai Palmberg.

who live in the area near the capital. The idea that today we have a revival of the mbira is explained by Turino as the result of two ideological conceptions: ethnomusicologists who think that traditional cultures are dying out, and nationalists who think that they stand for the rebirth of the nation's culture, downtrodden by colonialism. We simply do not have evidence to say that the Zezuru *mbira* was considerably more popular before the 1930s when it was a small specialist localised tradition. (Turino 1998:85–88)

A popular belief is that the traditional music of the Shona, with the *mbira*, found its way to modernity with the political songs in village meetings, so called *pungwes* held by the ZANU armed wing ZANLA during the liberation struggle, as well as in the popular music of the cities. But Turino claims that the *mbira's* rise to popularity was rather due to the need for the radio broadcasters on the Rhodesian Broadcasting Corporation Radio to gain black listeners in order to keep them away from listening to “subversive” broadcasts from abroad. *Mbira* music was perceived as particularly well suited for radio broadcasting. The radio, in a pioneering project between 1957 and 1972 recorded quite a few *mbira* players, and the

very proximity to the capital Salisbury (now Harare) was the main reason why the Zezuru version of *mbira* came to be the most well known (Brick-hill interview, Turino 1998).

Thomas Mapfumo, one of Zimbabwe's most well known popular musicians, is often credited with introducing the *mbira* into urban popular music, and branding this style *chimurenga* music. It is worth noting that, according to Turino, Mapfumo, after a period of imitating foreign stars like Elvis Presley and the Rolling Stones, followed his audiences' tastes, and developed his repertoire on the basis of the music that got the most enthusiastic response. Thomas Mapfumo was not a pioneer as a nationalist, in Zimbabwean musical life, his audience was. Nor was he a pioneer in bringing the *mbira* to modernity, the white broadcasters were.

Paul Berliner's study (1993[1981]) on the *mbira* was also a factor focusing attention on the *mbira* as an instrument expressing the soul of Shona culture.

What Thomas Mapfumo and his band must be credited with is his ability to localise the foreign influences in the 1970s and 1980s, and shape a Zimbabwean pop music distinctly its own, in which the *mbira* came to be a central instrument.³¹

According to Albert Chimedza of the Gonanombe Mbira Centre, the *mbira* is really only an instrument, which could be played in all kinds of musical genres. He believes that this definition of the *mbira* will become prevalent with time, as the instrument becomes more exposed internationally. Yet, today *mbira* is identified with certain type of Shona music.³²

The 1980s and the 1990s saw the rise of the *mbira* as the privileged "traditional" instrument and the musical icon of "Zimbabweanness". The *mbira* fitted beautifully the criteria for international success. It had the perfect mix of being exotic and strange, yet musically accessible, and familiar enough for Western ears, where the biggest market for "world music" existed. The sound was softened by removing the bottle cap buzzers, to make it even more palatable (Turino 1998).

Another ingredient in the *mbira's* success is its link to spiritualism. Perhaps, in this, one can see a subtle protest against materialism, greed and strife, not necessarily as an alternative Zimbabwean vision, but rather as a general and global distancing from the callousness of modern society. The presentation of Stella Chiweshe, before her concert in New York on February 10, 2003, illustrates this projection:

31. Only in 1986 did Mapfumo add a *mbira* player, Chartwell Dutiro (who has since continued his musical career in England) to his band, and six years later two more *mbira* players had been added. (Turino 2000:344).

32. Claire Jones has pointed out to me that there are many more *mbira* concepts, such as the music including dance and song, to a single metal key etc.

Stella Chiweshe makes her 1st NY performance in 9 years in a not-to-be-missed solo performance! Her soulful music moves from mourning to revolt, from suffering to spiritual prowess with songs of liberation, spiritual experience and social commentary. The mbira, or thumb piano, is traditionally used in Zimbabwe for music that summons spirits, and Chiweshe's delicate, but powerful playing, regal presence, and deep spiritual affinity to the mbira creates a transformative experience full of complexity and haunting beauty. "Plenty of artists claim to play "trance music," but Chiweshe delivers the genuine article. Portions of her repertoire come straight from the religious rituals of the Shona people, and audience members at her concerts have claimed spontaneous healings or visits from spirits in response to the beautiful melodies she coaxes from her mbira." (Dandemutande 20 Dec 2002)

One could mention here that another form of ethnic music from Zimbabwe is finding its way on to the world scene, the music of the Tonga played on antelope horns and on drums. As the Tonga voted for the opposition (by 75 per cent) they are reported to be under pressure.³³ As yet, the music of the Tonga seems to me like ethnic music that has its main audience abroad.

Mbira was played in the beer halls in the high-density areas, at least from the 1970s, by musicians who got no other pay than some *chibuku* beer or some coins from the audience. However, *mbira* music became part of the regular repertoire at upmarket Harare musical venues fairly recently. Paul Brickhill, jazz musician and a driving force behind the Mannenberg venue and the adjacent Book Café, recalls how mbira music was definitely seen as rural, traditional music in the 1980s. When the Book Café started in the mid 1990s, mbira music was part of the repertoire, seen in the beginning as folk music, but eventually associated with "happening music". There is a lot of experimentation with the *mbira*, reinventing and playing with different instrumentations, and so on, not to the liking of the purists, but much to the fancy of young musicians. (Brickhill interview 2002)

Lest one is led to think that the *mbira* is an inclusive form of Zimbabwean music, let us remind ourselves of some significant exclusions.

In the first place, the *mbira* is not an instrument favoured in Matabeleland. My questions on whether various *mbira* campaigns would include Matabeleland were met by raised eyebrows at my ignorance. Occasionally, *mbira* musicians do give concerts in Bulawayo, but then one must remember that there is a minority of Shona in the city.

33. I thank Peter Kuthan of the Zimbabwe Friendship Association in Austria for this note.

In the second place, the music scene is very much a male domain (see Susan Makore Chapter 2). This is true for music in general, and for the *mbira* in particular. It is said that only men played the *mbira* at *bira* ceremonies, however, Joyce Jenje-Makwenda claims that women were barred only with the advent of Christianity.³⁴

Sexual violence is a very clear risk for women performing in the urban setting. It might indeed be one of the progressive functions of gospel music that it has created a safe zone for women musicians. Apart from a few vocalists and back-up choirs, you do not find many Zimbabwean female musicians, Portia Gwanzura being one of the exceptions. Others are Dorothy Masuka and Busi Ncube. There is Taruona Mushore who sings in English backed by the Mujuru Boys. Sibongile Chibungiza, who sings in the *mbaqanga* style, told me how some women thought she should sing in Shona, whereupon she asked whether they wanted her to sing like Oliver or Thomas, as she could not think of any female Shona singer.³⁵

Impey notes (1992) that this expression of power is exacerbated by the interest in Zimbabwean music in the world music market. Ambuya Beulah Dyoko was the first female *mbira* player, singer, composer, and bandleader.³⁶ In the 1960s, she was the first woman to record a *mbira* song (Jenje-Makwenda 2002). Stella Chiweshe, who had started to play the *mbira* in 1961, taught by an uncle, produced a single, *Kasha*, in 1974 and soon established her career as an *mbira* musician, giving a role model for her daughter, Virginia Mukweshu, to follow (Brusila 2003:96). One of the youngest female *mbira* musicians is Chiwoniso Maraire, who was raised in Washington State in the US, a daughter to one of the Zimbabwean pioneers of musicological studies of the *mbira*, Dumisani Maraire. When they returned to Zimbabwe, she started playing the *mbira* and has renewed it by also writing lyrics in English. She says she is “perhaps a little less spiritual” than some other *mbira* players (Chiwoniso interview 2003), while also remarking that people could find spirituality in Shona traditions, and did not have to run into churches to look for it.

When asked whether *mbira* music could in any way be called resistance music, Chiwoniso replied in the negative. “No, I think it is just a continuation of what it has always been, a beautiful sound and a beautiful instrument.” Later she says that her music “touches on everything

34. She writes that women were excluded from playing *mbira* at traditional ceremonies only during menstruation and three months after giving birth (Jenje-Makwenda 2002).

35. She referred to Mapfumo and Mtukudzi.

36. I am indebted to Paul Berliner for this information (Letter 10.7.2003). Dyoko was self-taught, having taken up *mbira* after being sick for a year, and being told by a healer that she was possessed by an ancestor who played *mbira* and who wanted her to take up the instrument (Jenje-Makwenda 2002).

without being political". So when I asked whether she sings about themes like "love, land, traditions, HIV/AIDS, diaspora, poverty, ancestors, women's rights, violence", she said she pretty much touches all of them. She agreed with my conclusion that she is not making comments on the political situation, but a comment on some suffering in society. "I tend to turn to the root emotions", she says and refers to Bob Marley.

Why has government not favoured mbira music, which is often seen as the national music per excellence in Zimbabwe?³⁷ Why does it not contribute to making the *mbira* into a national instrument?³⁸ Do we meet here a lack of appreciation in the political elite of anything cultural, which smacks of traditional? Many members of the political elite are churchgoers and, as Christians, they might share the fear or disdain in some Christian circles of *mbira* music, which is connected with spirit mediums.

Or is it the fact that the musician who coined chimurenga music, and put the *mbira* in the foreground, Thomas Mapfumo, has become a critic of corruption and dictatorial government?

Perhaps the answer simply is that the government has not had and does not have a consistent cultural policy to develop and stress Zimbabwean cultural creativity. Music, just like art, is not given any priority in the school curriculum, for instance.

Yet the government propaganda has indeed tried to incorporate mbira musicians into its team, and the *mbira* features in some on the jingles played on radio and shown on TV, while the opposition have not put their mark on any *mbira* music.

The *mbira* musicians do not seem to express overt criticism of society. I would venture to say that the *mbira* musicians (except in outright government propaganda) could contribute to cultural resistance on two levels. Firstly, they do so with their general message of peace and harmony where they link cosmopolitanism with tradition. Secondly, their musical aspirations of bringing musical traditions and instruments to the fore in an urban setting is a general statement of popularly rooted cultural values as against dehumanising alienation and violence.

37. On the issue of the place of traditional music, and particularly the mbira in the schools I have squarely contradictory information. On the one hand it is reported that during independence, schools in Zimbabwe have not offered music education, which transmit knowledge of and skills in the country's own traditional instruments. The music education, which was modelled on the British educational system, and therefore privileged European classical music, has not been overhauled. On the other hand it is claimed that the government does invest heavily in music, and that almost every school in the country teaches music, especially traditional music with a strong *mbira* component.

38. Possibly the *mbira* is seen as a national instrument of Zimbabwe more from the outside than in Zimbabwe itself, but it certainly is associated with Shona traditions and beliefs. The *marimba* could also be a candidate for a national instrument, more inclusive ethnically, but less exclusively Zimbabwean.

Concluding Remarks

Apart from Thomas Mapfumo from his US base, and more subtly Oliver Mtukudzi at home in Zimbabwe, and a few others like Raymond Mafongwe, there is little explicit criticism in Zimbabwean popular music of the increasing oppression since 2000 by the government of Robert Mugabe. But overt critical lyrics are not the only thing that makes people relate to music as a symbol of resistance and alternatives. The subtle forms of social and political criticism deserve research by musicologists proficient in the language of the lyrics and the reception of the audiences.

The role of music as a response to the crisis is evidenced by the fact that concerts often attract full halls, despite the high cost of tickets.³⁹ Likewise, the difficulty for government-sponsored musicians to attract an audience speaks clearly of the role of culture in the crisis. Music by Mapfumo and Mtukudzi that is not played on the government-owned radio sells extremely well in the shops and market places. In the SW Radio Africa, which calls itself "Zimbabwe's Independent Voice" and transmits on the 49-metre short-wave band, DJ John Matinde plays music banned on ZBC.

As a policy, the unofficial ban and the official sanctionship of music to the regime's liking is part of a process of shrinking nationalism. Half the population, the women, have been marginalized and discriminated against in the music world for a long time and, with the unleashing of violence, their position is increasingly precarious. There are a few women musicians who are exceptions to this rule, but there has been no general improvement. The fact that gospel music has become a sanctuary only strengthens the impression of continued and probably increased marginalisation and victimisation.

The inclusion or not of other ethnic groups than Shona is more complex. Since independence, and especially since the Unity accord, by which ZAPU and ZANU merged into the present ZANU (PF), it has been politically incorrect to leave the Ndebele out, and this is also reflected in the curriculum in Matabeleland. As long as the National Dance Company functioned, it performed dances from both Matabeleland and Mashonaland, to give one example of this cultural policy. But while lip service is officially paid to the multi-ethnic state, in practice Shona dominance and interests are privileged.

Yet, another dimension is added when the political opposition to the Mugabe government has been so strong in Matabeleland. With the clamping down on the opposition, there has been a conflation of ethnic

39. From 1,500 Zim dollars in 2002.

belonging and political stands both among the Ndebele and the government. In the music field, this could make musicians in Matabeleland even more wary than others of not being seen to tread on the wrong side.

The political shrinking of the definition of “us” in Zimbabwe, together with the above-mentioned exclusions, makes for a very narrow concept of belonging, to which few musicians subscribe. Some few overtly oppose, some remind about other values, some foster the links to the traditional communities, some seem to take escapism or consolation as a route, and some, as always, sing only of love. All of which reminds us that things can be different.

Sources

A note on the study

My own research background is in Political Science, and the past seven years as coordinator of the multi-disciplinary project “Cultural Images in and of Africa”. Apart from the written sources listed below, I have learnt a lot from the interviews to which artists generously gave their time, music concerts, newspaper articles, and radio broadcasts during my visit to Zimbabwe October 20–December 7, 2002, and July 24–August 14, 2003. For the very first draft I have particularly benefited from discussions in Harare with Ezra Chitando and Susan Makore.

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Women in Music: Some Notes on Zimbabwe¹

SUSAN MAKORE

Music is a process; a series of actions that arise from specific uses of sound in the mediation of social, institutional and subjective processes (Bennet et al 1993:4). Music can be viewed as culture because it is a way of interpreting life, a way of seeing things and making sense, and political movements have turned to music to articulate their viewpoints in an aesthetic way. Churches, burial societies, and soccer clubs value messages from songs that promote their ideals. In Zimbabwe, the war for liberation is a good example of how songs were composed and sung to identify with and support the struggle for independence from colonial rule. Messages and ideas were often communicated through music.

A unique form of symbolic expression that can exist alone as a cultural event or product – serve as the content focus for another medium – or contribute to the overall aesthetic and meaning of another content display.
(Lull 1992:19)

After Zimbabwe attained its independence in 1980, the frequent theme and focus for musicians was to sing celebratory songs calling for peace and political stability. There was justifiably a happy mood to the songs. As the years progressed and the euphoria of independence wore off and disillusionment with leadership set in, the musicians had to sing songs analysing the challenges facing the new republic. Such challenges included lack of employment, corruption among some government officials, and ethnic politics. Another important issue to emerge was the quest for economic

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empowerment. Singers diverted their attention to addressing issues of poverty because the assumption that political independence would translate into riches for the majority had been proven wrong. Ordinary men and women continued to suffer.

Singers who had supported the liberation struggle and hailed the new African leaders were forced to criticise them for failing to deliver. Thomas Mapfumo (a Chimurenga music guru) cautioned the leadership not to forget the ideals of socialism in his song *Varombo Kuvarombo* (Poor People to the Poor). In his other song, which became very popular in the early 1990s, *Corruption*, Mapfumo attacked the greedy way the ruling class was using the nation's resources. The song was to prove prophetic, as massive corruption was unearthed among government officials. The most notable was the Willowdale scandal where ministers and senior officials were buying cars cheaply and reselling them to the public at high cost. Musicians thus play an important role in sensitising audiences and sympathising with them about challenges in society.

My paper will focus more on post-independent Zimbabwe because more women singers came to the fore for different reasons. Most important was the new government policy on recognising the need to empower black women and the championing of gender equality and freedom of choice in terms of one's career path. The government even had a Ministry catering for women's affairs. There was a deliberate move by Non-Governmental Organisations with the support of government to challenge the stereotypical role of looking at women as child-bearers, homemakers, and subordinate to men. Women were given the opportunity to choose their careers. This freedom to choose also impacted on the local music scene and more women emerged as singers. This freedom to choose careers was supposed to usher in an era where women could move freely as artists into the open space beyond the domestic domain (Chitauru et al 1994:11). Most women have assumed the role of fans rather than that of music makers. Where they have entered the music world, most of them have been relegated to the positions of backing vocalists. Material and ideological constraints have lessened women's full involvement in the creation of music. A few women have overcome constraints and have succeeded in the music world as creators of music, players of instruments and owners of their own backing groups. The aim of this paper is therefore to analyse how freely women could engage with music as performers in post-independent Zimbabwe.

Perhaps it is important to briefly outline the challenges that face a girl child, thus making her situation different from a boy's. In traditional Zimbabwean society, the focus is usually on making available all resources to

the boy, that is money for education, better food, and clothing. This is because the belief is that a girl grows up, gets married, and leaves her original family. However, the boy child is a permanent feature of the family and must be educated to take care of the family. This conception has meant that the girl child's full mental potential has often been undeveloped.

Feminism as a theoretical concept lends itself well to analysing challenges that female musicians face. Feminism has had different meanings to different people at different times. Most female musicians become musicians because they want to challenge certain stereotypical assumptions about women and to invade traditional male domains. Women have written about topics not generally reflected in popular music such as housework, motherhood and child-care. Patricia Matongo's album *Musarovane* (Do not Fight) focuses on issues of child abuse and domestic violence. Chironiso Maraire made her claim to fame through the song *Everyone's Child*, a theme song for a movie with the same name, which looked at issues of child care when the family has been wiped out by diseases such as AIDS. The song is a political comment on the breakdown of the extended family and the absence of a system to cater for orphans who then end up on the streets.

The other societal principle is that "good decent girls" are quiet and never make themselves noticeable in public. Making a living through the performing arts has not been seen as a respectable way of making a living.

Women artists be they singers or actresses are often perceived as "women of the night" or women of the streets; perhaps this is because they exist in these roles in the unmarked territory outside domesticity and also in urban space for historic reasons relating to both colonial and indigenous patriarchy has been officially defined as the territory of men. (Chitauro et al 1994:11)

Women artists have the challenge not only of being treated as serious, talented performers; they must change the stereotyping messages and images about women that are communicated through forms of popular culture. This is because such messages have enormous influence in shaping the real language of gender and power relations in a culture. Women have to seriously develop a counter-discourse.

The history of female musicians in Zimbabwe owes its gallant portrayal to the likes of Dorothy Masuka and Susan Mapfumo who rose to fame in the 1970s and 1980s. Their music analysed social issues and issues affecting women: they sang about men who did not bring money home,

men and women who neglected their children, and men who spent their money on alcohol. Masuka and Mapfumo made a strong impact on the musical scene but their impact was seen in a different light from that of equally talented male musicians such as Thomas Mapfumo and Oliver Mutukudzi. These assertive and talented women challenged the subservient, quiet, homemaker role of women. They were often viewed as “dangerous and powerful”.

They were perceived as dangerous in that they might influence other women. The sense of danger was also connected with a sense of their ability to re-vision; through their expressive art they could both reshape and control in a way that was otherwise not possible. (Chitauro et al 1994:118)

Female singers tackle all themes: social, political and economic, showing women as wives, workers, parents and their relationships with other women and men. Dorothy Masuka, for instance, became a victim of her own musical compositions, when her political songs drove her out the country, then Southern Rhodesia. Her song *Khawuleza* (Move Fast) is notable. It urged urban African women to continue beer brewing in times of harsh legal restrictions and police harassment. This call to defy official authority made her a target and she left for Johannesburg, South Africa, only to return on the eve of Zimbabwe’s independence in 1980. Now Masuka is based in Harlem, in the United States of America.

Dorothy Masuka, Susan Mapfumo, and mbira musician Stella Chiweshe paved the way for female musicians who rose to fame in the 1980s and 1990s. The issues of equal treatment with male musicians that the three women struggled with are the same issues that musicians who came after them still battle with. Dorothy Masuka, Susan Mapfumo, and Stella Chiweshe were able to gain some degree of financial independence when they formed their own backing groups. This meant that they would not have to pay high rates to hire backers. Of the three, Chiweshe is still the most active locally (Susan Mapfumo died in December 1991). Even though resident in Germany, Chiweshe comes once in a while to perform in Zimbabwe. Her role as a *mbira* player has spiritual overtones and perhaps, because of the kind of instrument she plays, she has been seen as challenging the status quo even further. Traditionally, men played the *mbira* and it was Stella Chiweshe’s association with the instrument that broke gender boundaries. Now it is common to see women musicians and performers playing the *mbira*. A new star emerged in the 1990s, whose style of singing contrasts with that of other young female musicians. Her name is Chiwoniso Maraire.



Chiwoniso Maraire is one of the few female musicians in Zimbabwe who have performed and composed music for the *mbira*. She grew up in the United States and has on her return tried to renew the *mbira* music. She has given *mbira* music a cosmopolitan touch, for example by writing some lyrics in English. The themes often remain within the orbit of Shona spiritualism. The picture is taken in October 2002 in the Book Café in Harare. Photo: Mai Palmberg.

The other factor that impacts negatively on musicians in Zimbabwe is the music industry itself. The industry tends to frustrate rather than facilitate the development of musicians, both male and female. Production and recording costs are extremely high and there is little enforcement of copyright laws. Audio and videotapes are freely copied and this means a loss of revenue for musicians. The organisation of musicians tends to be haphazard and it is more a case of each person for himself rather than an organised industry. Most musicians die as paupers because one has to be

a mega star to be sustained by the performing arts. Susan Mapfumo, for instance, died a miserable death, she had no money to seek medication and since there was no clearly organised musicians association, Mapfumo could not get assistance, yet she was the first woman singer to win a gold disc and form her own backing group in Zimbabwe (Salami 1991). The situation has worsened over the past year because of the collapse of the local economy. Musicians attract very small crowds these days because most people are channelling their hard earned money towards essential commodities and not on leisure and entertainment activities.

To a large extent, the problems that face Zimbabwean musicians know no gender divide. Before the economic depression of the past year, musicians had problems in importing musical instruments because of high costs. Now the problem is worse because of the devaluation of the local currency. Female musicians suffer perhaps even more, because often they do not have assets to sell or to use as collateral to secure loans. It is the plight of most women in business that they often fail to find collateral because the assets they could use as guarantees are often, if they are married, in their husband's name. Therefore, they have to rely on their husband's support of whatever project they are undertaking so that he can sign over his property as collateral. For those women who have to rely on their own talent as collateral, most banks do not have faith in the performing arts as a viable business venture, let alone a woman-led venture. That aside, even where money is made available, the interest rates on borrowing (more than 50 per cent) are crippling.

Perhaps for musicians like Stella Chiweshe who have two homes (one in Zimbabwe and one in Germany), the impact of devaluation is bearable. Thus, Chiweshe is in a unique position compared to other female musicians. However, she had come a long way and had her fair share of struggles. Chiweshe began playing the *mbira* in 1961 when she was nineteen years old. At the time she started playing not only men criticised what they considered as invasion of their domain, even women were resentful. According to Chiweshe, women would say:

Just look at her! Just look at where she is sitting in the middle of men!
 What kind of a woman is she? – Really they were blaming me – Now they admire what I did to learn *mbira*.²

Chiweshe's comment is an echo of the sentiments of most female musicians in Zimbabwe. The hours that female performers work is not nor-

2. Chiweshe Interview in Berlin 23 June 1992.

mal working hours. These are the hours when normal women get home and take care of children and husbands. There are some musicians who have a unique advantage in that they have partners who understand the demands of the profession.

In Zimbabwe, it is female gospel musicians who seem to enjoy a good image in society. Because they are singing about the goodness of God, they are often portrayed favourably, even if they perform at night. But female pop musicians are not seen in such a favourable light. They sing about the trials and tribulations of everyday life in beer halls, noisy night-clubs, and stadiums. Perhaps it is because the image of bad girl is so daunting, especially to new musicians, that there is an increase in the number of female gospel singers, both young and old. Of course, the other reason is that, with harsh economic conditions pervading the Zimbabwean society, it is easier to sell the message of spiritual guidance where human leaders have failed dismally. Therefore, there is a greater market for gospel music. Female gospel musicians continue to enjoy the respect of society and audiences, because they are seen to respect God, even though a significant number of them are just in it for the business side that is to make money. Of course, they sing about admirable virtues, faithfulness, forgiveness, and love, and are always dressed in long, decent dresses and outfits. They do not gyrate but sway gracefully to soothing musical tones. Young gospel singers like Ivy Kombo have become approved role models for young women who want to pursue musical careers.

Whereas a lot of female singers can be found on the gospel scene, very few women have made it in pop music, other than as backing and dancing girls. A few women like Busi Ncube, Stella Chiweshe, Buelah Dyoka, and recently Chiwoniso Maraire, have succeeded locally as really good musicians that are much sought after. Some have moved overseas, like Rosalla Miller because the market was too small for them. Stella Chiweshe, as mentioned above, is now based in Germany and prefers the European market because it is more lucrative financially and aesthetically. It is easier to produce videos of a good quality because of advances in technology.

Upcoming female musicians battle with the acceptance of male colleagues and society at large as serious musicians. They are often regarded as people who are not serious about music. A young musician in her twenties, Patricia Matongo, who has just released a new album called *Musarovane* (Do not Fight), has this to say about people's attitudes towards her musical appearances: "They wonder what a woman is doing there (...) They think that music is for those who do not do well in school." (The Daily News 2000:13). The issue of education is also important because the

quality of music in Zimbabwe is not always pleasing and, as a result, most fans end up assuming that a musical career is pursued by those who have failed in school. It is also true that a significant number of local musicians/singers only have the very basic of basic education.

A *mbira* musician, Irene Chigamba, said people often criticised her because “they associated playing *mbira* with being a herbalist.” (Mankola 2000:14). However, this did not deter her because she knew how important music creation was to her. Chigamba, who came into the industry twenty years later, echoes the same issue of acceptance as a *mbira* musician that Chiweshe raised.

For US-born *mbira* musician, Chiwoniso Maraire, returning home was a culture shock because she had assumed most girls her age would know how to play the *mbira*. It was surprising to her that most Zimbabwean girls did not play the *mbira* and she was an oddity. However, Chiwoniso was lucky to have the support of her father, Dumisani Maraire, also a well-known *mbira* and *marimba* maestro (now deceased). She is also married to one of the most respected local singers, Andy Brown, and she says that being with Andy has enabled her to express herself musically because he understands the demands of the profession.

The stylish Ivy Kombo, a gospel musician, has not been spared either. She has been accused of showcasing her fashionable wardrobe instead of the message of her songs. Kombo insists that it is the message that matters not what she wears or how many outfits she changes into in one video recording. In the history of Zimbabwean musicians and even international musicians, a musician can change ten or more times without drawing sarcastic or derogatory comments. The double standards approach to women is disturbing in that it removes the women’s focus from the actual business of making music to focusing on less important issues. What can be noted in Kombo’s video for her hit song *Wawana Jesu* (You have Found Jesus) is that the choreography is excellent, the lyrics beautiful, the backing vocals superb, and the costumes excellent. According to Kombo, as a devout Christian, she is “guided by the belief that cleanliness is next to godliness” (Karikoga 2000:4).

Another problem that musicians face is that of the monopoly exercised by recording companies. Two recording companies control the market. Musicians can wait years before they are able to record their work. According to one gospel musician, Lady Lydia, it took her seven years to record her first single. This de-motivated her and also her husband who then discouraged her efforts years later when she wanted to record an album. She says:

I released my latest album, *Mupiro Wangu* (My Gift to God) without my husband's knowledge. He was actually discouraging me because the first project did not work out, so I did not want to deal with the opposition. So I decided to take him by surprise and now he is happy for me.³

Yet another challenge faced by musicians is the issue of marketing. Female singers find it difficult to market their own records because they lack experience in the marketing field. Most musicians tend to do their own marketing because they have no funds to employ a publicist. This means that they must promote their own music through talk shows on radio and television and interviews in the press. There are some very successful musicians, such as Thomas Mapfumo, who employ publicists who promote and organise their musical activities locally and abroad.

Concluding Remarks

Female musicians in Zimbabwe continue to face many challenges. The purpose of this paper has been to showcase some of those problems. An important issue that has emerged as a way forward is that there is a need for a national policy framework that supports the efforts of musicians. The regulatory measures could start with the stringent monitoring of piracy on the market, an activity that robs musicians of a lot of money.

Very few female artists play instruments. Their place in music has been largely that of vocalists rather than instrumentalists. So what are the challenges facing up coming musicians? The easy answer is that all the challenges that faced female musicians ten or twenty years ago and the challenges that face all women who want to enter the public life are largely still remaining place.

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Remmy Ongala – Moderating through Music

ANNEMETTE KIRKEGAARD

Audio example:

Mambo Kwa Soksi performed by Remmy Ongala (CD track 2)

Remmy Ongala has been a prominent artist in Tanzanian popular culture for almost a quarter of a century. Born in former Zaïre and currently firmly rooted in suburban Dar es Salaam, he epitomises many of the common issues of African popular music and at the same time his story is unique.

During his entire career, Remmy has been at odds with Tanzanian authorities over a number of issues. During the transition to multiparty rule in the 1990s, he spoke out openly for the opposition and, at the same time, struggled to increase awareness of AIDS and HIV.

The consequences have been easy to see: Remmy's inauthentic Maasai clothing, symbolising his political involvement, and his outspoken and blunt language on the use of condoms, have been met with restrictions and outright censorship. Remmy, who has recorded internationally for Peter Gabriel's Real World Company, has used his position as a global world music star to challenge his local environment and my argument is that, through his position as a musician and his use of the communicative issues of musical performance, Remmy Ongala emerges as a cultural moderator.

Theoretical Background

The theoretical point of departure of my paper is an understanding of the complexity of cultures, which are closely related to the processes of glob-

alisation and to the role of music in the post-modern music market. Hybridity and creolization are fundamental issues in the cultural flow (Hanerz 1992), and, as visibility becomes increasingly urgent for musicians and cultural workers, style is gaining importance (Lundberg, Malm & Ronström 2000). The emergence of World Music in the 1980s, with its propensities towards both commercialisation and ecumene¹, further highlights the exposed position of the individual (Erlmann 1993:9).

Together with the overall global power condition and the permanent – but never fulfilled – threat of cultural homogenisation, the situation leads to considerations about the construction of identities and the way in which musicians position themselves within the limits posed by commercialism, popularity, aesthetic demands, creativity and the political level of nationalism or state concern (Stokes 1994). In other words, what is going on is a negotiation between systemic forces and local/individual interpretations and meaning-making.

The role of music in this complex cultural situation has been debated extensively. Since the redirection of ethnomusicology in the 1950s, the relation between text and context has been an ethnomusicological core question. Many early studies concentrated almost entirely on social and cultural aspects, sometimes at the cost of the study of the musical sound. Many solutions have been forwarded, but none have reached a final point – and maybe this is not the point at all. Rather it is now important to stress that, even when realising that musical analysis is an important tool, it is fundamentally culturally bound, and accordingly must be understood in its exact position in time and place. Fieldwork is often said to be a means of bridging this gap, but it is very important to keep the analysis and, not least, the interpretation very open-ended, and resting on scholarly multidisciplinary.

Another key ethnomusicological issue is the reflection on insider/outsider perspectives, understood in this paper as experienced by the musicians and primarily addressing the issue of authenticity. Musicians from the Third World are often evaluated by the global audiences of world music fans as selling out their musical heritage if they fuse with Western popular music². But the music in question must be seen as a negotiation over the ongoing cultural encounter between local and global music. However, this has to be seen as a continuum; a simple division of elements

1. Ecumene, borrowed from religious terminology, is a concept used by Erlmann to describe the ideologically positive attitude, which by members of for instance NGO's is seen as the basis of cultural encounter.

2. An attitude somewhat similar to that of earlier folklorists and ethnomusicologists, who avoided the studies of urban music style, because they regarded the fused music as pollution of authentic culture.

stemming from either a clear global or an equally clear local origin is not possible.

The issue of censorship and state control over music must likewise be understood as a negotiation of meaning, even if it has a specific meaning in developing countries where, contrary to most Western states and communities, legislation on human rights and free speech is often absent.

Ideally censorship can be divided into three levels: political-state related, commercial and ideological, the latter relating to a number of issues including religious, moral, societal and customary questions³.

In musical censorship, a very interesting point is that, to a great extent, musicians are forced to, or voluntarily perform, self-censorship. In my view, this is because music falls between the three layers, being both a commodity and a political and aesthetic utterance, and the performers must position themselves in order to get an audience. Also tradition in its well-known and conservative meaning is highly relevant here, since music exhibits and often bridges a division between the customary and the need for renewal.

The Musical Environment of Dar Es Salaam

Due to the overall cultural policy in Tanzania, which initially used culture as a means of communication to illiterate masses and also a repercussion of the post-independence one-party system and former colonialism, conditions for musicians have been very complicated. The absence of television in mainland Tanzania and the monopoly of Radio Tanzania until the mid-1990s have made the importance of live performances and the role of patrons evident. Accordingly, musicians are caught between the control of the state and dependence on band-owners who can provide instruments, jobs and transportation. The competitive nature of the Tanzanian musical system, which is embedded in the semi-traditional culture, further enhances the struggle between bands and individual musicians (Lange 2002:45ff.).

This is a setting into which censorship is very easily inflicted and, as Krister Malm has already documented, the situation as such could in itself be labelled censorship (Malm n.y.:159ff). In other words, several of the levels of censorship mentioned above apply to the Tanzanian setting, and it is not surprising that a rebellious musician like Remmy Ongala is met with restrictions.

3. A similar division is applied by Fornäs 2002

Remmy Ongala

Remmy Ongala is a world music artist, who is also locally based. He was born Ramathan Mtoro Ongala in Kivu province in former Zaïre in 1947⁴. His father was a musician who sang, danced and played the *sanza*⁵, and his mother is said to have come from Tanzania. His childhood was marked by the loss of both parents. He had to make his own living, dropped out of school at an early age, and lived in the streets for a while as a destitute child. Remmy was abused for bad looks, and now he has deliberately taken on his old nickname “Surambaya” – which means “ugly face” (Odanga 1995).

The early musical career of Remmy Ongala is marked by the ambiguous attitude towards musicians in Africa. Musicians are both needed and cherished but, in general, parents and family do not approve of their children being associated with the environment of bars and clubs, which surround urban popular music. This is the basis for an interpretation of musicians as outsiders in the community – in Remmy’s case augmented by his being, in fact, a non-Tanzanian and married to a white woman.

There are many differences in the various narratives about his life and, in my opinion, these are due to the myth-making around a person who has been popular for a long time, and who is also part of the international “star” circus. Remmy is certainly aware of the importance of image-making and professional visibility.

Between 1985 and 1995, Remmy Ongala and his Orchestra Super Matimila, became part of the global World Music circuit. They toured the WOMAD⁶ festivals in 1988 and 1989 with great success, and this paved the way for their international breakthrough. Since then, the orchestra has taken part regularly in the concerts organised by WOMAD, and has recorded three CDs for Real World. Remmy Ongala has also participated in many cross-over arrangements, and he has performed side by side with Western stars like Peter Gabriel and others, and he is clearly proud of this.⁷

Today, Remmy is the best known Tanzanian star internationally and, at the same time, he is very popular and much loved in his own community in Dar es Salaam, in Tanzania proper, and even in Zanzibar where, in 2001/02, he was given a lifetime achievement award by the Zanzibar

4. (Graham 1992:161) The translation of Mtoro is “run-away” or “refugee”.

5. The *sanza* is a lamellophone like the *likembe* (and the *mbira* in Zimbabwe). (Graham 1992:161)

6. World of Music, Arts, and Dance – an international organisation celebrating world music, initiated by Peter Gabriel.

7. Interview, July 20, 1994.

International Film Festival. Remmy himself interprets his popularity in this way:

I am successful in Tanzania because I write songs about serious topics ... the lyrics are the most important part, all my songs have meaning.
(Brooman 1989: unpagged)

Remmy Ongala sees himself as a spokesman for the poor people, and he feels closely attached to his audience:

I will always be a humble person, even if my life [now] is not bad, I will go on to defend the weak ones...I lived in trouble, food was a problem, I picked up bread that others had thrown away. All the songs I sing result from the difficulties I had in the past...I speak out for my fellow brothers.⁸

Being a spokesman for social and even political affairs could, in some ways, seem to run contrary to the generally mixed feelings which surround musicians. On the other hand, in Tanzania in particular music has been a political means of communication used with much skill by the state and the political leaders. Even in more traditional areas of life, the musicians are important actors and initiators within the social life of the community.

The lyrics of Remmy Ongala are serious considerations on topics of interest to the common man, or even as he says himself, “they’re songs for the poor man”.⁹ They are about poverty, poor living conditions, and the struggle of women. He has also taken up the question of human rights and, at concerts in Copenhagen in 1994, he spoke out about his support for Amnesty International.¹⁰ The latest issue on the list of themes addressed by Remmy Ongala is the danger of AIDS. In very honest and open language, Remmy warns people of the danger and, on stage, he tells them – very bluntly – how to use a condom. This frankness is not always appreciated by the authorities.

However, generally Remmy addresses the serious topics with humour and comedy. His most famous AIDS-song is called *Mambo kwa socksi* (audio example CD track 2 and lyrics next page), which means “things with socks on”, “socks” being slang for condoms. Using this type of language he warns his audience to “Wear their socks at night, that the honey is poisoned and that you must always wear your boots for away games”

8. Article from Uhuru December 3, 1988, quoted from Graebner 1989:248.

9. Interview, July 20, 1994.

10. Remmy Ongala concerts in Copenhagen July 19th and 20th 1994.

(Tradewind 1992). The song could be heard all over Dar es Salaam from private houses or small shops, but never on Radio Tanzania, even though there is a good reason for its message is. It seems that the directness of the song is too offensive, which is not strange in a country where the Catholic Church has a strong position. Nevertheless, people in Dar es Salaam have accepted the song, and a new slogan has appeared – “Hey socks!”. In 2001, the song was put on the all-African AIDS awareness album *Spirit of Africa* and won renewed attention.

Mambo Kwa Soksi

Now, which team wears socks?

Father's team

Ah! What team does it play with?

It plays with Mother's team

Now, Father's team plays with socks

Ah, Mother's team plays barefoot

And if you score a goal, who will keep score?

That's your secret

And on which playing field do they play this barefoot game?

The Carpenter's playing field (ie a bed)

Do you know the side effects of socks?

If you wear socks, you don't give birth

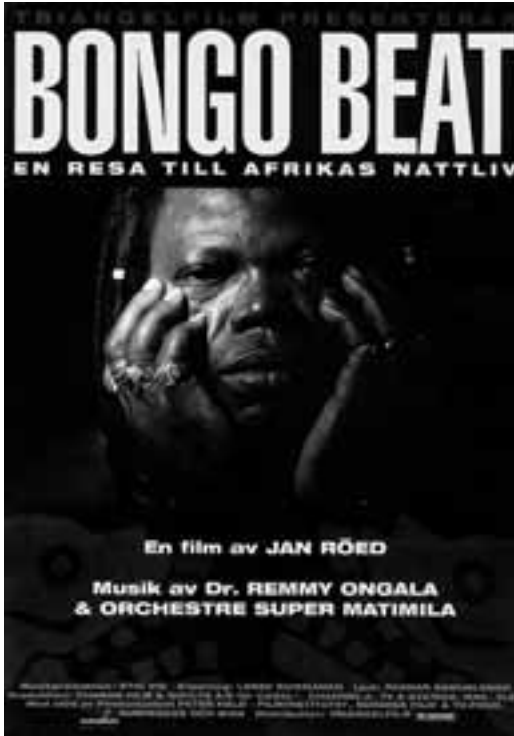
And me, I just married recently, now what do you say?

And if you stop wearing socks you'll die, eh!

The songs about AIDS were met with international interest and, in the early 1990s, Remmy began shooting the documentary film *Bongo Beat* for the Swedish company Charon Film. The project was supported financially by Sida, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. The film follows Remmy round Dar es Salaam, at concerts and in conversations with his long-time co-singer, Cosmas Chidumule. The topics of these talks are, among other things, AIDS and, as Cosmas has become a born-again Christian, he has not only left the group, but also strongly disagrees on the issue of condoms, thus highlighting the ongoing conflicts about the way to handle the disease in Tanzania.¹¹ Indisputably the lyrics of Remmy Ongala are controversial, but I now turn to the impact of the combination of the lyrics with the bright and danceable music of *Orchestra Super Matimila*.

The music is very much directed towards dancing. It follows the prin-

11. Interview, July 20, 1994, and the Film *Bongo Beat*.



The Swedish poster for the film *Bongo Beat* pictures Dr. Remmy Ongala, who stars this semi-documentary on the urban musical culture in Dar es Salaam. *Bongo Beat* is produced by Charon Film (1996). Poster © Charon Film AB.

ciples of the *Congolese rumba* style, but in some aspects it also departs from the model. It is focused on the sound of the guitars, and they generally follow the structure of interwoven lines glued to each other in close counterpoint. The interlocking guitar lines are supplemented by a very mobile and varied bass line, which often interacts in rhythmically emphasised patterns with both the instrumental and vocal parts. The repetitive structure of ostinato-based vamps, i.e. repeated harmonic progressions of chords, gives an intended monotony to the music, a feature used with much skill by Remmy in order to build up expectation and suspense during the first section of the songs. Singing primarily in Kiswahili, Remmy Ongala starts the song in a recitation-style, which is more speech than song and in which he improvises and “talks” as he himself labels the prolonged introductions.¹² When the punch-line of the song has been delivered, the orchestra performs a bridge to the more danceable sections of the song. In this section a continued call-and-response pattern is typical and guitar solos and musical stunts take place. The singers seem to “talk”

12. Interview, July 20, 1994.

quite freely over the groove and the syllables are put over the rhythmic background in a most creative and loose style.

Remmy Ongala, like other Dar es Salaam bandleaders, has developed his own beat, inspired by rhythms from the ngoma. The significance of the rhythm, called *Mdundiko* and inspired by the wedding ceremonies of the Zaramo people of Dar es Salaam, is in the lift on the second beat, but this feature is interchangeable with a 3–2 clave. In popular dance music, called *muziki wa densi*, *Mdundiko* is mostly played in the second section of the songs (Graebner 1989:257). Sometimes the rhythm is also referred to as Bongo – which is Kiswahili for “brains” and which indicates that the meaning of the songs is also present in the music.

During the slow section of the songs, Remmy Ongala is in complete control of the proceedings. The audience moves slowly with the repeated rhythms of the orchestra, while they face the stage and listen to the words and lyrics. At the sound of the instrumental bridge to the second section of the songs, dancing becomes more liberated. This is often initiated by Remmy Ongala, who is rightly considered charismatic.

The Censoring of the Performances of Remmy Ongala

Remmy’s serious and concerned song writing has led his fans to nickname him “the Doctor” but, at the same time, the song texts together with the image-making have made Remmy Ongala a thorn in the eye of the establishment. In some ways the friction between Remmy Ongala and “official” Tanzania mirror the conflicts of the cultural policy, in which artistic freedom and the more profane value of art are constantly challenging each other (Kirkegaard 2001:65). One example, which has been much debated both inside and outside Tanzania, is the incident in which Remmy and Super Matimila dressed up in traditional Maasai gowns during their first European tour (Kirkegaard 1996:323). This caused much irritation at home as it invoked the backward, savage or even primitive image unfortunately attributed to the Maasai-people – and it was of course exactly to challenge the general condescending view of the Maasai within Tanzanian borders that Remmy chose the gowns in the first place. The political reaction was also interesting, as dressing in “ethnic” clothes is quite common in ngoma troupes and in other semi-traditional types of bands (Graebner 1989:244).

Another conflict arose during the campaigns for the first multi-party elections in 1995. For his 1992 album, *Mambo*, Remmy Ongala had written a song in support of the Minister of the Interior, Augustin Mrema,

and the song encouraged his struggle against corruption and misuse of power. The song became extremely popular, not least because it rather directly criticised the ruling party CCM and its politics. The song was used again when Mrema left CCM in 1995 and became a member of NCCR Maguazi. It was heard from the campaign loudspeakers all over Tanzania and was eventually banned (Lange 2002:275). During the first election campaign, Radio Tanzania accordingly boycotted Remmy's songs, as he was regarded illoyal, and he had to leave for Britain for several months. Coming back he was again seen supporting the CCM, which led to speculation about the menaces he had been exposed to (Lange 2002:276). After the launching of the "Fish Song", *Kilio Ya Zamaki*, released only on cassette in the late 1990s, also implicitly critical of the ruling party, and its live performance in front of the presidency in 1999, Remmy was again harassed by the authorities, who threatened to deport him from Tanzania (Lange 2002:275).

In an interview made in 1998 for the Norwegian website "Leopardmannen", Remmy states that there is no censorship in Tanzania since it is a democratic state.¹³ This is an interesting utterance since Remmy has had to face controversies with the authorities. However, it is quite common that artists exposed to censorship sometimes deny it, thus performing an act of self-censorship. The reasons for doing so can be many as implied above – ranging from changing attitudes on behalf of the performer to direct and firm threats of violence or imprisonment.

The incidents of censoring mentioned here are clearly based on political issues and must be attributed to the fear on the part of the establishment that musicians and artists can expose and criticise the way that power is structured. As mentioned above, the song *Mambo Kwa Soksi* was banned, but for a slightly different reason. But still, in these cases it is the words that seem to be most offensive, and it goes without saying that the song was banned on grounds of its controversial outspokenness and alleged obscenity. Both cases are classical forms of censorship, and furthermore, since musicians in Tanzania are not organised as writers, they are therefore more exposed when censored.

Nevertheless something else may be at stake. As Lange puts it:

It is highly plausible that music and other performing arts are, in the eyes of the Tanzanian authorities, potentially far more threatening than the printed media. Music is well known for its ability to trigger emotions.
(Lange 2002:277)

13. <http://leopardmannen.no/artikler/remmy.ongala.intervju.asp?lang=gb>

Perspectives

Remmy Ongala has clearly faced musical censorship for a long time, and he challenges the authorities in many ways. Maybe this is due to his personality and his special charismatic character, and maybe it is happening because he is able to use his global visibility. In the first case he is making use of his self-appointed position as spokesman for the people, and his functions as an artist, that makes him the messenger between the public and the government and a moderator of modernity within Tanzanian society.

In the second case he makes use of the platform provided for him by the world music market, as discussed by both Hannerz and Lundberg, Malm & Ronström, and which is a result of the hybridity and complexity of contemporary music through media exposure and some traits of postmodernism. Here he enjoys respect and fame, and a possibility to create contacts with the global music arena, a position which makes it hard for the authorities to do him real harm. In other words, his movement to and fro between the global and the local environment makes him a perpetual outsider, who can express his attitudes knowing that there will be listeners out there somewhere, but who, at the same time, is at risk exactly for the same reasons. By drawing attention to internal Tanzanian problems in his songs and performing them in festivals and concerts on the global cultural circuit, he becomes vulnerable to both criticism and celebration. Visibility in relation to censorship is thus a double-edged issue.

As Lange has stressed, musicians in Tanzania seem to be rather more exposed than writers in the printed media and other cultural workers. I believe that there are mainly two reasons for this. First, music in a poor country, traditionally based on the oral mode, has priority as a means of communication. It is cheap to distribute and it can reach a large number of people. Also, musicians generally often make use of a number of different media such as radio, phonograms, television and live concerts, which relate the performer to fixed images and thus creates popularity often reaching into fandom. But, this also makes the performer very visible as mentioned above. And secondly, I think that a deeper understanding of music as a means of communication exposes forces stronger than the written word. Both in its ability to draw attention to the words and by affecting the body emotionally, music underscores the depth of the imparted message and the dialogue between all involved.

However, the song lyrics and the other activities, such as the talks and the calls of Remmy during his performances, are not only highlighted and staged by the music. They work together in a very direct way through the

dynamics of the performance. This is why – in the case of Remmy Ongala and other so-called charismatic performers – there is a big difference between a live performance and a recorded piece of music. In the recording, out-right political messages can be conveyed through the lyrics and texts alone, but only in performance is the dialogue open-ended.

Music is dangerous because of its relation to the body – it can be arousing or calming, but it clearly moves the body in a most profound way. This is often – perhaps mostly for moral reasons – interpreted as leading to eroticism and invoking obscenity. Another important fact is that music makes bodies move in unison, which is generally felt as an augmentation of presence. Recall, for instance, the moving crowds singing and dancing in unison at the funerals in South Africa, and think more generally of the effect of marching bands!

I believe that Remmy Ongala – like of course many other musicians in all parts of the world – not only uses the “talk” parts of his concerts to enhance communication, but that he underscores the power of his message by invoking this vigorous presence of the audience by highlighting the movements through the use of the rhythmic-melodic musical structure. This is why performances sometimes become too threatening for the authorities and all over Africa there are incidents of sudden power cuts during performances or problems in getting gear and musical instruments through road-blocks in time for the concerts. Thomas Mapfumo – in many ways a Zimbabwean equal to Remmy Ongala – is often subjected to incidents of this type.

So music is a strong force and it is so because it transcends most other media and because, in its most broad definition, it is rather unbound, both in relation to language and in relation to space.

This is in my view at the heart of musical censorship, and as it moves between the three layers mentioned in the introduction, that is the political, commercial and ideological layers, it becomes a forceful opponent to any kind of ruler – be it market, state or tradition.

The musicians are at the forefront in this matter. They are the moderators and they make choices; sometimes challenging the authorities, and sometimes understating and performing self-censorship in order to survive or to make the message go “underground”, which mostly makes it stronger. But either way they emphasise – almost by their mere presence – the powerful forces at stake in musical performance and the possibilities for negotiating and making meaning. In this way the performance is understood as a practice, in which important, and sometimes controversial, topics are exposed. The counterpart – state, nation or church – has to react and thus we must acknowledge that musical censorship will con-

tinue, but that the creative responses from the artists and the musicians will continue in equally strong terms.

All in all, the story of Remmy Ongala tells of a gifted and daring musician who has mastered the communicative aspects of musical performance at many levels and, accordingly, is capable of reaching large and diversified audiences. This gives him international attention and respect, and he uses this platform to strengthen his position and message. At home, his constant clashes with authorities and his somewhat unusual outspokenness and the harassment he receives for challenging the limits of freedom of speech, perhaps make him even more interesting and celebrated among “the poor men” for whom he sings, and it brings to the public sphere issues that are controversial and often suppressed. This is an ancient role of the musician, and in the modern setting of contemporary Tanzania, Remmy Ongala skilfully masters this skill and clearly emerges as a cultural moderator.

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Remmy, Ongala, Super Matimila, *On stage with Remmy Ongala*. (AHAD1) Cassette

“Not to be Broadcasted”

MARIE KORPE & OLE REITOV

Audio examples:

Somali Udiida Ceb performed by Maryam Mursal (CD track 3)

Sserhass Ayadu performed by Matoub Lounès (CD track 4)

Lungile Tabalaza performed by Roger Lucey (CD track 5)

You may wonder why music is being censored. Why musicians have been tortured, jailed, exiled and even killed. Why certain forms of music have been silenced. It may be as simple as South African musician Johnny Clegg has said: “Censorship is based on fear.” (Reitov 1998a). Music is a free expression of ideas, traditions and emotions of individuals and of peoples. It may express musicians’ hopes and aspirations, their joys and sorrows, their very identity as a culture. Yet these expressions may be in conflict with those of people in power.

Most forms of censorship are politically, religiously or racially motivated. Music censorship has for centuries been implemented by states, religions, educational systems, families, retailers, and lobbying groups – and in most cases they violate international conventions of human rights.

In order to address these issues, the international organization Freemuse (Freedom of Musical Expression) World Forum on Music and Censorship was established in the year 2000. The objective of Freemuse is to document music censorship, to advocate the right to free expression for musicians and composers, and to describe the effects of censorship. This is done through surveys and publicizing of incidents and reports.

Since its establishment, Freemuse has documented 77 incidents of music censorship in sub-Saharan Africa¹. A survey of incidents reported

1. The incidents do not give a full picture of music censorship, but describe various types of music censorship in Africa and exclude the thousands of cases documented under apartheid in South Africa.

in the UK-based magazine *Index on Censorship* during the 1980s and 1990s gives a total number of 29 incidents from the sub-Saharan region. The numbers of incidents are limited to publicly recorded state-sponsored suppression of free speech. Thus, the index listing includes no cases of “self-censorship” and only a few cases where non-state bodies such as religious organisations, vigilantes (i.e. terrorist groups), or businessmen (i.e. retailers) have acted as censors (Bastian and Laing 2003:47–48). The discussion and conclusions in this article draw on experiences from various Freemuse studies on music in Africa.

Censorship in Africa

For two years, Somalia’s national song diva, Maryam Mursal (whose song *Somali Udiida Ceb* can be found on the enclosed CD track 3), made her living as a taxi driver. For her devoted followers in Mogadishu, it was a thrill of a lifetime when they realised who the driver was, but for Maryam, having been banned from performing, it was the only solution to survival – buy a cab, a truck, and hustle a living.

In the 1980s, Somalia saw General Mohammed Siyed Barre indulge in what the human rights group “Africa Watch” termed “terror and indiscriminate terror”. Things got too much even for the national diva Maryam who, in her song *Ulimada*, criticised the horror regime between the lines and thus ignited the deathblow to her own career. Today, she lives in a suburb of Denmark’s second largest city Århus, a musical exile now hailed by local as well as international audiences, but unavailable to her original audience. Maryam Mursal shares her destiny with hundreds of celebrated African artists that have been silenced in their home countries. But, unlike the fate of their fellow writers such as Ngugi wa Thiongo in Kenya, and the Nigerian Nobel Laureate Wole Soyinka, their stories and the history of music censorship in Africa is virtually unknown to the international community.

Music censorship is one important factor in the complex landscape of factors that hinders the development of music and the music industry in Africa. Add then an impossible cross border trade system, an underdeveloped music industry, an almost non-existent copyright system and a non-supportive state music educational system and you realise that the wealth and enormous potential of creative African music exist despite, rather than due to, conditions in Africa.

Behind censorship in Africa you will find two strong forces – undemocratic regimes and religious fundamentalists. The main performers are

states, religious groups and the media – and, as such, music censorship in Africa does not differ from music censorship in other parts of the world. Government-controlled media perform a good deal of the censorship. Almost all broadcasting media are state-controlled and have performed as “his master’s voice” during various regimes, be it in Tanzania under Nyerere, or Zaire under Mobuto. Censoring agencies are sometimes called “state boards”, and sometimes censorship is performed directly or indirectly through bodies in departments of information or in the broadcasting stations themselves.

An example, local government in Zanzibar controls music through a censorship board – as has been the case in mainland Tanzania for decades. With one hand the state controls the content of radio programmes, and with the other hand, it stimulates certain types of songs by employing bands. In the past, some *Taarab* bands in Zanzibar and *Ngoma* bands in Tanzania were set up and funded by the government. They took part in the struggle for independence and, after the 1964 revolution, became part of the Ministry of Culture. *Sanna Taarab* is a newly-formed group under the control of the Zanzibari government and could possibly be used for political campaigning. “We have to send our poems to the government censor board and if the songs are against the government then they will not be allowed”, says group member Salim Khamis. “As the group is government-owned, everything we do has to be within the four walls of the government” (Ross 2002). Although music censorship in large parts of Africa is predominantly political – and thus includes direct censorship as performed by state-controlled media as well as more indirect corporate censorship by record companies and self censorship out of fear – the rise of global fundamentalist Islam has exerted a considerable influence on Northern and Western Africa since the beginning of the 1980s.

Religious Fundamentalism

Killings of musicians in the name of Islam have been reported in Sudan (Verney 1998:75–78) and Algeria. Threats to musicians and composers have been reported in, for example, Somalia, Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Mauritania, Nigeria, Kenya and, of all places, Mali.

For many decades, Mali with its innovative and tolerant music life has been seen as the “Muslim exception.” Mali stands apart from other West African countries in that a large proportion of Malian popular artists are women. Women play a particularly important role in the traditional mak-

ing of music and their concerns focus on love, hunting and the exploration of human goodness. (Impey 1998:420)

But 2002 saw tendencies of aggressive attacks from Malian marabouts (religious leaders) towards music. Salif Keita, the most highly renowned Malian artist and a dedicated Muslim, was verbally attacked in several mosques and so was music as such. Several Muslim leaders condemned a female artist, Kandia Kouyaté, one of many artists who have publicly criticised female circumcision and made songs about it.² So far there are no reports of physical attacks on musicians in Mali, but the religious links are strong to Northern Africa and Arab countries where attacks on musicians have been instigated by religious leaders.

The worst case that has been reported is the stabbing by a Muslim fanatic of the popular singer Khogali Osman in November 1994 during a performance in the musicians club in Omdurman in Khartoum, Sudan – an incident where world famous Abdel Qadir Salim was injured and Osman killed (Verney 1998:75–78). Algeria has five reported killings of musicians and music producers during the late 1990s, the shooting of the Berber culture icon, Lounès Matoub, being the most spectacular (whose song *Sserhass Ayadu* can be found on CD track 3). The killing took place when he returned from exile in Paris to his home country in 1998 to launch a new CD. A few years earlier, Islamic fundamentalists had kidnapped Matoub and kept him in custody for a couple of weeks until they felt forced to release him after massive demonstrations in which half a million people went on to the streets to protest against this perverted version of Islamic self-justice. When Matoub returned from exile, he provoked not only the political regime by continuing to speak against the suppression of Berber culture, but equally provoked Islamic fundamentalists who continued to condemn music.³

Between 1994 and 1996, two *rai* singers, Cheb Hasni and Cheb Aziz, and a Berber singer, Lila Amara, were killed in Algeria by persons unknown (Bastian and Laing 2003:62). So was Rachid Baba, the producer who became synonymous with the production of contemporary *rai*. Some sources, however, claim that the latter was a victim of gangster activities rather than war against music.

In the neighbouring country of Morocco, 14 musicians and fans were jailed in Casablanca in March 2003 for "moral and religious crimes". According to the official reports, their crime was that the 9 musicians and 5

2. Interview with Salif Keita. For full interview see <http://www.afropop.org/multi/interview/ID/33>

3. Matoub's own record of the kidnapping can be read in: Matoub 1995.

fans were "practising Satanism" – the Islamic fundamentalist party's term for heavy rock.⁴

Christian music censorship was an essential part of European colonialism in Africa. Missionaries condemned the use of drums and made great efforts to change the musical Atlas of Africa. Introducing European hymns "Christian missionaries...tended to disparage African customs and African music, which they believed not only inferior, but also sinful" (Kaemmer 1998:718)

In the Africa of today, international Christian organisations have a firm grip on many African souls and their attitude towards music. Echoes of American Christian fundamentalism can be observed in many African countries, although the influence is rather that of absorbing local cultures into the music traditions of gospel rather than openly attacking contemporary African music. One could suggest that the Christian fundamentalists should absorb and co-opt rather than attack and censor, although a recent Freemuse report on Nigeria suggests that several Christian sects "regularly direct pressure on the National Broadcasting Commission". Aj Dagga Tolla, a journalist and reggae musician, says:

The impact of Islamic ideas in the music industry (of South Nigeria) is not as strong as the Christian ideas, and this is something which is neglected in the question of who really controls the music industry. It is clear: big business controls that industry and those people have a tendency towards Christianity. (Servant 2003:67)

His statement is supported by the president of the Performing Musicians Association, Obafemi Lasode:

Churches are making big money. If you watch all the TV stations in Nigeria, you find out that the main advertisers are religious. They are taking over. (Servant 2003:62)

"He Who Pays the Piper Dictates the Tune"

The history of Nigerian popular music illustrates how complex the topic of music censorship is. To understand the mechanisms and effects of music censorship, one has to describe how political and economic instability has had a crucial and strong effect on musicians and the music in-

⁴ For full story see http://www.telquel-online.com/tns.php?actual_number=67&actual_number_uchange

dustry. And how expressions like money-spraying, payola and Not To Be Broadcasted, self-censorship, and lately Islamic *Sharia*, have become integrated "facts" in Nigerian musical life.

Historically, the Festival of African Culture (Festac) in 1977 in Lagos was the international "take off" for African popular music, although the history of modern Nigerian music, such as *juju*, has its roots back in the 1920s. Lagos had long been an important centre of cross-cultural diffusion through trade and returned slaves from Brazil. By the 1920s, guitars and gramophones were in circulation and imported recordings of other styles were being heard in private homes and beer-bars. The most popular external influences appear to have been country music, Cuban, Hawaiian, and British ballroom music. In this hotbed of styles and influences, musical ideas spread rapidly. (Graham 1989:35)

Since the early 1930s, several small foreign recording companies operated in Africa's largest domestic market alongside major international companies. However, the majority of the records, 78 rpm, were manufactured in the UK by the export division of EMI. By the 1960s, with the introduction of long-play discs and more sophisticated recording and pressing equipment, many of the smaller labels disappeared and were replaced by larger commercial companies like EMI and Polydor. When Nigeria gained independence in 1960, the country was the largest music market in Sub-Saharan Africa. The independence implied a certain indigenisation of the economy, but the music sector remained to a great extent under foreign control. (Graham 1989:24)

In the 1970s, Nigeria was the musical heartbeat of the African continent due to its economic stability. The oil brought riches to the country and the recording industry thrived. The music sector was under national control, albeit in private hands.⁵ The Nigerian musical pioneer, politician and mega-star, Fela Anikulapo Kuti, born in 1938, was at the top of his career with his *Afrobeat* style and *Africa 70* band and the country vibrated with music. Fela Kuti was born in a well-respected Yoruba family and got his musical education at Trinity College of Music in London. His father was an influential preacher and composer and his mother was a key figure in the nationalist struggle. Both were fiercely anti-colonial, but Fela became even more so. In his early career he went to the USA and was inspired by the Black Panther movement. Fela Kuti, who had lived the African dilemma, from colonialism through independence, civil war and bureau-

5. By 1974, for example, Nigeria was supporting a record market of 10 million albums, although imported discs accounted for 7 million. The country could boast 3 major record companies, 12 recording studios, 2 major indigenous labels, 2 pressing plants and over 50 small local labels producing a variety of music reflecting the cosmopolitan nature of Nigerian society. (Graham 1989:24)

cratic corruption to military coups, reflected these experiences in his music, always confrontational and provocative. Many of his songs became anthems for politicised youth and radical intellectuals and Fela kept a rebelliously high profile in his attacks against successive Nigerian regimes.

On his return from the USA, he established a communal compound, later called the Kalakuta Republic, and opened the renowned nightclub The Shrine. In 1977, the military regime sent hundred of soldiers who attacked and burnt down the Kalakuta Republic, causing Fela, his family and musicians severe injuries. His mother, who was thrown out of an upstairs window, died shortly afterwards due to her injuries (Evens 1991:100–101). Nonetheless, Fela continued with his outspoken attacks on the government, becoming their most vocal and articulate critic. In 1979, during a period of a civil government, he started his own political party, Movement of the People (MOP). But, in 1983, a military government was back in power and, in 1984, Fela was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on a spurious currency smuggling charge. His passport was confiscated on the spot and he ended up behind bars until 1986. His career came to an abrupt end but Fela kept his position as the enemy within until his death in 1997.

When the economy began to free-fall in the 1980s, it had a strong impact on the hitherto lively music industry. Nightclubs were closed down and the ban on imports of goods also included musical instruments. Obafemi Lasode, president of Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria (PMAN), recalls:

All the record companies left Nigeria and since then we lived in an economic climate which really affected the consumer spending and piracy became very prominent. (Servant 2003:34)

Femi Kuti, the son of legendary Fela Kuti, had just signed up with Polygram in 1989 but had his contract cancelled when the company left Nigeria. A staff member at Polygram told Femi Kuti the reasons for leaving.

In my company, my accountant steals money. My A & R are stealing. They are even stealing from the video budget (...) And worst of all, they have the bootleggers just outside there. They have the exact copy, so we are making no money, and I cannot explain to my masters where I'm spending this money, so I'm leaving next week. (Servant 2003:33)

In the 1990s, there was no more political censorship since the main critic Fela Kuti had withdrawn. The cases of music censorship mainly dealt

with attacks against national morale. A musical video, *Choices*, performed by King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu, was banned by the Nigerian Television Authority for encouraging what it perceived to be pre-marital sex. Also the song *Big Bottom* by Charlie Boy Opota was subject to a similar ban. In 1998, the banning of Femi Kuti's song *Beng Beng, Beng* came as a shock to the musician. The military government claimed that the song was too sexual for the radio. Femi Kuti does not accept this explanation.

At that time the radios were playing worse numbers than that. Especially from America, rap music that was even very abusive, with lyrics calling bitch, mother fucker... I asked them why you don't ban all this music. (Servant 2003:61)

According to Femi Kuti, it is his political involvement that disturbs the government. Ever since *Beng, Beng, Beng* was censored from the airwaves, he has noted a harder and more offensive attitude from the government but he is willing to continue to fight:

I am very outspoken, my lyrics are political, and I will continue to fight what Fela fought for us. I'm a threat to any corrupt regime that is not doing what they should do for the people of my country. (Servant 2003:61)

After 15 years of dictatorship, Nigerian music was severely wounded and the music industry was far from healthy. Musicians still feel that they are badly treated by the industry. Dady Showkey, a galala star:

In Nigeria of today, it is very difficult to be a musician because, number one, the music market is not straight and, number two, it has a system where, if you release a record and it is popular, the record company is not gonna give you the right figure of the album, moreover, the Nigerian government does not recognize the musical business. (Servant 2003:37)⁶

The Nigerian Broadcasting Authority introduced censorship in 2001. It

6. The Performing Musicians Association of Nigeria (PMAN) has taken action on the status of music and musicians in Nigeria. In May 2002 PMAN presented a draft bill on the regulation of Nigeria's music industry to the federal government. The draft bill states that the economic *laissez-faire* (free enterprise) has a negative impact on the poor artist and that "the talent of an artist is an endowment that has no socio-economic class bias". Further it directs a hard attack on the economical environment that "portrays the artist in the eyes of the public as a customised under-dog and, in some circles, as an irresponsible dropout from school or, as a wired personality who represents a mild case of insanity. After all, as the saying goes; he who pays the piper dictates the tune". (Servant 2003:42)

banned its stations nationwide from broadcasting rap music, which was considered immoral by Muslim and Christian conservatives. The rapid growth of churches has made Lagos into one of the major religious centres in Africa.

On the ground of Fela's Kutis famous nightclub, The Shrine (which, according to some sources was bulldozed down by the military government in 1998, whereas others claim it was an internal set up), there is a Pentecostal church today. Femi Kuti fears the development.

It's more difficult to talk sex or religion than politics today in Nigeria. Although they work hand in hand, it has been so embedded in the system that anybody can't do anything without religion, and if you are against any of the bodies, Islam or Christianity, automatically you are an outcast in the society. Since I always talk against both, and my father did as well, I see the major problems I have. (Servant 2003:60)

In the northern parts of the country, where (Islamic) Sharia laws rule, musicians face severe threats.

The first reported incident took place in Katsina State in year 2001. Alhaji Mai Asharalle, a regional pop star, and a true Muslim (who has made his pilgrimage to Mecca as his name "al-haji" witnesses), was arrested for breaking *Sharia* laws by the local *hisbas* (religious militiamen) when performing in a village. Asharalle was imprisoned but was never taken to a Sharia court and was released after pressure had been exerted by friends and the press.

On June 11, 2002, the Jigawa State banned public drumming and singing. The secretary of the state said that

(...) all forms of drumming bringing men and women together should be banned" and that "the state council had noted with disgust the rampant cases of drum beatings especially during weddings and naming ceremonies". (Servant 2003:81)

The singer Haladji, Waba Yarim Asharalle, who performs songs aimed at a female audience, has had problems with the religious militiamen in Kano State on several occasions. He reports that he has been molested and had his equipment destroyed by the *hisbas*. He says there are three categories of audience.

(T)he poor people who are the ordinary people, the rich people and the powerful people. The people who have money can always hire big places

and invite musicians to do it. The powerful people, they can do it, even inside the old city itself and no one can harass them or talk to them. But the poor ones, we can't do it no more.” (Servant 2003:77)

Asharalle claims he has lost one third of his customers since he performs for the “ordinary people”, and due to the situation he, like many other musicians, prefers to play in the South. Today, musicians from the South do not even dare to perform further north than the capital Abuja. Femi Kuti, who used to make regular performances in the North, says “A band like mine can't play in the North. The dancers would be stoned to death”. (Servant 2003:83)

“Censorship Based on Fear”

To understand the mechanisms and effects of music censorship over several decades, South Africa is a “goldmine” for researchers. While sharing many similarities with the cases in Nazi Germany and Soviet Union, music censorship in apartheid South Africa (1948–1994) sprang up from a mixture of racism and Calvinistic ideology. Although it did not make use of such terms as “degenerate music” and “formalism”⁷, the main idea behind apartheid music policy under the ruling National Party was that certain types of music – especially racial and stylistic hybrids – should be prohibited and that the racially divided sectors of society should only listen to and develop their own types of music. In practice this involved the development of different forms of censorship targeting performances, recordings and airplay⁸.

Between the 1950s and 1980s, a number of South African musicians went into exile to escape the political repression and economic hardships of apartheid. The country lost the talents of some of its most promising black artists – including “Mama Africa”, singer and later political activist, Miriam Makeba, trumpet player Hugh Masekela, and pianist Abdullah Ibrahim (Baines 1998:66–87). The positive, immediate effect was that it

7. In Stalin's USSR, the chief music enemy was modernism, or “formalism” as it was usually known. The most well known case is the banning of Shostakovich's opera *Lady Macbeth* by the Mtsensk district in 1936. For brief description see Julian Petley's overview in *Smashed Hits* (Verney 1998:13).

In Nazi Germany jazz music, modernist music and music by Jewish composers was termed “*Entartete Musik*” (degenerated music). For extensive documentation on music censorship in *The Third Reich* see Pieper (2001).

8. SABC, South African Broadcasting Corporation developed its directive of “13 reasons for censorship” as a guideline to its internal censors. See the list at <http://www.freemuse.org/o3libra/subjects/apartho2.html>



Photocopy of banned titles from SABC archive (in *Smashed Hits/Index on censorship* page 84).

boosted a few performers' international careers, but this was certainly not the case in most cases (Reitov 1998c).⁹ Those who stayed behind and spoke up against the policies of apartheid did so at great personal risk.

The net result of music censorship was a plethora of bizarre events. The following two examples illustrate the absurdity: As mixed audiences and black performances for white audiences were banned in the early years of the apartheid regime, several musicians were caught in a Catch 22 situation. A growing young white audience took an interest in black popular music, but as (white) music clubs were not allowed to have black musicians perform, bars developed a system of "shadow players" in which black musicians would dress up as waiters and play music behind a screen. In front of the screen, white performers would mime the music for the white audience. If the police ever appeared, the "shadow" musicians would immediately pick up a tray and walk around as if they were waiters. Black musicians working as such shadow players faced big risks within their own communities if it was ever found out that they had been working for "the white enemy"¹⁰ (Reitov 1998c).

9. In an interview with Reitov in 1998, Hugh Masekela acknowledged the fact that the exile boosted his career. For audio file interview with Masekela see: <http://www.freemuse.org/04artist.html#hugh>

10. An audio file of the interview with Pops Mohamed can be found at: <http://www.freemuse.org/04artist.html#pops>

Some white musicians also took great risks and had to pay for it. A key example of this was Johnny Clegg, a white social anthropologist and musician who was imprisoned several times as a teenager when he started mixing with Zulu musicians. He was threatened by the police and military, and took great risks by performing with a racially and culturally mixed group, *Juluká*, which he formed with his Zulu musician-friend Siphó Mchunu in 1976. South African Broadcasting Company banned *Juluká*'s recordings, stating that Clegg was insulting the Zulu people by claiming to play their music, but the ban did not prevent the Zulu monarch, King Zwelethini, from appointing Clegg a "royal minstrel" (Coplan 1998:779).

Clegg believes that censorship – although brutal – was based on fear:

It is behaviour and a reaction. It wants to conserve and protect a particular position, a particular worldview and a particular set of values. When a government or an individual or a father censors another individual or group or whatever, it is a particular way of expressing control because of a fundamental sense of an inner weakness. (Reitov 1998a)

Although the ban on mixed performances was eventually lifted during the mid 1980s, musicians continued to be harassed by the police and military forces. One special branch agent, Paul Erasmus, alone established around 11,000 cases in his "portfolio", which included tear-gassing artists at concerts, telephone tapping, threats to organisers, brutal night arrests etc (Erasmus 2002).

It is difficult to measure and estimate the various effects of music censorship during apartheid and the long-term effects after the abolition of apartheid. Thus, in 2001, Freemuse invited South African experts to a seminar to discuss and analyse music censorship from several angles, including its long-term effects.¹¹ Amongst their conclusions were that music censorship:

11. In an attempt to spark off a new research initiative in South Africa, Freemuse organised a seminar between 23–25 March 2001. The participants were South African musicians, record producers, media people and concert organisers affected by censorship during apartheid. They teamed up with local researchers, industry representatives, museum archivists and government representatives. During the rare weekend seminar the participants worked partly in joint sessions, partly in groups to deal with specific areas and effects of music censorship in South Africa. The results of the meeting were – among other things – several conclusions and recommendations, which were handed over to the Department of Arts and Culture. For the Resolution adopted by participants in the South African Freemuse Seminar, Johannesburg 23–25 March 2001 see <http://www.freemuse.org/03libra/countries/southafrica/texts/resolution30042001.htm>

- affected the collective memory in a negative way
- affected the quota systems on radio
- affected music creativity and industry negatively
- affected the public media system and its understanding of its role
- affected the education system negatively

“Censorship brought out the warrior in me”, singer Jennifer Ferguson reflected during the seminar. It took place in a quiet guesthouse setting just five minutes walk from Yoville, once a boiling music district of Johannesburg. For the new generations growing up in post-apartheid South Africa, the statement will mean absolutely nothing. As the participants stated in one of their conclusions:

A new generation now grows up and if at all they prefer South African music to music from the international market, the younger generation grows up with no knowledge of the “hidden music” of the days of apartheid. There may be a general awareness that censorship was performed during apartheid but in fact most average South Africans don’t know how seriously music was affected.

And, as one of the participants expressed it:

(...) there is no pride in our culture and we live in a non questioning society”. Others added: “Being a rainbow nation, South Africa may risk that the colours of the rainbow keep living their parallel lives in their cultural cocoons rather than developing new cultural mixes and only the global cultural and financial operator’s benefit from that.

Much of the criticism from the experts targets the government’s educational and media policy as well as the recording industry itself. If we look at the industry, apartheid was not the only reason for lack of development. One could suggest that it was a combination of a dominant foreign record industry and internal censorship that was disastrous. During the late 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, when the United Nations cultural boycott was (supposedly) enforced, most foreign labels still continued to license their (international) artists to local companies. South African artists and recording companies, however, missed the opportunity to promote local artists abroad.

Internal censorship in South Africa unquestionably also crippled creativity, especially as the new genre of “world music” made its dramatic appearance on the world stage in the 1980s, becoming an influential and

financially profitable force in the global music market. This is perhaps best illustrated by the world success of Paul Simon's controversial *Graceland* collaboration with black South African musicians.

After years of isolation, the recognition accorded to groups such as the male a cappella group, *Ladysmith Black Mambazo*, gave a major boost to South African music, which subsequently became valued world wide.¹² *Graceland* was released in 1986 and world music was already booming. South African musicians could undoubtedly have contributed much more and benefited greatly if they had been able to participate fully in this development. It is therefore reasonable to believe that South African music lost many years of financial and creative access to the world market.

Democratic South Africa has thus had to cope with a cultural as well as a financial legacy of apartheid. The music industry was playing safe and still does. And, the South African government still does not seem to be able to make up its mind on a master plan for music development so well deserved by musicians and composers. After all, who were the most efficient agents of mass rallies against apartheid if not the artists? From their exiled positions, Makeba and Masekela became major figureheads in the anti-apartheid struggle. Boycott actions against performances of Western artists in Sun City, organised by major rock stars such as Peter Gabriel and Little Steven, created enormous awareness globally. In the Nordic countries it was musicians who organised the biggest rallies against apartheid. Politically these initiatives put a lot of pressure on governments to implement their anti-apartheid policies, and served as political and moral support to ANC leaders in exile.

Media in South Africa hesitate to deal with their own role in censorship. So far, the only film about the role of the special branch of security police officers was funded and produced by Freemuse¹³. If collective memory is essential to a culture, much needs to be done in terms of producing exhibitions, radio and TV programmes, not to mention changes to the educational curriculum. One would expect the South African government of today to acknowledge the importance of their musicians by supporting them and using music history as an efficient tool to upgrade society's "collective memory". So far the government has not even given priority to research or archive work, despite the fact that several important archives were destroyed in the days before the transfer of power.

12. Impey 1998:431 quoting Meintjes, Louise, 1990, Paul Simon's *Graceland*, South Africa, *Ethnomusicology* vol. 34 (1) p. 40.

13. *Stopping the music* is a documentary produced by Freemuse and the South African researcher Michael Drewit in 2002. It is based on the story of former police agent Paul Erasmus and one of his victims, singer-songwriter Roger Lucey (whose *Lungile Tabalaza* can be found on the CD track 5).

Paris: The World of Exiles

While the lives of some exiled musicians are well known (the cases of Masekela and Makeba), one can assume that an almost devastating combination of music censorship, music piracy, low investment, lack of media and state support has led to a serious artistic brain drain. African composers and musicians have obviously had to look for better opportunities – some because they were forced to, others because they were invited.

When the former French President François Mitterrand and his socialist party gained power in 1981, hundreds of gifted musicians were based in France. The official policy of strengthening the use of the French language and the development of concepts such as “Francophonie” also served to provide a more hospitable environment for music to flourish in than, for example, in the UK. Musicians arriving for the first time were often assisted personally by the Minister of Culture, Jack Lang, and government funding was made available for African musicians to tour both in France and in Africa. The radio stations were deregulated, allowing more African music on the airwaves. (Graham 1992:10)

Thus, the French capital became a virtual “creative brain centre” where some of the finest contemporary African music was developed and made internationally available. Global household names like Mory Kante, Sam Mangwana, Khaled and Salif Keita found enthusiastic audiences and supportive media in many European countries.

The French music export bureau, Radio France and other state institutions were equally highly supportive to “Francophone” African music and de facto global operators in the promotion of African artists. Undoubtedly France’s use of culture has been an efficient tool in its foreign policies and France has a great self-interest in such policies. The fact remains that, to many creative African artists, it has meant the difference between survival and depression.



13 Rules for censorship at South African Broadcasting Corporation – see www.freemuse.org

Lessons to be Learned

What can be learned from the “French example” is that, given reasonable financial and political conditions, contemporary African music has enormous potential – not only artistically but even economically. During a one-day workshop in June 2000, jointly organised by the World Bank and the Policy Sciences Center, participants discussed the potential for economic growth in the African music industry and new methods to build on the industry’s resources. The workshop concluded that: “despite its reputation for a vibrant music scene and talented musicians, Africa has so far been unable to capitalise domestically on these natural resources”.¹⁴

Unfortunately the focus on development has mainly focused on the implementation of international Intellectual Property Legislation and improvements to the investment climate. The dimension of public support through media and freedom of expression has to a large degree been neglected, although economist Amartya Sen, in a follow-up workshop in Washington in June 2001 on the development of the music industry in Africa, noted that:

The development of the music industry in Africa can, thus, make many distinct but interrelated contributions to economic development, social change, political cohesion, and cultural progress in that struggling continent.¹⁵

International development agencies – not the least the Nordic agencies with their tradition of supporting human rights organisations – could play a more active role in influencing African governments to stop harassing their artists – which at least would be a beginning to a healthier cultural climate. But then again – doesn’t the whole political system start and end with the will to implement freedom of expression?

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14. In recent years the World Bank has been developing its cultural industries loan programme, introduced since James D. Wolfensohn became its president. The Bank currently lends \$265 million to \$300 million for cultural activities, mainly comprised of loans to help develop culture-related tourism, such as ecological and craft initiatives, as well as more traditional tourist-related loans for the restoration of historic city centers, such as the Medina in Fez, Morocco.
15. For full text see : http://www.worldbank.org/research/trade/africa_music2.htm

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Modern African Music – an Autonomous Music

WOLFGANG BENDER

Audio example:

Marie-Louise performed by Wendo (CD track 6)

In Africa, many of the discourses are led with music, through music. History is “written” by music. In societies with low levels of literacy, people learn through music and are taught through music. Music is used, is employed to spread ideas, to infiltrate people’s minds, to propagate a political message and to make people think. The singers and musicians may belong to the keepers of traditions; they may be the retainers of the national knowledge and wisdom. If one leaves them out, one never gets to the core of a culture.

Especially in the academic world, popular culture has a low position on the scales of importance and good reputation. If one ignores popular culture or, worse, excludes for example popular dance music from one’s attention or awareness when studying society at large in Africa, this leads to seriously false notions. Dance music in Africa is something that has to be given proper value. It is so important to everybody; yet its crucial role in accompanying and structuring people’s lives is usually absolutely underestimated.

Songs are also documents of the language used. Singers make artistic use of language. They are indeed experts in languages. Early recordings of a singer may be the earliest document of a specific language – may be the only source available. For the historically oriented linguists, sound recordings are the key source for their research. Many languages have not been studied in earlier periods, but there may be sound recordings somewhere from an early period – we speak of a hundred years! Only!

Who speaks today of the transport problems in Freetown, Sierra

Leone in the post-war period? But if we listen to the gramophone records of Ebenezer Calender, then one of the most prominent singers and musicians in Krio, he sings in one of his compositions of the transport problems that existed there and how something was done to better the situation: double-decker buses were brought in from England in 1951. Before that the song mentions the “bone shakers” – a popular term for the lorries with temporarily fixed wooden benches. The result was an unpleasant “shaky” ride.

The song *The Double Decker Buses* from 1951 by Ebenezer Calender (reissued on *Sierra Leone Music LP*, 1988) celebrated the introduction of a new means of transport and at the same time supplies the attentive listener with a description of the transport problem then and the suffering of the people (Bender 1984, 1989A, 1989B, and Kubik 1989).

If one wants to write about the history of the people, the history from below, the “real” history, one cannot under any circumstances avoid the song texts of popular musicians. The study of Laura Fair is a valid example. She uses song texts of Siti Binti Saad as well for her analysis (Fair 2001).

Looking at African music we have to acknowledge first of all that there is nothing such as an “African” music and an “African” dance style. Differences among the various forms of music in Africa are more decisive than their common properties. Dance styles, to pick only one aspect, vary from Senegal to South Africa to an extent that, in certain cases, nothing might be in common.

When Africa was finally divided up at the Berlin Conference in 1884/85 by the colonial powers, this too was decisive for the musical directions taken. Each colonial “mother country” brought its musical traditions of all areas with it – in most cases from long before 1884. Catholic church music dominated the French, Belgian, and Portuguese colonies; Anglican the British; Protestant and Catholic the German. The military brass band traditions had entered Africa earlier, when forts along the coastlines were set up by Dutch, Danish, Portuguese, and Prussian expeditions as strong points for trade, and then the slave trade. The seamen brought with them the guitar and concertina.

Both instruments have quickly been adopted in most parts of Africa, and not only along the coastlines. Christian missions and their schools disseminated European music and song through their curricula. The Europeans present, i.e. the administrators, officials, doctors, traders, missionaries and in some parts settlers, came with their respective musical cultures. They celebrated their festivities in their traditional musical manner. For the new Christian African elite this was the example and the model to follow or to start adopting.

It did not take long for the modern educated African to look for a way to adapt the new to the old. It was not easy for him or her, as the colonial mentality was against this since it was regarded as polluting the purity of Western Christian concepts. The Ghanaian composer Amu is a good example of what could happen if the newly Christianised African wanted to take his own way. He was rebuked and had to force his own will. (Agyemang 1988)

Early Commercial Recordings

Very early musicians from African countries and colonies were recorded and published by international record companies. Tessema Eshete, for example, is one of the earliest, in fact the very first musician from Africa, or at least Ethiopia, who was recorded and published by ODEON in Berlin around 1910. Tessema was taken to Berlin by a German businessman, Arnold Holtz, in 1908. ODEON, founded by Carl Lindström from Sweden, had just invented the double-sided gramophone disc. Therefore Tessema's recordings appeared on double-sided records. Here we have the first African to have his music recorded commercially and his recordings were in fact published using the latest technology. This may be seen in a way as an indication of things to come.

In African music the musicians and bandleaders have always tried to catch up with the latest in technological developments. The most recent gadgets have found their way very quickly to musicians in Africa. This often was and still is to the dislike of purists in the West or East. Whereas African musicians always want to be on par with international standards, so-called lovers of African music want to keep African music less modern. This is one of the paradoxes. It can only be explained psychologically by the need to preserve the loved object in a fixed state. On the one hand Westerners criticize people in Africa for not advancing quickly enough to reach Western standards – and if it does happen, like in music, then the reaction is also negative.

African music was indeed on the spot as soon as recording ventures started. ODEON sent out recording teams to East Africa and was the first enterprise to publish all kinds of East African music on shellac records (Vernon 1995, 1997). As early as the late 1920s, the first kind of “pop star” phenomenon appeared in East Africa, with Siti Binti Saad having sold 72,000 discs by 1931 (Fair 2001). The British Gramophone Company, HMV, competing with the German ODEON, followed by also recording African artists (Vernon 1997). They too sent out recording engineers to

East Africa. But soon they started to bring the musicians to their own studios in Hayes near London in order to achieve better quality recordings. From those sessions, recordings of the West African Instrumental Quintet, the Kumasi Trio from Ghana, and the Caluza's Double Quartet from South Africa have been re-released recently.

The Impact of Phonogram Technology

Phonogram technology has intervened in the emergence of modern African music in a number of ways, the most important being the separation of textual and instrumental parts and the time limit forced upon the music-making by the time span of a 78 r.p.m. record.

The recordings with the West African Instrumental Quintet involved the invention of recorded instrumental pieces. But taking off the vocal part in African music is usually tearing apart what cannot be separated. This is not a characteristic of African music alone. Even in European popular song traditions, popular tunes have always had their vocal roots, that is if you play a certain tune everybody recognizes the song "behind". In the compositional method and structure of music that is not notated or not written down, the textual part is very closely linked to the instrumental. Taking it away is an artificial surgical operation whereby the patient dies.

This basic mistake of disconnecting the textual part has been repeated later on again and again. The most famous example is Hugh Tracey's recordings of Jean Mwenda Bosco. During a recording tour in 1949 for Gallo records in South Africa in so-called "Bantu Africa", geographically covering Africa south of the equator, Hugh Tracey came across the guitarist and singer Jean Mwenda Bosco in the then southern province of Katangain the Belgian Congo. His signature tune, so to speak, in which he introduced himself to the potential public, was called *Masanga*. Hugh Tracey liked the melody of this composition and asked Bosco to play the melody for the recording by itself, without the vocal part. For Bosco it was a matter of singing the song silently to himself in order to be able to play his *Masanga*. This actually invented piece of music was successfully recorded and published on Gallotone G.B. 1586 T and won the South African award for the best African record, the Osborn Award, in 1952 (Rycroft 1961). This can be regarded as one of many contemptuous events in the reception of African music by musical outsiders.

Another factor that emphasizes the importance of the lyrics is the content. The singers are loved because their songs mean something to the listeners. This meaning is always stressed by the music lovers as the decisive



Cover of “Congolese Illustrated” showing romantic guitarist scene. *Revue Congolaise Illustrée* No. 11, November 1951. A romantic depiction of a guitarist in the Congo, most probably in a kind of “native” quarter of town. The musician here represents the good willing, harmless, colonial subject that is not fighting for liberation – the Belgians at the time could not envisage a soon transfer of power to Africans. They did not prepare the Congolese to run their own country. That is why Congo fell into anarchism after independence. Photo: Jutta Ströter-Bender.

reason for choosing this or that as their favourite. The scanty knowledge of the content of song texts of African popular music has hitherto prevented full appreciation of the value of this artistic product. This is an area where it is necessary to struggle in order to provide better access to thousands of songs and their deeper meanings.

The question of “time” in African music recording was of central im-

portance during the period when the length of a piece had to be less than three minutes. Three minutes was the maximum time available on a shellac 78 r.p.m. record, or later on a 45 r.p.m. single. How could an African orchestra really reach its normal level of excellence within such a short space of time? How could the music come to its zenith, or to its end? The problem of the time limit is well documented by the interviews I conducted in the latter part of the 1980s with persons who had worked as managers of the Philips subsidiary in Lagos in the 1960s. They provided photographs of their studios where it was the job of one particular staff member to wind up the recording in person with his arms going round in a full circle towards the end. A large format clock was positioned well for all to watch. Time is very central to the capitalist economy and thus to the contact of African music with the music industry.

The above-mentioned technological limits that restrained so much African music during the initial decennia of recording were overcome as soon as the technology advanced and allowed longer tracks. Tracks though were not only given limits in respect of technology but also in respect of the length of airplay by radio stations. In economies where commercialisation of radio did not allow for longer pieces to be played, the three-minute track remained the longest unit tolerated (Bender 2002). But in many African countries the technological possibilities were gradually fully exploited and Western restrictions were allowed to fall.

First of all, the B-side of a 45 r.p.m. single was used to contain the continuation of the A-side. A DJ in the possession of two records of the same title could therefore play a piece of double length: The piece was cut into “Part One” and “Part Two”. Then the EP record arrived, i.e. the extended play single with two tracks on each side. This allowed quadruple time. When the LP came, it did not take long for the African musicians and producers to realize that one could just forget about the tracks and have the music played without interruption for its full length. In Nigeria this was coined “stretch”. This did not happen immediately, and even later only rarely in South Africa or in Zimbabwe where the capitalist economy dominated the African music production, or in Senegal, where the economy is very much tied to the French economy and therefore the commercialisation of music demanded the retention of tracks.

The full exploitation of the results of technological advancement is characteristic of the creativeness on the part of the musicians in Africa. It also proved that, after over half a century of repressed opportunities for adequately recording African music, a breakthrough was still possible for longer pieces of music on records, which better reflected the real structure of the music.

Congolese Music

There is no general “African” dance music style, but there is special music from one region that has met with sympathy in most African countries from the end of the 1940s until today; that is Congolese music. The Congo Rumba is a valuable example of how modern African music has evolved. This music grew, it evolved. This process should not be confused with “development”, which is always associated with a procedure in which somebody develops somebody else who is regarded as underdeveloped, or at least less developed. With regard to African music this is not the case and has never been so. On the contrary, one might say that African music has “developed” the so-called Western pop music, or was at least its fundamental basis. This was, however, not a voluntary or conscious act because the process was tightly connected to slavery. It is well known that, without African music, there would be no jazz, no blues and no pop.

Son music, the Afro-Cuban dance music style generally termed rumba, was so successful in the 1940s that it spread to Europe and to Africa as well. There it was recognized as something vaguely African, or better its Africanness was present in a condensed form. It was African in the true sense of the word; it was not part of any single cultural entity. It was a new substrate, a new and independent substance that carried with it numerous African particles in a new synthesis. That is why, when this African-derived music arrived back in Africa on 78 r.p.m. gramophone records, the famous GV Series of HMV, it was recognized as faintly “African”. Even though something like it had never existed before, its “chemistry” somehow was right. And its style was close enough to local music that it could be played by Congolese musicians at the time.

During that period Greek merchants were part of Congolese society. They were in touch with what the people, i.e. their customers, looked for, what they liked. They realized that recording Congolese orchestras playing rumba would be a viable if not profitable business. The company Firme Jeronimides started with the NGOMA¹ label in 1948. It was preceded though by a short-lived undertaking by a Belgian company, confusingly called Olympia.

In a German film documentary from 1954 called *Musuri* (Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk), the reporters initially question a Belgian producer on the kind of music he is putting out as it sounds like the music we had in Germany at the time: rumba, chachacha etc. Later the journalists are impressed when they find out that the compositions are originals made by

1. “Ngoma” is a term in many languages in the southern part of the continent, e.g. in Swahili, used for “drums” or the conglomerate “dance, music, drama”, Perrott. 1969:177.



Cover of 45 rpm 7" EP Single, HMV EMI Records (Loningisa Series) 7 EN 101 with songs by Franco. Original collection of late Prof. Hedglin. The picture of the cover of this British licensed single is again a visual evidence of the Latin preference among the Congolese – and not only the Congolese! It was licensed from the ESENGO label under the Greek management of late Mr. Antonopoulos to be marketed in British colonial Africa. Photo: Jutta Ströter-Bender.

Congolese musicians and, what is important, not just “copyrights”, as cover versions are popularly termed. In Germany during the post-war period most of the German popular songs, the “Schlager”, were cover versions of American originals.

The Congolese musicians did not like to be subject to a monopolist and encouraged other Greek traders to invest in music as well, thereby creating competition among record companies. This meant more freedom for the musicians too. Labels like Loningisa (meaning “to cause a disturbance” in the Lingala language, Stewart 2000:32), Opika (from Lingala “stand firm”, Stewart 2000:33), Esengo (from Lingala “happiness, joy”, Stewart 2000:65), and Ndombe came into existence.

Thousands of records, i.e. two songs each, were put out by these companies between 1948 and the 1960s. Ngoma alone accounted for over 2000 by 1961. This forms a corpus of creative artistic work that should be

acknowledged. It is part of the cynical treatment of popular music that one singer and guitarist of that early period, and also the most successful one, *Wendo* (listen to his *Marie-Louise* at the CD track 6), a legendary figure in Congo, was pushed on to the world music bandwagon a few years ago in the aftermath of the Buena Vista Social Club's nostalgia for elderly musicians. It did not work really. A good example of this failure was the evening arranged by the German external radio corporation, Deutsche Welle, in 1999 in Beethoven-Halle, Bonn, with *Wendo* and a Cuban orchestra as the main act. *Wendo* was treated as a nobody you had to endure because you wanted the "real thing". He was simply ignored by the audience. As soon as the Cuban musicians came on stage, people went into a fit of excitement. Congo's rendition of son, the product of the return of the Afro-Cuban music to Africa, was not to the liking of the lovers of Cuban music.

The Dissemination of Congolese Music

The pan-African success of Congolese music may well be connected with the efficiency of the early broadcasting of this music. In Brazzaville, with the help of the Americans, Charles de Gaulle had set up a strong transmitter to serve "France Libre". There was a need to spread propaganda into African colonies as they were no longer completely "safe" – growing dissatisfaction with the colonial regimes and resulting sympathies for the war opponent had to be countered. To motivate listeners to stay tuned to Radio Brazzaville, Afro-Cuban and newly recorded Congolese discs were played all the time in the short wave transmissions. No other African music had hitherto had an audience all over Africa. Additionally, Radio Leopoldville in the Belgian Congo increased its beam power because it had to broadcast to Belgium, which was occupied by the Germans. The Belgian Congo was the only free territory the Belgians could operate from. This station also played Afro-Cuban and Congolese records. It was a unique opportunity for this newly produced music to reach a maximum audience (Bender 2001).

The Congolese record companies had a distribution network all over Central, West and East Africa. Rumba crossed the Francophone-Anglophone language barrier. The earliest tours by orchestras through African countries were those by Dr. Nico or Franco, both from the Congo/Zaire. Before that, in the 1950s, the Katanga guitarists, Mwenda Jean Bosco, Edouard Masengo and Losta Abelo went on tours to advertise mass products of the colonial economy: aspirin, cigarettes etc., in British East Africa



Cover of 33 rpm 12" LP with songs by Grand Kalle, including the *Independence ChaCha*, 1960 in a French production. The *Independence ChaCha* belongs to the most widely known songs of Congolese music at the time. It was especially produced during the "table ronde" meetings in Belgium leading up to independence, to be played during the festive period in 1960. Photo: Jutta Ströter-Bender.

(Low 1982). In this volume a paper is devoted to Remy Ongala. He is indeed a very adequate example of how a Congolese artist can also become a Tanzanian star.

Patrice Lumumba, designated Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Congo, had musicians joining him in Belgium, when he took part in the Round Table conference preparing independence in early 1960. Grand Kalle, i.e. Joseph Kabasele, recorded the *Independence Chacha* there. It became the unofficial hymn of independence (Bender 1992, 1996).

Franco Luambo Makiadi became the most productive musician/singer of Sub-Saharan Africa. When he died in 1989, he had published over 100 LPs and hundreds of 45 r.p.m. singles (Ewens 1994). His work

alone has contributed a lot to the fame of Congolese music. But he was not the only outstanding Congolese singer. He competed over the years with Tabu Ley Monsieur Rochereau, who is still alive. Sam Mangwana carries on with *rumba* these days, whereas the Zaiko Langa Langa “clan” took a slightly different direction as guitar bands, modernizing *rumba* to the *rumba-rock* of *Papa Wemba* and other styles, like the *tcha tcho* of Koffi Olomide (Ewens 1991).

Intra-African and Inter-Continental

The dance music styles that were created after the Second World War in Africa differ from country to country. But there are some regional coherences resulting from former colonial powers, in the Anglophone West African countries, for example, they all had versions of the *Highlife* music. *Highlife* is more a generic term than an exact description of a style. It is played by guitar bands as well as by big bands including brass sections. *Highlife* became the music leading up to independence and expressed the joy at the achievement of independence in Anglophone West Africa. There were multilingual, multiethnic orchestras serving the new ethnically mixed elite in countries such as Ghana and Nigeria. The pidgin language was often used as a lingua franca by singers to reach as many people as possible. *Juju* music is a Yoruba guitar band tradition that grew from the social music of Yoruba returnees from Brazil in the 1930s. Parallel to *Highlife*, in the Muslim communities modern dance music evolved from the wake music of Ramadan, the fasting season. Styles of this type are *Waka*, *Sakara*, *Apala* and *Fuji*, to name the most important ones.

All over Africa modern music orchestras began to appear in the 1920s and 1930s. The Second World War has to be regarded as another important threshold, as many African soldiers experienced music and cultures outside their own environment and returned with new experiences and ideas. (Compare the famous film from 1987 by Semebene Ousmane, *Camp Thiaroye*, on returning “tirailleurs senegalais”, and the photograph of an African soldier from the Imperial War Museum in London in the exhibit by Okwui Enwezor, *The Short Century*, Enwezor 2001)

Foreign soldiers, like those from the US, were stationed in African countries and provided additional new musical models.

The return of the soldiers had another component: the Africans had fought for their “mother countries”, now they did not want to go back into a subordinate position, but to be treated equally. This meant politically the demand for self-government and then independence. From this

moment onwards, popular music became an expression of the expectation of liberation from colonial rule. Music carried all those hopes and strengthened the new politicians in their drive to achieve freedom. This was most clearly the case in *Highlife* in Ghana and Nigeria (Collins n.d.; Collins 1994; Martins 2003)

In Francophone West Africa the *mbalax* in Senegal can be mentioned. Afro-Latin style Senegalese music was still prevalent at the end of the 70s. The drumming rhythms that were used to accompany the *mbalax*, a wrestling competition, were slowly integrated into the Latin style music. Youssou N'dour became the major exponent of *mbalax*. Long before he became an acclaimed world star, he was the No.1 singer in Senegal. When the Western press wrote of his “discovery” at the time of his tours with Peter Gabriel etc., it was thus true only from an Eurocentric point of view. Youssou N'dour has become a major music promoter in his own country. He has set up his own recording studio that, judged by its technical equipment, equals international standards.

In Central Africa, *rumba* became the generic name for dance music. The name that appeared later, *Soukous*, may be used as a synonym. In East Africa guitar bands dominated until the Congolese *rumba* began to replace the local traditions in other countries. At the same time the *taarab music* was popular along the Swahili-speaking East African coast and islands. *Taarab* has a specific sound and instrumentation influenced by Arabic music, often called the “Indian Ocean sound”, and also a special social function. In South Africa variants of *jive* are danced to. From the Marabi of the 1930s came *Kwela* in the 1950s. *Kwela* changed into *simanje manje* and then to *Mbaqanga*. Today *hip hop* and *kwaito* are the most popular forms of music (Akindes 2002).

Waves of musical styles have reached Africa in the same way as they reached other parts of the World. After *Latin music*, *soul music* came, and then *disco*, followed by *reggae*. In recent years *hip hop* has spread a lot. That is why there are *Afro-soul*, *Afro-reggae* and now variants of *Afro-hip hop* such as *Sene-rap* in Senegal, and *hiplife* in Ghana, i.e. *highlife* fused with *hip hop*.

Musicians, singers and producers have never really looked to Europe to market their work. The “world music” market that started in the late 1980s mainly drew its repertory from African musicians already living in Europe, who knew the taste of their public, and did not consider the public of their respective former home countries, although quite a substantial part of their audience was made up of African immigrants to France and the UK. It is one of those impressive features of popular African culture that most of its popular dance music styles are created for the audience of local areas and nothing else.

The secret of the success of most musicians in Africa is thus that they did not, and do not, orient towards the world market, but remained independent, seeking to keep in touch with their local markets. For example, the *mapouka*, a recent modernised traditional dance style from the Ivory Coast, and the *ndombolo* from Congo, are both styles merely intended to serve exclusively their respective local or regional customers. These dance styles are in no way acceptable to, or compatible with, European ballroom standards. They are accused of having an obscene character or being pornographic though, in fact, if they are compared with some of the *techno-raves*, which can be watched on private TV channels in Germany, the obscenity that *mapouka* and *ndombolo* are attacked for is obviously in no way merely characteristic of contemporary Africa.

As long as the musicians and producers work to sell their products in their own countries or regions, they continue to have the deep meaning to their customers that they have always had. It is only if the musicians start to look primarily to please a fictitious world music public that they might lose their home clientele and, additionally, might not even succeed in the world music markets either.

Since the 1950s, African music has always had difficulties in other parts of the world. The only musicians and singers that have really achieved enduring international fame are Miriam Makeba, Manu Dibango, Fela (Ransome) Anikulapo-Kuti, and recently Youssou N'dour. Interestingly enough, only a few artists in Africa are known across borders within Africa. In particular, the Francophone areas and the Anglophone areas are quite exclusive towards each other's music. Youssou N'dour is less famous in Nigeria than in Europe. In Senegal very few have heard of Juju artist, King Sunny Ade, from Nigeria. In Anglophone Africa artists from South Africa have a higher degree of fame, and had this already in the Apartheid era. Yvonne Chaka Chaka is famous in many Anglophone countries, as well as Lucky Dube, the South African Reggae star. Congolese musicians have a long history of intensive contact with East Africa, facilitated by the common Swahili language, which is also spoken in Eastern Congo. In the Lusophone countries, the countries that were formerly under Portuguese colonial rule, some artists are more widely known, for example Bonga of Angola, or, in recent years, the world music singer Cesaria Evora from the Cape Verde islands with her *Morna* and *Coladeira*.

In a continuation of colonial attitudes, modern painters in Africa have tended to imitate European or the US styles. But this is not the case with musicians. They have used European and African-American music as inspiration to create something new. The reason for this difference is obvious: painting in the Western tradition is an art form that was introduced

by the colonialists, whereas music has existed for ages in Africa. What is important to most African musicians is, as mentioned above, not recognition abroad but recognition at home.

Recording Studios and Recording Companies

In Africa, for many years, there was an interesting set-up concerning recording facilities. The Francophone West African countries had Abidjan as the major regional centre for record production. Musicians from Mali had to go south to Abidjan in the 1970s and 1980s, before they went to Paris to record, which was their ultimate goal. Even singers and musicians from the Congos took the road to Abidjan before reaching Paris.

In the 1980s a high quality studio (Otod Studio) was set up in Lome, Togo. Martin Meissonnier went there in the early 1980s to record the Nigerian *Juju* musician, King Sunny Ade, for Island records, when they tried to find somebody to follow up Bob Marley who died in 1981.

Some of the Anglophone African countries had their own studios. In Nigeria in the 1970s there was DECCA West Africa, Polygram/Philips and EMI. There was a similar situation in Kenya. In some countries such as Nigeria and Sierra Leone, local businessmen had their own so-called “backyard studios” in operation even before these international companies had established their own studios. In Freetown, *Bahsoon* with his Basophone label and Jonathan Adenuga with *Nugatone* were among the first ones to have their own recordings made. They sent their tapes to Europe to be transferred onto shellac discs and returned to Sierra Leone for sale. In Lagos, Mr. Badejo recorded before Philips entered the market. The Philips manager used Badejo’s musical know-how, offering him in return special production opportunities in the Philips facilities.

Another Nigerian businessman from Onitsha, Mr. C. T. Onyekwelu, created a label called Nigerphone. By the end of the 1960s he was about to set up his own pressing plant, which would have been the first Nigerian-owned factory for records. Unfortunately, he had mismanaged the money for the factory machinery, even before the equipment arrived in Nigeria. Philips was only too keen to help and it became a joint venture called Niger Records Co. (Bender 1997).

In Nairobi the Danish pioneer, Otto Larsen, set up the East African Sound Studios in 1947 and a pressing plant for 78 r.p.m. records in 1952, and published through the JAMBO label (Harrev 1989).

Piracy and Copyright

Most of the pressing plants or studios set up before the 1980s had collapsed by the 1990s. Record production had ceased for one main reason: piracy. Another reason was the introduction of the CD in the West. The price of a CD was prohibitive for consumers in Africa. It is only recently that, due to private illegal CD burning, the CD has become affordable for African buyers. Therefore, the audio cassette became the main medium of African music in the 1980s and 1990s and is still today in most countries.

Some countries have tried to combat piracy by introducing national copyright laws. Ghana was very effective in implementing new legislation. In the mid 1990s, for the first time after many years, musicians received regular royalties from music cassettes sold in Ghana. Music production recovered through this successful political measure. In Nigeria the attempt failed, even though the same “banderole”² system as in Ghana was introduced. In other countries too, the banderole represents increasingly successful implementation of copyright legislation. The system is used also in, for example, Cameroon and Malawi.

The Grey Music Market

There is a very important area of music production and distribution in Africa today that is not recognized anywhere. It can be called “the grey music market”. After the breakdown of the local or national recording industries in recent years, and the withdrawal of the international record companies from African countries, the existing network of local “recording shops” grew and gained momentum, as well as their importance as the sole local record outlets. However, due to their exclusive local orientation, the products have hardly ever left their regions of origin.

Singers or bands ask the proprietor or person in charge of such a recording shop, or booth, to record a cassette with them. Using very cheap and unprofessional equipment, the recordings are made and kept on a master music cassette. Anybody who is interested may obtain a copy that he or she orders from the shop. In this way these shops accumulate

2. The affixing of an authentication seal or sticker known as the “banderole” on all marketed records and music cassettes became mandatory in Ghana beginning June 1, 1992. This seal is a security device that is sequentially numbered; individual numbers are allocated only to genuine producers and importers of records/cassettes who have to be authenticated by the Copyright Office. The banderoles have meanwhile in many countries, including Ghana, been replaced by hologram stickers.

an increasing stock of local creativity. Once again, this wealth is not secured. As soon as the master cassette is run down or damaged or is not of current interest any longer, it might disappear, be deleted, destroyed or, what is most common, used again to record something new.

“Cassettes on demand” – if I may term them in this way in comparison to the new “books on demand” type of publishing – serve a local market without great investment but are of tremendous importance for the evolvement of music in general and the local music scene in particular. A similar area is the music video, and most recently the DVD, which in some countries has even started to replace the sound carriers without images.

The Need for Documentation

Most of the numerous local styles of popular African music were never documented. Fashions came and went and were not properly and systematically recorded or described. It is only by accident that one style or the other has been documented. From these detailed studies it can be interpolated that there must have been almost a countless number of styles. Until the 1980s most ethnomusicologists limited their studies to the study of traditional instruments (organology) and traditional music, and thus completely ignored popular music styles as non-authentic bastard cultural phenomena.

I cannot do justice here to all the musicians, to all the musical styles, that were created in Sub-Saharan Africa during the past fifty or hundred years. However, one most necessary undertaking is to establish a kind of African music data bank in order to prevent so much of this cultural wealth from falling into oblivion. Systematic documentation of existing collections as well as systematic collection of recordings, other artefacts and information should take place. This should be a joint venture of archives around the world, a collaboration of collectors and record companies and most important of all, radio stations.

In this context it would be of great importance to include the products of the grey music market, including the growing production of music videos and DVDs. They equal in importance the old 78 r.p.m. shellac records of the 1920–1960 period, because they too were distributed in very small numbers.

Rightly or wrongly, the low standard of much African literature, the low quality of art etc. is often deplored, but when it comes to music, where we can look back on an unprecedented amount, an unimaginable quantity of best quality music, nothing is done to give it due respect by ensur-

ing that it is adequately safeguarded and preserved. This should be remedied now.

Attitudes to Modern African Music

The study of modern African music suffers from the irrational preoccupation with “influence”. Influence seems to be the tool to deal with African music. Read any description or analysis of African music and you will find that influence is a key concept. As “comparison” is regarded a valuable procedure in academic studies or is supposed to give studies an academic appearance, and influence is a comparative term, this term is undisputed. “Description” on the other hand is regarded as not enough. “Not enough what?” is the question here. Not enough analytical methodology?

I do not want to go further into the ethno-methodological discourse, into concepts such as “thick description” etc., but I would like to propose a change of the influence paradigm. The change of the paradigm should go in the direction of recognizing an art form or a piece of music, a musical style even, first of all from looking at its history and growth, its content, its quality etc. and not first of all by dissecting it into influences. What remains otherwise are influences only. The suspicion arises that influence is usually used under the preconceived notion, that there can hardly be an original contribution by the artists themselves. African modern musicians are not capable of creating their own music; they only take in influences.

Apart from the generally accepted knowledge that there is no isolated form of art production, it is important to realize, that, in contrast to discourses on African music in the case of Western pop or classical music, influence is not the decisive concept. If a composer draws on folkloric material he or she is praised for his or her ingenuity and is not disqualified for having been influenced. The use of the term influence seems to have ideological roots in inherent racism.

Africanization?

Only a few years ago I analyzed the process that was happening all over Africa with African music as a process of Africanization, or in special cases Senegalization, Zambiasization etc. Today I think this approach should be dropped since it insinuates that the earlier styles were not “African” or

“Senegalese” or “Zambian”. Why should it be disputed that whatever the orchestras played in their respective countries was their own music? Why question their “authenticity” (a much overstressed term)? Why use this authenticity argument against peoples’ music? The processes that took place are multilayered and differentiated. They are processes that differ distinctly from country to country or from region to region, or even from style to style. It is time to rethink the approaches, to redefine the terminology. Too much has gone unquestioned.

Misconceptions often start with the mistake of calling the guitar or other instruments used by modern orchestras in Africa “Western” instruments. Are geographical or historical attributes added when talking about the instruments of the symphony orchestras or when describing brass band instruments? Normally not. But in the African case they are. So many of the instruments that are being used in dance bands all over Africa are now an established part of African music, part of local cultures.

“Western harmony”, as it is called, is also a part of traditional African musical culture in many regions. If it is used in a “distorted” (i.e. adapted) form, or in its original form is of no importance. This distinction may again be of interest but should not be used as a kind of paternalistic judgement from above to give one version the tag “Africanised” and the other the tag “Copied”. The root of this evil practice is once again an ideological, basically racist, approach, and therefore wrong, that has entered the ethno-musicological discipline and discourse and has been in existence for too long. It has structured the approach to analysis and interpretation and prevented the adoption of a new line.

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Music Industry in Burkina Faso and Mali – The case of Seydoni Production

INTERVIEW WITH RICHARD S. TRAORÉ

Audio examples:

Rosalie performed by Georges Ouédraogo (CD track 7)

Djecka performed by Doundosy (CD track 8)

Introduction by Maria Arnqvist and Stig-Magnus Thorsén

Despite the flourishing of music in African societies, there are many challenges facing musicians and the development of the music scene in many African countries. Apart from challenges provoked by factors such as general economic hardship, the lack of musical equipment, music education, and supportive cultural institutions, many countries are also faced with the absence of a local music industry.

The music industry is an essential part of today's modern music scene. Artists and musicians are dependent on other actors in the areas of distribution, promotion, and manufacturing for successful careers. As we all know, the music industry does not always operate for the benefit of musicians, but it nevertheless provides opportunities for musicians to perform, record and spread their music. In the best of cases, it enables musicians to make a living from their music and to further develop their artistry. Listen to two musical artists from Seydoni Production at CD track 7 and CD track 8.

Investments in the music sector are small and rather recent in most African countries. However, increasing efforts are being made both by governments and private stakeholders to develop the music sector. In this article we meet Richard S. Traoré, the founder and President of Seydoni Production, a music production company started in 1994 in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso. Since its establishment, the com-



Interior from Seydoni Production in Burkina Faso and Mali. Photo: Seydoni Production.

pany has had a visible impact on the modern music scene in Burkina Faso. It has recently expanded its activities to Mali and is working on expanding further in the West African region, as well as towards Europe. Richard Traoré was himself an artist in his youth, combining a successful musical career as a singer and composer with studies in Economics at the University of Ouagadougou. Through sharing his experiences, we hope to find out more about the growing music industry in Burkina Faso and Mali.

Burkina Faso and Mali became independent from France in 1960. They are neighbouring countries, both land-locked in the Sahel/Saharan region in West Africa. The post-independence national politics in Burkina Faso and Mali were until 1991 dominated by one-party and military regimes. After independence, there was a difference in political orientation; Burkina Faso oriented towards capitalism and had ties with France and the US, whereas Mali oriented toward socialism and communism and had ties with the Soviet Union and China. Mali's first President, Modibo Keita, initiated a one-party regime based on socialist and nationalist ideas. In 1968, Modibo Keita was replaced by Lt. Moussa Traoré, who renounced socialism and attempted to pursue economic reforms. Moussa Traoré remained in power until 1991.



A person who has put his mark on the history of Burkina Faso was a young military leader, Captain Thomas Sankara, who led a revolutionary government from 1983–1987. Inspired by socialist ideology, the regime took many social, cultural, and economic measures that had the aim of bringing about development without corruption.

Burkina has had a democratically elected president and parliament since 1991 and Mali since 1992. Today, Burkina Faso and Mali are ranked among the 10 poorest countries in the world, according to UNDP's human development index 2003.

**Interview with Richard S. Traoré, President of Seydoni Production,
by Maria Arnqvist and Stig-Magnus Thorsén**

Please give a brief background of the development of the modern music scene in Burkina Faso and Mali.

– The first modern bands in Burkina were created shortly after independence. Their creation was inspired by a visit from a band from the neighbouring country of Togo. Modern instruments such as electric guitars, saxophones, trumpets and drum sets were imported from Europe

and two bands were formed, *Harmonie Voltaïque* and *Dynamic Jazz*, which established themselves as the most popular bands in Burkina. *Harmonie Voltaïque* was based in Ouagadougou, and *Dynamic Jazz*, which in turn was renamed *Volta Jazz*, was based in Bobo-Dioulasso, the second largest town in Burkina.

– *Harmonie Voltaïque* and *Volta Jazz* were the founders of modern music in Burkina and most talents who later created their own bands passed through one of these bands. Shortly after, many private bands were formed in most towns inside the country. In Ouagadougou alone there were nine bands during the 1960s: *Harmonie Voltaïque*, *Atimbo*, *Djins*, *Les Prophetes*, *Melodie Volta*, *Super Volta*, *cvd*, *Afro Soul System* and *Supreme Kombe-mba*. In Bobo-Dioulasso there were five bands competing: *Volta Jazz*, *Echo Del Africa*, *Dafra Star*, *Anges Noirs* and *Leopards*.

– The 1970s saw the appearance of the first troubadours, singers who wrote their own songs and performed solo with their guitars or accompanied by bands. These songwriters and performers made a strong contribution to modernising traditional music.

– In Mali, the most well known artists before independence were Fottigui Kouyaté and Bazoumana Kouyaté. After independence, there emerged artists such as Koni Koumaré, who was the first artist in Mali to record a phonogram record, Fanta Damba, Lassana Sogodogo, Madi Diabaté, and Lamissa Bengali. The first fusion with jazz and other types of international music came in the late 1970s with artists such as Ali Farka Touré, Salif Keïta, and Boncana Maïga.

How have post-independence national politics affected the development of the modern music scene in Burkina Faso?

– President Maurice Yaméogo led the first government in Burkina after independence and they lacked a strong cultural programme. The government opened the door to foreign music import and consequently, Congolese music, French music and other foreign music that was better recorded and arranged became stronger on the market. Unfortunately, people still prefer to buy music from international stars rather than music from national musicians.

– It was not until the revolutionary government of Captain Thomas Sankara (1983–87) that more deliberate political efforts were made to strengthen and promote the Burkinabe¹ culture. These efforts had both positive and negative consequences for the modern music scene. For ex-

1. Sankara renamed the country from Upper Volta to Burkina Faso in 1984, which means “the country of the unbribable men”. *Burkinabe* is employed in designating citizens of Burkina Faso – the suffix *be* signifying persons or children in Fulfulde, the third national language in size in Burkina.

ample, measures that helped to stimulate the music scene were the establishment of a national cultural week with competitive elements and the formation of two modern music groups composed by children and used for activities to promote the state. Some of the musicians from these groups are still active and highly respected as musicians.

– Meanwhile, another measure was taken that contributed to stop band performances in Burkina. It was decided that the entry ticket to popular balls and other dancing events should not exceed 300 CFA Francs (around € 0,45). The goal was to make entry to dancing bars accessible to the whole population, not only to the more privileged. As a consequence, bar owners could no longer pay musicians, and live bands were replaced by stereo record players playing international hit songs. During the first year of Sankara's presidency, there was a curfew from 11 PM, which also made it very difficult for musicians to carry out music activities. Furthermore, the government threatened well-known musicians with negative consequences if they sang against the revolution. As a result, many musicians left the country and several of them have remained in neighbouring countries and in Europe. Very few of the bands and recording artists who performed before the revolution are active artists today.

And in Mali?

– Mali's first President, Modibo Keita (1960–68), implemented a socialist system of government with strong declarations against capitalism and imperialism. The situation was the same in the Republic of Guinea. Modibo Keita began a "Cultural revalorisation" policy and created a ministerial department in charge of culture. Inspired by a state visit to Guinea in 1961, Modibo Keita followed the Guinean example and gathered the best instrument players and artists to create national groups. The Guinean president, Sékou Touré, had selected traditional instrument players and assigned them, sometimes against their will, to be part of a national orchestra² in order to defend the Guinean culture and show it to the world. This was to some extent also the case in Mali where the following national orchestras were created: *The National Instrumental Ensemble of Mali* with Mogontafi Sako, Batourou Sékou Kouyaté, Fanta Damba, Sidiki Diakité, etc., *The Ballets of Mali* with Maïga Djalma, Badjan, Zani Diabaté, etc., *The National Modern Music Bands: Orchestra A and B*, and six regional orchestras. The government organised a national week for culture and youth on a yearly basis which included, among other things, a

2. The term "national orchestra" was, and still is, used for both modern and traditional groups and bands where the musicians were paid by the state. They often performed during official ceremonies.

competition between the regional orchestras, ballet groups and the instrumental ensemble.

– Modibo Keita also selected some young musicians and sent them to Cuba for long-term education in music. On their return, the musicians created the orchestra *Las Maravillas de Mali* with well-known musicians like Boncana Maïga and Baba Tapo. Today, Boncana Maïga leads the best selling African salsa band called *Africando*.

– The political regime in Mali after independence provoked a lot of Malians to emigrate to France. The Malian community is still one of the biggest African communities in France today, around 150 000 people. This has had positive effects on the Malian music scene for, I would say, mainly two reasons. First, the Malians abroad are big consumers of their country's music, thus there is a big audience with purchasing power. Second, if you have a relative in France it is easier to get invited and go to France, either to record or perform promotion activities. On the other hand, there were very few who emigrated to Europe from Burkina. Instead, many farmers emigrated to the neighbouring Côte d'Ivoire to work in the coffee and cocoa plantations.

How did your company Seydoni Production come about?

– Seydoni Production is a production company working with music, media, communication, and the promotion of culture. It was created in 1994 and started its activities by inviting Burkinabe artists to visit and perform in Sweden and vice versa. These projects were not primarily profit-oriented but were rather organised in an attempt to fill the information gap that generally exists between Europe and Africa. When I was involved in these projects, I became aware of the lack of interest in investing in the music sector and, since I once pursued a musical career of my own, I already had a good knowledge of the sector.

– After the initial projects, Seydoni Production continued as a producer and arranger of tours and concerts in Burkina with both international and national artists. We were also involved in the production of artists but on a very small scale. At the time, there was no professional studio accessible in Burkina, or facilities to print cassettes and CDs. We paid for the recording in neighbouring countries or in Europe, printed the cassettes and imported them to Burkina. Subsequently, as we continued our work, we expanded our activities, trying to satisfy both our own needs and the needs of the music sector in Burkina. This included the procurement of recording, video editing and printing facilities for the production of albums, videos and promotional materials and also sound and lighting equipment.

– The music production activities took off in 1999 when we built a studio of international professional standards in Ouagadougou. Later the same year, we constructed a factory for the production of cassettes and CDs. Today, Seydoni Production works with music production and distribution, the production of music videos, films, and documentaries, organisation of concerts, tours and events. We host and provide audio and light systems and camera equipment for rental and we have just recently opened the first music store for modern instruments and accessories in Ouagadougou. The company also has a big studio and a factory for audiocassettes and CDs in Bamako, the capital of Mali. Seydoni Production works mainly in Burkina Faso and Mali, but it is also active in other West African countries, such as Côte d’Ivoire, Niger and Ghana, and is working on expanding its business to France and Sweden. Seydoni is today one of the biggest distributors of foreign African music in Burkina.

Could you describe the music production activities in Burkina Faso and Mali?

– There are two main production companies in Burkina: *Bazar Music* mainly for traditional music and *Seydoni Production* for mainly modern music. There are also several independent producers. The trend in modern music is to program the music in a home studio computer and finish the work in a big studio adding, for instance, vocals and instrumentalists playing live. The alternative is to rehearse with a band and record live.

– The Ministry of Culture in Burkina has little funds for supporting music production, but they are engaged in promoting activities. Every second year, the Ministry of Culture arranges a national cultural week, *Semaine Nationale de la Culture*, which is the final event of regional competitions for artists and groups nation-wide. We record, release, and distribute an album with the winning artist/group in the modern music genre each year. Other activities performed by the Ministry are, for example, the arrangement of national and regional concerts and tours, and in 1999 the Minister of Culture Art and Tourism created a modern music national orchestra with experienced musicians paid by the state.

– Due to the different efforts made by both the Ministry of Culture and private stakeholders, including the increasing number of home studios, the number of new talents is growing every day. R&B, rap, and soul music are today the fastest growing music genres and artists are selling record numbers of albums. According to *Burkin’Art* (2002), a repertory, and guide for arts and shows in Burkina, there are about 300 artists registered at the copyright bureau in Burkina. However, I believe that Burkina needs more professional studio musicians.

– Apart from home studios, there are three big studios in Mali: Bo-

golan, Seydoni Mali, which is our studio in Mali, and the studio of the State radio and television office. Compared to Burkina, there are many home studio recordings of outdoor live performances of both traditional and modern groups. According to the copyright bureau in Mali, there are about fifty independent Malian producers and some of them travel to the Côte d'Ivoire or to Europe to make their recordings.

- There are currently three national orchestras in Mali and around ten government-supported bands in the provincial rural areas. There are also many small bands playing mainly in bars and at various ceremonies. Mali has about 800 artists registered at Mali's copyright bureau today.

- Compared to Burkina, Mali has a larger music production and more internationally successful artists in modern music genres. Mali has had a better infrastructure for music than Burkina, partly because of early government-supported investments in the cultural sector. They have been better equipped in terms of studios and sound equipment. This, along with the big Malian community in Paris, may help to explain the difference in international success. However, artists that do succeed abroad are often based in Europe or signed by Western record companies, not local.

- Both countries lack sufficient funding assistance to help producers. As perhaps is the case in most parts of the world, banks see music production activities as very risky and without any guarantees, which makes it difficult to invest in the music sector. For instance, if you want to take a bank loan to invest in music production you need to put personal assets on the line such as taking a mortgage loan on your house or other personal belongings. And, as an artist, you have to find people who really believe in your product. The European Union has created a fund to support private initiatives in culture, but they rarely support music production. The Ministry of Culture in Burkina can provide a small amount of funding to help artists in the production of albums or music videos, but it seldom covers the actual cost.

And the duplication activities?

- Although the sales of CDs are currently growing, the market is still mainly interested in buying audiocassettes. In Burkina, there was no duplication factory until 1999 when we built our factory. Before this, audiocassettes were made abroad and imported at very high freight and customs duty rates.

- Mali has two factories, *Mali K7* and *Seydoni Mali*. Mali K7 has been operating for more than ten years, whereas Seydoni Mali opened in 2002. Both factories mainly produce audiocassettes and small quantities of CDs.

- Our factories in Mali and Burkina benefit from incentives of the in-

vestment code: low or no taxes on imported production equipment for three years and no tax on profit for five years. However, input material (audio tapes, CDs, library cases etc) is still being taxed at 32% import tax.

– The nightmare of producers and duplication plants is piracy. Pirate copies are made in duty free zones, in Ghana, Togo, Liberia, Saudi Arabia, and Hong Kong. It takes a maximum of two weeks after the launch of an album to have the market flooded.

What are the major channels for distribution?

– The distribution channels are rather short. From the factory to the final consumer, there are only two or three middlemen. Whether the audiocassettes, CDs, or videocassettes are manufactured in the country or imported, wholesalers often sell the products to retail shops or to young ambulatory salesmen who sell them on the streets or in bars or coffee shops.

– The central market, which is generally the main centre for commerce activities, is where most wholesalers buy and send music products to the towns in the provinces. Every cassette factory has a big shop close to the central market in Ouagadougou and Bamako.

– It is not uncommon to see retailers selling pirate copies with no royalties paid, no customs duties paid, and very cheap compared to original legal copies. It is suspected that most wholesalers are also importers of pirate copies.

How do you promote your artists?

– The public reacts very positively to promotion on radio and television. We have publicity spots on radio and television for each album we release. Sales of albums increase as soon as advertising begins. In Mali as in Burkina the main radio and television company belongs to the state: Office de Radio et Télévision du Mali and Radiodiffusion et Télévision du Burkina. However, music promotion through the radio is done primarily in private media. In Burkina, there are about 30 private radio stations according to the Superior Council of Information (CSI), and in Mali, there are about 150 radio stations, according to the Ministry of Communication and New Information Technologies in Mali.

– People from Western countries tend to think that advertising on television would not work in a poor country, but it is completely the reverse. When you advertise or broadcast music videos on television you increase the sales immediately, it's amazing. Both radio and television are very important, but the radio is still the best medium to reach remote areas in the villages.

– Because of the low literacy rate, very little emphasis is put on advertising in newspapers for the promotion of music events. The use of posters is, for example, more common in advertisements for concerts.

– Our ambition is to promote our artists on the international market. As part of this work, we attend the MIDEM, one of the biggest international music markets arranged in France each year. However, we have first concentrated on developing Seydoni Production in Burkina and now we have also entered the market in Mali.

What challenges do you face when organising concerts and tours in Burkina and Mali?

– Organising a tour or concert inside Mali or Burkina is very expensive and difficult in many aspects. The roads in rural areas are bad and the local radio coverage is weak. The arrangers usually have to take a loudspeaker, rent a car, and announce the concert across the town. The biggest problem is often finding a good sound system since there are very few companies dealing with sound or music instrument sales.

– We ourselves have our own equipment that we use for concerts and tours, including a big sound system for the stadium in Ouagadougou, which is the biggest concert arena in Burkina. We also supply the equipment for rental. Previously it was not uncommon that equipment had to be flown in from neighbouring countries for bigger events.

Earlier you mentioned the problem of piracy, how is your company influenced?

– You can say that we are selling about fifty per cent of what we could sell if there was no piracy. However, we should not forget that artists are also highly affected by piracy since they lose a source of income.

– Piracy is to a large extent a problem resulting from the lack of both institutional capacity and political will to deal with the phenomenon. The copyright bureaus lack sufficient legal tools, equipment, personnel, and funding to combat piracy efficiently. Furthermore, customs duty offices have very loose checkpoints at the borders.

– The copyright bureaus in Burkina and Mali have made an effort to stop pirate copies by introducing a system of stickers. These are put on legal copies and indicate that copyright has been paid, but the system is not effective unless you take measures against the illegal trade. Importers of illegal copies simply do not use the stickers and continue to distribute and sell their products. The system of stickers has not been very successful. We have made raids on our own initiative in the streets, collecting pirate copies of our products from salesmen.

– We have also filed lawsuits against some big illegal importers but the

problem remains: if you catch somebody, it is just a drop in the ocean as long as the borders are as open as they are today. However, the government in Burkina has recently passed a law stating that importers of cassettes and CDs need authorisation from the copyright bureau, and more important, they need to show the copyright bureau's authorisation at the border. More powers have thus been given to the customs officers at the borders to stop the entry of pirate audiocassettes and CDs. Mali is planning to adopt a similar law. If the law is successfully implemented at the customs offices at the borders, we might enjoy a brighter future, but this is still recent legislation so we must wait and see.

What effects do you think the establishment of Seydoni Production have had on the music scene in Burkina Faso?

– Before our establishment, there was no real infrastructure for music production in Burkina, for artists to make their own products and distribute them. There were few studios of acceptable quality. Musicians had to travel abroad for high quality recordings, for the production of music videos and printing cassettes, and have the money to do it. There was also a constant lack of sound and lighting equipment for performances. I would say there was no such thing called a music industry.

– Seydoni's presence and our investments in the music sector have created more opportunities for artists and musicians and it has also stimulated business. Today, artists can record and produce their work more easily, both quicker and cheaper. This stimulates creation, and with a product in your hand to present, you stand a better chance competing for jobs.

– I would say that Seydoni Production has had a positive impact on the modern music scene, both in terms of increasing the number of active artists and of live-stage performances. The music scene in Burkina has without doubt become a livelier one. The number of artists, concert arrangements and the production of albums have increased. This increases competition, which helps improve the quality of artists and the musical production.

– The interesting thing is that Seydoni has competition now. The number of home studios and smaller studios are growing. Artists either make their complete recording in a smaller studio or start there and finish off in our studio. And, I recently heard that there are plans for a second cassette/CD factory in Burkina. The growing industry is propelling the live music scene and thus providing more job opportunities for musicians and artists. Artists also stand a better chance to go on international tours.

Do you have any suggestions or recommendations on how to strengthen the music scene and the music industry in Burkina Faso and Mali?

– The music industry in West Africa is relatively weak. However, it is generally more developed in English-speaking countries than in French-speaking countries. Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire have the most highly developed music sectors among the French-speaking countries in West Africa and they have functioned as musical centres for the modern music scene of French-speaking countries in the region. The music industry in Burkina and Mali is still rather weak. However, as discussed above, the situation is better in Mali, partly because it has a more developed infrastructure for music and the fact that Malians living in the country or abroad prefer to buy Malian music.

– There is clear evidence that music generates economic development. Some Malian and Burkinabe artists and groups are very popular in Europe and in the United States. This is particularly true for djembé (African drum) players. About seventy per cent of the touring djembé players in Europe come from Mali or Burkina. This is starting to have a visible impact in some villages where touring artists are building beautiful houses after coming back home from their foreign tours. Indeed, a djembé player earns more on a three-month tour in Europe than in a whole year as a peasant farmer at home.

– The political decision makers have to begin to look at music as a source of national wealth, as a potential economic force. This would help to take away hindrances such as high taxes on instruments and musical activities. The import duty and tax on the music instruments is fortysix per cent, which is the duty level for luxury goods. Modern music instruments and accessories are thus very expensive, and can also be hard to find, which can even prevent people from engaging in a musical career or fully developing their skills. Today there is, as mentioned earlier, a lack of professional studio musicians in Burkina.

– A new attitude towards music and the music industry could encourage the setting up of training facilities and the building of infrastructure for the performing arts. Both countries, but Burkina especially, need investments in the general cultural infrastructure, such as in cultural institutions and music schools. Burkina, for instance, has no conservatory at a high level in performing arts, and hardly any for basic musical training.

– In the meantime, it is very important to promote worldwide tours for artists and for show-business professionals. Such international contacts would be both inspiring and stimulating for the music scene. It is important to facilitate the intercontinental exchanges because of their cultural

and economical benefits. Such facilitating actions, including financing, should be taken by both the private and the public sectors in developing as well as in industrial countries.

Intellectual Property Rights and Unfair Exploitation of Traditional Music and other Traditional Knowledge in Africa

KRISTER MALM

Prelude

“Not for the first time we got screwed...” A boss at one of the world’s largest record companies mused sardonically over their embarrassing bankruptcy in a small African state. (Wallis & Malm 1984)

This is the opening sentence of the book *Big Sounds from Small Peoples, The music industry in small countries*. Here the focus is on the hardships of running a music business according to Western business culture in an African country. This is only one, but a significant one, of many cultural clashes that upset interaction between Western and African countries in the field of music. But it is not merely a matter of mutual screwing. The heart of the matter is elsewhere.

The Issue

One important area of conflict has centred on intellectual property rights, i.e. the rights of authors and other creators, as well as rights acquired by companies. This conflict has been very prominent in the field of music. Since the creation of independent states in Africa, which started some 40 years ago, there has been constant turbulence around the combination of African states and intellectual property rights. The complaints from the international music industry and some Western states have mainly fallen into the following categories:

- Lack of legislation in African states compatible with the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.

- African states are not signatories to the Berne Convention.
- Lack of organizational structure to collect and disseminate revenues arising from intellectual property rights in African states.

The main reasons why African states have not entered the international system for intellectual property rights have been:

- The fact that since, in all African countries, more foreign music is imported than domestic music exported, this would mean more payments (in hard currency) to foreign right holders than income to domestic right holders.
- The international system for intellectual property rights is not compatible with indigenous notions of ownership in music and other arts.

These few points actually cover a vast area of complicated problems, including the music industry's widely publicized complaints on so-called illegal copying or "piracy", which of course is legal if there is no national legislation that forbids it. This paper, however, focuses on the second issue: the incompatibility of notions of ownership as stated in international agreements and as perceived by traditional knowledge holders, especially musicians, in African countries and the ensuing problems.

According to the Western system of intellectual property rights, most African music is in the so called public domain. This means that it is not protected by international conventions and is open to exploitation. This exploitation often takes the form of privatization of the music, i.e. that someone registers him/herself as the composer of an existing piece of music in the public domain. One famous case is the popular song *Malai-ka*, which has been "stolen" by many "composers" (Wallis & Malm 1984:182ff). In 1998 the register of the Nordic Copyright Bureau listed 11 persons who had registered themselves, all independently of each other, as the composer of *Malai-ka!* Usually exploitation is, however, more subtle, as shown by the following case.

The ethnomusicologist Steven Feld describes how he was reading a review by Jon Pareles of Madonna's CD album *Bedtime stories* in the International Herald Tribune of October 25, 1994 (Feld 1996:3ff). In conversation with Pareles, Madonna reveals her artistic desire. "You can subliminally seduce someone..." Pareles tells how Madonna practices subliminal seduction in one of the songs on the album: In *Sanctuary* pygmy-

like hoots and throbbing low bass notes frame Madonna's declaration "It is here in your heart I want to be carried". Feld decides to investigate where the "pygmylike hoots" came from. He discovers that the song *Sanctuary* contains samplings from a recording of jazz pianist Herbie Hancock's song *Watermelon Man*. Feld writes:

Herbie Hancock's reputation and the song "Watermelon Man" are closely connected. Hancock's career was launched forcefully by his first LP date as a leader, the 1962 Blue Note album *Takin' off*, featuring veteran saxophonist Dexter Gordon. The LP included the first recording of Hancock's gospel tinged composition "Watermelon Man," a tune that came in to much greater circulation and popularity when it was recorded the following year by the Afro-Latin ensemble of Cuban percussionist Mongo Santamaria. Meanwhile Hancock's meteoric rise on the jazz scene in the 60s, often as the pianist in the Miles Davis quintet, involved some catchy compositions, but none were as widely re-recorded or performed as "Watermelon Man." By the end of the 1960s and early 1970s Hancock's playing extensively involved soul-funk-rock-fusion forms, and he increasingly performed on electric and electronic pianos and synthesizers. His stylistic re-orientation to more commercial music was signaled by *Headhunters*. Within a year of that reorientation Hancock's new success was clear: he had three albums on Billboard's top pop LP charts, and in the following ten years he recorded numerous commercially successful pop-funk hits, in addition to film scores and more mainstream jazz work. The hit song on *Headhunters* was a composition called "Chameleon". But the surprise of the LP, probably second in airplay, was the remake of "Watermelon Man", credited to Hancock as author and co-credited to Harvey Mason, the band's drummer, for arrangement.

But why does Pareles refer to the sample of this song so indirectly, as Madonna's like of "pygmylike hoots"? In Scott Thompson's liner notes to the 1992 CD reissue of *Headhunters*, Hancock talks about the remake of "Watermelon Man": "...the beginning of the tune, that was Bill Summers' idea. The intro was actually from Pygmy music with Bill blowing in a beer bottle..." Bill Summers, the band's percussionist is credited on the LP's instrumentation list for playing "hindewho". But this term, "hindewho", is not the name of an instrument, but rather the onomatopoeic imitation by BaBenzélé pygmies of the Central African Republic for the alternation of voice with the sound of a single pitch papaya stem whistle. The introduction for "Watermelon Man" was clearly copied from a performance of this instrumental and vocal interplay, heard on the opening track of an ethno-

musicological LP of 1966, Simha Arom and Genevieve Taurelle's *The Music of the Ba-Benzélé Pygmies*. (Feld 1996:4)

Then Feld goes on to reveal a whole conglomerate of music by a number of musicians and music groups in Western countries that have actually imitated, sampled or used models from the record of 1966 with music of the Ba-Benzélé pygmies, and other records with field recordings of music of the Aka, Baka, Batwanda and Mbuti pygmies.

You may think: So what? But then consider this statement by a Batwanda pygmy, Charles Owirajiye, from a speech he held at the 1992 World Conference for Indigenous Peoples in Brazil:

We are the first people. When the second people came and cut down the trees and plants it forced us to live in other areas, uprooted. What can happen to us, our ecosystems, when our land is being cut down beside us? We need leadership and representation. (Sarno 1995:61)

And then consider that every time copyrighted music based on the Ba-Benzélé music is played in public: in concerts, on radio, TV and film, in commercials, in restaurants, barber shops and department stores, and for every record sold, intellectual property rights fees are paid by the users. I have tried tentatively to compute the amount of royalties generated by the use of Ba-Benzélé music and paid to the exploiters of the music. Even a conservative estimate shows that, if only some 10% of these royalties had been channelled to the Ba-Benzélé people, they could have bought a large area of their rainforest and been able stay on their traditional land! Thus, intellectual property rights could also be of crucial importance to African rain forest peoples in this globalized world where music and other cultural artefacts have been disconnected from their original space and time. But their intellectual property is not protected by the present system. Their music and the money it can generate is up for grabs.

The Origin of the Issue

The intellectual property rights that are covered by international conventions and most national legislation refer to works by individuals. This is based on the romantic notion of the lonely genius creating a work of art out of nothing else but his or her creativity. This notion prevailed in Europe at the time of the introduction of intellectual property rights in the 19th Century. This notion is, of course, not correct. Instead any item

of, let's say music, is the product of a combination of the creativity of a number of individuals. Every piece of music can be placed on a scale between total uniqueness and total generality, i.e. general traditional formulas and patterns that everyone knows. Of course, the extreme points of this scale must be considered as only theoretical positions.

Some works may be unique to the point that very few people can appreciate them at all. Others, and I would say the vast majority, are not so unique but draw heavily on tradition. These works are closer to the general end of the scale. This means that the present international legislation on intellectual property rights in the world is based on the false assumption that all works are unique works.

For many decades it has been obvious that the 19th century European idea of intellectual property rights is not compatible with traditional notions of ownership, not only in Africa and other Third World regions, but also in a country such as Sweden. Items of traditional music in Sweden are considered to belong to a village (e.g. Orsa tunes) or a region (e.g. Halland tunes) or to a lineage of performers indicated by the word "after" (e.g. polska after Pekkös Per). There is no individual ownership, even to the extent that traditional fiddlers who actually have composed some tunes of their own have almost never considered the possibility of registering them with STIM, the Swedish Performing Rights Society, which collects and distributes royalties in Sweden. There have also been cases of acute conflict. When the tune *Gärdebylåten* was registered as a composition by an individual and became a hit in the 1950s fiddlers from Rättvik in Dalecarlia invaded the office of the STIM director in a very irritated mood. They told him with threatening gestures that the tune had been played in their village for generations and belonged to them. However, this action had no effect. The legislation did not provide for rights owned by a team of village fiddlers. The registration of the tune as a composition by an individual prevailed.

The incompatibility of notions of ownership have caused recurrent demands that the legislation should be modified to cover collective rights or what can be named "Cultural Property Rights" such as "expressions of folklore", the term that has been preferred by the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) that handles international relations concerning intellectual property rights within the U.N. system, including the administration of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, originally from 1886, and its Union of signatories.¹

1. WIPO's work mainly concerns legal aspects of protection of literary and artistic works while UNESCO handles issues regarding the safeguarding and preservation (documentation, archiving, teaching etc.) of what in UNESCO terminology is called "intangible cultural heritage".

A Summary of Developments 1965–1995

In 1967 Tunisia became the first country in the world to actually make an attempt to protect expressions of folklore in national intellectual property legislation. This set the ball rolling. WIPO had to deal with the matter. The same year, at a diplomatic conference in Stockholm, Sweden, Article 15(4) of the Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works was amended to contain the following provision:

(a) in the case of unpublished works where the identity of the author is unknown, but where there is every ground to presume that he is a national of a country of the Union, it shall be the matter for legislation of that country to designate the competent authority which shall represent the author and shall be entitled to protect and enforce his rights in the countries of the Union.

This way of putting it still assumes an individual creator, albeit an anonymous one, and not a gradual creative process in which a chain of individual efforts are turned into a set of traditional patterns. The amendment of article 15(4) of the Berne Convention implies the possibility of granting protection for expressions of folklore. But the possibilities of implementing this protection outside one's own country are very limited. Nevertheless, a number of countries have hitherto used this article to protect folklore under national intellectual property legislation, among them some twenty-five African countries.

In this process the need for models for national legislation arose. During the years 1978–1981 preparatory work was done by WIPO which resulted in the 1982 “Model provisions for national laws on protection of expressions of folklore against illicit exploitation and other prejudicial actions” or, in brief, the Model Provisions. The definition of “expressions of folklore” was given as:

Productions consisting of characteristic elements of the traditional artistic heritage developed and maintained by a community in the country or by individuals reflecting the traditional artistic expectations of such a community.

Here for the first time tradition as maintained by a community is given recognition in a document from the World Intellectual Property Organization. The Model Provisions offer an illustrative enumeration of expressions of folklore subdivided into four groups according to the forms of the expressions, namely:

- expressions by word (verbal),
- expressions by musical sounds,
- expressions by action (of the human body)
- expressions incorporated in a material object.

The first three are the intangible expressions and the last one the tangible expressions.

The practical implementation of laws based on the Model Provisions is certainly not easy. I can just point at one complication. According to the definition of “expressions of folklore” in the Model Provisions, the “community” is defined by the “expression of folklore”, i.e. if Swedes and Norwegians have some common “expressions of folklore” they are a community in the sense of the Model Provisions. But laws based on the Model Provisions operate at the national level. This immediately poses problems with communities living in several countries. Even within nations problems can arise, as in the many cases of ethnic groups within African countries sharing some expressions of folklore. The collection and distribution of royalties is often tricky for the national authorities to handle. At the international level it becomes even more complicated (cf. Mills 1996).

The problems at the international level caused many states to call for an international legal instrument to regulate the protection of expressions of folklore. During the 1980s WIPO and UNESCO made great efforts to find solutions, but they failed in the cultural property field. But where protection of expressions of folklore in a broader sense is concerned, the work was successful. The result was the Recommendations on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore, which was adopted by the UNESCO General Conference in 1989.

TRIPS 1995 and its Aftermath

With the disappearance of the socialist block in world politics at the beginning of the 1990s and the development of digitalized means of disseminating music and other arts, the industrialized states became more aggressive in the field of intellectual property rights. The issue was moved out of the UN system (WIPO and UNESCO) into the deliberations of the newly emerged World Trade Organization (WTO). At its meeting in 1995, the WTO reached a decision on the TRIPS agreement on trade-related issues of intellectual property rights. This agreement linked the participation in international trade to the enforcement of intellectual property rights according to the Western model in all WTO member states.

The TRIPS Agreement sets out the minimum standards of protection of intellectual property to be provided by each member of the WTO. The agreement sets these standards by requiring, first, that the substantive obligations of the main conventions of the WIPO, especially the Berne Convention, in their most recent versions, must be complied with. With the exception of the provisions of the Berne Convention on moral rights, all the main substantive provisions of these conventions are incorporated by reference and thus become obligations under the TRIPS Agreement between TRIPS member countries. The second main set of provisions deals with domestic procedures and remedies for the enforcement of intellectual property rights. The agreement lays down certain general principles applicable to all intellectual property rights enforcement procedures. The requirements shall be fulfilled by all member states by the year 2005. In order to be able to fully participate in international trade, most states in Africa have already completed drafts of new intellectual property legislation. The TRIPS agreement simply forces them to do so, even if they are convinced that certain aspects of the legislation are not appropriate or beneficial to their countries. One of these aspects has been the issue of protection of expressions of folklore – a concept that was gradually phased out by WIPO in the late 1990s in favour of the broader concepts of “traditional knowledge” and “traditional cultural expressions”, meaning traditional skills in music, dance, drama, ceremonies, crafts, medicine and other similar areas and the enactment/performance of these skills.

The strategy of African and other Third World states after the TRIPS Agreement was to try to amend the agreement. Thus in 1996 the question of international protection of intellectual rights in folklore and related areas (traditional knowledge) was raised again by a number of governments in Africa. This was done in the context of the preparations for the WTO meeting that took place in Geneva in January 1997. The move to get the issue onto the agenda of the WTO meeting failed, and thus there was no possibility of amending the TRIPS Agreement. Once again the failure was due to resistance from powerful industrialized countries and the culture industries to any introduction of “collective” or “cultural property” rights into the present system of intellectual and industrial property rights. The issue was, however, supported by so many governments that it could not be ignored altogether. It was diverted into a conference organized jointly by UNESCO and WIPO in Phuket, Thailand in April 1997. There were representatives of some 130 countries and Non-Governmental Organizations present at the conference, including the International Council for Traditional Music, which I represented assisted by a lawyer, Sherylle Mills, at the time employed as an intellectual property rights ex-

pert by the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

During the course of the conference, major disagreements arose between, on the one hand, the Third World countries, especially African countries, and on the other hand, the United States and Great Britain, the centers of the international entertainment industry. The representatives of the U.S. and Great Britain maintained a very low profile at the beginning of the meeting. President Clinton's legal adviser answered my question on what his brief was in a coffee break with the words: "To shut up and smile".

Towards the end of the meeting it became obvious that there was a general consensus among the participants that an international legal instrument ought to be worked out and how this should be effected in principle. Then the shutting up and smiling finished. Both President Clinton's adviser and the British delegate spoke up and said they could not agree to any continuation of the work based on the Phuket conference. Among those who vigorously supported a potent plan of action was Mr. Moses Ekpo from Nigeria, who at the time was also the President of the General Assembly of WIPO.

The resistance from the U.S. and Great Britain resulted in several rewritings of what in the end became "The Phuket Plan of Action". This plan was finally approved by all participants in the conference with the exception of the U.S. representative. The plan was addressed to the Director General of WIPO for the consideration of the September 1997 General Assembly Meeting of the Governing Bodies of WIPO.

As a result of the Phuket Plan of Action, WIPO has acted during recent years to move things ahead. In 1998–99 WIPO and UNESCO organized "regional consultative fora" in the regions of Latin America/Caribbean, Asia, the Arab Countries and Africa. In the reports from these fora there is an unanimous consensus that global commercial exploitation of folklore in different forms from World Music to the design of T-shirts is rapidly increasing and that the profits from this commerce end up in private pockets. Furthermore, it is declared that the importance of traditions for cultural, societal and socio-economical development is underestimated and thus also the negative effects of the exploitation of traditions are underestimated. The countries in the respective regions are asked to introduce national legislation for the protection of intellectual property in traditional music and other folklore if they have not already done so. WIPO is asked to draft an international convention as soon as possible, as in the Phuket plan.

The General Assembly of WIPO decided in October 2000 to set up an "Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Re-

sources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore”. In this way the issue of legislation for the protection of folklore has been linked to questions of the exploitation of genes from animals, plants and microorganisms. From a legal perspective these issues are of a similar nature. Up to July 2003 the committee has held five meetings.

Intellectual Property – Views of African Traditional Knowledge Holders Today

The documentation from WIPO’s regional fora and fact-finding missions and the surveys of existing national intellectual property rights legislation on folklore and other traditional culture can be found on WIPO’s sub-website on traditional knowledge. Below I have compiled some significant points from these documents, especially from the document “Intellectual Property Needs and Expectations of Traditional Knowledge Holders” (WIPO 1991).

As mentioned above, quite a few African states have national legislation covering traditional music, partly or wholly based on the Model Provisions. But national legislation in different countries varies in details, especially regarding who is considered the owner of folklore: individual or groups of individual knowledge holders, communities or the state. There are also differences in the way the licensing process for permission to use items of folklore is organized, through a collecting society, a government agency or in other ways.

There is, however, an embryo to inter-African co-ordination of legislation in the so-called Bangui Agreement of 1977 which now serves as legislation in the 15 member states of Organisation Africaine de la Propriété Intellectuelle (OAPI): Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central Africa, Chad, Congo, Cote d’Ivoire, Gabon, Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Togo. In chapter 1 of annex VII of the agreement, which deals with copyright and related rights, specific protection is provided for expressions of folklore and for works inspired by expressions of folklore. The form of protection is based on the paying public domain model, which means that royalties have to be paid for all works in the public domain. The agreement deals also with protection of expressions of folklore in Chapter II on the Protection and Promotion of Cultural Heritage. The OAPI members are bound to protect each other’s expressions of folklore as intellectual property under the national treatment principle, i.e. to treat the folklore of the other member states in the same way they treat their own national folklore.

In the fact-finding meetings with African traditional knowledge holders, WIPO found that most of the traditional knowledge was considered to be communally owned, held and practiced. However, various levels of ownership were identified, ranging from individual rights to family rights through community or village rights, to national rights. In some cases, ownership crosses boundaries as common practices and resources exist in neighbouring countries.

In cases where the knowledge is clearly communally owned, it was suggested that the management and exercise of rights be vested in one body acting for the community. This body could also be responsible for ensuring that any benefits are shared within the community, through for example, community development projects. Calls were, however, made to recognize the fundamental differences between Western systems and African customs and culture. In traditional African societies, the attitude is that such knowledge is public property and local users may freely use it for their own benefit – thereby using this public property as a basis for further creations which could be individually owned, for example, the creation of songs out of “stock expressions”. Asking local people to pay for the use of knowledge which they believe to be theirs would, it was explained, go against the traditional concept of ownership and stifle creativity. This was contrasted with the situation in contemporary western society where the reverse is the case as individualism is seen to be actively promoted. Traditional knowledge holders would wish to be compensated as a community for the knowledge where it is communally owned, and ensure that mechanisms are in place to guarantee its continued existence.

Many persons alluded to “informal” and customary regimes, practices and laws which have served to nurture, protect and regulate access to traditional knowledge. The interface and possible tensions between customary practices on the one hand, and the “formal” intellectual property system on the other, were touched upon on some occasions but not discussed in detail. However, the need to study this question further was highlighted.

In one of the countries, Ghana, the difference between ownership and custodianship was stressed. This difference was evident in cases where a community entrusts a particular cultural practice or item to a particular family to administer and maintain on behalf of the community. Examples were given of particular families being responsible for making certain ceremonial drums, for carving swords, or for the performance of certain ceremonial songs or dances. In these cases, the families do not own the knowledge, but have only been chosen to guard it and exercise it on

behalf of the community. Benefits arising from the commercial exploitation of any of the skills or dances described above would be attributable to the community and not the family concerned. The families in fact would not even have the right to grant access to the works. It follows therefore that ownership is attributed to the community and any benefits arising from such community owned knowledge should be for the community and not the “custodian” families. The issue of commonality of knowledge/resources across borders was raised frequently but no apparent solution to the problem was offered.

The objectives for intellectual property rights for traditional knowledge were in brief viewed as:

- control over disclosure and use,
- commercial benefit,
- promotion of and incentives for continued tradition-based creativity,
- acknowledgment and attribution,
- prevention of derogatory, offensive, and fallacious use.

It was repeatedly stated that objectives in this area are not only (or purely) commercial. Relevant objectives were also classified as: a defensive commercial interest, an active commercial interest and ethical concerns. A defensive commercial interest is relevant where cultural communities wish to protect their folklore from being exploited commercially by others. An active commercial interest would be relevant where communities wish to benefit from the economic advantage attached to treating their expressions of folklore as a commodity. Ethical concerns arise when cultural communities wish to protect their folklore so that its evolution faithfully respected their traditions and modes of life.

Certain traditional knowledge holders and their service organizations are embarking upon documentation projects to prevent the acquisition by other parties of intellectual property rights. WIPO was advised that traditional knowledge is being documented and made publicly available with the intent that the traditional knowledge falls into the public domain, forms part of the searchable “prior art” and thus anticipates the novelty of inventions based upon the documented traditional knowledge. This practice is sometimes referred to as “defensive publication”. However, as was pointed out by certain persons, placing the traditional knowledge in a protected public domain also prevents the originating community from applying for intellectual property rights if it ever wanted to do so. In other words, once the novelty is lost, it is lost both for outside parties and the

original traditional knowledge holders. Such “defensive publication” would be an example of use of the present intellectual property system to prevent the acquisition of any intellectual property rights over music and other traditional knowledge, if that is the desired goal.

Several persons referred to difficulties with the enforcement of conventional intellectual property rights in their countries, pointing to widespread music, literature and computer software piracy as examples. It was pointed out that some of the countries visited have old and outdated intellectual property legislation which was only now being amended to conform with the TRIPS Agreement. On the other hand, problems with enforcement go beyond the law and extend to human and other resources within enforcement agencies and other factors. Others expressed a sense of “disappointment” with the intellectual property rights system, citing examples of cases in which their works have been exploited without any acknowledgement or financial reward. There seems to be doubt in the minds of many consulted that the intellectual property system, not seen as effective in preventing the infringement of conventional intellectual property rights, can serve as an effective model or tool for the protection of new subject matter such as traditional knowledge. The need for traditional knowledge holders to be able to enforce any measures to protect traditional knowledge was stressed many times as well as the need for information and education in matters regarding intellectual property rights.

Postlude

Based on the evidence of WIPO’s fact-finding missions, one can deduce that any exploitation of traditional knowledge must be based on the consent of the owners of this knowledge. This consent has to be based on relevant facts, i.e. the exploiter should provide the traditional knowledge holders with enough information in order to make it possible for them to understand the implications of any consent given. Any amendment of the Berne Convention proposed by the WIPO Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore should contain informed consent as a key concept. An amendment should make it compulsory for any exploiter of music or other traditional knowledge to obtain the informed consent of the owner of the knowledge. Then this owner, be it a community or individuals, can give the knowledge away or set conditions for the use of the knowledge such as royalty payments, restrictions to the ways the knowledge is used etc. As is the case with the present intellectual property system, ways of

dealing with this will develop through standard procedures involving licensing agencies, collecting societies etc. This new system will have the same weaknesses as the present system regarding administration of the rights, but it will at least give owners of collective cultural property a fair chance and stop the most blatant forms of theft of traditional knowledge.

While the democratic dialogue that aims at bridging cultural differences has made slow progress, the parties that already have legal protection for their music through international agreements have acted. With the aid of effective lobbying they have managed to increase their income by prolonging the duration of both intellectual property rights and neighbouring rights in the countries of the European Union and in other parts of the world. At the second session of the Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore, the representative of the European Community said that “discussions within the framework of intellectual property should concentrate on the more transactional, commercial aspects of folklore rather than on ethical issues” (WIPO/GRTKF/IC/2/16, par.169). Business first is the motto.

In the face of such attitudes there is little hope of reaching an agreement based on mutual respect and understanding. The spokespersons for traditional music and other traditional knowledge in Africa and other parts of the world have no choice but to continue to demand their rights and fight the vested interests of the giants in the international entertainment industry. Collective cultural rights must be considered on par with individual rights. In a globalized world the local traditional intangible heritage must be protected against unfair exploitation and provided with a possibility to generate its own economical base through legal protection in terms of intellectual property rights.

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“Bringing the Global Home” Locating Agency in the Reconfiguration of Western Music by Ugandan Youth¹

RICHARD SSEWAKIRYANGA

Audio example:

Kakoolo No. 1 Hit performed by The Perfect Generation (CD track 9)

This article seeks to interrogate the poetics and politics about and around the influence of Western music on young people in Uganda. I argue that popular cultural genres of music are some of the fastest moving cultural artefacts today, whose influence is very explicit, but in many instances not conceptualised and analysed in contemporary debates on globalisation. The paper draws from ethnographic research specifically in Uganda and tries to show that young people have redefined the terrain of music in Uganda in ways that they have not only borrowed the lyrics, but also made many different combinations with the music to come out with genres that may not be imagined in the Western world. Rap music and other popular culture genres have allowed for the redefinition of how flows of global cultural products can provide spaces for the promotion of new avenues that allow the articulation of different identities. Images in the media are quickly being moved into local repertoires of irony, humour, resistance and even anger. The article includes a theoretical discussion of some background issues that are in play, a brief overview of the country being discussed, some experiences of the author and other young people's encounters with popular culture. Case studies as well as the different debates on the topic are drawn from Uganda.

1. This is a slightly revised and updated paper originally presented at the conference “Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa” held 19–22 October 2000 in Åbo/Turku, Finland, organised jointly by (1) the research project “Cultural Images in an of Africa” at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, (2) the Department of Musicology, and (3) the Centre for Continuing Education at Åbo Akademi University in Turku, Finland.

Introduction

The contemporary discourse on global cultural flows² and related outcomes has moved center-stage in the scholarly world. This is a discourse that implores scholars to focus on some of the unstable worldviews on globalisation and the different links among world communities as well as the ramifications of such links. Most proponents of global flows celebrate globalisation as the vehicle for free and ideologically uncontaminated flows of enjoyment and consumption. We can now talk of the global youth that has subverted nationalist projects to take on the character of a transnational citizen. However, these moments of celebration need to be scrutinised and unpacked in order to take cognisance of the intricate and nuanced strategies through which international dissemination of cultural commodities like music are mediated and countered in ways that may never have been imagined before.

This paper interrogates the ambivalent and contradicting site of enjoyment made possible by Western music in Uganda. Although Western music has been on the Ugandan scene for a long time, it now faces new realities such as the expansion of FM radios³, the emergence of new technologies in music production, the expanding variety of cable TV programming and what is a relatively liberal political regime in Uganda. These new developments show great insight considering the past, when most of the Western type of music was consumed in some kind of "pure form". In the sixties, one would dance to James Brown in his original lyrics or would dance the waltz with a Victorian flavour lest one was accused of not adopting the refined ways of the colonial masters. Now, with advances in technology, new readings of global relations and widening of spaces of enjoyment, there are a lot more complex regimes of consumption and production at play in the area of music. For example, the circulation of foreign products is no longer the preserve of an official state-broadcasting house. It has now been opened up to unofficial circuits of exchange that demand new readings of the politics and poetics of enjoyment.

I concern myself with an exploration of the dynamics at play on the popular music scene among young people in Uganda. I refer to this music

2. See Appadurai (1986), for a detailed analysis of the different facets of globalisation. The author examines the current epoch of globalisation and its attendant characteristics of mass migration and the electronic media and the different debates on popular consumption and popular cultures. This paper is anchored within his thesis that images that circulate within transnational spaces are often borrowed and reconfigured in ways that are inventive and sometimes surprising to the origins.

3. "radio" here often used in the meaning of "broadcasting station".

as “popular” because it makes use of contemporary materials to speak to contemporary times (Barber 1987). Aware of the difficulty of defining “popular culture”, I will not enter the debate but will borrow from Barber (1997) who defines popular art as “arts about things that matter to the people”. In the paper, I look back to the recent past: Uganda in the 1980s – when the country was marred with insecurity – and present snapshots of some of the ways in which popular culture was articulated in Kampala. To contextualise this narrative I then operate as a subject of the 1980s popular culture. The paper then looks at how radio has been instrumental in helping young people imagine possibilities available in the arena of music. I end the paper with ethnography of one everyday genre – “-venacularised” rap. Through these different readings of popular music I hope to illustrate that music has subverted the dichotomies of Western/elite distinctions to allow for hybridised genre forms that provide agency and enjoyment for young people in the production and consumption arenas.

Uganda in the 1980s and 1990s

The eighties and nineties in Uganda were a transitional period. The early eighties were marked by a war that saw the overthrow of the Milton Obote and Tito Okello Lutwa regimes. The late eighties saw the arrival of the current President – Yoweri Museveni. Museveni’s regime has been marked by moments of relative peace. With the *fundamental change* presidential slogan, also came the *fundamental change* in musical genres. When President Museveni took over government he used the phrase – *fundamental change* – which has now become a household phrase. At his swearing-in ceremony, he pronounced that his regime was not a “change of guards” but a “fundamental change”, referring to the fact that his regime was one that was bringing new democratic dispensations into the politics of the country. The music seems to have followed the same route of fundamental change with new musical dispensations becoming the order of the day. People who had to be behind closed doors by 6:00 p.m. in the evening could now dance the night away in newly renovated nightspots. The national radio played liberation songs sung by rebels – now turned liberators – during the bush days. Like the national anthem, how could one not know one of the famous bush songs like *Mustuni* (the bush), *Mita songo na mututu yangu* (I will march with my gun) and many others. These were songs that acted like spiritual laxatives on a war-ravaged country (Ogonna 1991). But as these spiritual laxatives made their mark on the

public culture so did globalisation and the consumption of all kinds of music from different parts of Africa and the metropolitan West.

To stay in vogue with the outside world, coupled with the fact that people had now acquired new tastes that had become possible with the changes in public culture, a wave of new forms of music started spreading. The liberalised media from the West started cooing with more "sophisticated music from the West". The music market was flooded with different lyrics from all over the world and eager consumers ready to make up for the lost decade. As the exiled Zairians were making their mark on the Uganda music scene, so were the lyrics of Diaspora rappers from the hoods in the US and other Western countries. As the elders were dancing to Kanda Bongoman, so were the youngsters dancing to LL Cool J, Ice T, Tupac and a host of other rappers.⁴ Indeed, music subverted the notion of national boundaries and transformed existing place contexts to allow for the emergence of new identities and genres (Appadurai 1996). Different bands and rap groups were formed. The youth could now dress like their favourite rappers and the older people would enjoy their Zaire music, donning trousers fastened nearer to the chest than the umbilical cord. Identities that could be bracketed as hybrid, fluid or "in the making" emerged. "New kids had arrived on the block". For the young people, music became the genre that liberates, allows asserting, and generates the money to finance one's imaginations (Remes 1998).

My Entanglements with Youth People's Music in Uganda in the Early 1980s

To give a young person's view of Uganda in the 1980s, I provide a flash-back into Kampala in the early eighties and I present the "authentic me"⁵ in the next section. I recount and relive some of the moments during my youthful days in Kampala.

My encounter with popular music dates back to my teenage years in the eighties, when the "American in us" was the "in thing" that did concern us. One of the strongest moments I remember is the day we decided to wear earrings. It was at a time when a friend whose uncle had been living in the US came over with a glossy magazine, which could have been

4. Not much has been written about music during this period, however two authors (Mbowa 1996) and (Breitinger 1992), who wrote on theatre and the political context of Uganda, offer a concise understanding of ways in which popular culture survived through these turbulent times.

5. To borrow a phrase from M. Diawara, "Afro-Kitsch" in Dent (1992).

Ebony; here we saw a young male in an immaculate suit with an earring. The image captivated all of us and we had a long animated discussion of the reasons for this and we agreed that this was a mark of excellence in fashion and would be an intelligent project to pursue if only to break new ground in the world of Ugandan fashion. We embraced the idea and, like missionaries setting off to spread a new religion, we had one of our “sisters in crime” to pierce our ears and there we were with our “icons of American modernity” – the earring – right there on our bodies! We endured the weeklong pain of the sore ears and always thought of the time when our earrings would be a permanent marker for our solidarity, popularity and fashion. We were about six boys in the group who started off this exercise. Our teenage bodies, through the ears, then encoded “the imagined America” iconographical as a condition of our popular culture.

This was also a time when we yearned to have news of the emerging stars and spent time every Saturday night listening to one of the only radio stations at the time, where a Radio DJ who had had a stint in the UK, known as Karim Brown of the Club 82 Disco, would play American lyrics with a contextual commentary as we sat and listened religiously. That was the time when we learnt about people like Marvin Gaye with his famous song *Sexual Healing*, the Musical Youth with their famous song *Pass the Dutchie on the Left Hand Side*, Kool and the Gang with *Get Down on It* and the British pop group *Imagination* with their famous *Illusion*, Michael Jackson and a host of other hip hop and Rhythm and Blues stars.

Juxtaposed to these images was the insecurity in the city, which at one time resulted in the death of one of my relatives who was dragged off a dance floor in the then Apollo Hotel by security agents. They took him to the swimming pool of what is now a five star hotel – The Sheraton – and drove a nail right through his skull and dumped him in the swimming pool. It was a time when danger was part of our leisure. Sons of high ranking army men would pull out pistols on high school dance floors as Bob Marley played *Africans Unite* or as the Shalamar cooed away with songs like *Night to Remember*. It was also a time when the Special Police Force of the Obote Regime would drive to a disco hall in the suburbs of Kampala at 3:00 am and we ran to “take cover” lest they choose to arrest you or take all the money in your pocket or just torture you and dump you somewhere. After they went away with their victims we would be back on the floor with tunes like *Last Night the DJ Saved My Life* – a hit to which I danced and won a dance competition, combining steps from Break Dance and Reggae. Robot Dance and Break Dance from videos of *Electric Bugaloo* were steps that every young person in the city had to associate with.

This kind of popular culture is one that worried many parents because for us it was not only the insanity of the cultures we had embodied, but also the brutal political regimes in which we articulated them that were all at play as dangers to reckon with. Wearing an earring, smoking some "grass" once in a while, I did my first two years in an urban high school until my mother jointly with an Italian Priest echoed the cry that many parents had "what has become of our teens" and moved me very quickly to an Italian Missionary school out of the city. Yet even this distance did not close off my encounter with the global musical flows. Though I was removed from my "homeboys", I remember carrying on the legacy; as *Thriller* by Michael Jackson was released, I quickly acquired a T-shirt with a portrait of Michael Jackson and I cut all my trousers ankle high, wore white stockings and black shoes and looked for a leather jackets with sleeves pulled to the elbow, to cut out the image of MJ – and of course I learnt how to do the backslide and moonlight dance. In the Italian ran school, I met two friends, one, a banker, currently settled in London and another, now a journalist in Kampala, and we called ourselves "the systems" from the famous singers of the record *A.E.I.O.U.* We introduced in the school "subaltern-slang-vocabulary" such words like "Hi", "shit", "ass-hole", "f**k-you" which we had heard on video screens and on music tapes.

The weekends became a time to look forward to when we organised illegal dances in our dormitories. With the school generator off at ten in the night, one of our friends whose home was near the school "organised" and we acquired a radio cassette and some break dance music. We would then have all participants swear an oath of secrecy and bring along a plastic cup and a torch for the party. As two people would be break-dancing in the space between the beds, the rest would sit up on the double-decker beds, stick their torchlight into the coloured plastic cups that would then act as disco lights. We would dance the night away until the dry cells in the radio cassette ran out and we all went to sleep. This was the convoluted reality of my encounter with popular culture. It certainly had its effects because in the city schools I did not care about my grades to the point that my position in class was in the twenties. Yet going to this new school, even as I clung to these icons of modernity, I did well at school – always among the best ten – that I can look back and even talk about it.

The experiences above may not represent those of all young persons in Uganda at the time. At least my two brothers whom I lived with were influenced differently. One always kept up with the Top Forty Hits that were aired on the British Broadcasting Company and the Voice of Amer-

ica, and the other had a fascination for languages and subjects like French, Arabic, and religion. Yet for many of the young people in the city, popular music was an encounter that one could not ignore. Most schools at the time had what was called the “Trans-Day Discos”. These started at around twelve noon and ended at around six in the evening. At the start of such events, the boys and the girls in the school would move quickly to the toilets or the locked classrooms, remove their uniforms and then dress in that treasured attire smuggled out of home in a schoolbag. These are practices that still continue to today.

What did all this mean to us? In this life we found a niche of our own that afforded us some status and identity among our peers. We also subverted norms that society had created for us as young people and hence saw meaning in the popular music as a mobilizer of our global consciousness. Music also fulfilled a transition from childhood to adulthood, a kind of sophistication and identity formation that would then be adored by one’s peer group. American culture meant for us a movement into the world, creating the possibility of looking and imaging “an American” at home.

It is true that this is not a moment to romanticise because a number of young people went overboard, some to become drug addicts, others teenage mothers, others outright criminals that went in and out of jail, others simply dropouts that are struggling to make ends meet on the streets of Kampala, and others successful professionals in different fields. The complexity of popular culture images and the possibilities they open up for young people are diverse. In this section I have hinted at some of the issues that I see as having an influence on the everyday lives of young people. In the above paragraphs one reads a kind of ambivalence and contradiction in the sites of popular culture and how it is consumed and even produced. For example, a quick look at the entanglements that I have described suggests that music was produced and consumed in various ways. We danced to music in schools, listened to the radios, combined enjoyment with dangers, and indulged in a host of other things. These are some of the ambivalences that popular music makes possible.

In what follows I elaborate some current articulations of popular culture through one mode of media – the radio – and the contingent complexities that are created by the transnational economy of travelling cultures through this media (Joseph 1998).

The Impact of Radio in Uganda

Radio in Africa has for long been viewed as a locus of communicative action that historically has been intimately bound up with elite-bureaucratic hierarchies (West & Fair 1993). This view seems to suggest that, for a long time, radio has been a state-run medium of communication with the consumers of the radio programmes having very little say. This scenario was very present in the times before the mid-eighties in Uganda. There was only one radio station that was run by the state. The state-run radio would be the one to decide what kind of messages and music would go out to the population. In many instances the music played would be politically correct music that would either praise the leader of the time or music that did not threaten the cultural status quo. Any one hoping to listen to some of the latest hits would have to depend on the pirated tapes sold on the streets or a fuzzy recording from foreign radio programmes like *BBC Weekly Top Forty Hits*.

Coupled with the above political iconography of the radio is the fact that the radio is a very important social asset in any home. The radio adds to the status of the home. For young people, especially the male, the model of the radio – whether it be a Sony, JVC or Panasonic – its power of reception and the kind of bass sound it produces are all very important signifiers of one's modernity and prestige. In a rural home, elders would switch on the radio to listen to personal announcements of dead friends and relatives and also listen to news. The argument for this was – since the radio worked on dry cells it was important that the cells were not "wasted" on "useless" programs. In some areas of the country, one notices that men go around with their radios for evening walks, covered with a home knit table cloth to keep the dust away from this valuable electronic piece. In fact the radio is the main source of information and entertainment in rural and urban homes (Mugambi 1994). In a nutshell the radio is an icon of prosperity, and gives the radio owner an identity of being "informed in some transnational sense".

It is against this background that the liberalisation of airwaves created a complex and rich conglomeration of social readings that one can attach to the radio. The first FM radio station to open – Radio Sanyu – did what many people never imagined a radio could do. It played the latest music, which was known only to be a preserve of those who could afford tapes. The first days of this radio on the air were received with a lot of scepticism. People wondered how one could be able to keep up with broadcasting all these latest hits. The radio proprietors promised to play the best hits, use the latest technology on the market, and soon the print-

ed media was covered with letters of praise for the FM radio for "not letting us down" and playing music in stereo.⁶ Young people now had a reason to stay at home and listen to the latest music and commentaries on the radio.

In order to respond to the different characteristics of the radio audience, the stations also cut out different identities. Radio Sanyu, based in Kampala, started testing its equipment in December 1993 and started operations in January 1994. This is a radio that has cut out its identity as a station that plays *hip hop*, *R&B* and *dancehall reggae*, and is more inclined towards the elite youth. During the school holidays the radio broadcasts a number of call-in programmes for the holidaymakers. Another radio station that opened on December 31st 1993 is Capital Radio. This has been a station that focuses on the elite middle-class. Most of its programmes are in English and it plays a variety of music. It also tries to address issues that are of political relevance to the country and has a morning show that is very popular among the urban middle class. Another station with a difference is Radio Buganda which is specifically geared towards a predominantly Luganda speaking audience. All the programmes are presented in Luganda and it has a host of talk shows that address many of the questions of cultural revival, the crisis of identity and the problems faced by young people and the nation in era of modernisation. It is housed in one of the Palaces of the Buganda Kingdom and is very popular with what one can categorise as low class working people in the markets, the taxi drivers and other kinds of petty traders. This radio has also been instrumental in the promotion of a hybridised form of music that blends Kiganda folklore and with American lyrics as will be discussed in the section on local rap. There are other radios in different parts of Uganda – all responding to the audiences in the areas they cover. In all Uganda has over 40 different FM radio stations that have opened in the last eight years. The audiocassette market, which was very instrumental in the marketing of music, has now declined drastically and is mostly restricted to local music productions. However, these local productions depend a lot on the FM stations for announcing the release of their latest songs and also playing them frequently to make them hits on the local weekly music charts.

This opening up of the media has provided space for new possibilities in the music industry. Since different radio stations survive on innovative programme recipes for their audiences, they have been very instrumental in the promotion of music by young people. For instance local rappers

6. The following newspaper articles gives some indication of the audience reactions to some of these FM radio stations: Weekly Topic 31st December 1993, New Vision February 27th 1994.

first produce their music on local radio stations before it is recorded on cassettes or compact discs for sale. Most of the composers and singers are Radio DJs and Discotheque DJs and a few urban theatre performers. The stations employ young artists and urban theatre actors because they are able to present the music in a comical and entertaining form and have a good grasp of the everyday discourse in vogue at any one time. In turn they get a chance to popularise their music and also are able to get onto the dance floor of different discotheques.

From the above narrative it is clear that the radio has been very instrumental in the popularisation and indigenisation of global music in today's Uganda. For young people it has meant an opportunity to articulate their identities as urban and modern persons. Young people explore and recycle identities as they produce outlooks in life that draw on the local, global, traditional and modern cultural realms. As "cultural brokers", they negotiate diverse cultural streams as they mix and match ideas from a wide range of images, objects, and practices from Ugandan folklore to global fashions. In the next section I elaborate on this issue in detail.

Local Rap and Transnational Musical Discourses

The Perfect Generation and Kakoolo

Kakookolo gwe Kakoolo
 Kakookolo kwata entongoli yo
 Ndetera maama ndetera
 Agenda no mulungi talaga
 Kimaama kinyabo gyangu eno ngoyimba

[English Translation]

Hey monster, Hey Monster
 Hey Monster take your guitar
 Bring it to me, bring it to me
 One who goes with the beautiful does not announce
 Sweet Mama, Sweet lady, come with me as you sing along

(*Kakoolo No. 1 Hit* 1993 by *The Perfect Generation*, CD track 9)

The year 1993 saw the emergence of a Luganda⁷ folklore song – *Kakooko-
 lo* with a rap base and it became a number one chart hit on the local

7. For those unfamiliar with these terms – Luganda is the language, Baganda are the people, Buganda is the region and Uganda is the country.



Ragga Dee recording at No End Entertainment Studio in Kampala. Photo: Joel Isabirye.



Rasta Rob Performing at one of his concerts in Nakivubo Stadium. Photo: Joel Isabirye.

scene. The song *Kakookolo* comes from a traditional fairy tale in Buganda. It is told to children in order to teach them always to be careful with strangers. The tale is about a little girl who meets a cunning monster that plays good music on its guitar. The monster plays numbers that mesmerise the girl and she gets interested and keeps listening. At some point the beast leaves the girl with the guitar and the girl gets worried and wants to hand over the guitar to the monster. So the girl goes singing as she takes the guitar to the monster. The monster keeps on moving further away from the girl's home and imploring the young girl to bring the guitar. The story can end with the monster swallowing the girl or the girl dropping the guitar and running away. It depends on the storyteller whether it is a tragedy or a comedy.

The folklore song was remixed into a rap hit and was produced by an innovative young man called Peter Sematimba who had a studio known as the *Dungeon Studio*. He was very instrumental in producing most of the rap music that was based on traditional folklore and sung in local languages. He is also a radio station DJ and thus had the advantage of playing this music on radio. He started a career as a singer and music producer and then joined one of the first radio stations – Capital Radio. He moved from Capital Radio and, until 2002, he was the Managing Director of Radio Buganda which he started for the Buganda monarchy. He has since moved on to start his own radio station, which is known as Super FM.

The group, *The Perfect Generation*, that sang this song was a group of young boys with an average age of about eighteen years. They started off playing different rap songs in English, mostly in high schools and at some of the famous clubs in Kampala. They usually sang with back-up classic

sound tracks. The group seemed to be intent on making it on the international music scene. After the song *Kakookololo*, the group split up with some of the lead singers going off to the USA.

Nevertheless, *Kakookololo* was one of the songs that marked the moment when many young people started experimenting with new styles of American back-up sound tracks combined with Ugandan folklore songs and rhymes. After the success of this group, Ugandan boys and girls frantically moved into trying to produce different types of rap. Names like Shanks Vive D (who did a stint with the South African star, Yvonne Chaka Chaka), Menton Summer, Emperor Orlando, Da Hommies, Ragga D, Prim and Propa (a female group) and Rasta Rob MC (one of the most famous DJs in the most prestigious discotheques in Kampala – Ange Noir – and on the FM stations at the time) came on the scene. These young people became famous in ways that are economically sensible and socially successful. Let me illustrate with an example of music composed by some of these artists.

The Song – Bamusakatta!

Aie, aie, aie gino miggo gyennyini
 Bamusakata, Bamusakata, Bamusakata kiboko n_azimatira
 Nabadde nkwegomba, naye, empisa zo maama, zakunemya
 Nkugambye, yakuula bangi ebinyo n_abamatizza
 N_asangayo sharp gwatasobola, nkugambye yamusakata kiboko
 n_azamatira
 Yamusakata, yamusakata, namukuba kiboko n_akaaba

Ow, Ow, Ow, Ow! This is real beating,
 They beat her, they beat her, they beat her with a stick until she really
 felt it,
 I used to admire you, but, darling, your behaviour humiliates me,
 I am telling you, she conned (detoothed) things out of so many men,
 And they took it,
 Until one day she met a sharp dude, who she couldn't manage
 I am telling you he beat her with a stick until she felt it, he beat her,
 he beat her with a stick and she cried...

(*Bamusakatta! No 1 hit by Da Hommies, Uganda 1995*)

Have you ever noticed the subtle, stunning way in which names, words or phrases momentarily overrun public culture? Everyone is briefly in on the joke. Whether it is a name of a football player, a political pun or a tit-

bit of global gossip, the joke is everywhere and those who do not “get it” are ridiculed. The word that captivated much of Kampala in 1995 was the Luganda verb “okusakatta”. Endless laughter was to be heard when the word was brought up in conversation, on a bus, or in a bar, giving it all sorts of new contexts and imbuing it with intoxicating new sexual meanings. Women as much as men would play with the idea, turning it on its head to mock the sort of feeble guy who could not stand up to his wife. Popularised in a rap song that became a national anthem at every party and on every radio station, the phenomenon seemed hardly one to dance to.

Once upon a time the word “okusakatta” could be simply translated as “to beat unmercifully”⁸ but now its meaning is much harder to define. In the context of the rap-song that ensured the word’s iconic status, it was used to describe a man viciously beating a woman who would not give him sexual favours that she “owed” after the man had bought her drinks. The violence is justified on sexual grounds to the extent that one would seem to conflate the sexualised nature of the violence with sexuality.

Coupled with the above, *Bamusakatta* introduced another term: “okukula ebinyo” (loosely translated removing teeth or detoothing as the English speakers in Kampala would refer to it). “Detoothing” is a local term that is used in the Kampala popular discourse to refer to girls that go out with men because of their money. The act of having the man spend money on her is compared to the dentist’s act of extracting decayed teeth, which is a very painful process. One can read in a complexity that is grappled with by this song. Here I am reminded of Appadurai’s thesis on the social life of things (1996), which provoked thinking about the artificiality of the divide between commodities and the gift. One can read in potent ambiguities that the rapper was trying to grapple with. In one sense it is the agreed custom that a man who takes out a lady does pay the bills and yet at the same time men expect “something” [read sexual favours] in return for this generosity. But at the same time girls do not want to “pay back” in the ways that men would want to be paid back. Clearly many of relationships in Uganda are understood and mediated through the medium of money, but how much coercive power does this social category money have? Does control of money define the shape of the relationships? How does love reshape understandings of commodities? (Ssewakiryanga & Mills 1995) Can we then talk about the materiality of relationships and sociality of things? These seem to be some of the questions that were pro-

8. In the song *Bamusakatta* the verb stem “sakatta” is preceded by the subject “ba” (they) and the object “mu” (her/him), such that the whole word can be translated “they beat her unmercifully”.

voked by this song as it showed the confusing tangle of things, emotions and power that made up everyday experiences of relationships.

Indeed the lyrics of *Bamusakatta* are not treated as a privileged text that can be used to read transparently into contemporary Ugandan sexual morality. However, the song points to the fact that rap, which started as a politicised African-American art form, has now entered or become part of a transnational popular culture. Misogynistic portrayals of gender relations are sometimes contested by rap that attempts to create emancipatory images of black masculinity, as Gilroy (1994) suggests with regard to *Snoop Doggy Dog*. He further goes on to show that even the initial shock and "freakiness" of some of these songs can also be understood as a form of intersubjectivity that, in the U.S. at least, challenges the dominance of the "commodified" black body (Gilroy 1994). He points out that it is far too easy to either simplistically condemn or celebrate popular cultural styles and genres. In this case the song *Bamusakatta* is insightful inasmuch as it forces one to be aware of the ambiguity of different ways in which social relationships can be encapsulated within "things". The ways in which de-contextualised commodities (or things?) are sometimes transformed into gifts, but also into emotions of and in themselves, is a subject the song leaves us to ponder about.

So much for the theoretical exposition of *Bamusakatta*: let us look at the identity of the people behind the song. *Da Hommies* is a colloquial phrase that comes from the words "the hommies" which signifies the *home boys/girls*. It was the first name taken on by the singer known as Daniel Kyeyune.⁹ He then changed his name to *Ragga Dee* because of his love for Ragga music or dance hall reggae and for the fame he had achieved as being one of the best rappers. His popularity came not from rapping in English but from the ways he was able to vernacularise rap music. The song *Bamusakatta* is a vernacularised rap. Some of his earlier pieces, which changed the face of rap music in Uganda, were when he sang Peter Andre's song *Mysterious Girl* in Luganda. In this song one notices that the consumption and production of media products throughout the world has often provoked resistance, irony, selectivity and, in general, "agency". A Ugandan newspaper article entitled *Da Hommies are Back* points out some significant aspects of agency among young people:

9. See The Monitor May 16th p.15 for a profile on this singer. The article is entitled *Bamusakatta's Ragga Dee won't ride out of town* by Namulondo Sarah. This was in reference to his assertion that he does not think he should go out of Uganda in order to make it as a singer. In Uganda this is a surprising statement from a young man in the world of popular music. This is so because of the popular belief that the few successful singers like Charlie King in Sweden and Limit X in London all made it after going out of the country.

Da Hommies of the *Bamusakatta* fame and Rasta Rob will treat their fans to a music show. Rasta Rob, commonly known as Dr. Kiddo because of his current catch phrase *Najja Najja ng'ekiddo* (I came like the water hyacinth) is a threat to the rest that says, (step aside he is taking over the music scene with the ferocity of the water hyacinth.) Among the songs on offer are *Vaazi* tribute to the common man who buys mivumba (second hand clothes) and appears smarter than the big shot whose clothes are new and far more expensive and imported, *Omwami n_omukozi* (husband and housemaid) – the man who runs off with the housegirl, *Oswadde* (shame upon you) attacks modern times for condoning cultural taboos. A wealthy young man (Semakula) and a beautiful girl (Namakula) have children, prosper and then decide to get married and are stopped at the Kwangula because they belong to the same clan.

One realises from the above issues raised in the song and the newspaper article that, in this case, what the young people were doing was not only playing music that allows them some agency and identity as global youth, but also responding to complexities of survival in the city. They generate gender and social debates that are part of their experienced reality. Popular music therefore offers a chance for rediscovery of their talents as well as a space where new kinds of possibilities for re-reading of global cultural images are transmitted to them. The song above and others like it are played with accompanying rap background sound bytes that appeal to the young audience. However, the themes are broader than the questions that young urbanites have to engage with.

Conclusions

I want to end this paper by quoting Stuart Hall on popular culture when he says:

(...) popular culture; commodified and stereotyped as it often is, is not at all as we sometimes think of it, the arena where we find who we really are, the truth of our experiences. It is an arena that is profoundly mythic. It is a theatre of popular desires, a theatre of popular fantasies. It is where we are imagined, where we are represented, not only to the audience out there who do not get the message, but to ourselves for the first time. (Hall 1992:302)

In this paper I have attempted to make a preliminary analysis of the way popular cultural genres have been transmitted, received, reinterpreted

and re-deployed by young people in Uganda. It should be apparent to the reader that most of the source material is from music and little has been said about other cultural forms like film. I note that the influence of music has been much more felt because of its ease in reception as well as interpretation and consumption.

From the music I encountered as a young person, it was clear that we were standing in a world that gave us both the possibility of imagining global events and localising them through processes and procedures of enjoyment that were near and relevant to us. We did not have to follow any orthodox styles but invested and reinvented, drawing from the energies that our imagination could afford us and the technologies that we could mobilise to live and celebrate our imaginations.

I also argued that the other possibilities that have made young people very central to the redefinition of music in Uganda have been the liberalisation of the air waves. The fact that radio has become a much more accessible medium of communication in Uganda today is one of the key elements that have redefined the way music is packaged and marketed. Young people receive global music, re-read global music and deploy global music to suit their own tastes and aesthetic desires. In this process radio has become a very strategic tool not only allowing reception but also dissemination of all kinds of lyrics and styles.

Therefore, what I have intended to achieve in the paper is a rethinking of some of the paradoxes and challenges that young people are faced with as they try to live, wondering and wandering in exploration of their identities in a globalising world.

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Local, Traditional, and Global Aspects of Contemporary African Music in South African Television

CALEB OKUMU CHRISPO

Music lives in society. Each society, through social consensus, determines its musical concepts, meanings, and sense. Musical meaning is therefore shaped in relation to the society's experiences of music and music making from the past and in the present. Society is dynamic and new musical tastes are constantly being invented, merged, borrowed, and appropriated.

Music on television has been propelled to cult status by the music video phenomenon that started conspicuously with the operation of MTV's 24-hour channel. It has transformed music from a strictly aural aspect to include the visual dimension. This phenomenon has become a significant part of contemporary African music. For South Africa, the introduction of Channel O as a music channel testifies to the growing expansion of this media format.

Music video as an international, market-oriented, and modern phenomenon challenges traditional and local cultural patterns. Admittedly, no single African musical genre can claim to be representative of the African populace. Likewise, no single ethnic music can claim to be representative of a nation that has several languages and cultures such as South Africa. However, in the examination of four South African music television programmes, it is obvious that music exists that refers to cultural identities that South Africans today can claim to be their very own while at the same time exhibiting traditional and global inclinations.

The basis of this paper is an empirical study carried out between March 11 and June 2, 1999 on four shows: *Ezimtoti*, *Ezodumo*, *Thula Mabothe*, and *Jukebox Africa*. A total of forty-eight programmes were recorded during the twelve-week period. The recordings were analysed regarding musical style, possible representation of cultural group, text message, language, visual aspects, gender of performers, alignment to the medium etc.

Table 1. Characteristics of four music television programmes. Figures as a percentage of total programme time between March 11 and June 2, 1999.

Programme	Ezimtoti	Ezodumo	Thula Mabotha	Jukebox Africa
Broadcasting	SABC 1	SABC 1	SABC 2	SABC 2
Dominant musical style	Modern and local	Traditional and local	Traditional urban mix from S.A.	Modern and international
Local language	65	90	40	14
Male vocalists	79	78	79	54
Male instrumentalists	49	79	91	25
Male dancers	54	44	0	21
Casual dress style	94	27	55	80
Traditional dress style	3	27	55	15
Video recordings	28	7	0	97
Studio recordings	54	83	0	0
Live recordings	18	7	100	2
Studio scenery	49	85	100	5
Urban scenery	41	8	0	80
Rural scenery	10	4	0	4

The programmes were African-centred, meaning that they were broadcast on channels particularly targeting an African audience. South African Broadcasting Corporation's channel, SABC1, with an average audience of 8.613 million, was aimed at younger viewers with the languages English, isiZulu, isiXhosa, siNdebele, and siSwati. This channel featured *Ezimtoti* on Saturday nights at 18h00 and *Ezodumo* on Wednesday nights at 21h00. SABC2, with an average audience of 6.199 million, was aimed at the whole family with the languages English, Afrikaans, Sesotho, Setswana, Sepedi, Xitsonga, and Tshivenda. This channel featured *Thula Mabotha* on Mondays at 18h30 and *Jukebox Africa* on Thursday at 23h00.

Ezimtoti was characterised by local and modern music like kwaito and gospel, and had an average audience of 858,000 viewers. *Ezodumo*, which was marked by traditional music (e.g. maskanda, mbaqanga, isichatamiya), had the largest number of viewers: 1,179,000. *Thula Mabotha*, which had quite a low number of viewers, showed an urban mix of South African jazz, jive, reggae, and kwela. The programme was later taken off the schedule. *African Jukebox* had an international image, imprinted with African diaspora styles as Congolese, Caribbean, and South American, with an audience of 160,000. Some of the characteristics of the programmes are displayed in table 1. It gives an outline of differences regarding the four programmes as well as a general picture of the material.

The programmes follow certain trends that are discussed below in terms of the role of African popular music, the local versus national and international, and the change of gender pattern. A detailed analysis will be presented in another text (Okumu forthcoming); here I only present a discussion on the findings.

Traditional vs. Modern

African television music programmes can be categorized as belonging to a broader genre of contemporary African popular music. This is because the programmes exhibit music that exists mostly in the present rather than highlighting the past. However, the production of the music has continued against the background of the debates and ideological contests between the traditionalists and the modernists. A hybrid culture arising from the marriage of the two schools of thought is evident in the music that is exhibited on television. This African music is neither purely traditional nor elitist, modern Westernised culture. Barber (1997:1) asserts that the traditional has its basis in pure orality and is expressed in exclusively African indigenous languages or images and comes from the pre-colonial past. This assertion denies the fact that tradition can and does change over time and that no tradition can remain isolated and stagnant without variation. Pre-colonial traditions had already moved from the rock and iron ages to their then status.

Today, African music actually incorporates some of the pre-colonial, colonial, and missionary past. Africans have now come to embrace these as their very own traditions. Furthermore, African traditions did not so much seek to preserve particular traditions but rather to pass them on to subsequent generations to be used for contemporary social needs. The emphasis was therefore on handing down social structures rather than preserving them. There is a large body of musical genres that cannot be said to belong to the purely traditional categories. Neither could this body be categorised as elitist, Western, or literate in performance practice. Rather it is a body of contemporary popular musical culture that speaks to the contemporary social conditions and practices. At the same time, artists who engage in these contemporary categories of music also claim them to be traditional music.

On the positive side, the presence of popular music video has been used artistically to portray dance, fashion, choreography, costuming, acting, lighting, storytelling, visual effects, and editing (Lull 1987:27). This has resulted in music video playing a role in advertising, especially for the

young viewers who end up copying the styles of dance and fashion portrayed in the videos. The musical careers of many South African musicians started by copying standard tracks before diverting to individual musical signatures. David Masondo, leader of the Soul Brothers, says that they started their music by copying the rock and roll movements from Elvis Presley's dance styles¹.

Johannes Fabian (1997:18), writing on popular culture in Africa, contends that popular culture comprises a complex of distinctive expressions of life experiences pioneered by the urban masses and eventually accepted by the total population. He adds that popular music is undoubtedly the most conspicuous carrier of this culture that owes its existence to highly creative and original processes. He asserts that, to the occasional observer, all these forms of expression are likely to appear as derivative mixtures, superficial adaptations of imported Western elements (ibid). But to an analytical eye it is clear that popular arts touches deeper parts of a person's or a society's perception of the world, construction of identities, and negotiation between conflicting cultures and value systems. It is argued here that such processes of cultural independence and creativity provide evidence for viewing the functioning of television as a propagator of musical identities.

Maskanda

In South Africa the tradition of immediately rewarding musical performance can be seen where audiences show instant appreciation at lively and interesting points during a show. The better the performance, the louder, and longer the approval becomes. This follows the age-old practice of audience participation in traditional African music. In *maskanda*, this is approved as Nhlapo (1998:21) records:

Maskanda song contests are “friendly fights” and the accomplished performer is also the one who best enables the audience to participate in the whole performance, whether by singing along, dancing, clapping hands in concord with the rhythm of the song, and by ululating whenever the praise singing is deemed to have been rendered eloquently.

Coplan has observed among Lesotho migrant workers' song contests that “the winner is the performer who best enables them to participate, imag-

1. Interview from the programme *People of the South* on SABC2, Sunday 18 March 2001 at 21h15.

inatively and emotionally, in the experiences they have not known” (1998:352). This traditional culture has thus taken a contemporary position that has been necessitated by the prevailing conditions of performance practice and is observed in the live music programme, *Thula Mabotha*.

An examination of most of the *maskanda* clips, where the position of the lead singer or the “captain” is male, reveal a predictable pattern in performance practice. A typical example will almost always have a section where the lead singer takes on the role of a praise singer and engages in verbal panegyrics above the din of the music. An example of this may be seen in Ihashe Elimhlophe’s video of the song *Ikinyakinya* on *Ezodumo*. In this video Ihashe starts off by playing the traditional acoustic guitar with the cameras zooming in on the guitar. There are several bare-chested “inflamed” dancers in traditional Zulu warrior regalia of animal skin skirts, white shoes, head, leg, and armbands. One of the dancers engages in the “electric boogaloo”, one of the styles of the break-dance craze of the early 1980s, a clear case of appropriation. The shooting of the video was done in a park away from urban concrete buildings, perhaps to signify the rural identity of the genre.

Davies (1992), quoted in Nhlapo (1998:15), suggests that the *maskanda* category of music, played predominantly by Zulu males on Western instruments such as the guitar, violin, piano accordion and, more recently, the electric guitar and drums, has undergone a process of transformation from a purely traditional genre to a modern traditional music style and type. Though Davies suggests that the inclusion of the electric guitar and drums is a more recent phenomenon, Nhlapo contends that the inclusion of the two instruments is not authentic but an addition by the record companies that required an extra touch of rhythmic and sonic support to the *maskanda* sound. *Maskanda*, as a traditional genre, existed long before the inclusion of Western instruments. It is the Western instruments that have been “indigenised” writes Mngoma (1998:429):

The “maskanda” vocal/instrumental style popularised by Johnny Clegg, although predominantly an adaptation of “Boere Musiek” instrumentation, has stylistically indigenized the guitar, concertina, mouth organ, and violin, and produced a typically South African music style.

Although there are differences in opinion, the crux of the matter remains that innovation, invention, and tentative experimentations are the forces silently at work in the continuous dynamism of a musical type and style. Thus, the music on the four programmes feature fundamentals of rural and urban, traditional and contemporary elements.

A new age of cultural awareness in many parts of the world has enabled artists to explore their own music for the wider market. The global acceptance of South African music genres such as the *isicathamiya* made popular by Ladysmith Black Mambazo, the griot singing of West African artists like Salif Keita, Youssou N'Dour and Baaba Maal, are among the examples of cultural reawakening among African artists. These artists mirror traditions that have responded to societal demands of consumerism. The Zulu traditional dancers, the contemporary traditional musicians, the popular musicians, and all artists basically engage in commercialism by packaging their culture as a commodity. The call for the preservation of culture, while possible with the immovable cultural heritage like buildings and artefacts, may not be the same with musical practices, which tend to shift in accordance with contemporary trends and social demands.

Rural vs. Urban

The concept of popular music has been associated with the masses and mass-production. While in the Western world the people could have different meanings associated with the class system (Barber 1997:3), the concept of the “people” in African society means quite the opposite. It refers more to community consensus and belonging to all. Therefore, in African terms, the “people” are neither the rural folk nor the urban industrial community, for both groups seem to maintain a duality in their lives, with urban dwellers maintaining cultural links with their rural folk and vice versa. People migrating from their rural villages make second homes in these urban centres, creating new forms of urban music. These cultures are neither wholly new nor traditional for they have identities from rural and urban, traditional and Western popular influences.

In contemporary terms, then, this music has been spread not only by the effects of industrialisation and urbanisation but also, more importantly, by the revolution in communications technology. As a result, new associations, new identities, new publics and new kinds of entertainment have been forged, bringing large numbers of people together who share common musical identities, regardless of ethnic, cultural and local geographic boundaries. Arising from this situation, more especially in urban areas, Barber (1997:4) notes that the distinction between folk/traditional, popular, mass, or even between high and low culture in Africa is one of the most misguided paradigms in Africa. The interrogations of the practitioners (artists, producers, consumers) in the so-called traditional music

genres, for example, *Ezodumo*, confirm this reality.

Ethnomusicology has been transformed to accommodate the study of modern music traditions in contemporary society. Nettl (1998:25–26) contends that while

(...) individual ethnomusicologists may be interested in very specific and specialised problems and repertoires [...] ethnomusicology is interested in all types of music in a society; art music, folk music, popular music, religious music – even things that sound like music but are not recognised as such.

The place of tradition in contemporary times, and also in ethnomusicology, has invariably been created by natural causes such as globalisation and the improvement of communication technology. The media has also facilitated cultural contact among peoples. Cultural traditions have been modernised and thus the functions of music have shifted from their traditional roles. There has been a swing from traditional music to modern musical traditions. Music, after all, lives in people's cultures and this confirms the dynamic changes in tradition, which stress the contemporary rather than the past.

Amoaku (1998:25) contends that the impact of the Western institutionalised approach to education in general has been considered by many traditionalists to be responsible for the breakdown of traditional values and learning processes. He writes:

The evening fireside story-telling sessions, the full-moon hide-and-seek and other group activities, and most of the things that children would do as a reinforcement of their social development and responsibility have now been replaced by television programmes, a majority of which are totally foreign...

Africa must move with the rest of the world, share the great advancement in space-age technology, and become an integral part of the global village, however, Africa must not sacrifice those centuries-old traditional values whose potency has been tested and proved effective as the repositories of the psyche and soul of the continent... Africa must be able to blend the old with the new.

Amoaku's dilemma is shared by many people but the will and the power to retain the old are rapidly becoming history as contemporary forms of livelihoods, such as school homework and television viewing, entrench themselves into contemporary family units.

Lull (1987:25) suggests that the emergence of visuals in music television enhances sound rather than sound enhancing visuals. However, in many of the music videos in contemporary African music, the visuals actually did help in the comprehension of the themes. Lucky Dube's *Prisoner* video is a case in point. Vusi Shange's video of the song *Take Time to Know Her* is an example of a brief wedding ceremony between a man who is advised by his mother to take time to get to know the lady he wants to marry. This particular song was a cover version of Percy Sledge's original track and not a traditional wedding song. However, it addresses the contemporary urbanized African situation. Many of the local music video clips broadcast on the SABC channels have been directed and produced in South Africa by South African production houses to support the local content quotas imposed by the regulating authorities. As a result, South Africa's music industry is one of the biggest on the continent.

Coplan (1997:29) writes that the music of the South African mines, which were urban in nature, adopted rural performances that were carried back to their rural community by returning migrants, thus contributing to the continuing transformation of rural cultural practices. Rural cultural identities have been generally regarded as traditional. Erlmann (1991:4) adds that, "popular performance in South Africa has enabled migrant workers, teachers, and shopkeepers to express at the same time pan-ethnic African nationalist ideology and ...nationalism, pride in status as permanent urban citizens as well as rural nostalgia." Andrew Missingham, a British musician who has collaborated with many South African artists, notes "trying to identify the beginnings of external influence, in other words trying to find out who influenced whom first, is always a pretty fruitless task" (1998:423). Class boundaries between urban/rural and salaried worker/self-employed are rather vague in terms of their musical production and consumption. Take the example of Jabu Khanyile, the artist featured in *Ezodumo*, *Jukebox Africa* and even on *Thula Mabothe*. All the three programmes have different stylistic music profiles, traditional, modern and contemporary African jazz respectively, yet they were able to accommodate the same artist. Moreover, Khanyile prides himself on being a modern African and also a traditional musician [personal interview]. Considering his performance attire and the artefacts of a flywhisk, short hand-held stick, and beaded headband, Khanyile is able to place his multiple identities on a continuum as both a traditional and contemporary musician.

While it is noted that the musical cultures represented in these programmes are hybrid in nature, this is not to say that these texts are "Westernised" or that the Africans have lost their culture. Instead, they repre-

sent an ongoing process in a continuum of traditional and modern, African and Western and between rural and urban identities. In the contemporary African context, these terms are constructs of the mind and orientations of the listeners.

Television programmes in South Africa have audience ratings that show the popularity of the shows. Incidentally, the figures give the locally produced soap operas, *Isidingo*, and *Generations*, higher ratings than the imported *Bold and Beautiful* and *Days of our Lives*. Although these programmes do not relate to music, they offer a glimpse into what the people consider popular. Of the four music programmes *Ezodumo*, with 100% local content, had the highest rating and commanded prime time spot while *Jukebox Africa*, with the most imported music videos, had the least favourable rating. This goes to prove that the audiences, while appreciating the global, seemingly love their own music more.

Preservation or Innovation of Culture

In African and Western political statements, we hear much about the need to preserve culture. Barber (1997:7) says

The West (...) has an understandable tendency to lament the loss of African and other authentic cultures. The spectacle of wealthy Westerners exhorting Africans to recover and adhere to their own traditions and resist Western corruption is highly ironical, but not without political significance.

The notion that Africans should revert or stick to their “cultural traditions” presupposes the assumption that culture is static, an argument that has long since been proved futile. African music, while being traditional in practice and interrelating with the forces of dynamism, cannot escape the processes of change. Barber (1997:7) argues that calling for the retention of African cultural values benefits the needs of the observer and not from the nature of that which is being observed. Furthermore, it defies one of the intrinsic features of global music production, which recognizes the existence of difference in cultural forms, and mass production.

The concerns raised by this proliferation of media-disseminated music are the issues of cultural hegemony and the alteration, replacement and disruption of local cultures. It has been argued that this homogenisation of musical cultures will eventually lead to an international youth culture, thus causing the gradual erosion of local music and values (Lull 1987:29).

While this may be true to some extent, evidence shows that ethnic groups have also utilized this threat to promulgate their own societies' music identities. It is as a result of the innovations and appropriations in music that South Africa can proudly talk of *maskanda*, *mbaqanga*, *iscathamiya*, *kwaito*, and township jazz as peculiarly South African in identity. Today, social consensus regards *maskanda* as traditional music, *mbaqanga* as a later version of traditional music, and *kwaito* as contemporary youth music. It must be remembered that all these genres were previously also regarded as youth music and frowned upon by the elders.

Globalisation has exposed people and made them familiar with different aspects of cultural expressions. In fact, Africans cross the cultural boundaries of expression more easily because of their historical heritage of adaptation. Continental migration, colonisation, and neo-colonisation have forced indigenous cultures to find possible ways of societal survival. Flolu (1998:183) concedes this principle of Africa when he admits that

Ghanaian culture is a hospitable one. Naturally it is a culture which is ready to absorb elements from any source – Western, Arabic, Oriental, and other African – in order to brighten its canopy, while at the same time strengthening its roots so as to be able to carry any additional load.

Conclusions

It is well documented that African traditional music is functional in the sense that music was part and parcel of community life. It is common knowledge that there was music for celebrating the birth of a child, naming ceremonies, work, rituals, initiation, weddings, recreation, and even funerals. Makobi (1986), quoted in Okumu (1998:13), notes that,

(...) the musical culture of people in urban areas is a far cry from what traditionalists know. The aggressive process of urbanisation and modern education as well as the onslaught of the contemporary environment have minimised the activities in which traditional music was employed". Thus, changing situations have severely restricted the traditional functional employment of music, as Africans have known it, obliging them to face the reality of having to accept these situations.

Accompanying these changes is the need for performance groups to adjust from employing music in its traditional functional context to presentation of this music for audience reception. Furthermore, performances

have had to adjust to the requirements of radio, recording studios, and television performances. The video clips in the study have revealed this nature of performance practices that conform to commercial requirements of time and variation. The music videos observed averaged from three to a maximum of six minutes. Anything longer would be deemed outside the norm. While this conformation can be said to be an example of “development”, it, instead, has tended to either interfere with the traditional performances or adapt them for dissemination to a wider audience, whichever way one looks at them.

It is obvious that the kinds of music that appeal to youth, largely popular music, are disseminated through the media. Most people are consumers and practitioners of music through the media, especially the radio, television, and even computers. Walker (1988:53–54) asserts:

Television conglomerates now broadcast 24 hours of pop music each and every day worldwide, and over the last two decades or so have changed the face of popular music to include powerful visual as well as auditory sensations for consumers. In terms of sheer exposure, this has produced a vast audience whose daily lives are filled with whatever music is offered. The television screen has had an impact on music consumption.

In the rural parts of Africa, even where there is lack of technological infrastructure such as electricity supply, the people are now drawn first-hand into the phenomenon of media music consumption. Today there are radios that are wound instead of using dry batteries. There are television sets that use solar power and 12-volt DC batteries.

Critique has it that globalisation is another form of Westernisation or Americanisation. This is because most of the music represented on most music channels reaching Africa is influenced by MTV. Satellite dishes capable of bypassing state control are available and it is becoming extremely difficult to prevent the reception of radio and television broadcasts today. This has been seen in some quarters as destroying the cultural practices of local communities. Most of the traditional musical practices are rapidly being categorised as heritage since the music is now being performed out of context, e.g. singing a circumcision song without the actual circumcision taking place. South African musicians are now being seen and heard, largely through the electronic media. Khabi Mngoma (1998) says of Black South Africans

(...) they have in fact indigenised Western musical styles to produce authentic South African hybrids that appeal to those who are actively alive

today and not to those of the dead and dying. We have Marabi, Mbaqanga, Iscathamiya, etc.

Practitioners in the music world will need to continue to face the challenges brought about by developments in technology and adjust accordingly to changing trends. Since the study of musical change is one of the most exciting domains in ethnomusicology, we can be assured of fertile ground for continuing musical research. We need not worry about the discourses of the traditional as it will continue to change and become heritage.

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Music Teacher Education in Ghana: Training for the Churches or for the Schools?

JAMES FLOLU

Audio example:

Enyidado Egya performed by Rose Quaye (CD track 10)

The challenge facing music education in Ghana today is how to bridge the dichotomy between Western music and African music in the school curriculum. Throughout its history, music education in Ghana has been part and parcel of the Christian churches that laid the foundation of school music in the country. Music in schools was principally a preparation for church worship. Indigenous Ghanaian music was neither suitable for the church nor for the school.

For past decades, the attitude with which African culture and musical practices were subjugated has pervaded the activities of music educators in Ghana. Within the broader context of the current national search for cultural revivalism, Christian churches have embraced the use of indigenous Ghanaian music in worship. Similarly, school music has responded to the challenge of making the curriculum African-oriented. Music teacher education, on the other hand, has remained unmoved by the changes occurring in schools and in society.

This paper examines the current curriculum of music teacher training at the tertiary level in Ghana. It argues that music teacher educators continue to be influenced by the early Christian mission's objective of training church musicians at the expense of classroom music teacher preparation.

Early Missionary Activities and Education

Christianity has had an influence in Ghana for more than six centuries.

All this began with the arrival of the Portuguese traders accompanied by Catholic priests in 1471. Priests also accompanied all the other Western traders who followed later.

However, it was in the early 19th century that Christianity actually began to gain firm roots in Ghana. The Basel Mission started vigorous evangelistic work among the Ga and Twi speaking people in 1828. The Methodists initiated their activities in 1835, concentrating on the Fanti speaking people along the coast, while the Bremen mission veered into the Eweland in 1847. Starting in 1880, by 1906, the Catholics had covered almost the whole of the country. Throughout the 19th century, the missionaries concentrated on establishing churches and schools in various parts of the country. Although a number of Independent African (Ghanaian) churches were formed early in the 20th century, the churches regarded as pioneers of Christianity in Ghana are the Roman Catholic (RC), Presbyterian, Methodist, African Methodist Episcopal Zion (AME Zion), Anglican, Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) and the Evangelical Presbyterian (EP). These churches are referred to as the orthodox churches. As can be seen, the orthodox churches are those that emerged from Western European missions.

The Independent African churches, on the other hand, emerged from the initiatives of individuals who felt dissatisfied with the pure Western approach to worship. Some of these individuals, who felt they had received a calling from God, moved out of the main churches and established churches with new doctrines and, in most cases, with a blend of biblical and Ghanaian beliefs. They are variously referred to as “Separatist Churches” because they broke away from or “sprang up in relative independence” of the orthodox churches (Parrinder 1953:1070 in Agordoh 1997), or “African Instituted Churches”¹ to emphasize their indigenous foundation and membership, or “Spiritual Churches” because they engage in activities which are intended to invoke the Holy Spirit of God (Baeta 1962:1 in Agordoh 1997), or “Protectionist Churches” because “they feel a need to be protected against life’s undesirable circumstances” (cited in Agordoh 1997:19).

The success of Christian missionary activities in Ghana cannot be underestimated. Christianity can no longer be seen as an imported religion; it is part and parcel of society. Despite a national campaign against Western values and culture initiated at independence in 1957, Christianity continues to thrive. The last two decades, in particular, have witnessed the establishment of new Christian churches known in Ghana as “Charis-

1. “African Independent Churches” or “African Instituted Churches” are abbreviated as “AICs”.

matic” or Gospel churches. Interestingly, however, the Gospel churches have adopted an uncompromising stance against the use of indigenous Ghanaian beliefs and cultural practices. This attitude has recently resulted in occasional clashes between them on the one hand, and traditional Ghanaian authorities and religious leaders on the other. Whereas the AICs and the Orthodox European churches are becoming more African in character, the Gospel churches have resurrected the attitude of the early European missions. Listen to a typical merge of musical styles in the music of Joshua Addo Tety performed by Rose Quaye at Musama Disco Christo Church (CD track 10).

Music in the Missions and Mission Schools

Through the creation of mission residences in the nineteenth century, a new musical culture was developed. “Salem” and “Mission Kpodzi” are some of the Ghanaian names for the missionary residences. These residences, which also housed the schools, were completely isolated and segregated from those of the “natives”. They became centres of civilization, education, and, more particularly, spiritual unity. Pagan activities and objects were prohibited from entering any part of these blessed residences. Newly converted Christians were required to move and settle at the Mission Kpodzi to symbolize their spiritual uplift from Satan and their release from the fists of “savagery and heathenism”. Some saw the new centres as gateways to heaven. Converts were also prohibited from participating in traditional music activities and culprits were excommunicated from the church. Hymns, brass band music, chants, psalms, canticles, masses, anthems, and other types of Western classical music, were the only forms of music the Christians could enjoy and these also constituted the content of school singing.

Until the 1950s and 1960s, the mission residences were very important sections of Ghanaian settlements, especially in the hinterland. In those days, to run away from school to play the harmonium or a Western instrument was a necessary evil, and many offenders were frequently pardoned. For the mission schools, to participate in the performance or the enjoyment of indigenous music, even after school hours, was not only a sin against God, but also an offence against the school. William Amoako, a famous Ghanaian musician and scholar, recalls his experience:

As far as I can remember, I used to sit on my father’s lap as he played the cornet and directed the local brass band. By the age of ten, I was assigned

a “major work” as the double bell player, a position considered rather prestigious in the local brass band in those days – 1949–1950.

My musical scope was further broadened as a group of the more adventurous boys, of which I was an integral member, defied all the stringent school regulations and began to play active roles in traditional music ensembles. In those days such defiance was either punishable by suspension from school or severe whipping. In any case, these frightening school and church rules did not deter me or the other hard-headed boys. We kept returning to the dance arena after each whipping session. Some lost their rights to formal education as a result of this consistent defiance. (Amoako 1982:117)

In fact, up to the middle of the 1960s, the mission residences continued to play a dominant role in Christian worship in Ghana. Today however, due to rapid development and expansion in trade, industry, and commerce, most of the residences can now be found at the centre of the towns and cities as modern buildings, and commercial houses now surround them. Although they can be identified, they are no longer as sacred as they were in the past.

Everything the missions did was to satisfy the musical needs of the churches. The formation of various musical groups – church choirs, brass bands, youth groups, and singing bands etc. – was encouraged. The mission festivals and church anniversaries celebrated in Europe and America at the time were also introduced in Ghana. Harmoniums and, later, church organs were used to accompany hymn singing. As a result, quite a large number of competent organists were produced in the western and central regions where most of the church activities were concentrated.

As missionary activities and education continued to expand rapidly, the need arose for the training of more teachers and local church workers. The involvement of the native communities in the singing of hymns and other church musical activities was thought necessary for the growth and expansion of the church. It was at this stage that formal music learning was introduced into the school curriculum. There are no written records of the exact dates and the nature of the music lessons in these early mission schools. However, evidence suggests that this could be around the early 19th century; the lessons included the teaching of singing in a manner similar to existing practice in Europe. The teachers taught the songs they had brought with them from Europe, or had learnt from their European counterparts. The immediate purpose was to train some people to teach simple hymns and songs to the various church choirs which had begun to emerge.

According to oral history, one Joe Smith was the first to start singing classes at Cape Coast Castle. He formed his pupils into a band of singers who led the singing in church. He was helped in that endeavour by the ready influence his schoolmastership had on his pupils. Those were the days when schoolmasters were also responsible for the spiritual education of their pupils (Sam 1986:13).

As such, most teachers were also catechists and choirmasters. This system continued throughout the nineteenth century and until the end of the first half of this century. Music in schools was, therefore, principally a preparation for church worship. The fact that no aspect of traditional music was considered suitable for use in church worship as well as in the schools is at the root of the dichotomy between Western music and African music in Ghanaian schools today.

Up to the middle of the twentieth century, music teaching was left largely to the initiative and enthusiasm of individual teachers and varied from school to school or from area to area according to the impact of missionary activities. Wherever music was studied, it was based on the current fashion in England. The syllabus of the Royal Schools of Music in Great Britain provided the main guidelines for teacher training institutions, the grammar schools adopted the Cambridge and London General Certificate of Education (G.C.E.) syllabuses. Many students were encouraged to take the examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM), Licentiate of the Royal Schools of Music (LRSM) and G.C.E., which they passed with amazing success. Some of those who displayed excellent knowledge and skills were selected for training abroad.

Music in Teacher Training Colleges

The first teacher training institution was established in 1848 at Akropong, Akwapim by the Basel Mission. The Methodist Grammar School at Cape Coast followed this in 1876. The Anglican, Catholic and Bremen Missions also opened similar institutions throughout the country. The primary purpose was to train teachers, catechists and church workers, and the curriculum was designed to meet these needs. Prospective teachers were trained in Bible studies and church administration. In addition, they were given intensive training in the art of hymn singing and conducting. This is because, as teachers, they were expected, apart from teaching their pupils, to teach the adult members the singing of hymns and to lead the church choirs and other singing groups. The hymn books of the various

churches thus became important textbooks for teacher training colleges of the establishing missions. Akrofi reports (1981) that students who demonstrated interest and aptitude in the study of the organ were given extra tuition in music reading and organ playing.

It is evident that, throughout the greater of the history of education in Ghana, music education was part and parcel of the church. It is perhaps significant that most of the famous Ghanaian composers of today – for example, Nketia, Nayo, Dossoo, and Amissah – are themselves Christians. Their musical knowledge and skills were acquired and developed against the background of the Christian faith. For several decades, the attitudes with which African culture and musical practices were subjugated pervaded the pioneering activities of music education in the country. In 1940, Ephraim Amu, a catechist, teacher and choir master, lamented:

I was trained for four years in one of our colleges in the Gold Coast as teacher and catechist. I started teaching without the faintest knowledge of any of our social and religious institutions; in fact the prevailing Christian attitude was to keep us as far away from them as possible.

What success would you expect of such a leader who leads men about whose life he knows nothing? Up to now the situation remains practically the same in the colleges for training teachers, catechists and ministers.

(Amu 1940:48 in Mobley 1970:102)

At that time, Ephraim Amu, one of Ghana's renowned cultural revivalists and composers was teaching African drumming and African songs at Achimota College (now Achimota School. It was established in 1927 by the colonial government, and consisted of both primary and secondary sections). By this time, the colonial government had begun to demonstrate interest in the promotion of indigenous Ghanaian culture although the churches had not yet accepted it. At Achimota, Amu was supported by W. E. F. Ward, the colonial music teacher, who emphasised a combination of Western and African music in the music curriculum. Although the idea of combination was not successful in the school classroom, it influenced the works of Ghanaian composers. Ghanaian composers began to combine Western music theory, analytical techniques, Western musical forms, and chord progressions with indigenous African idioms in, especially, choral art music, producing what has become variously known as "Western-derived African music", "hybridized" or "syncretic" music.

After Independence in 1957, teacher education was expanded. More teacher training Colleges were built throughout the country. However, the missionaries' influence still persisted. Although the singing of patriotic

songs was introduced, hymn singing more than anything else dominated the music education of these colleges. Until 1987, and with the introduction of the Cultural studies programme, all the syllabuses issued by the Ministry of Education in music for teacher training colleges emphasized the rudiments and theory of Western classical music. Teachers drew musical examples from hymns, Western anthems, and other church songs to illustrate music lessons. This has been a subject of debate among music educators and scholars in Ghana. Thus the issue of African music versus Western music in schools, themes of cultural alienation, the search for the lost African personality, and education in the context of African and Ghanaian culture, feature in much of what has been written about music education in Ghana (see Flolu 1993 for a detailed discussion on this).

Music Education at Tertiary Level

In 1949, Achimota College was expanded and three-year teacher education programmes were opened in home science, art, physical education, and music. Ephraim Amu, who had been teaching music at the secondary level, was appointed to take charge of the music department as head and tutor, both of which positions he held single-handedly for two years. The programme was based on the examination syllabuses of the ABRSM of Britain. A standard equivalent to Grade V was required for admission, and the would-be teacher was to attain a minimum standard equivalent to Grade VII on completion. Though the principal purpose was to train teachers for the second cycle institutions, “Little was done to teach internship or practice because it was assumed that the student teachers had initial training in methods of teaching” (Manford 1983:42). In addition to the theory of Western music, practical courses in African music – drumming and piping – were taught on Amu’s own initiative. This perhaps was the first successful attempt to introduce indigenous music into the school music programme. Amu had been dismissed from the staff of Akropong Training College for practising and teaching African music and culture in a Christian mission school, and this scared many Ghanaian music teachers.

However, the prevailing conditions under which Amu worked continually obstructed his efforts. He and his colleagues at the time had been forced to see the classroom as an extension of the “Mission Kpodzi”, where the practice of Ghanaian culture was prohibited. Consequently, Amu was faithful to Western music in the classroom and kept the teaching of African music outside.

An interesting relationship was soon to develop; the two forms of music progressed steadily on parallel paths, each according to where it was to lead the student. Western music was for examinations and Ghanaian music was for leisure and, since the students' certification depended on passing the ABRSM examinations, it was just as reasonable for them to concentrate on the study of Western music.

In 1951, the teacher education programmes were transferred to Kumasi to form part of the University of Science and Technology and, in 1958, they were moved to Winneba to become the main branches of the newly established Specialist Training College. At Winneba, the music programme was expanded, and graduates were now required to pass the British LRSM diploma examinations. Manford (1983:46) reports that most of the students "were able to pass the diploma examinations in voice teaching, and piano teaching while few passed in violin teaching, and theory".

According to the 1967 *Report of the Education Review Committee* (Ministry of Education), "The University of Ghana should take over the control and certification of the Music Diploma Course at the Specialist Training College, Winneba. [...] the course should make adequate provision for African music". This would appear to have been the first official statement since independence on the place of African music in the curriculum of teacher education in music. Despite the drafting of a new syllabus, which included African music, emphasis continued to be placed on Western music. Entry requirements remained the same as in 1949.

In 1974, the music education programme moved to a separate campus at Winneba to form a new institution, the National Academy of Music. The main purpose was to expand the scope of music teacher education. According to Manford (1983), the programme was expanded to include music education, a student teaching seminar, and an introduction to research in music education. Manford also points out that, for the first time in the history of music teacher education, songs composed by Africans were included in the voice examinations.

The main aspects of the curriculum can be summarized as follows:

- Compositional Techniques – Harmony, Counterpoint and Orchestration
- Literature – History of Western Music
- Form and Analysis
- African Music
- Music Education
- Principal Instrument
- Piano Required

Despite this development, the curriculum “seemed to have the British theoretical approach overtones” (Manford 1983:117).

However, it was on this campus that a Department of African Music was opened. Students could now offer African instruments as first study for their final diploma examinations. A breakthrough had been made; African music was getting closer and closer to the doors of the classroom. Nevertheless, little was being achieved. For the greater part of the Academy’s life, the African musical instruments were kept in a carpenter’s workshop in a secluded corner of the campus. Students, who offered African instruments as first study, were regarded as less musically talented. In fact, it was seen as a last resort. Though some of these could play with considerable skill and interest, for the majority of them it was only a way of fulfilling the requirements of the diploma examinations.

To qualify for the award of the diploma in music education, candidates must pass all written and practical examinations. For practical examinations, apart from the student’s major instrument each student was required to pass examinations in piano required, performing selected classical pieces from the music of the Masters. Those who failed to obtain the minimum pass mark of 40% would not be able to receive the diploma in music education and many lost their right to the diploma as a result. Quoting Surplus (1966) to support the emphasis on piano-playing, Manford (1983:103) notes that the National Academy of Music should be congratulated for recognizing the importance of the piano and making it a compulsory subject in the diploma in music education programme.

From the early 1980s, students at the Academy began to advocate for more emphasis on the playing of hymns rather than classical music. According to Robert Manford, Director of the Academy from 1985 to 1992, the staff, after several consultations, agreed with the students. This was based on the fact that an important task facing the prospective music teachers was the playing of the organ or any keyboard to accompany congregational singing in the various churches. Thus, from 1986, hymn playing was added to the playing of classical music in practical examinations in piano required.

It is worth noting that, to the Ghanaian public, trained music teachers who cannot play the organ at church soon become unpopular and may lose their jobs if they are posted to schools where such services are needed. Thus, the trained music teacher’s assessment is based mainly on his/her ability to play at church. Those who cannot play at church are thought not to be good music teachers. Few heads of schools and colleges are concerned about classroom performance.



Above: Music Education Students receiving practical tutorials by Mr. Kingsley Ampomah in keyboard skills in a Piano Laboratory at the University of Education Department of Music Education, Winneba.



To the right: Music Education Students receiving individual and small group practical tuition by Mr. Michael Ohene-Okantah in keyboard skills. All photos: Kwame Twum-Amofo, Sweatie's Photo Studio.



Music Teacher Education in Ghanaian Universities

Music is studied in three of the five state universities in Ghana and there is very few or no differences in their curriculum, which is still a prototype of the British LRSM. However, only one, University of Education, Winneba (UEW), is concerned with the training of teachers for both the basic and secondary levels of the education system. This analysis of the curriculum will therefore concentrate on that of UEW.

In 1992, the government of Ghana decided to bring together seven teacher education institutions, formerly diploma awarding colleges, to form a single university college devoted to the preparation of teachers in the country. As a result, the former National Academy of Music became the Department of Music Education in the new University College of Education, Winneba (UCEW). The College has recently been upgraded to full University status called University of Education, Winneba (UEW) and now offers a four-year bachelor of education (B.Ed.) degree programme in various teaching subjects. Students spend the first three years on campus doing academic and professional course work. The fourth year is devoted to practical teaching in various parts of the country.

The current curriculum of the Department of Music Education is largely what has been inherited from the former National Academy of Music, with a few modifications. Piano Required is now called Keyboard Skills, and Principal Instrument is known as Applied. Despite some ex-

pansion in the African music courses, the importance attached to Western music is still so strong that students who offer Western instruments as Applied are highly respected and usually regarded as the best, academically. Such students may graduate, obtaining the B.Ed. degree in music teaching without any knowledge and practical skills in any indigenous Ghanaian music or instrument, and this is educationally futile. In fact, whereas it is possible to find a drum or other Ghanaian instrument in every village, town, and school, only few schools possess any form of keyboard instruments.

As in the former National Academy of Music, a candidate offering African instruments as first study or major is required to perform two or three drum ensembles (which may involve many different drums), and to play the *atenteben* (a Ghanaian bamboo flute) as well as the *gyile* (xylophone); whereas his or her counterpart presenting a Western instrument performs on just a trumpet, violin, or piano. Implicitly African instruments are so insignificant that a combination of several varieties is equivalent to one Western instrument.

Although the importance of the piano in music teaching has been forcefully argued to justify its place, it is in fact for the purpose of playing to accompany hymns and other church songs, rather than as a classroom instrument, that has influenced the importance attached to keyboard skills in the music teacher education programme. This is supported by two major reasons. First, keyboard instruments are found mainly in the Christian churches. Secondly, the appointment of music teachers in Senior Secondary schools and Teacher Training Colleges has been based on the candidate's ability to accompany the singing of hymns during morning worship and Sunday vespers at schools and also to play at the local churches. Churches offer additional incentives such as free accommodation and extra cash allowances to trained music teachers in order for them to accept postings to schools they have established. This development has strengthened the Department's emphasis on Keyboard Skills. To ensure that prospective music teachers are adequately prepared to function in the Christian churches, the playing of classical music has been removed from the final examinations requirement for keyboard skills and has been replaced with the playing of hymns. Each student is expected to study four to six hymns per semester and a student usually plays from hymn books associated with the church he/she belongs to. At the end of the semester, the student is required to present at least two hymns before a panel of examiners. This means that, by the end of the three-year period of campus work, the student would have played at least twenty-four hymns.

African Cultural Revival: Challenges for School Music

Although the struggle for cultural emancipation had characterized the entire African continent since the early part of the 20th century, it was after independence in 1957 that the search for cultural independence in Ghana gained a national momentum. All public, social, political, and religious institutions came under severe attack for their European centredness. Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, who led the country into independence, had already distinguished himself as a champion of the promotion of African personality, a concept that characterised most independence struggles in Africa. For Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the struggle for Independence was not just a political one, it was also a fight for cultural emancipation. The government of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah therefore introduced several policies and programmes intended to ensure that the culture of Ghana influenced our development efforts. According to Hagan (1993), by 1966 when the government was overthrown in a military coup, Kwame Nkrumah had established almost all the institutions that can now be identified with cultural development programmes.

The response to the call for cultural revivalism was very conspicuous in two institutions, the Church and education. From within the orthodox churches, advocates for the adaptation of Ghanaian culture and music to worship became more vocal and influential. Ghanaian music found a suitable place in the worship activities of most of these churches. According to Argodoh (1997:75–76), it was the Methodist Church that began the incorporation of indigenous music in Christian worship in Ghana through the use of *Ebibindwom* (Fante sacred music), or what has become known as Fante Lyrics, but it is the Catholic Church that has been most radical. In the Catholic Church, the xylophone has taken the place of the church organ among the churches in the north and the people are encouraged to sing the local songs, which have meaning for them. In Ashanti, traditional groups like the *nwonkoro*, *dehyem*, perform indigenous Ghanaian music during worship. Special *nwonkoro* songs have been composed to enrich the mass. This development has also encouraged Ghanaian composers to compose anthems, masses, and other Christian songs in the local languages for use by the Christian churches. Much of this music is based on a blend of African melodic, rhythmic, and formal resources and adaptations of Western harmonic techniques (Nketia 1978:2).

Since independence, various education reforms initiated have therefore focused on making school learning more Ghanaian in character. Responding to the challenge of making the music curriculum Ghanaian-oriented, the Ministry of Education issued new curriculum guides in the

1980s. In 1985, the Curriculum Enrichment Programme was launched (Ministry of Education), which was intended to provide broad direction for the practice of Ghanaian culture in schools. This was followed in 1987 by the introduction of a new subject called Cultural Studies. The Cultural Studies Syllabus was based on the tenet that “Functionally, the music of our society reveals a great deal about beliefs and sentiments; often it is difficult to separate music from dancing and drama in a socio-religious context.” (CRDD 1987:1) The introduction of the Cultural Studies Syllabus generated a lot of controversy between policy makers on the one hand and professional music teachers on the other. According to the critics, the combination of music with religion and social life would not make music academic enough to justify its place in the school curriculum (Flolu 1993).

These controversies eventually led to the introduction of another subject, Music and Dance. Although religion and social life have been detached from music, the basis of the Music and Dance Syllabus for Basic Schools is not different to that of the Cultural Studies. The syllabus is divided into three sections, Composition, Performance, and Listening and Observing (CRDD 1998). The syllabus represents a complete shift from the emphasis on the rudiments and theory of Western music, associated with previous syllabuses, to that of Ghanaian music. It gives prominence to children’s creativity, and the use of a Ghanaian approach and attitude to the practice of musical art. Professional music teachers regard this emphasis on Ghanaian music and the use of an aural-oral and a practical approach to be at the expense of Western music (Flolu 1998:189). The most erudite criticisms come from a section of the Ghana Music Teachers’ Association (GMTA) and the staff of the music education department of the University of Education UEW, Winneba, which is the nation’s largest music teacher institution (see Mereku 1999²; Ayikutu 2001).

Conclusion

As can be seen from the foregoing discussion, two intermingling philosophical viewpoints guide the training of music teachers at the tertiary education level in Ghana. The first is the emphasis on Western music theory based on British LRSM syllabi. The second is the training of church organists and choirmasters. Yet, indigenous Ghanaian music now dominates national music and culture festivals at both local and national levels in the country. Despite national policy and support for the patronage

2. Mereku is the current National Secretary of the GMTA; both Mereku and Ayikutu teach at the Department of Music Education, UEW.

of indigenous Ghanaian music, the teaching of such music has still remained the preserve of local experts. The promotion of Ghanaian music is, therefore, largely in the hands of national arts and culture institutes and organizations.

Clearly, Ghanaians are still grappling with the problems of the nexus between Western culture and Christianity on the one hand and African culture and traditional African religion on the other. Despite the strong presence of Christianity, together with the continuous condemnation of African cultural practices by some Christian churches, it can be argued that the Ghanaian has never regarded Christianity as an alternative religion. It is considered an addition to a chain of beliefs, a means of strengthening and increasing the power of the local gods. Long ago Casely Hayford wrote:

In no department of his life is the (Ghanaian) Native more faithful to the traditions of his forefathers than in matters of faith and worship. Here and there, you find so-called converts to Christianity, but it seems difficult for (a Ghanaian) native ever absolutely to forsake the gods of his fathers.
(Casely Hayford 1903:101 in Mobley 1970:105)

Today the situation is practically the same. A festival celebration, for instance, may go on for several days with traditional religious rituals, but will climax in a Thanksgiving Ceremony in the Christian fashion with all the “gods” and their priests in attendance. Moreover, almost all state and other public functions are opened with both the pouring of libation to the ancestors and the offering of a Christian prayer. With the increasing influence of Islam in Ghana, Islamic prayer may be the third. This religious tolerance is a feature of all aspects of Ghanaian social, educational, and political lives. The result is that it has made the problems of incorporating “tradition” and “modernity”, African and Western, into the school curriculum more complex and this is the challenge.

Music teacher education in Ghana needs a new vision that focuses on the training of teachers to teach music in Ghanaian schools. The programme should therefore spell out clearly some basic knowledge, skills and competencies, which will guide the criteria for certification, and this should be based on the special demands of the profession, the needs of the learners and schools, and the realities of the Ghanaian society. Music teacher training should not just concentrate on the training of teachers to teach general Western music. It should be possible for teachers to specialize in say, Primary school music, Secondary school music, Ghanaian dance drama, Vocal or Instrumental music. This would enable teachers

to focus on specific levels and would help them to improve their competencies as professional specialists.

However, consideration should be given to some fundamental requirements for music teaching in Ghana. It is suggested by the author that, for a candidate to qualify for the award of the B.Ed. degree in music teaching, he/she should be able to

- sing, and use the voice in teaching;
- sing as solo and with others, a wide variety of indigenous Ghanaian songs;
- organize and teach a school choir;
- demonstrate both theoretical and practical knowledge of selected Ghanaian instruments;
- demonstrate knowledge and skills in a variety of indigenous Ghanaian music and dance;
- exhibit knowledge and skills in teaching and directing indigenous Ghanaian music and dance.

The above suggestion will definitely necessitate a radical transformation of the entire curriculum for the training of music teachers in Ghana.

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Swedish Mission and Music Education in Southern Africa¹

STIG-MAGNUS THORSÉN

Audio example:

Amaxoxo performed by an ensemble from Kwanongoma College of Music (CD track 11)

Global relations between continents and countries are not only negotiated in terms of political power or finances. Music is also a dynamic arena for international togetherness. Europe and Africa have had musical relations for centuries. This common history is imprinted on the two continents' present music life and aesthetic value systems. It has also resulted in an interdependent relationship with a reciprocal infatuation with the counterpart's music. At the same time, we face an unbalanced situation with cultural power and a hierarchical value system expressed in music examinations, educational objectives, and research methods. My aim here is to relate a story about relations between Sweden and Southern Africa, a story that tells us something about the colonial conditions that still exist. I take up one piece in the jigsaw puzzle: Swedish intervention in music education for almost 125 years in Southern Africa.

Looking into some generations of Swedish missionaries' contributions to music education in Southern Africa reveals the background of the present conditions. We find a variety of both hostile and friendly objectives, attitudes, and methods impinging on the music education of today, comprising a civilising commission, reciprocal recognition, and syncretism. The text-based and education-based music culture introduced by the missionaries has changed the features of the subject of music and the role of musicians in children's upbringing. School music has by and large been separated from music in society and tradition. However, we also find ex-

1. The research behind this article was supported by Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency.

amples of pressure being used to force an alignment to Western musical canon as well as efforts to re-introduce African music. In today's music education, we need to understand this background in order to develop relevant objectives and address issues of cultural identity as well as curriculum development. This understanding can feed back into new educational trends in both Sweden and Africa.

The School of Music at Göteborg University has been working with development of South African music education ([www 1](http://www.1)). We have provided development assistance to South Africa in our capacity as music consultants. Several projects have been funded during the last years. At present, music education and research are in focus, but we have also worked with co-operative projects between musicians. We are well aware of the fact that our historical role can be questioned. We raise issues not only on our role in relation to South African educators, but also on methods and objectives of South African music education.

In implementing the Swedish policy for development cooperation, we have encountered several questions in our contacts with music educators in South Africa. Why is Western music in favour? Why is staff notation and examination predominant? Why is traditional African music marginalised, yet honoured? Where is the space for popular music? Working internationally together with a South African marimba group has likewise made us reflect on cultural identity and intercultural relations. Is the recent marimba, and its music, South African? What does it represent in the ears of Westerners?

Consequently, my field of study has become the history of colonial relations originating from issues generated in current practices. Recent discussion of post-colonialism (Agawu 2003; Young 2001) has given these thoughts nutrition. In the musical genre World Music (or World Beat), the aftermath of colonial relations has been pointed out (Keil and Feld 1994).

At present, I am studying different phases in the history of South African music education: pre-colonial, colonial – established by government under the British school system and under apartheid, and post-apartheid schooling. In this text, I study the Swedish mission in the former KwaZulu and Natal and the former Southern Rhodesia. I was compelled by a sentence in James Flolu's Ph.D. thesis (1994) where he states that myths from both sides on mission music education flourish without empirical studies. In her historical overview, Kathy Primos has also stated "influence from Christian church on music learning among Africans cannot be underestimated" (2001).

Theoretical Considerations

Swedish people in general tend to look at Sweden as if it was not a colonising country. However, if we rather regard colonialism not only as conquering other countries, but also as cultural imperialism, Sweden is doubtless part of the team. Lasse Berg's book *When Sweden discovered Africa* (1997) provides evidence enough. We find botanists, explorers, industrialists, as well as individuals, fighting on the Boer side. However, the majority worked as missionaries, especially in KwaZulu/Natal, Gauteng, and southern Zimbabwe.

Sweden and Southern Africa have a certain history in common. Present partnership is part of a long story. Thus, to understand the consequences of history, it is important to use not only a Swedish perspective. My dream is to receive reactions to my statements from African colleagues. How have people in KwaZulu or Zimbabwe experienced the Swedish contributions to music education? The driving force behind my undertaking is a wish to seek, in co-operation, a course for multicultural co-existence, development, and recapture of human rights (Young 2001).

My point of departure can be summarised in the following way. Through my reading, I have become aware of the underlying fact that, in many global relations, we refer to an encounter between colonised people and colonisers. Colonisation has important cultural consequences, which are still salient features in the postcolonial era. Agawu explicitly writes about "Tonal harmony as a colonizing force" (2003:8ff)². Comaroffs' call for more historiography supports my intentions:

We are challenged to write a historical anthropology of colonialism in southern Africa that takes account of all players in the game, the motives that drove them, the awareness that informed them, the constraints that limited them. (1991:9)

The ambivalent relations between different Europeans on the colonial stage are also pointed out.

Once the motives, intentions, and imaginings of persons living or dead are allowed to speak from the historical record, it becomes impossible to see them as mere reflections of monolithic cultural structures or social forces. This is especially true of the colonial encounter, and of the civilizing mission in particular. (1991:10)

2. See also Davidson 2001 [1983]; Baaz 2002.

I have already presented some aspects on Cultural identity and Multiculturalism with relevance for South African Music Education in earlier articles (Thorsén 1997; 2002a; 2002b).

African music learning can roughly be divided in two parts. The lion's share of music is imparted in traditional formal and informal settings. Much of the neotraditional music and popular music is passed on over generations or via peer groups in informal arrangements. Traditional and popular music is most often inherited by listening, self-tuition, and successively participating in real life musical settings. Here I only take up formal music education. What is called music education in colonial and post-colonial society is both the formal common school subject, in many African countries an obligatory ingredient, and the formalised pathway to professional musicianship via secondary and higher education.

I have chosen to look at rather narrow material. 1) Written accounts from Swedish missionaries involved in music from 1885 onwards and 2) interviews with persons with experience of the "mission field". Geographically I have focused on South Africa and Zimbabwe. I know that looking into, for example, British sources might give another picture. However, somebody has to write the Swedish story.

Swedish Mission in Practice – The Early Years

The Swedish Moravian missionary, Hans Peter Hallbeck, arrived at West Cape in 1817. He later became the first evangelical bishop of the continent. In 1876, the Church of Sweden (the established national church with a Lutheran denomination) started an organised mission in south-east Africa that lasted for many decades.

The Swedish mission started in Natal, but there were already American, German, and Norwegian missionaries in "the field". In 1878, the pioneer, Otto Witt, (called uMfundisi uVite in isiZulu) bought a farm at Rorke's Drift and established the Swedish station called Oscarsberg. It became a stronghold that still functions as a crafts centre. The war between the Zulus and Englishmen in Natal disturbed the activities. For a while Oscarsberg became a base for the English soldiers.

Frans Fristedt has provided us with a book, published in 1905, in which he describes his co-operation with Witt in Natal from 1877 and further endeavours up to the establishment of the first Swedish station in kwaZulu: Ekutuleni 1888 (Fristedt 1905). His book is filled with illustrative descriptions of many practicalities. He describes the art of ox carting, his encounter with the Boers' hostile attitude towards missionaries, and the Eng-

lishmen who furnished the country with law, order, and subsidies to the mission schools.

His approach to the Zulus is ambiguous. On the one hand, he describes terrible heathendom and its cultural expressions via music and dance. On the other hand, he is often astonished by the hospitality he meets when visiting African homes. This ambiguity is a theme that we can trace throughout all missionary accounts. His main concern regarding “the blacks” is primarily, that they were not civilised. Fristedt concludes: “The Zulus’ skills and craftsmanship ought to be developed, to enable them to earn their living and clothing.” (Ibid p46) Another important theme is *the difference* between Zulus who were still heathens and those who had become Christians, a theme I will return to below.

Fristedt visited the American mission station, Inanda, and was impressed by the examinations performed by Zulus (p117). He listened to insight into Bible history and general knowledge of the Bible. “Some could even read whole chapters of the Holy Scriptures both in English and Zulu.” Other subjects were mathematics and handicrafts. Singing and music were also examined and “some could even play the piano and organ”. Consequently, schooling became an important task at Ekutuleni.

The Swedish mission in south-east Africa was expanded through several new missionaries and new stations, for example Aangelegen 1883, Appelsbosch 1886, Ifaye 1890, Dundee Coalfields 1891, Emtulva 1896, and Czesá 1910. By 1920, the Swedish Zulu mission comprised 9 main stations, 61 satellite stations, 225 places for sermons, 7,970 members of the congregation, 133 “black” mission workers of whom 7 were ordained, and 65 day schools with 1,668 pupils (Ollén 1920). 1881 British and American missionaries translated the Bible to isiZulu. In 1902, Axel Liljestränd headed the first expedition to Rhodesia and in due course the Belingwe station was erected.

The early history can be followed in a 19th century collection of reports “From the mission field of the Swedish church”. Eight of them were written from kwaZulu and Natal (Karlgrén 1895a, 1895b, 1895c; Ljungqvist 1895; Posse 1899; Danell 1907; Liljestränd and Hallendorff 1907; Sandström 1908). A compilation of texts on the Swedish mission can also be found in (Ollén 1920; Hallendorff 1907; Karlgrén 1909). I have also interviewed persons who worked in the Church of Sweden’s mission: Axel Ivar Berglund, Nils Joëlsson, Martin Svensson, and Tore Bergman.

Thematic Analysis

I use quotations from the missionaries' accounts in order to summarise essential aspects of the ways in which music education in Southern Africa was influenced by the Swedish mission. A Swedish journalist, J.M. Ollén, reported on the Swedish mission in South Africa in 1920. His eye fell on the newly constructed church in Czesá, outside Durban.

In our country, a large church is an everyday occurrence. Out here, a large church is a monument to victory, a triumphant, joyful cry of protest and success in reaction to the heathenism that surrounds us on all sides. (1920:364f)

God gave the mission, in its literal meaning, via a personal challenge. The missionary followed his or her inner voice. The dissemination of Gospel was undertaken with the support of a mission society at home. Progress was counted in terms of saved souls, erected school buildings, and churches. However, the task of the Christian vinedresser was fulfilled by other Europeans. The Swedes were sometimes on bad terms with German farmers, English tradesmen, and Dutch slave drivers. Ollén once travelled in a German's ox-cart and learnt a lesson:

The English are ruining the blacks with their humanity. [...] They are spoiling them. [...] I absolutely cannot have these "educated" Negroes on my farm any longer, they are too defiant. Better a "real" heathen than a civilized one. (1920:376f)

The missionaries, however, chose to associate with the Europeans and became specifically co-operative with representatives of the British Government in Natal. They formed a good alliance where educational ambitions were concerned. Their relations with the Zulus were of another kind. Their approach to "the black people" is illustrated by Fristedt in a comparison between a "Christian wedding with four-part singing" and heathen funeral:

...it was horrifying to listen to the dreadful, monotonous shouting (aö-mammá-aö), and to see the wild gestures of waving their arms about and swaying their upper bodies forward and back rhythmically, with which the mourners exhausted themselves. (1905:106)

At the same time, Fristedt was attracted to their "multi-part singing with

euphonious sadness” (Fristedt 1905:48–49). This ambiguous stance is frequently reported by many descriptions of European-African encounters. However, at that time, the answer was by no means recognition of African music.

Almost like home

In the texts I have found a number of notes on how the missionaries combined the Christian mission with a cultural mission. Alien cultural patterns were to be replaced by well-known patterns:

... and when you see this crowd of blacks, heads bent in confession and prayer or faces raised in hymns of thanksgiving and praise, you feel and you understand that the spirit of the Lord is at work, and you are grateful and proud to be part of this missionary work, which is carried out at the command of the Lord our God himself, and has his benediction.

So to all of you, our dear Christian congregation at home, I say rejoice! Your songs and hymns are being sung in the language of the Zulus, but often with your melodies. The beautiful Swedish liturgy is also ours. And, Sunday after Sunday, your texts form the basis for our sermons. (Sandström 1908:7)

Almost like home was a cultural answer to the ambiguity or despair of the mission. By clinging to the well-known, the Swedes promoted their own non-verbal expressions and symbols: the songs and the liturgy. Only the texts in the Bible and the hymns were translated. *In the fight against paganism, the cultural clash with the Africans was resolved by introducing Swedish ideals.*

The difference

Consequently, conversion to Christianity embraced a material and cultural entirety. Fristedt (1905) explains this by depicting the *complete difference* in adherence.

Their straightforward, cheerful, candid gazes ... they are clothed ... their houses are constructed in the form of rectangles ... and equipped with doors ... a bag of books or a bookcase with a Bible and a hymnal ... the Christian men work ... doing all kinds of woodworking ... their homes are varied and pleasant ... daily, morning and evening prayers, at which some Biblical passage is read and hymns are sung ... the Christians rinse their mouths and wash themselves. On Sundays they dress in their best and carry their hymnals in a pocket or under an arm ... listen attentively ... join energetically in the singing ... to show that they are more cultivated

than the heathens ... monogamous of course ... eager to learn ... ready to make sacrifices ... full of hospitality ... and remorse. (1905:368–369)

These constructed cultural differences are explained in many terms. Joëls-son reported the use of the *Old house* and the *New house*, as metaphors for the change. An interesting note in Fristedt's book gives an example of "good manners" acquired by King Dinuzulu, who visited Ekutuleni in 1898.

He sat down by the piano in our drawing room, and sang and played one piece after the other, some songs in isiZulu, and some in English. A British lord on St. Helena had taught him the piano. (1905:361)

The question of work and work ethics was at stake for the Swedish mission. As opposed to other societies, a crucial part of the civilisation process was to improve skills in handicrafts such as bricklaying, carpentry, and gardening. Entrepreneurship was favoured, indicating that not only culture but also economy was a central feature of the difference.

Education

The foremost measure for chiselling out the difference was education. The word missionary in isiZulu was translated to *umFundisi*, meaning the one who teaches (Posse 1899). However, teaching literacy was not, per se, just a part of the civilising project. In the Swedish mission it was the only way to Christianity. Fristedt elaborates on how becoming a Christian starts with reading and understanding the Bible. The Lutheran conversion was founded on an understanding of theology and exegesis. The classes aimed at baptism after at least a year, sometimes even more. The school also became the natural place for teaching music and hymns. Schooling in Christianity was conducted in "Sunday school", while general education took place in the "Everyday school". However, in many of the missionaries' reports I find evidence that the two school systems were very much integrated.

Progress in literacy was made in co-operation with the British authorities. The colonial government inspected the schools and "The British bishop of Natal did in particular benefit the mission through his literary activity: textbooks for schools, translations to isiZulu, Zulu legends, songs and stories, a good grammar and dictionary for isiZulu etc." (Fristedt 1905:49–50) The reading and writing was part and parcel of the difference in the missionary's eyes. Liljestrand (1907) is puzzled by the Zulu's lack of logical thinking. And he explains to himself that the reason might be that



Harriet Posse instructing pupils in needlework at the mission in South Africa. Source: Church of Sweden archive (Svenska kyrkan, Kyrkokansliets arkiv) in Uppsala.

“they do not have a written language”, obviously without understanding the possibilities of orally based knowledge.

The hymnal

Harriet Posse was an outstanding missionary when it comes to music. She was an upper class lady from Stockholm (the capital of Sweden) and, as can be expected, she was especially outstanding when dealing with the upbringing of “the blacks”. Her reports are filled with empathetic biographies of Zulus and describe how they were convinced by the missionaries to become converts, as well as how they fought for permission to leave their families. Education, Christianity, and a cultural change were incentives for their step into the European realm (Posse 1899).

Posse worked for a long period at Oscarsberg at Rorke’s Drift (Sarja 2002; 2003, Sundkler 1974). After having visited a morning service she wrote:

After the sermon we, just like you back at home, rise and sing, to organ accompaniment, “The Lord bless you and keep you”, which has always been one of my favourite moments in the service. When the altar service is done, the children from the school and the orphanage sing, in parts, the most recent song they have learned from our songbook. It contains 100 songs for school and church, many of which are based on Swedish folk melodies. Others, like “Here a bright spring ripples” and “So God loves

all the world” and others come from the collections of songs we have come to love from home. (Posse 1899 p15–16)

Once again, we find a note on the use of Swedish tunes *almost like home*. Posse explains moreover that singing Christian songs was instrumental to the teaching. For non-literate Zulus, learning songs was the first step towards taking part in liturgy and prayer.

The first part of Posse’s stay in South Africa was used for education and medical work. When she returned to Oscarsberg in 1904 for the second time, she started other activities. As she paid for her own travel this time, she was freer to undertake new assignments. Her long-nourished interest in Zulu music now resulted in the recording of Zulu music. This was notably early, and required modern equipment – a phonograph with wax rolls (Sarja 2003). The material – mostly Zulu war songs – were transcribed into staff notation and later published with Christian texts. The educational purpose was obvious and, in 1914, some Zulu melodies were published in the children’s songbook *Tokozani* (Sundkler 1974:79). Posse’s pioneering interest in the Zulu culture can be seen as a new trend. Her first period at the mission during the 19th century did not have any obvious recognition of Zulu culture; however, her continuation in the early 20th century changed her path, towards ethnographical work. The war songs recorded were probably merely regarded as items without a context, sung by her Zulu fellow workers at Oscarsberg.

The hymnal became a fundamental textbook in many mission schools during the entire 20th century as the Church of Sweden mission moved to Zimbabwe. Bergman (2002) reported that in Zimbabwe, even after independence 1980, the only existing music material was the hymnal *NZIYO* that had been produced by the Dutch Reformed Church with a Swedish supplement. It comprised hundreds of hymns, all written with four-part tonic sol-fa arrangements.

In the above, I have established the fact that, in the fight against paganism, the cultural clash with the Africans was resolved by introducing Swedish ideals. After having added a discussion on *the difference and the education*, I can now venture to say that *the hymnal with European songs and four-part homophony became a tangible feature of the content and method of music education established in the framework of the civilising project*.

Later Trends in Approach to African Culture

From the mid-20th century, the cultural policy of the Church of Sweden

mission bore the imprint of three salient persons: Bengt Sundkler, Henry Weman, and Olof Axelsson. Sundkler became well known for his recognition of and research into African Independent Churches (AIC). In 1948 he published *Bantu Prophets in South Africa* in which he describes some 2000 syncretistic denominations (Sundkler 1961 [1948]). For most of the time Sundkler worked as a missionary in kwaZulu, but he travelled over the entire continent. After his death, his studies were published in the extensive overview *A History of the Church in Africa* (Sundkler and Steed 2000).

He wrote against racism and European supremacy in the mission. Sundkler took a clear standpoint in the harsh debate among mission societies on African Independent Churches. His friendship and scholarly studies reflected a political opinion in favour of African culture. Much of his time was spent in the midst of the inner circle of some African churches in kwaZulu, particularly together with Isaiha Shembe.

Where Sundkler opened up for new approaches to African culture, Henry Weman continued the same path in music. He was a Swedish cathedral organist between 1927 and 1964, but went to South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Tanzania in 1954, a journey followed by several more. He was commissioned and sent out by the Church of Sweden on several journeys to eastern and southern Africa. The second, and most extensive journey, in 1956–57, took him to South Africa and the Congo. During his travels, he recorded hundreds of traditional music items.

He was well read on music in Africa through texts by leading music anthropologists of the time. He recorded the famous Magogo Buthelezi at the kraal of Zulu chief Gatsha Buthelezi. Weman also – with the assistance of Hugh Tracy – visited John Galilee Shembe on the sacred mountain of Nhlangakazi during a religious festival. A major report was published 1960: *African music and the church in Africa*. The book describes his travels and studies, but also presents a discussion on aesthetics, cultural identity and the social function of “African music”. The second part of the book is a survey of the necessity and the possibility of using “African music” in Christian services and Church life, that was his actual commission by the Church of Sweden.

Weman suffered from the fact that Africans were forced to swing between European “Sunday music” and African “everyday music”. When many other missionaries talked about “darkest Africa”, Weman was curious about “folk music out in the villages and kraal schools [that] was sporadic, such lightening glimpses”. He advised Europeans to rethink in order to open up for new aesthetics and to give up ingrained opinions on intonation, scales in major and minor, functional harmony etc. He criticised the use of hymns in schools, the Westerners’ patronising attitude in



Henry Weman conducting choir singing in Masvingo, Zimbabwe 1967. Photo: Tord Harlin.

general and British school inspectors in particular, as persons who only “will bring up the African so that he can give a practical account of himself in European music”.

Weman, however, found a dilemma. Can we develop African music, the adequate expression of the indigenous people, when many Africans want to embrace Western music? At the same time, Weman’s own intentions had an ambiguity towards “African music”. There was a limit to multicultural recognition. He could not accept the use of music directly from African sources.

No one wants African music kept to the level of the kraal, even though it may exhibit elements of rare beauty even at this stage; it must be allowed to develop. (1960:13)

One cannot help being reminded of music of the less developed sects, in which coarse folk music and dance is allowed to develop unchecked, without either finesse or polish in movement or voice. (1960:188)

Weman put a limit on the cultures around him. Even if he strove towards interculturality, he did not manage to fully accept a reciprocal encounter. In the name of Christianity, traditional religions in Africa and related cultural utterances would remain inferior. Consequently, his standpoint entailed limits for what was allowed and aesthetically possible in the services.

His suggestions for changes in the liturgy were, when all is said and done, quite marginal.

The music of “the African” or “African music” are core concepts in Weman’s book. On the one hand, music was assessed as *different*; on the other hand, he strove for an *amalgamation* of European and African music for use in the African Christian church. The differences in musical material (scales, melodies, rhythms) were elaborated in many analyses. He found the scale of the strings, the scale of the pipes, and the scale of the Mbira. He thereby showed – often in deep admiration – the various and versatile scales. The difference was treated as a leitmotif and Weman went further into extra-musical explanations of the divergence between the music of the continents.

We have altogether different ideals of sound and form, and if we feel confused and out of place when we hear African music we must beware of passing hasty judgement, since criteria involved are so essentially dissimilar. The same care must be taken when it is a question of judging emotive value of the music. Joy and sorrow are expressed in completely different ways according to different cultural environments; this is a part of racial tradition and development. (1960:21)

It is obvious that Weman had problems when explaining causality. What is cultural and what is racial? Weman innocently mixed many concepts: race and culture, tradition and development.

There are other statements coloured by Weman’s aim of being in Africa. On the one hand, he was markedly negative to Europeans for being culturally colonising and insensitive to African culture. He was courageous and a pioneer among other missionaries in his striving for the Africanisation of African church music. He even brought Zulu music back home, to be included in the Church of Sweden’s liturgy.³ On the other hand, he was pessimistic about the possibility for “Africans” to learn European music.

The western teacher has also to allow that this [European] melodies have very little to give the African where rhythm is concerned. The great gulf between African and European ideas of music is seldom so marked as here. The result is often a sluggish kind of song, which naturally fails to make an impression on the African.

3. # 697:5 in Church of Sweden’s hymnbook: “Gloria and Laudamus” with music from “Southern Africa”.

We can make a comparison with Hedvig Posse's unreserved trust in the capacity of Zulus to learn and embrace any cultural practice. She focused on the individual, and did not bother about communal aspects of music. Weman grasped the cultural encounter from another angle. He generalised on an "African" continental level in his efforts to understand the possible success of the mission. The scope of perspective influenced the reflected image.

Weman expressed what could be called *cultural chauvinism* when he criticised the music of African independent churches. "The music of the [orthodox European] Church aims infinitely higher and deeper than that of the sects, since it is anchored fast in the liturgy." It is quite possible that his "mission" as a Christian influenced Weman. His subjective opinions are due to his inability to look outside the boundaries of his Christian faith.

The educational side of Weman's work is perhaps of less importance. Most of his energy was devoted to making changes of music in the churches. Nevertheless, the Church of Sweden promoted his attitude in its comprehensive educational activities. He became a role model for new Swedish educators, not only in Zimbabwe but also in South Africa and Tanzania.

Olof Axelsson Moves into Dialogue

The third outstandingly music-oriented missionary in Southern Africa is Olof Axelsson. He followed in the footsteps of Henry Weman, but was also critical of his forerunner. Axelsson was recruited by the Church of Sweden Mission in 1966 as a school inspector and church musician for service in Zimbabwe. He began working in 1967 in Belingwe and later on in Gwanda. In 1974 he moved to positions as an organist in Catholic churches in Bulawayo. At an early stage, he became involved in the Zimbabwean Ecumenical Arts Association and worked in this comprehensive environment up to 1984. Around 1970 he occasionally came back to Sweden for studies in musicology and completed a Masters thesis (Axelsson 1971).

During the period 1972–1981 he was appointed headmaster of the College of Music (at Kwanongoma College) in Bulawayo. Between 1983 and 1985 he devoted his full time to manufacture of "new" traditional African instruments: the *marimba* and the *mbira (kalimba)*. After these years, he ended his life in Sweden as an organist and lecturer in ethnomusicology. Axelsson's lifetime achievement can be summarised in research, education, and manufacture.

Axelsson should not be regarded solely as a missionary in this context, as he worked outside the Church of Sweden mission from time to time. The mission did not sponsor the headmaster and the manufacturer. It was rather the case that he settled down as a musician (performer, educator, composer, organiser etc.) and took jobs outside the Church, in other denominations, and in governmental and private organisations.

Axelsson was concrete in his descriptions of the music he met and became involved in (1971). He rejected earlier researchers' generalisations and interpretations (including Weman's). He never wrote about the difference between African and European music. Rather, as a result of his engagement and enthusiasm for the music around him, he just started making music. His articles reflected and served to a large extent his practical work. His way of getting absorbed by musical and cultural life in Zimbabwe may not have suited the Church, but yet he was prepared to live according to his personal ideals. We can see his involvement as a reflection of how he imagined the music around him. In that sense, he did not give opinions on "African music". His contribution to the Swedish audience had other features: musical instruments, compositions, and subsequently films, dramas, songbooks.

Axelsson's work with music in Africa was also expressed in practical terms. His work as a pedagogue comprised not only his employment at Kwanongoma College, but also his efforts to enhance musical awareness in informal settings. Axelsson's interest in tradition had a pedagogical side. He renewed instruments that were in decline, which he wanted to give new possibilities in Zimbabwean music. The simplifying of the instruments had an educational purpose.

His effort to develop the *marimba* had an echo throughout southern Africa. In cooperation with the Catholic mission, the *Bulawayo marimba* became widespread in southern Africa, and gradually a salient instrument in both churches and street bands. It is unclear to what extent Axelsson was a historical part of the entry of the *marimba* on the World Music scene (even in some Swedish and Norwegian municipal music schools). Nevertheless, today we can find remanufactured instruments all over the world. Listen to the Kwanongoma College ensemble at CD track 11. The *mbira*, on the other hand, was already in use all over Zimbabwe and in many variants. Thus, the Bulawayo factory probably did not have an effect on the ongoing renaissance of that instrument.

In Axelsson's writings (five long scholarly papers and some instructions on manufacturing the marimba and the mbira), he investigated the use of Christian music in Southern Africa, focusing on all experiments and achievements hitherto on the indigenisation and Africanisation of church



Olof Axelsson with a reconstructed *marimba*. Source: Private collection – Peta Axelsson.

music (Axelsson 1971, 1973, 1974, 1981/82, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1993). He approved of Weman's pioneering work, but was indeed critical of the specific suggestions made by Weman and others for the Africanisation of music. He pointed out that the missionary/anthropologist often lacked a deep knowledge of music in Africa, and that Eurocentric methods led to the wrong conclusions. Axelsson promoted, on the contrary, a dialogue

between European and African scholars on the development of a more relevant musicology. Despite his criticisms, Axelsson supported the renewal of the music in the African Churches much in line with Weman's. This implied responsorial singing, downdrift in melody, adherence to tonal patterns in the language, polyrhythmic structure, both parallel and contrapuntal motions in multipart music – features coming from music in Africa, which seemed to blend well with European features: Western tonality and extension of harmonic feeling by the addition of thirds.

The distinctly new aspect of Axelsson's attitude to music around him was his concrete commitment, knowledge, and understanding. This came from his ability to shift between different professional roles and his ability to go outside the walls of the church. At the Bulawayo College he was engaged in profane music education, and he also co-operated with African independent churches.

Conclusions

I started my investigation with questions on South African music education and on the present relations between the two countries, and with a focus on cultural identity and multiculturalism. My conclusion is that more than hundred years of Swedish impact has changed the African musical identity in some areas, due to the domination of Swedish musical practices and approaches to teaching and learning.

The core issue is: the Swedish wish to convert the Zulus and Ndebeles to adopt a cultural behaviour as similar as possible to the Swedish. The themes *Almost like home* and *The difference* run all through the story. The music was normatively condensed in the hymnal with four-part harmony notated in tonic sol-fa, which was used in many schools in Zimbabwe even after independence in 1980.

In parallel, there was a move on the Swedish side towards recognition of African culture from circa 1950. The pedagogical development of musical instruments and the use of African tunes and rhythms have, to a certain extent, shifted Western dominance towards a musical fusion. The Swedes have sometimes met orthodox Christian resistance from the African side. Likewise, the Swedish side has definitely shown that there is a limit for multiculturalism based on religious and cultural positions.

The global musical encounter is also influenced by the Swedish impact on African music. I have two contradictory hypotheses: 1) Swedes tend to more easily accept music from Africa as, to a large extent, it is coloured by European music. Marimba groups in South Africa playing

Christian hymns sounds *like home*. Or 2), we have, via long-term colonial relations, begun to understand the essence of African culture. Our ears have opened.

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“Contemporary is only an Analytical Tool”

INTERVIEW WITH J.H. KWABENA NKETIA

Introduction by Stig-Magnus Thorsén

If we were to point out one African, who has done more than many others for African music in modern time, it would be Prof. J.H. Kwabena Nketia, with his exceptional achievements in the world of music in its broadest sense. He has been named “The Moses of African Music”, “The Grandfather of African Music”, “The Bartók of Africa”, and his students call him “a living library”. As a composer, he ploughed new ground in combining African and Western instruments and structures.

This introduction presents Nketia’s views on music research in Africa. In the following interview he elaborates on the subject of modernity – the “contemporary”. His personal perspective thus makes up the conclusion of this book.

J. H. Kwabena Nketia was born on June 22, 1921 in Mampong, then a little town in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. He was given his first education in music, and eventually trained as a teacher, at the Presbyterian Training College, Akropong Akwapin – where he later taught and was appointed Acting Principal in 1952 (Akrofi 2002).

At 23, a very young age to go abroad in those days, with the aid of a Ghanaian government scholarship, Nketia went to the University of London to study for a certificate in phonetics at the School of Oriental and African studies.

In 1949, he went on to Birbeck College, University of London, and Trinity College of Music, London, to obtain his Bachelor of Arts degree. In 1958, he went to the United States, attending Columbia University, Juilliard School of Music, and Northwestern University to do courses in musicology and composition, and to hold professorships at UCLA and University of Pittsburgh. After a year in the United States, he returned to

Ghana where he rapidly rose through the ranks at the University of Ghana, Legon – from a Senior Research Fellow in 1962, to an Associate Professor, and finally a full professor in 1963.

Two years later, in 1965, he was appointed director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, a position he held for fifteen years.

Nketia's view on research on African music

In an article written in 1998, Kwabena Nketia described in detail not only general musicological research into African music but, of more relevance here, African scholarship.

The first contacts between African researchers and Western academic tradition took place as early as in the 1920s. This coincided with a new trend in composing African music that merged African and European musical elements. At this early stage, only few areas of the continent were involved and it took up to the 1940s before a new and comprehensive musicology emerged in Africa. With Herbert Ogunde's work in Nigeria, research tools were developed to collect and rediscover the culture that had been hidden or made invisible during the worst years of colonialism. Two trends characterised the work: one was pragmatic – aiming at gathering concrete knowledge and data on music in the nearby communities, the other sought to analyse, classify and interpret evidence. These two directions unfolded their constituency in a continuous interplay in the African scholarly studies on music.

Ephraim Amu from Ghana was an interesting pioneer, who managed to balance internal scholarly conflicts in his own work. He was not the only one, but was one of the most influential persons during the 1930s and 1940s. Amu was well aware of the Western imprint on research perspectives. He created a musicology that presented African music as living well alone, and not always comparable with European music. He developed systems of transcription, analyses of rhythms and pedagogies. He also worked as a composer, educator, and analyst. Following his "conversion from European music to African music," (Nketia 1998:23), Amu noticed the vivid relationship Africans had with their musical heritage – compared to the uninspired relationship they had with the Christian hymns. He marked his deliberate choice of an African way of life by wearing traditional clothes. His ways led him often into conflicts, but he persisted in creating a whole culture that embraced colonial and African heritage, just as people in his surroundings always experienced cultural hybridity.

Nketia notes (1998) that the 1960s saw the growth of institutes for music and music research all over the continent: Nigeria, Ghana, Ugan-

da at first, followed later by Central Africa, Southern and Eastern Africa. The establishment of institutions did not necessarily result in new trends in musicology. Often pragmatic perspectives dominated, while the ideological ambitions of the 1920–1930s and attempts to carry forward an analytical and critical view of African music were not followed up. However, the theoretical and technical replenishment of music analyses revealed several important processes of acculturation. The study of various genres, musicians, and musical instruments was broadened and presented in wider regional overviews. Likewise, academic functions such as documentation, and bibliographic and disco-graphic tools were developed. Several interdisciplinary works emerged: connecting music to religion, dance, drama, oral literature, and history.

During the 1970s, a new awareness was born: culture and music were seen as instrumental in nation building, development, creativity, and performance. These directions were separated from Western anthropology, and musicology became an important agent in the construction of a new society. In the interview, Nketia signifies this as the African musicological victory over Western anthropology.

Instead of always borrowing methods from the “study of the Other”, African music is now more often studied with endogenous and relevant methods. However, the history of African musicology does not, at this moment, take the necessary leap forward. Other problems have checked expected development. Nketia regrets the lack of resources, personnel, institutions, infrastructure, and weak inter-African cooperation. He also misses specialised scholars who deal in depth with, for example, the history of music, analyses of musical styles, or esthetical and psychological research in music.

Nketia's role in African musicology

It is necessary to place Nketia himself in the picture by mentioning that in the 1950s he also took on a leading role as a scholar. He focused on all-embracing analytical studies. Nketia's studies proliferated as a role model for major parts of African scholarship. Basically he was devoted to collecting research material and documenting musical instruments, musical proceedings, and situations where music was salient. He aimed at growth and renewal of the tradition, and he had an evident capacity to contextualise his findings.

Through lecturing, writing, and discussions, he informed both Western and African intellectuals all over the world about African musical and cultural traditions and thus eradicated some of the prejudices these scholars had against Africans. In doing this he dispelled many mythical and ro-

mantic ideas about African music that were spread during the 1960s. Nketia has explained and interpreted all kinds of African music. He analysed and described the role of rhythm and timbre in structures of the continent's music. In doing this, he managed to explain the inherent African elements in the Afro-American music in a unique way.

It is important here to mention Nketia's outstanding institute for research and education that has supported and inspired a large number of studies in African music: International Centre for African Music and Dance (ICAMD), established in 1992 at the University of Ghana, Legon-Accra, Ghana. It is the major institute in Africa and has recently opened new branches in other African countries.

The final conclusions in Nketia's essay (1998) point out possible steps forward to develop African musicology:

In search for African values, African musicology can afford to be more positive and objective; for there is greater openness to what insights Africa itself can offer than was the case before. One goes to the field, no longer as a master and teacher (as in the period of colonial development), but as a student, eager to learn from master musicians and other carriers of musical traditions. Current trends in African musicology pursued by Western scholars who recognize the integrity of other cultures are therefore reassuring, not only in data and reference materials, but also in the search for a framework of analysis and interpretations that would reflect African aesthetic and cultural values in music and related arts. (Nketia 1998:58)

Nketia promotes the development of research in dialogue with Western scholars. This also challenges African scholars to live up to the development of musicology in general "for it is only when they can deal with their implications of their findings for specific issues in musicology, or for the understanding of music as a cultural phenomenon and a worldwide art, that they can play an active role in the development of the discipline as a whole" (p 67). In an anthology like this that is founded on the concept of cooperation, it is tempting to quote Nketia's conclusion that also deepens the intercontinental perspective:

The need for collaboration between African scholars and their Western colleagues cannot therefore be overemphasized, for African scholars and their Western colleagues may be studying the same musical cultures, observing the same events, and using the same teachers and respondents, though they may not always be asking the same questions or seeking solutions on the same problems. (Nketia 1998:68)

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Interview with Prof. J.H. Kwabena Nketia made in Legon, Accra on November 11, 1998 by Carita Backström and Mai Palmberg for the "Cultural Images in and of Africa" project at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden.

Palmberg: This international or African perspective that you have, is it because you have been away such a long time and that you are more than Ghanaian? Or is it that you come from a Pan-African country?

– Well, I have always been interested in the Pan-African perspective because of my subject. If you do African music you come across a variety and a great diversity, but you will also come across recurrences, so that you become interested in discovering what people do differently. And you also become interested in looking at the common principles that are applied. For example, I have an interesting composition written for the bamboo flute, with some of the songs I came across in Tanzania (where I was the first time in 1965 as a UNESCO consultant, and also doing research in Morogoro).

– My theory has been that, if I am Akan, there should be nothing preventing me from learning the music of other African countries so that I can use it. I had that Pan-African perspective. Also, in my youth at the time of independence, we were involved in the whole Pan-African concept and we actually had the opportunity of seeing Africa in one spot. Like what we did in Dakar in the time of Senghor, the African Negro festival, you know, see the Tuaregs and other people that I had never come across. For me it was exciting. Then there was FESTAC¹. So, I have had that kind of Pan-African outlook.

– And of course, being in the United States always inspired me to continue this. Because you know, the resources are very good there. The University of California Los Angeles had a good archive, we don't have any-

1. The first FESTAC, Festival of Arts and Culture, was held in Senegal in 1966, and the second in Lagos, Nigeria in 1977. In 2002 it was held in South Africa. (Editors' note)

thing like that here. So I have felt that we should develop similar resources here, have a good Pan-African archive of sounds and videos and so forth. For ten years when I was member of this University, I did field research, and collected a lot of tapes and they are all in the Institute of African Studies. So, I decided that I would continue and build an archive, this time with a diversified African content. And fortunately, people send me copies of their recordings, tapes, and videos. It was a continuation of that kind of Pan-African thing.

– And the other challenge came to me because I had quite a lot of graduate students who are professors in the US and other places. And I have lectured all over the world. I was even in Beijing for five weeks helping to train Chinese ethnomusicologists. They brought all the scholars to the central conservatory. So, I have had a certain obligation to do the same thing in Africa. By creating a centre that will enable other people to come here and I could share some of my experiences. So, that was the rush now for the centre, and it got the support it needed from the foundations.

Backström: How was your cooperation with professor Mawere Opoku? I understand he is quite a legend.²

– Professor Opuku and I went to London together in 1944 as students in the colonial days. And there we managed to work together; he was interested in my things. When we came back, I got the investiture here and he taught art in Achimota and later on in Kumasi. But when we were students in London he was very interested in dance, and sometimes he would take me to Spanish dances for example.

– When we returned he began little groups, teaching them traditional dance and when I became Director of African Studies, I brought him here every weekend to come and teach our students African dances. And then when I had the opportunity to engage him full time I got him to come here and start the dance company. We were privileged so to speak by a situation where the Government was interested in African Studies and African culture, and to support initiatives in that area. African Studies was a semi-autonomous institution in the University; it had its own funding. And when I was there, they also suggested that we should have a School of Performing Arts, which I set up, and the dance company, and all of them had their little funding. So, it was within that complex that Professor Opuku and I worked.

– You know our concept of music and dance of course is more inter-

2. Albert Mawere Opoku (1915–2001) was the founder and director of the Ghana Dance Ensemble and Head of the Dance Division at the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana.

cultural, I would say. And when we were asked to train a national dance company we decided that instead of bringing in people accomplished in one dance from the region, we would have some sort of amorphous group who would adopt a different strategy and train young people in the different dances of Ghana. That was a big challenge, but because of our own ten years of research, we knew where to find the material and the people. We recruited young people and started training them, with the help of the traditional dancers and musicians you see.

– The result was that instead of just having one person, a person who can do one dance, we trained them in the dances of Ghana so that a new concept of a multicultural state was emerging from our work. Because the parents of those children can only do one dance, but they can do ten to twelve dances. In that way, we were integrating the cultures, not in terms of creating a uniform thing, but in terms of giving the individual access to the cultures so that he can do whatever he wants with his knowledge.

– That was the basis of the training, and any time when we started a new dance, we would take the dancers to the village, for the people to check for us whether they are doing the right thing. So, if we see the people of the area smiling because somebody's doing the right movements, we know that at least the instruction has been good. And we brought teachers who came for short periods and went.

– For the music, we have the same diversity, and this is a good programme. How many musicians can you employ if you have forty linguistic groups, as we do? So again, what we decided was to recruit master drummers from a few regions, and then make each master drummer learn from other master drummers for the music for the dancers that we selected. The master drummer is a person who plays the complicated part; the others play the supporting parts. But after a while, we found that even that was not satisfactory, because when the master drummer gets ill, it means that particular music cannot be played. So then, we encouraged the other master drummers to learn from one another so that when one falls sick you can still do it. As an incentive they were given some merit increase. That tradition also created this intercultural approach so that while learning African music here in the school you also learn the things that are interesting from the different cultures, not just from your culture.

Backström: I was also thinking of the link between dance and music. Some say that there is no use talking just about music, or just about dance in Africa because they are so interlinked.

– We had to bring the two together, even though, because of the specialisation that is required, we have a dance department and a music de-

partment. You know you need a person who is good at using his body to dance, and you need the other person to play the music. But each of these should understand the relationship, what the drum signal means in terms of the movement and what the movement means in terms of providing the appropriate drum signal, and so forth. And on the same basis, we have the drummer department, but again, my work in African music has been interdisciplinary, you know the rituals, the festivals, art studies, and old music. We call this the Centre for African Music and Dance, only because there is no word in English for what I am thinking of, it has always to be music and dance.

Backström: What is it in your language?

– Well, in my language, if you use the term for play, agora, it means dance, music, everything together.

Backström: Is it like ngoma?

– Like ngoma, yes. That is the concept. But what we did here has influenced some of the things in the contemporary context. Now there are dance groups doing the same sort of thing, the same repertoire. There are music groups and there is a lot of interest in moving from the purely traditional to new things based on the traditional and so forth.

Palmberg: So if somebody invited these drummers to come on an international tour, just the drummers and no dance, would you say that they are then taken out of the context?

– Well, that is a philosophical question. This morning when I got up I was thinking about how to get people to separate the ethnographic issue from the political issue and/or the pragmatic issue. In the ethnographic context you think about meaning and you interpret everything in terms of its function and so forth. But in another context, there is a possibility of recontextualizing. Even in traditional society, they do this. You know, if you invite a group in one village to come and perform somewhere, they move from their own environment into another, and they usually adjust.

– So, it is possible to do some recontextualization without changing. You lose something in the process, but what is lost is not lost for the new audience. If you have the old audience, they have all the associations, but when it goes to the new audience there are other dimensions of the music and dance. So this whole process of rethinking, reconceptualizing ... Recontextualizing was a part of the thinking that went on in the post-independence period. First of all, as far as the ethnic groups are concerned,

we have to make conscious efforts to say we have Akan, Ga, and so forth, but we are all Ghanaians.

– Then we have to go a further step and say this is Akan culture and Ga culture but they are all Ghanaian cultures. This is then given as the freedom to move around in the cultures, in the contemporary context, not in the traditional context. Now we are using those terms to show that in the traditional context you have linkages and certain boundaries that are set, which define what you do and also provide a basis for the meaning construction.

– In the contemporary context, you do not have these boundaries; you have other linkages. The linkages are those established through membership organisations or educational institutions, factories, political parties, trade unions, name it. Here you have people who belong to ethnic groups but operate in a context beyond ethnicity.

– The vacuum that was created by the colonial experience was that in that contemporary context we did not have our own traditional culture. The traditional culture remained in the old environment. In the new environment we had the legacy of European things, plus the syncretic things that developed in response to them, so that is the contemporary culture. So the problem in the independence period was how to recontextualize some of the things in the traditional setting in the contemporary area in order to provide access to the tradition. And so that those who operate in the contemporary area know some kind of restoration of the identity.

– So the term contemporary we use only as analytical tool, because the process will eventually bridge a gap. Now there are two poles but they are coming closer. What we now find is that in the contemporary area you have doctors, lawyers, teachers so forth. They all have ethnic backgrounds, they come from ethnic groups, but they operate merely in contemporary society. But now they are accepting roles in traditional society as chiefs, as captains of warrior organisations and so forth. And as part of the independence movement, they are beginning to adapt themselves to traditional things. So, when they go to a funeral, instead of wearing western clothes, they will wear the traditional costume for this. And when they go to the funeral they will behave like anybody else, go and greet and so forth. Except that our own people, knowing that education has taken us away from complete knowledge of the traditions, they help us. For example, if I go to my village and I am going to greet someone at a funeral, somebody will immediately come in front of me and greet with me. He will go in the right order and I will follow and do the same, you see. In the traditional context, they are the experts and they teach us how to behave and what to do. And when they come to the contemporary

area, then we are the experts. We help them to fill in their forms and so on.

– This is what I think makes the culture interesting. The duality is there, but it is interacting duality, it is not a completely separate cleavage, and people are learning from one another. It is now beginning to run through many areas of our lives. Now we are talking about traditional medicine and orthodox medicine is there. There is a duality, but doctors are now beginning to change their attitude towards research into traditional medicine. There were traditional midwives; our doctors have now found a way of training them. It is not complete so they call them traditional birth attendants instead of midwives.

– I was telling people at the NAFAC festivals [National Festivals of Arts and Culture] that this is a tokenism. You are not really doing the complete thing, but it is a good beginning, recognising the need for taking the traditional things into account in the contemporary. Because, as I see it, the measure of success is the extent to which we are able to incorporate the traditions into the contemporary.

– The culture, where everybody is involved and can be in a position to take advantage of both new things that are coming in as well as the old things, must be in a position to change, and absorb, but it can only do this if it has a basis for absorbing and assimilating. And we think that a culture maintains its own traits, if it has learned how to absorb new things without obliterating its own ways of approaching those things. And there is a lot of evidence of these processes. In the traditional context, people also knew how to make new things adjust to the traditional things.

Palmberg: I think this is fascinating what you are saying and you speak like the perfect objective scientist. I would like to press you to say something about your own values and views on... I would like to ask whether you think that tradition can also be misused.

– Well sometimes, I tell people that at times we can be very superficial in terms of the tradition, because that is how independence started. We started with symbols, with the clothes and so forth. And you guess that this is fine for a manifestation of tradition. As we go along, we need to understand tradition a little more. And it has to affect our creativity, cultural spirit of tradition and not just the surface.

– Now, as far as my own background is concerned, you will be surprised to know that my parents never went to school even though I am a professor. My parents were completely illiterate, because during their time there was no school. And when they found other children going to school, they sent me to school. So, everything I have done is partly in the con-

temporary experience of going to school and so forth, but also, my traditional nurture, because my parents would send me to the dance arena and dance with when I was a child.

– So I have grown up in the two contexts, my parents were always taking me to the traditional things, and I did not see any conflict. In fact, when I went to school I was not baptised or anything, you know.

– I grew up in middle school 8–14 or so before I was baptised. And then from there I went to the training college. I got admission and studied as a teacher. But even when I was there my interest in the African tradition was very strong, because I happened to go to a college where Amu³, the Ghanaian composer who rebelled against Western music in the 1920s, had been. He left a strong legacy of studies in African music.

– Then I had a few personal challenges because of my traditional background. My English teacher talked about prosody. What I did of that was to write down the songs I knew, and apply the rules of scansion to see if those rules fitted my own language. And they did not. So, I became conscious of a difference that I could not explain.

– Then one day when Amu, that old man, came to the training college, I was playing the harmonium for the school and he came to me and said: Young man, I gather you are interested in composition. And I said yes! Then he said: "Don't copy my music!" And he explained and said he wrote his music because he went to the traditional people and learnt from them. Later on he told me the story of how he discovered his own music, he discovered African music. But he told me to go and learn from them. And I did.

– When I finished my courses in the training college I went back to my old town the way he did and I collected traditional songs from my own town and then from another place. This was in 1941–42. And I had a manuscript, a compilation of Akan songs. This was published in 1949 by Oxford University Press. And it was this manuscript of songs that the head of the School of Oriental Studies African Department saw when he visited Ghana, and this gave me a scholarship to go to London to study linguistics. I came in 1944 for five years, the first two years to do linguistics and then I was appointed assistant at the School of Oriental Studies and I was teaching Twi in courses in linguistics.

– So, I have carried this with me all the time, the traditional and contemporary in composition and creative work, in my research. And when

3. Ephraim Amu was born in 1899 in Peki-Abetile in the Volta region. He developed African music in contradistinction to the purely European church music and note system that had prevailed, but in this conflict, he was dismissed in 1933 from the Presbyterian Training College in Akropong and started to teach at the Achimota School and Training College. He died in 1995.

I became a research fellow at the University of Ghana, this was my field, to go back and study the traditional in music and dance.

Backström: If one of your students here would like to create something which is very far from what you call tradition, something that would be very much more like modern, Europe or the United States, would that be possible?

– Well yes, I myself as a composer, I went back to America and I studied Western music in London in addition to my linguistics. Even though I was writing African music, I learned all the harmony counterpoints, I went to all the concerts. I love Bach, I love Brahms. I still love them you see. And then I went to Julliard School of Music in New York because a Rockefeller director came here and heard my music and thought I should go to the US and see what contemporary composers are doing. I also studied with Henry Cowell in Columbia, at that time avant-garde. I know those techniques and I can use them, and in fact, I have things I have written in the art music style with my old African rhythms and melodies, a suite for flute and piano. This was played on the day of the Republic celebration here in Ghana as part of the concert. My choral pieces are learnt by all the choirs in Ghana. I am now beginning to put them together because there is a demand.

– I received an e-mail from somebody in South Africa who has found two of my works for violin and piano and work for cello and piano. He is performing and wants some information. I go all the way, from the pure traditional to the syncretic forms, even to the area of an African version of art music. I have several songs I have written with piano accompaniment, which is like your *lieder*. So, I don't place a lid on what people should do, but I'm interested in seeing the African culture and its principles come up, because this is what you are creating with. You need to start from your experience. I am not saying that we should abandon the colonial heritage. No, we can make creative use of it and create something that is different. You know, I can write something with the same kind of drive as Brahms but you see that it is me, not Brahms doing ta-ta ta-ta ta-ta. I love him, you see. We must allow the whole thing to evolve, and creativity does not have to be based only on the past.

– But in the area of traditional, I have quite a lot of publications in Twi, my own language. I have about almost twenty little books, anthologies of traditional songs, the songs of hunters, the praise poetry of the court of the King of the Ashanti, the drum language. All those texts are published and a few of them for use in schools. I work between the two areas, tradition, and change.

– But in my own mind I have to keep those two categories somewhere,

because if I talk about traditional music I am talking about a specific ethno style and things that go into it. If I move from there to another area I need another term to describe what I am doing. So that is a problem, we have to talk of traditional – contemporary, but we are not saying that they are in opposition. And in fact, these days I say that they form a continuum and they can merge at any point. And also, I say that in terms of cultural policy and cultural development, bridging the gap between the old and the new is also an important dimension.

Palmberg: We were also interested in your views on this proliferation of religion.

Would you say that that is also a kind of a bridge?

– When I came back from the United States, I was surprised to see so much change in that area. It all developed during my absence. But you know, Ghana has been through some traumatic periods, and I believe that all the insecurity and difficulties have contributed to this religious fever. People are looking for security, they are looking for answers. If I was not aware of the historical problem, I would say that this is perhaps a revival of the old spirituality in traditional society, but it is not that. I think it is a new sort of condition that has created a spirituality that is akin to what one found in traditional society. In traditional society it was not as organised.

– In this contemporary context, religion is an organised thing. Within this new form of religion, new extensions of music are emerging, new uses of the hymns, new compositions. And whereas in the past the churches were sort of separate from each other, now the new compositions circulate. You go to a Roman-Catholic church and you hear a song you heard in a Protestant church. And so one can look at it as another thing in the process of nation building, or the evolution of a national context.

– Much has happened to music in the churches. The opposition to African drumming in the church was there but has eased off. In the 1950s, we had conferences to talk about this. Now the churches are a little more liberal so it has opened the door for many things. And popular music preceded all this, so now we find that the popular music star is even going in to the church because dancing and movement are allowed. It is that kind of bridge. We also find that because the church is interested in art music, the new kind of art music has also in fact emerged from the church. They will sing a Bach but they will also sing an African composition.

Notes on Authors and Interviewees

Mai Palmberg is coordinator of the research project “Cultural Images in and of Africa” at the Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden. The main themes in her writings have been the liberation of Southern Africa, the Africa images in the school books in Sweden, and mass media models of interpretation. On the basis of a conference on “Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa”, organised by the project and the Musicology department at Åbo Academy University, Finland, she edited a volume with the same name. Her own chapter was on music and identity in Cape Verde.

Susan Mahando Makore is Zimbabwean, and has studied mass media and communication at the University of Zimbabwe and the University of Natal, Durban, South Africa. She was attached to the Open University of Zimbabwe before she was employed at the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation, first as head of KidzNet, and in 2003 as Chief Executive Officer at the state television. The paper reproduced here is a slightly revised version of a paper presented at the conference “Playing with Identities in Contemporary Music in Africa”, held in Åbo/Turku, Finland in October 2001, arranged by the Nordic Africa Institute and Åbo Academy University.

Annemette Kirkegaard, musicologist, Associate Professor in Ethnomusicology at the Department of Musicology, University of Copenhagen, Denmark. Kirkegaard has conducted fieldwork in Tanzania and Zanzibar since 1981. She carried through a Master thesis in 1986, and Ph.D. in 1996 on Popular Musics in Tanzania and Zanzibar in relation to globalisation and the world music concept. Member of the advisory board for Freemuse, and participant in the two world conferences on Music and Censorship. Member of the Encounter Images network at the Nordic Africa Institute in Uppsala, Sweden, and the research team: “Danish rock culture from 60s to the 80s”. Many articles by her hand are published in periodicals and she co-edited the book *Playing with identities in contemporary music in Africa*, Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala 2002.

Ole Reitov, Danish journalist, member Executive Committee, Freemuse. He has worked as radio journalist in more than 40 countries, been cultural advisor to amongst others UNESCO and consultant to Sida. Reitov

has lectured extensively on music and cultural policies all over the world. He was former head of Cultural advice and Support division at the Danish Center For Culture and Development, and Co-editor of *Smashed Hits. The Book of Banned Music. (Index on Censorship, 6/98)*. Member of INCD and PEN.

Marie Korpe, is the Executive Director of Freemuse. She got her Journalist Degree and has for many years reported on political, social, cultural and current affairs from Asia and Africa for the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation and other Scandinavian media. She has produced several exhibitions, among them The Street Music of India at the Swedish Music Museum, and others on India, Pakistan and Africa with Stockholm Culture House and Sida, Sweden. In 1993 she was coordinator of an international seminar, To See the Other, with Israeli and Palestinian film directors, authors and intellectuals. She has worked as senior programme officer at the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, Sida, division for Culture & Media. In 1998 she organized the 1st World Conference on Music and Censorship and is co-editor of *Smashed Hits. The Book of Banned Music. (Index on Censorship, 6/98)* and editor of *Shoot the Singer! Music censorship today*, Zed Books, 2004, London.

Wolfgang Bender wrote his Ph.D. thesis in Frankfurt on Colonialism and Consciousness among the Yoruba in Nigeria (1978). He began to specialize on the study of modern popular music and popular culture in Africa. From 1980 to 1985, he worked setting up and running the Africa Centre of the University of Bayreuth in Germany, the Iwalewa-House, as assistant of Ulli Beier. In 1991, Bender founded the African Music Archive and since then, he primarily works on the collection of modern African music in Mainz, Institute of African Studies, J.Gutenberg-Universität, Germany as Univ.-Doz. Dr. (see: African Music Archive (AMA) website and NTAMA – Journal of African Music and Popular Culture: <http://ntama.uni-mainz.de>). His habilitation was achieved in 1998 in Vienna, Austria, with a thesis on Popular Culture in West Africa.

Bender has published widely on African music, popular culture, and art. His book *Sweet Mother – Moderne afrikanische Musik* originally from 1985 has been translated into English and French. In 2000, an updated version was published in German. Bender's research emphasis is on early record production of African music in general and in particular in the Congos and in Ethiopia.

Richard S. Traoré is a business executive. He was a recording artist during his studies in Economics at the University of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, which he concluded with a Master of Business Administration at Washington State University, USA, in 1982. Traoré has given lectures in International Marketing at Kalmar University and at Lund University, Sweden. In 1990, he started his own company in Sweden: CDT International AB. From 1999, he began investing in the culture industry by starting SEYDONI PRODUCTION in Burkina Faso and SEYDONI in Mali. Both companies have recording studios and factories for cassettes and CD duplication.

Krister Malm, holds a Ph.D. in (Ethno)Musicology. In the 1960s, he was research fellow in charge of the Laboratory for research in rhythmical structures at the Institute for Musicology at Uppsala University, Sweden, and also active as music columnist and broadcaster employed by the Music Department at the Swedish Broadcasting Corporation. As assistant director of the Trinidad & Tobago Govt. Folklore Archives 1969–72 and during several stays in different parts of Africa, South Asia and Latin America, he has conducted research in many music cultures. 1973–83 he was director of the department for research and development at the Swedish Institute for National Concerts. He has also served on several Swedish Governmental Committees.

Presently Malm is director of The Swedish National Collections of Music, Stockholm, that includes The Music Library of Sweden, The Swedish Music Museum, and The Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research. He is a member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music, president of ICTM – International Council for Traditional Music, and president of the Swedish National Committee of the ICTM.

Malm has directed several research team projects such as Music Industry in Small Countries (1979–85), Media Policy, and Music Activity (1987–92) and Music–Media–Multiculture (1996–2002). He is the author of several books and papers on African, African-American and Arabic musics, as well as Scandinavian traditional music and the music industry. He has also published a number of documentary record albums and directed TV and radio series.

Richard Ssewakiryanga is a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Basic Research in Uganda. He works on issues of contemporary music in Uganda with a bias towards music by young people. His other research interests include critical cultural studies, gender theory, and poverty and development studies. He holds a Master degree in Gender Studies and is

a Doctoral Candidate at Makerere University, Uganda. Ssewakiryanga is presently team leader of the Uganda Participatory Poverty Assessment Process.

Caleb Okumu Chrispo was born in Kenya and obtained his Bachelor in Education (Music) and Master Degree in Ethnomusicology from Kenyatta University in Nairobi, Kenya. He is a lecturer in the Music Department at Maseno University, Kenya. He has taught at various levels in the Kenyan educational system and is also an adjudicator at the annual Kenya Music Festivals. He has presented and published research papers at different international fora and has research interests in the fields of popular music and media. Okumu is currently research student at Witwatersrand University in South Africa.

James Flolu is Senior Lecturer in music education, and Dean of the Faculty of General Culture and Social Studies Education, University of Education, Winneba (UEW), Ghana. He holds the Bachelor of Music (Hons) degree and Diploma in Education of the University of Cape Coast, Ghana. After nine years of teaching at the former National Academy of Music, he proceeded to the University of York, England to pursue the Ph.D. degree, which he received in 1994.

Since the 1980s Flolu has worked closely with Ghana's Ministry of Education, and participated in the drafting of several curriculum documents including, the *Proposed Music Syllabus for Senior Secondary schools in Ghana* (1989) and, *Music and Dance Syllabus for Basic schools in Ghana* (1998).

Stig-Magnus Thorsén, Musicologist with studies in Sociology of Music as main subject. He started his research at the Laboratory for research in rhythmical structures at the Institute for Musicology at Uppsala University, Sweden. He wrote a Ph.D.-thesis on the social functions of music in a Pentecostal congregation. Worked during several years in a project on background music related to the theme Music and Work.

In the late 1980s, he became director of the School of Music and Music Education at Göteborg University, Sweden. During that period, he started projects investing the ergonomics of music, especially focusing on hearing disorder. The 1990s he spent most of his time as a consult for Swedish foreign aid to South African music education and cultural exchange. During that period, he also developed new courses and programmes for music education in multicultural environments. 2000–2003 he studied how culture and development historically was related to music education in South Africa.

Kwabena Josef Hansson Nketia was born 1921 in Mampong, then a little town in the Ashanti Region of Ghana. He received his first musical education, and eventually trained as a teacher at the Presbyterian Training College, Akropong Akwapin, where he later taught and was appointed Acting Principal in 1952.

At 23, Nketia, through a Ghanaian government scholarship, went to the University of London to study for a certificate in Phonetics at the School of Oriental and African studies.

He went on (1949) to Birbeck College, University of London, and Trinity College of Music, London, to obtain his Bachelor of Arts degree. In 1958, he came to the United States, attending Columbia University, Juilliard School of Music, and Northwestern University to do courses in musicology and composition and holding professorships at UCLA and University of Pittsburgh. After a year in the United States, he returned to Ghana where he rapidly rose through the ranks at the University of Ghana, Legon – from Senior Research Fellow (1962), to Associate Professor, and finally a full professor in 1963.

Two years later, in 1995, he was appointed director of the Institute of African Studies at the University of Ghana, a position he held for fifteen years. Through lecturing, writing, and discussions he informed both Western and African intellectuals all over the world about African musical and cultural traditions.

His latest creation is the International Centre for African Music and Dance (ICAMD), at the University of Ghana, Legon-Accra, Ghana. He was, until 2002, the founding director of the centre.

Appendix: Audio examples on the attached CD

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Chapter 1: MAI PALMBERG

Track 1. Oliver Mtukudzi & The Black Spirits: Wasakara (7'27")

Words/music by Oliver Mtukudzi

From the album *Bvuma, Tolerance*

Published by Tuku/Ikwezi Music, 2000

© Oliver Mtukudzi and Tuku Music (Pty) Ltd/Zimbabwe Music Corporation

Wasakara is an advice to an unnamed person to realize that he is old and should withdraw in favour of others. It became the unofficial anthem of the oppositional political party in Zimbabwe, MDC, and is not played on the radio ever, but Oliver Mtukudzi maintains it is about aging.

Chapter 3: ANNEMETTE KIRKEGAARD

Track 2. Remmy Ongala: Mambo Kwa Soksi (8'01")

(Things With Socks)

Words/music: by Remmy Ongala

From the album *Spirit of Africa*

Published by WOMAD Music LTD/ Real World Records

© EMI Music Sweden AB

This song deals with the issue of AIDS and HIV and it has been banned from official media in Tanzania for a long time, due to the controversy of the topic in a community of many Catholic as well as Muslim believers. Accordingly, it was distributed on cassettes and its popularity was so large that the title became a general greeting – *Hey Soksi*, of course referring to the forbidden message of the song. Written in highly metaphoric language, “Soksi” reveals a conversation between two people about, amongst other things, the use of condoms as a means of preventing the spread of AIDS. The musical style is known as *Muziki wa Dansi* – the urban dance music of East Africa – and the sound is a modernised popular music.

Chapter 4: KORPE/REITOV

Track 3. Maryam Mursal: Somali Udiida Ceb (5'38")

Music by Abdi Kader Hassan & Sören Jensen

Words by Maryam Mursal & Yusuf Aden

From the album *The Journey*

Published by Real World Works, PRS England

© EMI Music Sweden AB

Maryam Mursal had a great career in Somalia but the civil war put an end to her music career and live performances. She fled the country and today lives in exile in Denmark.

Track 4. Matoub Lounès: Sserhass Ayadu (4'01")

Words/music by Matoub Lounès

From the album *Sserhass Ayadu*

Published by EMI Arabia

© EMI Music Sweden AB

The exiled Berber singer Matoub Lounès was murdered while visiting his homeland Algeria in August 1999.

Track 5. Roger Lucey: Lungile Tabalaza (3'25")

Words/music by Roger Lucey (1978)

Re-mastered from *The hidden years music archive project*, from the album *ROGER LUCEY CD – 21 Years Down the Road* (3eD 0034-F)

Published by 3rd Ear Music

© 3rd Ear Music (SAMRO) 1978/2004

e-mail: thirdear@iafrica.com Website: <http://www.3rdear.com>

The promising career of protest singer Roger Lucey was brutally ended by a security police branch policeman. Lucey's songs about the injustices of the apartheid system were too challenging.

Chapter 5: WOLFGANG BENDER

Track 6. Wendo: Marie-Louise (3'22")

Words/music by Antoine Kolosoy, Henri Bowane

From the album *Ngoma 23 pamap 101, The Early Years, 1948–1960*, Popular African Music Archive Production pamap 101, 1996

Published by NGOMA 1948

© Popular African Music, Günter Gretz

This song was the absolute best-selling record of all the Ngoma productions. It is a love song, praising a certain lady “Marie-Louise” – The colonial administration in unison with the church

representatives declared the song immoral. *Wendo* even had to hide for some time to escape being taken to the police.

Wendo is still alive and was recently encouraged to a revival in the wake of the Cuban old men. The problem though, is that the world music audience does run after Cuban elders but not after any old unknown African artist.

Chapter 6: RICHARD TRAORÉ

Track 7. Georges Ouédraogo: *Rosalie* (4'09")

Words/music by Georges Ouédraogo

From the album *Rosalie*

Published by CDT International AB/Seydoni Production

© CDT International AB/Seydoni Production

The song *Rosalie* by George Ouédraogo is selected to represent the older generation, of artists still active in Burkina. Entering his musical career as a drummer during the 1960s, George Ouédraogo was one of the pioneers in the modern music scene. Today he is a highly respected and popular artist in Burkina. *Rosalie* is a love song sung in Moré, one of the major local languages in Burkina Faso. Produced by Seydoni Production.

Track 8. Doundosy: *Djecka* (3'22")

Words/music by Salif Yoda

From the album *Mélorie Djecka*

Published by CDT International AB/Seydoni Production

© CDT International AB/Seydoni Production

Djecka by Doundosy represents the younger generation of artists in Burkina today. *Djecka* is sung in Bissa, one of the local minority languages in Burkina Faso. *Djecka* is a traditional dance that the composer encourages people to keep alive through generations. Produced by Seydoni Production.

Chapter 8: RICHARD SSEWAKIRYANGA

Track 9. The Perfect Generation: *Kakoolo No. 1 Hit* (4'49")

Words/music by The Bob Bashabe (RIP) and Peter Sematimba

Produced by The Bob Bashabe (RIP) and Peter Sematimba 1993

© Bob Bashabe (RIP)/Peter Sematimba

The song *Kakoolo No. 1 Hit* shows the combination of seeking the traditional and admiring the modernity. The rap group takes an

old fairy-tale that tells children to be cautious with strangers, and turns it into a rap song with obvious relation the American idioms.

Chapter 10: JAMES FLOLU

Track 10. Rose Quay: *Enyidado Egya* (5'25")

(Abibi Ndwom Fante Lyrics)

Arranged by Joshua Addo Tetey

Non-published material

Recorded in Ghana 2002

© Grusvo Production

An example of Euro-African cross-over music from the African Independent Church Musama Disco Christo Church.

Chapter 11: STIG-MAGNUS THORSÉN

Track 11. Kwanongoma College of Music: *Amaxoxo* (2'07")

Words/music by Alport Mhlanga

Kwanongoma College of Music

Recorded in Zimbabwe 1974

From the album *Vibrant Africa*

Published by Proprius Music AB

© Proprius Music AB

The LP *Vibrant Africa* is an example of the collaboration between Swedish and Zimbabwean musicians. The music mirrors the hybrid style of the music used in education at the Kwanongoma College of Music in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe.

Total playing time for all audio examples: 52'16"

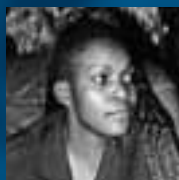
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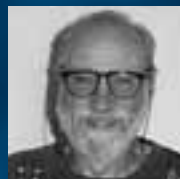
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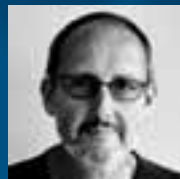
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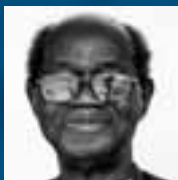
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