The reception of Norwegian-South African musical interactions: a study of selected musical collaborations from the 19th century to the present.

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VRMRAG001

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Signature: ___________________________ Date: ________________________
Abstract

This research project investigates the perception of Norwegian-South African musical interactions. It is an in depth study of four recent cases of musical collaboration between Norwegian and South African musicians with an emphasis on the Norwegian musicians perception of “the Other”. Furthermore, it is an investigation into the fusion of music within these collaborations by assessing the discernible “South African flavour” and “Norwegian flavour” and an analysis of how they fuse.

This qualitative case study was executed by employing empirical field work techniques such as observation, indirect observation, focussed interviews and library-based research. The data collected during the field work process was then analysed by using case study analysis, textual analysis through aural analysis, and discourse analysis.

My main findings are based on primary data collected during field work but also significantly on secondary data from album reviews, other interviews, magazine articles, album liner notes, biographies, discographies, books and periodicals.

The concluding remarks show that there was a general perception of curiosity and interest in “the Other” which has increased as the standard of Norwegian living has allowed more people to travel around the world. The increased level of immigration to Norway as result of major conflicts around the world has also exposed Norwegians to a multi-cultural society, hence an increased knowledge of other people and their cultures. However, this is a general understanding of the cultural situation in Norway and it is possible that artists tend to be more receptive of and interested in other musical cultures.
Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Ingerid Lise Vreim Tveitan and Per Halvor Tveitan. Without you I would not be who I am today. Thank you so much for your absolute support, encouragement and love. Tusen millioner takk!
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- Thanks to my editor, Hester Honey, for editing my thesis.
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNO</td>
<td>Den Norske Opera (The Norwegian National Opera)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBF</td>
<td>Field Band Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISCM</td>
<td>International Society for Contemporary Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KKV</td>
<td>Kirkelig Kulturverksted (Christian Culture Workshop [my translation])</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LWF</td>
<td>Lutheran World Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, (English term for Utenriksdepartamentet)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHS</td>
<td>Misjonshøgskolen in Stavanger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMINO</td>
<td>South African-Norwegian Education and Music Programme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMP</td>
<td>Making Music Productions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCA</td>
<td>Norwegian Church Aid (Kirkens Nødhjelp)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJF</td>
<td>Norwegian Jazz Forum (Norsk Jazz Forbund)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMF</td>
<td>Norges MusikkForbund (Norwegian Music Foundation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMS</td>
<td>Norsk Misjonsselskap (Norwegian Missionary Society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMT</td>
<td>Norsk Missions-Tidende (The monthly periodical of the NMS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOCOSA</td>
<td>The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa (Fellesrådet for det sørlige Afrika)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORAD</td>
<td>Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRK</td>
<td>Norsk Rikskringkasting (The Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NTNU</td>
<td>Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskaplige Universitet (Norwegian University of Science and Technology)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACM</td>
<td>South African College of Music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN</td>
<td>South African-Norwegian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UCT</td>
<td>University of Cape Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UD</td>
<td>Utenriksdepartamentet, (Norwegian term for the MFA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UiO</td>
<td>Universitetet i Oslo (University of Oslo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UKZN</td>
<td>University of KwaZulu Natal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acronym</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UND</td>
<td>University of Natal, Durban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VG</td>
<td>Verdens Gang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCC</td>
<td>World Council of Churches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZLDC</td>
<td>Zululand Land Delimitation Commission</td>
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Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1 Motivation

In contextualising the study, I have taken into account the various factors that contributed to the choice of subject, the relevance and importance of this subject and the main reasons that led me to it, which are explained here.

South African music and its history started to interest me when I was a college student in Norway. At college I gained knowledge of South African jazz as part of my preparation for a visit to South Africa. As a result, the South African experience had a significant effect on me; moreover, it guided me to move to South Africa to study towards a BMus degree in Jazz Performance at the University of Cape Town (UCT).

While studying in South Africa, I have also been working as a full time musician, which has allowed me to gain a great deal of understanding of South African musicians and their past struggle to survive as artists under apartheid, as well as more current issues. This has expanded my musical horizons and has given me knowledge regarding jazz, popular and contemporary music styles of South Africa. Through this experience, I have been privileged to be exposed to the high standard of musicianship of South African musicians. Hence, these musicians contributed towards my motivation to write a Master’s thesis on this specific subject.

At the outset, I was curious about the stories of human beings who musically interacted across borders, how music seemed to be a unifying and healing feature and how past interactions seemed to be reverberating in current interactions. These ideas were decisive factors motivating the writing of the thesis.

1.2 The idea of the thesis

This research project revolves around the subject of Norwegian-South African musical interaction, hence the idea is to investigate the process of Norwegian-South African collaboration. The aim is to find out why such collaboration took place, what the images
of “the Other” were prior to and after collaboration, and what kind of music this produced, i.e. whether there was common denominator for the various collaborations.

I intended to investigate the fusion of music in these collaborations in order to assess the ways in which South African musicians contributed towards the music and vice versa. Moreover, I wanted to find out whether there is a discernible “South African flavour” or a “Norwegian flavour” that is available for analysis and, more specifically, what happens when these putative flavours fuse.

1.3 Preliminary subject-related readings
A preliminary literature review aids the understanding of the broader scope of a subject, including its limitations and strengths as seen from the perspective of available data. In Norwegian-South African musical collaborations, it became clear to me that there is a large gap within academic literature. Hardly any data are available, in particularly regarding music, in encounters between Norwegian missionaries and the indigenous peoples in south-eastern parts of Africa; and the situation is not much better with regard to more recent interactions. However, in my preliminary academic review, I came across Guy’s statement (2001:xii): “Norwegian influence in South African history is a very important and neglected subject of South African history”, which confirmed my belief that to investigate musical interactions between Norway and South Africa is an important task. Further, music seemed to be a mediator at times and a unifying factor at others, under the influence of which people interact, irrespective of its occurrence in different time periods, social classes, religious beliefs, and for varying purposes. I therefore regarded the musical interaction between these two countries an important field to investigate.

My initial aim was to establish and trace a strong link between current interactions and the initial interactions of the Norwegian missionaries and the indigenous peoples. Therefore, much of my preliminary reading was based on Norwegian missionary narratives that I encountered in Himmelfolket: en norsk høvding i Zululand (Norwegian: The people of heaven: a Norwegian chief in Zululand) (Rakkenes 2003) and Misjonærer, settlersamfunn og afrikansk opposisjon: striden om selvstendiggjøring i den norske Zulukirken, Sør-Afrika ca. 1920–1930 (Norwegian, Missionaries, settler society, and
African opposition: the struggle for independence within the Norwegian Zulu-church, South Africa, ca. 1920-1930) (Mellemsether 2001). However, the review was also based on literature of contemporary Norwegian-South African interactions such as Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath: my life with a South African jazz pioneer (McGregor 1995) and Mbizo – a book about Johnny Dyani (Rasmussen 2003).

Through the course of the preliminary reading it became clear to me that it is very difficult to establish any substantial information regarding the musical interaction besides hymn singing in the early encounters between Norwegian missionaries and their indigenous subjects. As a result of this, I decided to redirect the focus of my research, towards recent interactions only. However, the understanding that I had gained of the historical background of Norwegian-South African interaction has proved to be an important asset in the research.

1.4 The research question

A task central to introducing a research project is identifying and articulating the research question. The question concerns, as the title indicates; what the perceptions of the two parties had of each other and, more specifically, what perception the Norwegian part had of “the Other”?

In order to investigate the research question, the aims of the study have been taken into consideration as they determine the result. The overall, initial aims of this study were five-fold: firstly, to assess the Norwegian missionary and settler interaction with the indigenous people in Zululand and Natal during the mid-19th century, in order to establish possible significance of musical reverberation in current Norwegian-South African musical collaboration. Secondly, the aim was to investigate musical collaboration between South African musicians in self-imposed exile and Norwegian musicians during the apartheid period (1948-1994), and to see whether or not this led to further collaborations; thirdly, to examine current musical collaboration between Norwegian and South African musicians, this being the main aim. In the fourth instance, the investigation was concerned with whether there was a discernible aspect that could be called a “South African flavour” or a “Norwegian flavour” which was available for analysis and how these putative “flavours” were constituted. Finally, I aimed at evaluating the products of
the relationship between South African and Norwegian musicians over time by analysing the path of these South African-Norwegian collaborations.

1.5 Research design and method

Essential to a research project is the research design and method or, in simple terms; the plan and tools of investigation. More specifically, I have used an empirical research design in this study, with a range of tools including direct observation, interviews, music analysis, and library and archival research.

Fieldwork was vital to this research project in order to collect prime data through interviews. The data was analysed as a multiple case study using case study discourse analysis. The secondary data also were important sources of information which were analysed by using aural music analysis, library and archival research and historical research (mostly secondary).

Multiple case study design is regarded to be in the same category as a single case study design, and is particularly useful when "the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2003:13). The approach is characterised by the investigation of "a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context" through asking "how" the collaboration affects participants and "why" the collaboration is taking place or "why" it is a recurring phenomenon (Yin 2003:13). Most importantly, this research strategy gave me the ability to deal with "the full variety of evidence—documents, artefacts, interviews, and observation" (Yin 2003:8).

In order to analyse the multiple case studies, I will, amongst others, make use of discursive analysis in order to find out how and why. However, it will not be a defining approach. According to Sardar (1997:14), a "discourse consists of culturally or socially produced groups of ideas containing texts and representations. The notion of discourse binds the concepts of signs and codes [together with the description] of power in relation to Others [...] A discursive analysis exposes these structures and locates the discourse within wider historical, cultural and social relations".
1.6 Outline of thesis

I have briefly introduced the various aspects of this thesis through focusing on motivation; ideas on preliminary reading; the research question; and research design and method, in order to give an overview of what the thesis contains.

The remainder of this thesis will deal with the musical interaction between Norwegian and South African musicians through the process of discussing history, the literature review, fieldwork, analysis and conclusions. It is organised thematically with a certain measure of chronology.

Chapter 2 sketches the historical background of both Norway and South Africa, with an emphasis on the musical history relevant to the subject. However, it also briefly deals with general Norwegian history—with an emphasis on the close relationship between State and church, Norwegian missionary interactions in south-eastern Africa, Norwegian immigration to South Africa and current and prior Norwegian foreign aid policy towards South Africa.

Chapter 3 is a review of available literature and how this relates to the research subject. More specifically, it deals briefly with Norwegian and South African early history, Norwegian immigration to South Africa and Norwegian southern African policy. The emphasis is, however, on Norwegian and South African musical history, as this is what mainly connects the history to the subject.

Chapter 4 explains the research design and method utilised in fieldwork as well as the tools of analysis used to analyse the data collected in fieldwork. It also explains the original plan and how this plan was executed; what tools of measurement were used; hardware and software; how the data was captured; and the time frame.

Chapter 5 presents the results and findings of the research. It also provides details of the profiles of the various research informants, including an aural music analysis of the various recorded albums originating from collaboration, when available, explains the involvement and position of the Norwegian foreign aid and funding organisation and explores the Norwegian cultural images of Africa.

Chapter 6 deals with the conclusion derived from the findings and overall argument of the research project.
2.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the history behind this study, including a brief introduction to the history of Norway; Norwegian missionary involvement and immigration to South Africa; an overview of Norwegian foreign aid to South Africa; a brief outline of Norwegian musical history and South African musical history, as well as of current musical developments.

2.2 Norway and South Africa

Norway is a constitutional monarchy within Scandinavia, situated in northern Europe, with a population estimated by the United Nations (UN) at 4,620,000 in 2005 (Worldmark encyclopedia of the nations).1 The country has a long history of kings, wars and power relations similar to that of most European countries, which I will briefly discuss below in order to establish the history of Norway and its society. This is necessary for a full comprehension of the Norwegian people and its society with regard to the close connection between the Lutheran church and the Norwegian state.

The Republic of South African is the southernmost country on the African continent with a population of 42,769,000 in 2005 (World encyclopedia 2005). The country has also experienced centuries of wars and power relations and the majority of its population have suffered greatly under various oppressive regimes for almost 350 years (Davenport & Saunders 2000).

2.2.1 A brief introduction to early Norwegian history

According to the Worldmark encyclopedia of the nations, “[h]umans have lived in Norway for about 10,000 years, but only since the early centuries of the Christian era have the names of tribes and individuals been recorded”.

---

1 Scandinavia is the historical and geographical region centred on the northern peninsula of Europe and includes the countries of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Iceland (Karras 20.02.2007).
Norway gained much authority during pre-Christian times, a time also referred to as "the age of the Vikings" (ca 800-1050 A.D.) (Dagre).\(^2\) The authority continued into the High Middle Ages (ca 1090-1310 A.D.), making Norway a considerable influence in northern Europe (Ersland & Sandvik 1999:19). Beliefs during the pre-Christian times were predominantly based on northern mythology, with the Christianisation of Norway taking place between 1030 and 1152 through systematic promotion (Flint 1963:231).

"The Reformation [in 1536], like Christianization", was introduced to Norway "through the traditional authority and coercive power of the Danish-Norwegian kinship, supported by segments of the Danish nobility" (Flint 1963:231,235) and "Lutheranism became the state religion in the mid-16th Century" as a direct result of the Reformation (World encyclopedia).\(^3\) Therefore, the relationship between the church and the society meant that being Norwegian "almost invariably meant being officially Lutheran" (Hale 1997:1-2).

Norway contributed marginally to the colonising of other people and their land, however, the Viking era was Norway's first period of conquering of land and people, hence they were colonisers.\(^4\) After the pre-Christian era, Scandinavia was still a powerful part of Europe; however it had shifted its power base from Norwegian to Danish domination and became Denmark-Norway. According to Hærnes (1994:32-33), Denmark-Norway was neither "a great colonial power" nor did its policy aim "at obtaining more land".\(^5\)

**2.2.2 An introduction to early South African history**

What is known as South Africa today was originally only inhabited by the San people, and later on the Khoenkhoen people, until the emergence of the Bantu speaking peoples,

---

\(^2\) "The Viking era marks the termination of the prehistoric period in Norway. No written sources of knowledge exist, so what is known about this period is largely based on archaeological finds. The Sagas also shed some light on this age. Although they were written down later, the Sagas were based on tales passed down orally from one generation to the next. Viewed as a whole they reveal that the Viking Age was undoubtedly the richest of all the prehistoric periods in the north" (Dagre).

\(^3\) Lutheranism was the first label that the Roman Catholic Church gave Martin Luther's reform movement during the Reformation of the sixteenth century (Gritsch 1987:5538-5540).

\(^4\) During the Viking era, Viking "meant 'adventurers' and 'pirates' [...and it] probably derives etymologically from the Old Norse vik, meaning 'inlet'; thus, the 'inlet folk'" (Logan).

\(^5\) "The only colonies owned by the kingdom were three islands in the West Indies [...] Estimates of the Danish-Norwegian slave trade show that about 100,000 slaves were exported from the Danish holdings on the Gold Coast during the period between 1660 and 1806" (Hærnes 1994:32-33).
who settled in the eastern and south-eastern areas of southern Africa during the 8th century (Vogel 1997).

The first European influence occurred in the late 15th century when the Portuguese Bartholomeu Dias (1488) and Vasco da Gama (1497), rounded the Cape peninsula looking for alternative trade routes to India. The peninsula became a Dutch colony in 1652, when the Boers, later known as the Afrikaaners, settled there (A dictionary of world history 2000).

The trekboers and the voortrekkers moved inland where they “encountered the Xhosa people, who had a settled, agricultural society” (A dictionary of world history 2000). As a result, “the end of the 18th century [saw] frontier wars [developing] between the Xhosa and the Boers” known as the Xhosa Wars (A dictionary of world history 2000). At the same time the Zulu people had become a considerable power in southern Africa and by 1820 had been forged into a centralised military state under Shaka kaSenzangakhona (Helicon encyclopedia of world history 2007).

The British took the Cape Colony in 1795 and again in 1806, and Natal was included in 1844 (Helicon encyclopedia of world history 2007). The tension between the Afrikaners and the British eventually resulted in the Great Trek (1834-1838) and the establishment of the Orange Free State (1854) and the Transvaal (1852) and ultimately led to the Boer Wars (Helicon encyclopedia of world history 2007), more recently known as the South African wars (1880–81, 1899–1902) (World encyclopedia 2005). The war resulted in the defeat of the Afrikaner republics by the British and union with the British Cape Colony and Natal in 1910 under the Union of South Africa, a “self-governing dominion of the British crown” (A dictionary of world history 2000).

South Africa supported Britain in both of the World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945), in spite of the political dominance of the white minority (A dictionary of world history 2000). However, British dominance was defeated in 1948, when “the right-wing

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6 They did not colonise the area, though (Daveport & Saunders 2000).
7 The Xhosa Wars comprised of a series of nine wars between 1778 and 1878 (Davenport & Saunders 2000:132).
8 Shaka was overthrown by his brother Dingaan kaSenzangakhona in 1828 “who came into conflict with the Afrikaner settlers”, resulting in his defeat at the 1838 “Battle of Blood River” (Helicon encyclopedia of world history 2007). However, the Zulu state was only defeated in 1879 and annexed to Britain under the ruler Cetshwayo kaMpende who had succeeded his father Mpande kaSenzangakhona (1839-1872) in 1872 (Davenport & Saunders 2000:75).
Afrikaner-dominated National Party formed a government [...] and instituted a strict system of apartheid” which marked intensified “discrimination against the disenfranchised non-white majority” (A dictionary of world history 2000).

**Figure 1: Map of South Africa** (http://www.places.co.za/html/visualfind.html Accessed 23.07.2007)

### 2.3 Norwegian missionary work in South Africa

Norwegians were among the European settlers who came to south-east Africa; many of whom were missionaries whose actions were largely determined by their religious heritage; hence the fundamental fact in their religious history is the close relationship between Christianity and society (Hale 1997:1).

The most important forerunner for Norwegian missions in South Africa was the Norwegian Missionary Society (NMS), founded in 1843. Because of the characteristics of this Lutheran establishment; both missionary efforts and perceptions were shaped with
profound male domination and cultural parochialism (Hale 1997:2-4).\textsuperscript{9} This also was a result of NMS missionary education which produced a distorted image of Africa mixed with their own provincialism and cultural norms (Hale 1997:4-5).\textsuperscript{10}

Hans Schreuder (1817-1882) represents the first significant encounter between Norwegians and South Africans as he was the first missionary that the NMS sent to do missionary work on the African continent (1843) (Hemres 1984:67). Schreuder pursued preaching the Lutheran gospel in Zululand after abandoning his original plans to work in Natal, due to the high density of missions and the strained competition between the different mission societies there (Hemres 1984:67).\textsuperscript{11} However, he was only permitted to start his missionary endeavour by the ruler of the Zulu state, Mpande kaSenzangakhona in 1849 (Hemres 1984:67).\textsuperscript{12}

The relationship that developed between Mpande and Schreuder, was of a friendly nature, though Schreuder had major problems consoling this, as he could not write home to the NMS in Norway on the subject of having good times with the “cruel Zulu king”, the un-baptised ruler of the people he was there to save (Rakkenes 2003:106).

2.3.1 Musical interaction

Seeing that Schreuder, and later his fellow Norwegian missionaries, followed and preached Christianity as seen from a European perspective, there was rather modest

\textsuperscript{9} NMS is a voluntary and independent society, jointly founded by the Norwegian priesthood, \textit{Brødrenevenne (Hernhuterne)} and \textit{Haugeanerne} (the Haugeans) (Steinnes 09.06.2006). It has later defined itself as working on behalf of the Lutheran Church of Norway; the constitutional “national, so-called state church”, with the King as its “supreme temporal head” (Agey 2000:268,271).

\textsuperscript{10} The greater tendency for young men from the rural countryside to become missionaries was closely related to the low admission level at the missionary school, and as a result, rural youth without access to secondary education, as was required for university entrance, chose the missionary school where they also received free accommodation and board (Hale 1997:8-9).

\textsuperscript{11} Zululand, labelled through the use of European terminology, is a term for the formerly independent Zulu state which now forms part of the South African province of KwaZulu-Natal. Mphande kaSenzangakhona was the head of state at the time the NMS first embarked on their missionary effort in the area (Rakkenes 2003, Mellemsether 2001).

\textsuperscript{12} Hemres claims that political forces led to Mpande finally permitting Schreuder to set up a mission station in 1849 (1984:73). Rakkenes (2003) and Winquist (1978), however, argue that Schreuder got access due to his medical skills and the most supportive evidence for this is Mphande’s rheumatic illness and obesity. As a result, Empangeni was given to Schreuder as a gesture of gratitude. However, it was also a way of keeping Schreuder’s medical services and activities close by (Winquist 1978:128). In return, Mphande made two main demands of the NMS, namely economic benefits and political loyalty (Hemres 1984:74).

\textsuperscript{13} According to Rakkenes (2003:106), Mphande had been listening attentively to Schreuder’s biblical explanations and discussed aspects of Christianity extensively with him, but to Schreuder, drawing up the boundaries between paganism and Christianity was more important than the friendship between the two.
musical and cultural interaction between the two entities, but there are some accounts of interaction. One of the few that stands out is Schreuder’s relationship with one of Mpande’s wives; Monase, the mother of Mbulazi (Guy 1994:13), who was fond of Schreuder’s visits to Mpande kraal/homestead and, according to Rakkenes, Schreuder used to visit her hut to sing psalms/hymns with her after his audiences with Mpande (2003). There are however no evidence as to what specific hymns they sang and if these sessions made a lasting cultural effect on Monase.

Mpande resided at Unodwengu where Schreuder went to have audience with him. One of these meeting, in fact one of the first visits, when Mpande gave permission to establish the first TMS mission station within Zululand, is detailed in an isibongo.

The Zulu term isibongo may either denote the plural of isibongo (meaning ‘surname’ of a clan or family) or, more commonly, a personal praise-name or a set of these, applying to an individual (or sometimes to an animal or an inanimate object). In the case of kings and prominent people these may amount to praise poems or eulogies of considerable length and excellence, and are treasured by the Zulu as constituting their highest form of traditionally literary expression (Ngcobo & Rycroft 1988).

The isibongo detailing this meeting between Mpande and Schreuder was written in Mpande’s honour; hence Schreuder is immortalised through this isibongo (Rakkenes 2003:76). However, the particular isibongo has a clear Christian undertone and was therefore most likely written after both Mpande’s and Schreuder’s deaths (Rakkenes 2003:78).

According to Kunene (1961), one can divide Zulu praise poetry (izibongo) into three broad periods; a) Pre-Shakan period (1750-1800), b) Shakan period (1800-1850) and c) Post-Shakan period (1850-1900). According to Kunene (1961), the first period is distinguished by tedious and monotous odes, highlighting the physical features of the person being praised. The second period, Kunene (1961) argues, has more emphasis on nationalistic subjects and the last period reverts to the more lyrical poetry. Hence the isibongo detailing Schreuder's involvement with Mpande is placed in the latter period (1850-1900).

The praise poems of chiefs, kings or prominent and famous people, display the evidence of a loftier poetic quality upon the more basic simple praises as depicted by the use of poetic techiques such as repetition, assonance, alliteration etc. These are the heroic poems which contain the epic of a whole nation personified in its sovereign. While they give rise to the Zulu language’s most complex form of aesthetic experiences, they also signify power relations and social structure than the other poetical genres. This may be due to the fact that they are not convincible without their
social context of naming and identifying, thereby fulfilling a unifying function on various levels, religious, historical and political (Masuku 2005:125-126).

2.3.2 Music education at the mission stations in Zululand

The first role missionaries had amongst the Zulu people were as teachers rather than as preachers and in that process music played an important part because it was through music that the missionaries were able to exchange “the vacant space [of] Zulu music (dance and rite) […] with Christian hymns” (Thorsén 2005).14

“The word missionary in isiZulu was translated into uMfundisi, meaning the one who teaches” (Posse 1899), a role they retained without a choice, probably because it was the only way they knew to attract possible converts (Thorsén 2002b:6). Missionaries were thereby the first to implement schools in Zululand, hence “South African music education carries a heritage” from the European Christian mission stations where European church music was thoroughly implemented (Thorsén 2002a:52).

Prior to 1880, education “showed very little formalisation” and consisted mainly of “baptismal preparation”; however, reading and writing was taught at the mission schools (Simensen 1986:207). After 1880, the mission schools were the missionaries’ most direct “contribution to social and cultural change” of the Zulu people (Simensen 1986:239-240).

As mentioned above, music was a channel which facilitated communication between the missionaries and the Zulu people. Norwegian mission education in Zululand was no exception; Christian hymnody was taught exclusively.

From the beginning, education in schools had been one of the primary considerations of the mission work and the churches. It is quite natural; therefore, that the work of the missions has created the principle on which musical education has proceeded (Weman 1960:115-116).

According to Weman (1960:116), indigenous “music was automatically rejected as ‘heathen’” by the European Lutheran missionaries. Weman, however, points out that it was not to be expected that the missionaries would “familiarize themselves with either the essentials of African folk music or its place in the African society”. In fact, “[f]olk music, its song and instruments, were treated as dangerous, and were excluded from the Christian scheme of things” (Weman 1960:116).

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14 These converts became known as African Christians or amakholwa (plural of ikholwa), a Zulu word that literary refers to believers (Etherington 1978:115, Guy 2001:451).
Melodies, harmonised in Western style, were introduced to the Zulu people, and this was yet another method to westernise them (Weman 1960:116). Moreover it was natural for the missionary to teach music which was familiar and likable to him, and to expect the indigenous Zulu people to learn and speak like him, as well as sing the same tunes if they wanted to convert (Weman 1960:116).

The Curwen tonic sol-fa method was introduced as a tool for teaching basic music reading at the mission schools. According to Weman (1960:117), the method was supposed to serve as an introduction to staff notation, but in the majority of the cases, the reading of music often stopped at tonic sol-fa. Within this system, only a limited amount of instrumental music was available and for this reason, Weman argues (1960:117), instrumental tuition had not become part of the general curriculum at the mission schools. As a result, musical education “consisted of an altogether one-sided cultivation of vocal music” (Weman 1960:117-118).

2.3.3 Hymns and psalms
Comaroff & Comaroff (1991:236) briefly refer to music as “the Word” when detailing early European missionary work amongst black people of southern Africa. It is a clear reference to choral song, which represents much of the period in which the ‘heathen’ started to listen to the gospel preached by the missionaries (Comaroff & Comaroff 1991). Hence, singing the gospel became a common strategy amongst missionaries (Olwage 2003).

As a result of the missionary work in Zululand, the Zulu converts (English, amakholwa), became part of the culturally assimilated so-called elite of black people in the British colony of Natal and other colonies of southern Africa, mostly educated at the mission schools. The development of music within the mission context was first expanded at the Genadendal mission station at the foot of the Riviersonderend Mountains near Caledon in the Cape Colony, which is the oldest mission station in what is now referred to as South Africa (Balie 1992). Another mission station to follow the

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15 The leading exponent of tonic sol-fa method was Curwen (1816-1880), an English music-educator (Weman 1960:117).
16 Genadendal, which means the Valley of Grace, was established in 1738 by Moravian missionary Georg Schmidt in order to missionise—“to conduct or promote a mission; to serve as a missionary, do missionary work” (OED 10.06.2006)—amongst the Khoenkhoen people. However it was discontinued after few years
expansion of music and education was the Lovedale educational institute (1841) of the Church of Scotland mission, which published music (Livingstone 2006).

2.3.4 Syncretism and church music

The European mission churches in southern Africa gradually started to change their negative perspective on indigenous music and culture by adopting an Africanisation of their Christian gospel during the first half of the 20th century. As a result, a gradual merge between the Western religious ideologies and African cultural and social elements occurred. This merge can be referred to as syncretism, defined by Greenfield and Drogers (2001:10) as the "[s]ocial and cultural outcome [...] of those contacts that at times [can produce ...] modified and/or new religious and other cultural forms".

In the context of missionisation in Africa, syncretism can be explained as “the reshaping of Christian beliefs and practices through cultural accommodation so that they consciously or unconsciously blend with those of the dominant culture” (Van Rheenen 1997:173). Further, this syncretic concept may develop due to “the Christian community attempts at to make its message and life attractive, alluring, and appealing to” outsiders and can over time become routinised and integrated “into the narrative story of the Christian community and inseparable from life” (Van Rheenen 1997:173).

2.3.4.1 Syncretism in the Norwegian mission

The Norwegian missionaries were not amongst the first to attempt merging their Norwegian norms within Lutheran Protestantism with the indigenous African cultures and social norms of their subjects, as I have documented in this chapter. As a general rule, the Protestant missions were more reluctant towards changing their traditions and social norms than certain Catholic and Baptist missions.17 In contrast, certain Protestant

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17 For example, the Lovedale institute and the Genadendal missions, previously documented in this chapter.
Swedish missions started documenting indigenous music and wrote liturgical texts to traditional African songs in vernacular languages at an earlier stage.\textsuperscript{18}

As a result, visible effects of the gradual change at the Norwegian missions only emerged more towards the mid 20\textsuperscript{th} century. However, one can easily argue that syncretism occurred earlier on at the Norwegian mission stations with the use of music as a form to reach out to possible converts. This is documented with regards to Hans Schreuder and his Norwegian contemporaries in the preceding paragraphs, however one cannot equally compare the extent of the Norwegian mission syncretism with these other missions referred to above as the degree of syncretic development is much less early on.

\textbf{2.3.4.2 The link to contemporary musical collaborations}

In order to understand why the history of Norwegian missionaries in South Africa has certain significance within the context of musical collaborations between Norwegian and South African musicians, one has to acknowledge the source of current contemporary music. Through this acknowledgement, a base for understanding the current musical relationship documented here is made possible. Moreover, as will be documented later in this chapter, much of South African contemporary music is based on an I-IV-V chord progression, also referred to as the "Western diatonic system" (Smith 1997:322). The close relationship that has developed between the black South African population and Christianity is what links Christian hymnody and its basic chord progression with contemporary music.

\textbf{2.4 Norwegian immigration to South Africa}

During the mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century, Norwegians were emigrating due to the difficult living conditions in Norway and the British colonies in southern Africa became an attractive destination, apart from the USA and New Zealand. This was partly due to the Norwegian missionary activities there, as well as to Norway's close relationship with Britain (Nedrebo 2002).

According to Winquist, "the largest number of Scandinavians who came to Natal for the purpose of settling in the nineteenth century [were] Norwegians [...and]  

\textsuperscript{18}However, as explained earlier, these songs did not use the indigenous musical traditions, but was firmly build on European musical norms and traditions.
Norwegian missionary activity played a crucial part in attracting these settlers to this part of South Africa" (1978:94). According to Nedrebø (2002:56), the Norwegian emigration to South Africa occurred at a time when settling outside of Norway had become a fairly common phenomenon, due to the major Norwegian emigration to America that peaked after the American Civil War (1866-1869).19 During the 1860s, emigration southwards was also taking place in Norway; hence Australia, New Zealand and various African countries received Norwegian immigrants (Nedrebø 2002:56).

The bigger groups to arrive in the Natal colony and the Cape Colony were the Thesen family (Knysna, Cape Colony in 1870), the Deborah expedition (Port Natal, presently known as Durban, in Natal, in 1879) and the Marburg settlers (Marburg, Natal, 1882) (Uys 2003, Semmingsen 1950, Mellemsether 2001 and 2002, Winquist 1978, Nedrebø 2002).

The history of Norwegian immigration to South Africa is not a major or decisive factor in the contemporary collaborations between Norwegian and South African musicians. However, in order to document the connection between the two countries and its people a brief outline of Norwegian immigration to South Africa is necessary.

2.4.1 A happy picture
The majority of the sources available from the time that Norwegians were immigrating to South Africa portray a happy picture of their existence in the country and many of those who succeeded did so due to their close contact with the Norwegian missionaries and their social networks (Mellemsether 2001:91). This is particularly evident in Fram (Norwegian, ‘forward’), a newspaper published in Durban for Norwegian and Scandinavian settlers, in which Norwegians were represented as successful immigrants, even though this was not the entire truth (Mellemsether 2001:91).20 As there also were

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19 At that time, the only European country with a higher emigration rate than Norway was Ireland (Nedrebø 2002:56).
20 There were articles in Fram (1920-1930) warning people about representing the reality of their lives in South Africa through personal correspondence to relatives and friends in Norway, therefore the stories are not representative of the entire truth (Mellemsether 2001:91).
debates discussing political, economic and religious differences and disagreements in spite of the fairly strong Norwegian togetherness (Mellemsether 2001:91-92).  

Generally speaking, Norwegians in Natal and Zululand established themselves as successful immigrants in the British colony, where the British milieu dominated, both in politics and culture (Mellemsether 2001:93). They did not experience a huge culture shock and the pattern of Norwegian immigrant marriages made it clear that the majority of those who married outside their Norwegian ethnicity chose English-speaking partners due to the close relationship between England and Norway (Halland 1932).

2.4.2 Norwegian life in South Africa; descendants of missionaries, settlers, whalers and businessmen

Norwegian business did very well in Zululand as the majority of NMS mission stations were situated there. Norwegian families, often relatives of former missionaries or assistants, started to settle down when the land was made available for white settlement after 1904-06 (Mellemsether 2001:96). The number of Norwegian commercial traders in Natal and Zululand soon increased and therefore constituted an important network which was a very helpful tool when children of missionaries were looking for work (Rodeseth 1980:30).

In the whaling industry, Norwegian migrant workers and Norwegian settlers experienced an economic upturn when Norwegian whalers travelled to the southern parts of Africa in the early 1900s (Nedrebø 2002:60), as a result of emptying oceans in the north (Bang & Kjerland 2002:159). The first Norwegian whaling station was established

21 In Durban, the religious content of life was in many cases more important than the Norwegian-ness and the sense of belonging to the Norwegian community was less important than religion itself and therefore they became more integrated into the South African white settler society (Mellemsether 2001).

22 The close connection with the British offered a sense of status amongst the Norwegian settlers and could offer better possibilities than for other immigrants in South Africa (Mellemsether 2001:94). However, writing off their Norwegian-ness was not a guarantee to success which is particularly evident in the whaling industry, where Norwegians dominated the business for many years (Mellemsether 2001:95-96). However, it seems an overall tendency of the Norwegian immigrants to integrate into the white settler community and adapt their norms, attitudes and morals, hence becoming a white European in Africa rather than a Norwegian in Africa.

23 Many missionary sons embraced this chance to apply for farmland on the basis of their British citizenship because they were born in South Africa (ZLDC (Zululand Land Delimitation Commission) 1905).

24 Missionary children would get work as shop assistants in the Norwegian-owned shops and later obtain a trade license of their own in order to establish a commercial enterprise and cultivate the surrounding land (Rodeseth 1980:38).
in Durban (1910), however, the competition rapidly grew (Bang & Kjerland 2002: 159), and this growth lasted until the First World War (1914-1918) (Børresen).  

As time passed, Norwegians became integrated into the white settler society, as was the fate of the Norwegian school in Durban where they taught Norwegian language and religion every Saturday (Mellemsether 2001:92). The school was discontinued in 1939 due to the lack of pupils and, therefore, Mellemsether concludes that it indicates that assimilation has taken place and therefore the new generations of Norwegian settlers did not feel the same need to maintain their Norwegian-ness as the previous generations had felt (2001:92).

2.5 Norway’s southern Africa policy

Mission work, whaling, shipping, forestry, timber and trade through import and export have been the six types of interaction that formed Norway’s relationship with Africa. African affairs south of Sahara, however, do not have an official place in Norway’s official foreign policy (Tostensen 2002:34). Tostensen (2002:34) attributes this to southern Africa’s “marginal economic and political place in Norway’s foreign relations and the continent’s remoteness as seen from the North”. As a result, foreign aid from Norway has dominated the interaction between Norway and Africa (Tostensen 2002:34).

Norwegian developmental assistance for Africa started in the 1950s as a result of “the Christian imperative of compassion and charity and the [...] labour movement” (Tostensen 2002:36). The relationship was further strengthened between 1960 and 1975 when “the Norwegian anti-apartheid movement emerged and saw to it that Southern Africa had its place on the political agenda” internationally (Eriksen 2000:9). As a result, the early 1970s marked a great change with “sporadic forms of aid extended to refugees and ‘victims of apartheid’, [and] developed into a regular and organised form of support

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25 The whaling trade constituted a great deal of trade (Nedrebo 2002:60) and played an important role in Norwegian life in Durban and its surroundings because it created jobs for the Norwegian workers (Mellemsether 2001:96). During the months of whale-catch, the Norwegian population in Durban increased by at least 150 people (Lear 1980:28), but the majority of these workers did not settle in South Africa (Mellemsether 2001:96).

26 Mellemsether argues that, in the Norwegian church in Durban, the development indicates the same direction as in the school and even though Norwegian continued as the main language in the church for many years, English became more commonly spoken amongst the Norwegian settlers (2001:92-93).

27 Furthermore, “Norway has no colonial past and no strategic interests to defend on the African continent” (Tostensen 2002:34).
and co-operation” through which Norway contributed more than any other Western country, with the exception of Sweden (Eriksen 2000:9). It is, however, important to note that the majority of foreign aid assistance for the liberation movements from the Norwegian government allocated for South Africa was channelled through the church (Agøy 2000).

According to Eriksen (2000), Norway was an ambiguous supporter of national liberation in Southern Africa. Since it was constrained by its membership of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) and the United Nations (UN), as well as its own shipping and trading interests, it often took a cautious position and acted as a moderating influence (Eriksen 2000). On the other hand, Norway officially engaged in political activism due to the pressure from civil society (Eriksen 2000).

2.5.1 Norway and South Africa
The Nobel Peace Prize awarded to ANC president-general Chief Albert Luthuli in 1961, together with the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, were small eye-openers for the Norwegian public, exposing them to extensive media coverage on the situation in South Africa (Agøy 2000; Tostensen 2002).

Prior to 1973, civil society organisations, the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa (NOCOSA), in particular, kept “the national liberation struggle in Southern Africa on the political agenda” (Tostensen 2002:39). NOCOSA “played a key role in bringing information about the struggle to the Norwegian public and in organising [a] consumer boycott [as well as] acting as an important pressure group on Norwegian authorities” (Tostensen 2002:39). However, the official support of the liberation movement in South Africa only commenced in 1977, after the Soweto massacre in 1976, which caused the growing public awareness of the situation in South Africa.

28 Luthuli made an impression on the Church of Norway due to the broad support of the NMS missionaries in South Africa (Ostbye 2000:140). However, this support only commenced after the implementation of the Bantu Act of 1953, which opened “the eyes of the missionaries to the realities behind the policy of Separate Development” (Agøy 2000:278).

29 NOCOSA (est. 1967) was mainly involved in idealistic solidarity and its principle objective was to keep a close watch on and to influence official Norwegian policies towards the freedom struggle in Southern Africa (Drolsum 2000:212). “The council’s efforts in creating public awareness, influencing attitudes and providing information, came to represent an important contribution towards the shaping of Norwegian foreign policy towards the apartheid regime in South Africa” (Drolsum 2000:212).

30 The relationship between Norway and the South African liberation movement was primarily concerned with humanitarian support for refugees, which, in spite of commencing four years later that that of the other
Sanctions were also part of the policy that Norway undertook during the late 1970s and "Norway was the first major shipping nation to impose a legal ban on crude oil transport to South Africa" (Eriksen & Krokan 2000:209).

### 2.5.2 Cultural activities

NOCOSA was more than a conventional solidarity organisation due to its cultural dimensions (Drolsum 2000:258). They organised tours and festivals for Southern African artists, musicians, dancers, actors and poets and thereby conveyed Southern African cultures directly to the Norwegian public (Drolsum 2000:258). As a result, these artists "won respect and sympathy for the freedom struggles" of Southern African people and mediated a positive spirit towards the important causes they were fighting for (Drolsum 2000:258). Through this "positive counterbalance to the negative images of [Southern] Africa" portrayed by the media, NOCOSA reached out to a wider audience than those "already involved in solidarity work" (Drolsum 2000:258).

Firstly, the most notable cultural activity to be organised and sponsored by NOCOSA, was the ANC’s Amandla Cultural Group which visited Norway in 1980 and released a recording called *Amandla*, featuring both Norwegian and South African musicians in 1986 (Drolsum 2000:259). Secondly, the most embracing cultural activity was the South Africa Festival held in 1986, at which cultural groups from the ANC, SWAPO and individuals from various Southern African countries, toured Norway, Sweden and Denmark with the aim of sharing Southern African culture through dance, song and drama with Scandinavian audiences (Drolsum 2000:259). Thirdly, South African poet Mzwakhe Mbuli toured Norway with his band, The Equals, in 1990 (Drolsum 2000:259).

The Norwegian Association of Musicians became involved with the cultural boycott issue in 1984 and encouraged members to make an appearance with the NOCOSA cultural activities (Drolsum 2000:259). Hence, many Norwegian artists engaged in anti-apartheid work (Drolsum 2000:259). This relationship resulted in a new

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Southern African countries, received far more support (Østbye 2000:176). According to Østbye (2000:131-133), Norway was scared of breaking international law with regard to interference in independent countries' internal matters and, due to the fact that the support was to be allocated for refugees only and the number of South African refugees were low compared to other Southern African countries, South Africa was excluded from the policy of 1973.
branch within NOCOSA, called Artists Against Apartheid, which was established in 1989 with the purpose of jointly organising actions and special artist performances, as well as discouraging artists from performing in South Africa (Drolsum 2000:258).

In 1988, NOCOSA formed its own choir, which was called Inkululeko, meaning "freedom" in both Xhosa and Zulu (Drolsum 2000:260). The purpose of the choir was "to use the force of the freedom songs in the liberation struggle in South Africa to inspire and lend colour to anti-apartheid arrangements in Norway" (Drolsum 2000:260).

2.5.4 The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Norway and South Africa
The churches played an important role in the solidarity movement and drew on a long-standing relationship, dating back to the missionaries who "had maintained close liaisons for a century and a half", in which the main organisational vehicle was the Council for Ecumenical and International Relations – Church of Norway (Tostensen 2002:39).

"The Church of Norway [as] one of the main protagonists in Norway for the liberation [movements of] South Africa" was funded by the Norwegian ministry of Foreign Affairs and channelled through anti-apartheid organisations, the church and individuals within South Africa (Agøy 2000:267). Further, seeing that the "Southern African religious constituencies were generally considered to be non-political [...] it provided them with a 'cover' for an array of resistance activities" as well as for secretly funnelling money to opposition forces in South Africa (Tostensen 2002:39).

The main reason for Norway's extensive involvement in the South African liberation struggle concerns the fact that the National Party's apartheid policy sought justification in the Bible, which made it into a theological issue that, therefore, was

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31 However, Inkululeko was an independent choral group who "supported NOCOSA's political platform" and during its most active years, giving more than hundred performances a year (Drolsum 2000:260).
32 The choir reached a further extent with their music though recording their songs and releasing it with an accompanying song-booklet which has been used a great deal by schools and other choirs (Drolsum 2000:260).
33 In spite of all this, the Norwegian church in Durban, St. Olav, rooted in the Norwegian missionary movement and Norwegian settlement, became integrated in white South African society, adopting similar opinions regarding the Nationalist government's apartheid politics (Agøy 2000).
34 The funds were "channelled to the liberation movement by the Norwegian Government via the Norway Church and the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (LO)" (Drolsum 2000:212).
handled by the Norwegian church as well as by the Norwegian government (Agøy 2000:274).\textsuperscript{35}

Currently “Citizens are generally considered to be members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Norway, which is the state church, unless they specifically indicate other affiliations. As such, reports indicate that about 86% of the population [...] is nominally affiliated with the Evangelical Lutheran Church” (Worldmark encyclopedia of the nations).

2.6 Norwegian musical history

When documenting a musical collaboration, it is important to look into the musical history of the subjects involved in order to uncover possible traits, trends, boundaries, similarities, interest and so on. In this investigation, different genres of music are encountered as the time and place for collaboration varies to a large extent. For that reason as well as the links between trends and interest, a general review of Norwegian music is documented here including traditional (both Norwegian and Sámi), classical, jazz, church and popular music. Moreover, these genres are all present in the musical collaborations explored here.

Norwegian music has over the years received recognition in many parts of the world as it has developed characteristic sounds within its various genres. Norwegian traditional music is known for its tonality, which is found both in aspects of classical music and jazz and which started developing in the early 19\textsuperscript{th} century. It was the National Romantic period that sparked the Norwegian composers’ interest for traditional music and culture. Norwegian jazz, on the other hand, experienced a revival of traditional music from the 1970s onwards, and is today often referred to as “Mountain Jazz”, both locally and internationally. However, the first music to flourish in Norway was traditional music from vocal and instrumental traditions as well as Sámi traditional music.

\textsuperscript{35} “LWF [Lutheran World Federation] was the first ecumenical organisation to take [...] a clear theological stand” against apartheid in 1977 (Agøy 2000:274-275). As a result, “apartheid was no longer just an important issue for the Lutheran churches, [...] as it now] affected the very core of Christian faith” (Agøy 2000:275).
2.6.1 Folk music

Norwegian traditional music, or folk music as I will refer to it as here, displays striking uniqueness in rhythm, tonality and structure, the result of diverse local processes of [a]
fusion of new musical ideas, instruments and techniques with older, indigenous musical idioms” (Sevåg & Blom, a). The music includes both vocal and instrumental traditions which I will briefly explain below.

Within the vocal genre of Norwegian folk music, there are five main traditions: lokk (for calling the cows); gammelstev and nystev (poetry); folketonar (religious folk tunes); medieval ballads (epic type of folk song); and lullabies (Sevåg & Blom, b).

The most significant instruments found in Norwegian folk music are made up of “rattles, bullroarers, clappers and whistles” (Sevåg & Blom, c). These instruments are known as the lur (wooden wind instrument); seljefføyte (a flute made of goat-willow), the mouth harp (jew’s harp), langleik (a zither-like string instrument), flatfele (normal violin) and hardingfele (a violin with sympathetic strings) (Sevåg & Blom, c).

The hardingfele and flatfele music are generally dance-based songs which can divide into duple-time dances; the halling, gangar and rull and the triple-time dances; the springar, springleik, pols and rundom are all couple dances (Sevåg & Blom, c).

Norwegian folk music is currently kept alive through festivals, competitions and organisations as it is no longer part of general everyday life in Norway.

2.6.2 Sámi folk music
The Sámi people are indigenous to the north of the Scandinavian Peninsula and live in an area known as Sámiland (often referred to as Lapland), which includes Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia, with the majority living in Norway (Cronshaw 1999b:255). There are certain doubts as to when the first groups of Sámi people started immigrating into Scandinavia; however, it is generally thought to have taken place “in the middle of the 1st century BCE” (Lüderwaldt, a).

“The Sámi have for many centuries been subject to colonization and development of their territory by foreign merchants, royal officials and settlers and to conversion to Christianity by missionaries”, which has had a vastly negative effect on their Finno-Ugric language and culture (Lüderwaldt, a). With the Christian influence intensifying in the 16th century, their beliefs revolving around “nature and natural phenomena were subject to particular attack” (Lüderwaldt, a). Moreover, traditional Sámi religion is mostly centred

36 The Sámi are originally a nomadic people who lived mainly “by hunting, fishing, agriculture, [and] reindeer breeding” (Lüderwaldt, a).
on shamanism, which often includes collective singing and drumming and these ritual practices as well as all Sámi singing was banned as a result of Christian dominance (Lüderwaldt, a). The drum, made from reindeer hide, decorated with symbols and played with a “hammer-shaped piece of reindeer horn”, was often associated with this shamanistic religious practice as it was used both to induce trance and for fortune telling (Lüderwaldt, a). However, as the practice of Sámi religion was “firmly discouraged by the propagators of Christianity” from the 16th century onwards, it caused the destruction of the majority of these drums but it inarticulately lives on today through musical or symbolic rather than religious use (Cronshaw 1999b:256).

The Sámi people also have their own vocal music, which is often referred to as the joik, an archaic non-epic vocal form “closely related to those employed by other Arctic peoples” (MIC 2003). The joik, also known as louhti (north Sámi) or vuolle (south Sámi), is one of several vocal styles such as the lavlu and the vuelie (Boreale web site).

In recent years, Sámi folk music has received attention through artists such as Mari Boine (Norway), Nils-Aslak Valkeapää (Finland), Jan Garbarek (Norway) and others, as well as bands such as Transjoik (Norway) that have mixed the traditional with rock and/or jazz (Cronshaw 1999b:259).

2.6.3 Art music
The Gregorian chant was brought to Norway through the Christianisation of the country ca 900 and “created a new liturgy and brought pilgrims and church music from central Europe” to Norway (Vollnes). But “Norway lacked a centre for cultural activities” as the king acquired most musicians from “Copenhagen, who then brought Danish, German and Dutch musical traditions to Norwegian cities” and any further public musical events only took place in churches (Vollnes). Musical activity in Norway during the 18th century

37 The word ‘shaman’ originates from Siberia and shamanism is found in many parts of the world. The drum always plays an important part in inducing trance (Cronshaw 1999:256).
38 The “oval single-headed drum” originally used for the religious purposes of shaman divination or trance is the only instrument known to be used by the Sámi and is referred to as the kobdas (north Sámi) and the gievri (south Sámi) (Cronshaw 1999b:256).
39 MIC stands for the Music information centre in Norway
40 “This song mode (joik) is highly personal and touches upon the subject of Sámi spirituality” (Boreale web site).
41 European art music derives from various sources, however, it most commonly is said to have started its development in the Renaissance (ca 1450-1600), after the Middle-Ages (ca 500-1450), when there was a revival of interest in the Ancient Greek and Rome (Martinsen, Reinámo & Steffenak 1996:8-16).
was distinguished by German composers living in Norway producing Baroque style music; hence only one Norwegian composer is worth mentioning, the pre-Classical Johan Heinrich Berlin (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:122).

It took almost a century before Norway started developing its own music, marked by the independence from Denmark in 1814, which “encouraged the movement for a national Norwegian culture”, a period with Thrane and Bull as its most important composers/musicians (Vollnes).

This brings me to the beginning of the National Romantic period of music in Norway (ca 1840-1900), an epoch inspired by traditional music, folklore, nature and national historical events (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:164). The most significant composers were Kjerulf, Nordraak, Greig, Svendsen and Backer Grøndahl (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:166-174).

The late National Romantic style dominated in the early 1900s, hence French Impressionism and Expressionism, nurtured by leading radicals such as Valen and Hall, arrived late in Norway (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:228; Vollnes). The significant composers in this national style were Monrad Johansen, Groven, Tveitt and Sæverud (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:229-232).

Neoclassicism was fused with a national style and was thereby accepted during the time between the First and the Second World Wars, with Irgens Jensen as the Norwegian forerunner of this movement (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:29).

Many young composers rejected Romantic music after 1945, as the German Nazis had used elements of traditional Norwegian culture in their propaganda. Instead, two new groups of styles were prominent: the Neoclassical National style with Kvandal, Nystedt and Hovland and Modernism/Postmodernism with Mortensen, Nordheim, Kolberg and Janson (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:260-269). These developments resulted in a pluralism which “persisted through the rest of the [20th] century” (Vollnes).

During the 1960s, influences also came from Eastern Europe, and the 70s were marked with “new simplicity” through modernist composers including Kolberg, Janson and Söderlind (Vollnes). However, what marked the most notable change during the

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42 Asbjørnsen and Moe’s as well as Lindemann’s collections of folk tales and myths played an important part in this epoch (Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak 1996:164).

43 Nordraak composed the Norwegian national anthem ‘Ja, vi elsker dette landet’ (Vollnes 12.06.2007b).
1970s was the Norwegian government's active policy on music, with new pedagogical structures for all ages (Vollnes). As a result, most "communities got their own music schools, and each region its conservatory and teacher's college that inclu[ded] music education" (Vollnes). Furthermore, the overall "music education and research at university level broadened and music libraries and collections (including those of traditional music) improved" (Vollnes).

2.6.4 Jazz
Jazz in Norway came into being just after the First World War (1914-1918) through the influence of American jazz performances in Norway, and forming of the first pioneering jazz ensembles in the bigger cities (Stendahl). Jazz styles from the 1920s to the 1960s were largely based on imitation and were inspired by American popular jazz, mostly transcribed from or inspired by American recordings (Stendahl). The most significant musicians of this period were Robert Normann (guitar), Frank Ottesen (violin), Bjarne Nerem (saxophone) and Rowland Greenberg (trumpet), who mostly played within the genre of string swing or swing (Stendahl).44

The 1960s were marked by more experimental trends in jazz, with several projects undertaken by the Norwegian Jazz Federation (NJF) and Ny Musikk - the local branch of the International Society for Contemporary Music (ISCM) (Kristiansen). Norwegian musicians started to receive more attention and recognition internationally, however it was not until the 1970s that Norway finally began to develop a more authentically Norwegian-sounding jazz with Jan Garbarek (saxophone), Arild Andersen (bass), Jon Christensen (drums) and Terje Rypdal (guitar) as its forerunners on the ECM record label (Kristiansen).45 The 1970s are often referred to as "the golden age" of jazz in Norway, as it was the decade in which Norwegian jazz began to be developed considerably through young and aspiring jazz musicians who experimented with the fusion of various other genres (Kristiansen).

Overall, Norwegian jazz went through marked musical and qualitative development in the years after the Second World War (1939-1945), with important

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44 String swing is a term indicating the smaller ensemble consisting of drums, bass, guitar and violin made popular by Django Reinhart (guitar) and Stephane Grapelli (violin) in Hot Club de France (Carr 1995c:532).
45 ECM is a German record label which specifies various forms of jazz within a so-called artistic genre.
contributions to an international ongoing renewal of the Norwegian jazz traditions (Kristiansen).

2.6.4.1 Free jazz
Norwegian free jazz and jazz-rock emerged towards the end of the 1970s. The first group to venture into the avant-garde of jazz was the Svein Finnerud Trio inspired by Paul Bley (Kristiansen). However, free jazz did not get a significant hold amongst musicians in Norway until recently, with Frode Gjerstad (saxophones/clarinet) as its forerunner after the early 1980s.

2.6.4.2 Jazz and folk music
The late 1980s are marked by a considerable interest in Norwegian folk music, with the city of Voss as an important contributor towards promoting jazz and folk music through the VossaJazz festival (Kristiansen). Saxophonist Jan Garbarek is the most widely known contributor internationally and locally to this genre (Kristiansen). Through his simple folk music themes collected around the world and his collaborations with folk-musician Agnes Buen Garnås and Sámi folk musician Mari Boine, Garbarek has put Norwegian music on the international map (Kristiansen). This folk music-inspired jazz is often referred to by the term “Mountain Jazz”, as Norwegian folk music generally speaking derives from mountainous areas of Norway.

2.6.4.3 Nordic jazz
The “Europeanising” of jazz developed from the 1970s onwards with a significant Norwegian contribution through the so-called Nordic jazz, a genre mostly developed in Norway through ECM-released recordings (Kristiansen). Another example of this internationally recognised Nordic influence on jazz can found in The Brazz Brothers music, who have used Norwegian folk music themes in their jazz-inspired brass music and have fused it with various African elements through their collaboration with African musicians since the 1990s (Kristiansen).

46 Projects such as bassist Arild Andersen’s Sagn (1990) and Arv (1993) recordings, as well as folk music singer Kirsten Bråten Berg’s collaboration with Brazilian and Norwegian musicians (Kristiansen).
47 The term Nordic refers to Norwegian, Swedish and Danish countries.
One of the decisive factors in the development of Nordic jazz is the jazz programme at Norges Teknisk-Naturvitenskaplige Universitet (NTNU) in Trondheim known as "jazzlinja i Trondheim", established in 1982 (Kristiansen). Young jazz musicians from this institution were the most important contributors towards the development of Norwegian jazz in the 1980s and 1990s, with Nils Petter Molvær (trumpet) and Tore Brunborg (saxophone) as the forerunners (Kristiansen).

Electronic influences also became important as these young musicians were experimenting outside the traditional jazz genres through the 1990s, with Bugge Wesseltoft (keyboards/piano) and Nils Petter Molvær breaking the barriers, both locally and internationally (Kristiansen).

However, most importantly, it is the release of Norwegian jazz recordings abroad that has given Norwegian jazz its biggest recognition, especially through the 1990s in the USA, UK, Germany, Denmark and Sweden, where the ECM label is still playing an important part (Kristiansen).

2.6.4.4 Current developments
Norwegian jazz has become increasingly popular in recent years, both locally and internationally due to the talent of musicians, the targeted effort from the jazz community as well as public authorities, and the wider recognition and larger audiences at Norwegian jazz festivals (NJF). Hence artists such as Trygve Seim (saxophone), Pål Nilssen-Love (drums) and Håkon Kornstad (saxophone) and ensembles such as Atomic, Wibutee and Jaga Jazzist, “all belong to the international jazz elite” (NJF).

2.6.5 Church music
As stated above, church music came to Norway around 900 CE as part of the Christianisation of Norway, which brought Gregorian chant and Roman Catholic musical traditions to Norway. Church music has, to a large extent, followed the path of the church, hence the change to Lutheranism, a form of Protestantism “adopted by royal

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48 NTNU is referred to as the Norwegian University of Science and Technology in English.

49 Molvær’s Khmer and Solid Ether recordings on the ECM label and Wesseltoft’s The New conception of jazz recordings on the Jazzland label (Kristiansen). It is possibly through this music that a connection with contemporary art music has been re-established (Kristiansen).
decree" and established in the Church of Norway in 1537, resulted in a change in musical practice (Norwegian Encyclopedia).

Church music in Norway did not differ from the rest of Europe as "[t]he development of church music in the Lutheran churches of Nordic countries [...] paralleled that of Germany between the 16th and 18th centuries" (Grove Music Online, a). However, specific Norwegian traditions which gradually came to be based on hymns and psalms instead of Gregorian chant were not been noted until 1905 as a result of their Danish and Swedish dominance (Grove Music Online, a). By the end of the 17th century, the use of Latin and Gregorian chant was abandoned in Denmark [...] and somewhat later in Sweden and Finland [when the] influence of Pietism touched most of the Nordic countries [...] which is witnessed in the many manuscript chorale books in which the Pietistic texts are set to ornamented variants of earlier tunes and a wide selection of folk melodies. [However, b]y 1800 simpler, isometric forms had become the norm in chorale books, (Grove Music Online, a).

During the 19th century, much of "Nordic church music was composed expressly for major festivals and other special occasions, in a style strongly influenced by the Cecilian movement" and Lindeman was the only Norwegian composer who made a significant contribution (Grove Music Online, a).

The 20th century was "marked by the liturgical movement that affected all Nordic churches", which resulted in the issue of new hymnals in the latter part of the century (Grove Music Online, a).

As the Church of Norway became more liberal in the 1970s, even folk music, which was previously treated as heathen, found an important place in religious church music. As a result of this growing liberalism, there is a great deal of interaction between church music and folk music, as well as art music, rock, jazz, pop and other genres. However, the close connection between church music and folk music can possibly be attributed to the close connection between state and church from the 17th century to date. Moreover, religious music became part of everyday life and was often mixed with folk music, as was the case with the religious folk tunes (folketoner). Currently, the most important contributors to the growing interest of this genre are Sondre Bradtland (vocals), Olav Bremnes (vocals), Bukkene Bruse (trio) and the two organists Iver Kleive and Kåre Nordstoga (Cronshaw 1999:216).
2.6.6 Popular music

Popular music in Norway today includes pop, rock, hip-hop, metal, R&B and electronica as well as “a multitude of other active bands and new record companies” contributing to the growth and development of Norwegian popular music (MIC). This field of music has gained much interest through bands and artists like Röyksopp, Turbonegro, Serena Maneesh, Sissel, Annie, Madrugada and Jaga Jazzist (MIC). This “multitude of [...] active bands and new record companies” has contributed to the growth of local and international awareness of Norwegian popular music (MIC).

Most Norwegian popular music is sung in English, but a large amount is sung in Norwegian within the different genres. Norwegian hip-hop is “characterised by a strong Norwegian-language scene, which includes such names as Tungtvann, Klovner i Kamp and Karpe Diem” (MIC).

The various genres of Norwegian music have changed significantly over the course of approximately three centuries. The art music, also referred to as classical music, had its “glory days” during the national romantic period, jazz saw its golden decade emerge in the 1970s, church music was gravely based on the Lutheran hymnal until recent years and popular music has currently taken over much of the musical arena in Norway.

2.7 South African musical history

The history of South African music is very broad, with a large variety of traditional music and urban popular music. Most other genres have received less attention, but are by no means they less important. Due to their relevance with regards to the musical collaborations and interaction examined in this paper, I will deal with certain traditional types of music in a brief outline of urban popular music and the development of South African jazz.

As indicated earlier in this chapter, Christian missionary work was “[a]mong the earliest and most consequential agents of modernization and cultural innovation in southern Africa” (Erlmann 1997) and provided the first organised Western musical training to the people of South Africa. Apart from Western Christianisation, colonial military institutions “introduced [the] European instruments and basic Western
compositional techniques embodied in the Wesleyan church hymn” (Erlmann 1997). However, the first sustained Western musical influence occurred in the mid-17th century when the Dutch settled at the Cape (Impey & Rycroft, a).\(^{50}\)

South African music has largely been influenced by Western musical practice as I briefly demonstrate below.

### 2.7.1 Traditional music

South Africa is a diverse country with a great variety of ethnic groups; hence there is a vast range of types of music across the country. Traditional music still forms part of South African music; in many cases, however, it has partly evolved into neo traditional forms as well as popular music. As a result, traditional music in its original form is near to extinct in some areas.

I only deal with Nguni music in this context, due to the indigenous origins of the people involved in this research project, the Xhosa and Zulu people.

#### 2.7.1.1 The Nguni

The term Nguni collectively applies to “the Zulu, Swazi and Xhosa peoples of southeastern Africa” who form the largest indigenous group in South Africa, with closely related languages and cultures (Impey & Rycroft, a).\(^{51}\) Nguni “traditional music is more vocal than instrumental, polyphonic dance-songs being particularly important” and the basis of collective Nguni music-making is the unaccompanied dance-song (Impey & Rycroft, c). However, the most “striking feature of traditional Nguni choral dance-songs is the principle of non-simultaneous entry of voice parts, and the intricacy of their polyphonic interaction (Impey & Rycroft, c).

The traditional instruments “played little or no part in the traditional communal music of the Nguni”; however, the most common instruments were flutes and musical

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\(^{50}\) As explained earlier in this chapter, Portuguese traders had an influence at the Cape in 1497, prior to the Dutch settlement in 1652, and their presence is likely to have made a strong impression on the local population as they possibly represented the first contact with the western world (Daveport & Saunders 2000).

\(^{51}\) “Nguni languages belong within the Bantu language family, but they show certain features adopted from the neighbouring [...] Khoenkhoen] ([...]) now almost extinct), most notably in their use of three ‘click’ consonants, written as ‘c’, ‘q’, and ‘x’. As with other Bantu languages, speech tones influence the shape of vocal melody” (Impey & Rycroft, b).
bows (Impey & Rycroft, c), with the gourd-resonated musical bow being important and “used for self-accompaniment in solo singing” (Impey & Rycroft, d). The tonality of the Nguni is rooted in a diversity of scale systems but “[b]roadly speaking, perfect 4ths and 5ths appear to be important structural intervals” (Impey & Rycroft, e). The chord structure of the Zulu and Swazi “appear to be based on two contrasting triads with roots roughly a semitone apart; this is the same interval that occurs between the roots produced on the ugubhui bow” (uhadi in Xhosa). The Xhosa, however, “most frequently use whole-tone root progressions” (Impey & Rycroft, e).

The Nguni people have adopted many Western musical elements through contact with settlers, especially missionaries and teachers, over the past three to four centuries, hence traditional Nguni music has survived through traditional social life in spite of the near extinction of traditional instruments (Impey & Rycroft, f). In recent years, though, elementary music education has begun to include traditional music at tertiary level, which is contributing to the preservation of this music (Nixon 02.07.2007).

### 2.7.2 Early mission music and the development into popular music

The majority of mission music started developing through the European influence and Western hymnody, hence the Genadendal mission station (1838), the later Lovedale institute (1841) and the School of Music at Adams College near Durban were the first to start developing music education, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Through the widely taught tonic sol-fa system, “traditional music was increasingly displaced by Western choral music, sacred and secular”, resulting in educated Africans “composing pieces for four-part choir with vernacular words” (Coplan). The first Zulu hymnbook with European tunes was printed in 1862 and the first Xhosa songbook appeared in 1884 (Coplan).

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52 This was “[i]ndividual music-making” chiefly conceived as a form of “self-expression, not as entertainment for an audience” (Impey & Rycroft, d).

53 It is interesting to note that, in spite of the diversity of Swazi and Xhosa performing practices, “researchers and the music industry have documented and recorded Zulu music more than that of any other South African cultural group” (Impey & Rycroft, f). At present, the most well known Xhosa song is “The Click Song”, also known as “Igirha”, a version of “uGqongqonthwane” popularised by Miriam Makeba which exemplifies the two-chord harmony triadic pattern a whole tone apart (Dargie 1988:7)

54 In this period, John Knox Bokwe and Benjamin John Peter Tyamzashe did pioneering work among the Xhosa and later Reuben Caluza and Alfred Assegai Kumalo did so among the Zulu (Coplan).
Mission music developed through the European introduction of hymnody “into an African musical environment in which a cappella choral music was by far the dominant form in both religious and recreational contexts” (Coplan [emphasis in original]). This resulted in the emergence of a distinctively African-European vocal music rooted in South African Bantu tradition [being] further enhanced by the influences of English music hall, school concert, American minstrel and light operatic traditions of touring performance groups in the latter half of the 19th century (Coplan).

The “powerful, broadly based tradition of hymnography” also saw the emergence of choirs who “developed popular genres that remain important in their performance contexts and musical influence”, such as the isicathamyia of Zulu migrant workers, which gained world wide recognition through Ladysmith Black Mambazo’s collaboration with Paul Simons in the successful Graceland project (Coplan).

According to Coplan (1985), makwaya is “[a] much broader and more universally important category” within African-European choral music. This music incorporates “African five- and six-tone scales and multilinear polyphonic organization with adjustments to European vocalization, tempered intervals and four-part harmonization” (Coplan). Makwaya was made famous in the 1920s and 30s by “Reuben Caluza and J.P. Mohapeloa [who] began to use tonic sol-fa notation to compose original makwaya and to arrange four-part choral compositions based on African folk melodies” (Coplan).

Apart from the assimilation of hymns, the period around of World War I (1914-1918) produced “popular performers such as the South African Reuben T. Caluza (1895-1969) [who] eagerly absorbed what was available […] of the most advanced Western popular music: syncopated rhythms, ragtime, and vaudeville tunes” (Erlmann 1997). These popular urban forms where blended with rural traditions by migrant labourers, which produced a range of local popular genres (Erlmann 1997).

Church music started developing in the 1950s and 60s towards a more Africanised style due to the rise of “an ideology of cultural nativism or positive revaluation of African and other local performance traditions aligned […] with the growing political resistance to apartheid policy in the cities” (Coplan).
2.7.3 Resistance and music

Music was used early on as a tool in resistance and some of the first references to that is military music, dance, drilling and other forms of traditional music performed during the long periods of resistance to Dutch and British settlement. The “traditional Zulu regimental anthems accompanied be slow, synchronised gestures and body movements”, (English, amahubo) (Coplan 1985:264) are a good example of this phenomenon. Through the blessing of British missionaries, these songs were combined with “British school songs and singing games, creating new patterns suited to the physical expression of Westernised African choral performance” (Coplan 1985:73). These were further developed by Reuben Caluza, who added Afro-American stage movements taken from the minstrels and ragtime companies [...enabling] him to transform the action song into a professional African musical variety tradition that smoothly integrated Zulu song, piano ragtime, and interpretive, synchronised dance stepping (Coplan 1985:73).

As a result, Caluza’s performance style greatly influenced the style of isicathamiya, however, the popularity of Caluza’s compositions “were largely due to the topicality of his lyrics” which were often politically outspoken (Coplan 1985:73).

The liberation movements of South Africa emerged after the British defeat of the South African indigenous people when the Union of South Africa was established in 1910 (Davenport & Saunders 2000). However, with the creation of the apartheid regime in 1948, the resistance intensified, and one of the strongest tools of resistance was protest songs. Three key styles of liberation song up until 1950 were identified as iMusic, isiZulu and iRagtime (Gray 2004:89). iMusic was based on makwaya; “African sacred or secular choral music developed by mission-educated Africans, combing European classical songs and hymnody, American popular music and African traditional choral music” (Coplan 1985:267). The most widely-known example of this style is “Nkosi Sikelel’iAfrika”, composed by Xhosa Enoch Sontonga in 1897, which became part of the South African anthem after 1994 (Gray 2004:89).55

55 Xhosa Sontonga wrote the hymn and the first two stanzas of Nkosi Sikelel’iAfrika (“God bless Africa”), however, Xhosa national poet Samuel Mqhayi wrote the remaining seven stanzas (Gray 2004:89). The melody has also been “adopted for the national anthems of Tanzania and Zambia” (Coplan).
2.7.4 Urban popular music

Urban popular music—"[i]n South Africa, as elsewhere on the continent [was made up of] popular styles and cultural fusion [which] are by no means recent developments" (Coplan). As mentioned above, sustained Western influence started in 1652 with the establishment of the Dutch East India Company's settlement at the Cape.\(^{56}\) However, before the colonisation of the Cape, the Nguni and Tswana/Sotho "Bantu-speaking peoples exchanged ritual and mundane performance culture among [...] and with the aboriginal" Khoenkhoen and San people (Coplan).

The colonisation of the Cape brought a large amount of cultures together, with elements from Mozambique, Madagascar, south Asia and Islamic traditions which fused when the Dutch settlers started moving out of the Cape, and most certainly during the emergence of the mineral discoveries of the 1860s to 1890s (Copland 1985:8-50). The main Western influence during this time was Dutch sailor songs and patriotic songs which the Malay choirs were performing (Copland 1985:8-50). All these influences developed into "Coloured" music and boeremusiek which is still very influential (Nixon 02.07.2007).

Indigenous popular music of the 20th century originated in the "cultural fusion of European and African forms that accompanied the colonial penetration of the interior and the resulting growth of towns, mining camps and cities" (Coplan), but sailors and traders were the first influences on the indigenous people of South Africa.

Christian missionaries brought European hymnody, where a cappella choral music was the dominant form in both religious and recreational contexts (Coplan). Hence "a distinctively African-European vocal music rooted in South African Bantu tradition" emerged, and was furthered "by the influences of English music hall, school concert, American minstrel and light operatic traditions of touring performance groups in the latter half of the 19th century" (Coplan). An example of this popular genre is isicathamiya, a male a cappella musical genre developed by Zulu migrant workers at the turn of the 20th century through an elaborate network of weekly competitions (Impey &

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\(^{56}\) The influence of Portuguese traders from the 15th Century is also notable, as shown earlier in this chapter.
Rycroft, f). According to Ballantine. (1993:5), “Isicathamiya is arguably the most important purely vocal style to have emerged in South Africa this century”.

In more recent times, “[h]ybrid musical styles began to emerge in urban shebeens (illegal drinking houses), migrant worker hostels and on the streets [around Johannesburg], exhibiting a creative blend of traditional forms and newly adopted instrumentations and styles” (Impey & Rycroft, f) where marabi was one of the first styles to develop (1920-1930s) (Coplan 1985:95, 267, Ballantine 1993).

A style called kwela was developed from marabi by “street children of the black slums in creative imitation of their favourite jazzmen [...and] jazz-based vocal groups” such as the Manhattan Brothers and the African Inkspots, who, in turn, were inspired by American vocal groups (Ballantine 1993:7; Allen 1993).

‘Jive’ became a “term for American-influenced popular urban [South] African dancing accompanied by American or African jazz” (Coplan 1985:266-267). However it was also periodically a term for South African jazz, mbaqanga, or simanje-manje music (Coplan 1985:267).

Mbaqanga is the Zulu word for maize bread and was “[o]riginally, the most widely distributed term for popular commercial [South] African jazz in the 1950s that developed from kwela and blended African melody, marabi, and American jazz” (Coplan 1985:267).

Maskanda music is “neo-traditional music; that is music in the traditional idiom played [on] Western instruments” (Coplan, 1985:267) mostly “associated with a rural Zulu identity”. However, it has become “highly commercial, with radio and television programmes devoted to the genre, nationwide competitions, and the recent development of women professional performers” (Impey & Rycroft, f).

57 “The tours of the Durban-based Ladysmith Black Mambazo that followed their participation in the successful Graceland concert tour, video and album with American popular composer Paul Simon have made this genre familiar to audiences throughout the world” (Coplan).
58 This was caused by a “[s]teady movement of people to and from the urban centres [which] led to the dissolution of distinct rural and urban social, economic and cultural characteristics” (Impey & Rycroft, 12.06.2007f). Hence music performances reflect networks of production and reproduction spanning town and countryside (Coplan, 1985: 372)
59 Mbaqanga also has other names, such as simanje-manje and msakazo, a Zulu word for ‘broadcast’ “used derogatory by middle-class jazz musicians and listeners (Coplan 1985:268).
60 Maskanda is a Zulu word derived from the Afrikaans work musikant meaning musician adapted in Zulu (Coplan 1985:267).
The styles referred to above mostly developed in the areas surrounding Johannesburg and Durban. There was also a vast influence, though, of international popular culture such as ragtime, American spirituals and minstrelsy, sentimental British and Tin Pan Alley songs, jazz, ballroom dancing, opera and the movies, to name a few (Nixon 02.07.2007).61

2.7.4 South African musicians in self-imposed exile
In the 1950s, career prospects looked dim for South African musicians as the apartheid government regulated all musical activity outside the townships of South Africa and, even there, random police raids were increasingly taking place. Mixed race bands furthermore were banned and limited venues and recording possibilities promised a difficult future for the musicians, hence a small but significant number decided to flee the country and go into self-imposed exile to Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Canada, the USA and various European countries.

The musicians who ended up in Europe established significant musical relationships with musicians there; some of these musicians were Norwegians, whose stories are detailed below.

2.7.5.1 Johnny Dyani
South African bassist Johnny Dyani (b. ca 1945, d. 1986), who started out as an amateur singer, grew up in Port Elizabeth in what was then the Cape Province. As a musician, he developed alongside Tete Mbambisa (piano), Dudu Pukwana (sax), Nick Moyake (saxophone) and Mongezi Feza (trumpet) from East London (Rasmussen 2003:9-12).62

Dyani went to Cape Town as part of the variety show Back in your own backyard with Dudu Pukwana, Nick Moyake and Tete Mbambisa. The show disbanded there, but Chris McGregor soon asked him to join The Blue Notes (Rasmussen 2003:14-16).

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61 Later, rock 'n roll, blues, the Beatles, soul and disco greatly influenced South African music (Nixon 02.07.2007).
62 Feza was originally from Queenstown, but moved to East London in 1957 (Rasmussen 2003:12).
2.7.5.2 Louis Moholo
Self-taught South African drummer Louis Moholo (b.1940) grew up in Cape Town in a musical family (Carr 1995:446) and started playing at the age of seven as the drummer of Molelekwa’s youth band. He soon outplayed this band and joined The Chordettes, which led him to meeting Chris McGregor, who recruited him to The Blue Notes, which Moholo refers to “a sort of an all-stars band” (Eyels).

2.7.5.3 The Blue Notes
Chris McGregor, Louis Moholo, Johnny Dyani, Dudu Pukwana, Mongezi Feza and Nick Moyake made up The Blue Notes. As a multi-racial band, an illegal project during the apartheid regime, The Blue Notes were rebels from the very beginning who stood up against apartheid, as Moholo explained to Eyles. As a result of their considerable following in South Africa at the time, it became increasingly difficult to continue playing together in South Africa (Carr 1995:446) and an invitation to play at the Antibes Jazz Festival in France in 1964 therefore posed an escape route (Rasmussen 2003:14-16).
With finances they raised through a nation-wide ‘The Blue Notes’ tour and with passports that the Union of Southern African Artists, commonly known as “Union Artists”, helped them to get, The Blue Notes travelled to Europe, appearing at the Antibes festival and important jazz centres before settling in the UK in 1965 (Carr 1995:446).63

Figure 4: Louis Moholo at the Castle Lager Festival (Arries & Gordon)

63 Union Artists (1950s) aimed at protecting the professional right if black performers through inter-racial efforts under the leadership of Guy Routh and later Ian Bernhardt (Coplan 1985:172). The organisation arranged, among many other things, royalty, “engineered the boycott by British Equity of all segregated shows, and acquired permanent residence in Dorkey House” (in Johannesburg) (Coplan 1985:172-173). They also organised theatrical performances, African traditional music education and much more, but also helped artists obtain passports (Copland 1985). It was difficult to get passports for all non-white South Africans as they did not have the same rights to obtain travel documents due to the pass laws of the apartheid regime in South Africa, which denied freedom to travel to non-white people (Davenport & Saunders 2000).
2.7.6 A brief overview of recent musical developments in South Africa
With the 1960s having brought "an ideology of cultural nativism or positive revaluation of African and other local performance traditions [that] aligned itself with the growing political resistance to apartheid policy in the cities", the "[m]ainstream South African jazz, which had become increasingly American, also took hold of the trend towards indigenization" (Coplan). The most significant artist within this trend was Miriam Makeba (vocal) who first came to the attention with the Manhattan Brothers and the Skylarks (Allingham 1999a:661-662). Her most important stepping stone, though, was the lead role in the South African Broadway musical King Kong (Allingham 1999a:662). As a result of her success, Makeba left for the USA where she re-established her career at an international level—the first South African to do so—with "The click song" and "Pata pata" (Allingham 1999a:662).
Through the late 1950s and early 1960s, Abdullah Ibrahim (piano), Hugh Masekela (trumpet) and Jonas Gwangwa (trombone) also contributed greatly to the development of South African jazz, although they, prior to leaving the country, were mostly into American bebop and hard bop, Duke Ellington (piano) and Thelonious Monk (piano) in particular, and only started developing their own South African jazz style while in their self-imposed exile (Nixon 02.07.2007).

The mid-1970s is marked by “Abdullah Ibrahim’s [...] reinvention of the older Cape Town style of marabi jazz in the album Mannenberg [... which] took the South African musical world and sales charts by storm (Coplan). However, multi-instrumentalist Philip Tabane’s Malombo, a mix of Pedi and Venda traditional music with electric jazz guitar traditions without a drum kit, was also an important event of the 1970s (Nixon 02.07.2007).

Contemporary to this re-establishment of South African jazz, more popular styles emerged, often fused with marabi and mbqanga as well as traditional music. The most significant band was the Soul Brothers who emerged in 1975 with their mix of mbqanga and American soul (Allingham 1999b:648). At same time, the Cannibals emerged, starring Ray Phiri (guitar), but the band evolved into Stimela in the early 1980s, “updating their style with afro-jazz soul and funk influences (Allingham 1999b:648-649). Other bands of the 1980s included Sakhile and Tananans, both within the fusion style, which enjoyed a large following in South Africa during the 1980s (Nixon 02.07.2007).

The late 1970s saw the rise of Juluka, a group that had Johnny Clegg (guitar/vocals) and Sipho Mchunu (guitar/vocals) who innovatively blended maskanda, mbqanga and rock, sung in Zulu at its core (Coplan). It was Sipho Mchunu who taught Johnny Clegg how to play the traditional Zulu music which they began to perform together in the early 70s (Nixon 02.07.2007). Together they developed the full electric band, Juluka’s style, which grew out of dance and maskanda music (Allingham 1999b:651). As they developed, they created a “cultural bridge across the destructive political chasm” which caught the attention of “South African youth from all racial backgrounds” (Coplan). Juluka disbanded, however, and was re-established as Savuka with a new line-up, but Clegg remained the front figure (Allingham 1999b:651).

The 1970s also saw Harari, another band that caught much attention from a multi-racial audience with their almost exclusively overseas-inspired rock mixed with Zulu,
Sotho and English lyrics (Allingham 1999b:649). When Harari disbanded after the death of Selby Ntuli (1979), Sipho “Hotsix” Mabuse (saxophone) embarked on a very successful solo career in the 1980s with a mix of mbaqanga, pop and soul (Allingham 1999b:649).

In the 1980s, “the cultural isolation of South Africa began to erode as the challenge to apartheid gained momentum” (Coplan). Musically, the 1980s brought Lucky Dube’s mbaqanga and reggae, as well as the emergence of Bubblegum which “re-established artists as viable competitors with American and British imports in the recording industry” with Brenda Fassie, Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Chicco Twala as some of its most popular dance vocalists (Coplan).65

Gospel music from the 1980s onwards has come to be “among the best-selling music in contemporary South Africa, sustained by millions of church goers who prefer religion to have rhythm and soul” (Mthembu-Spalter 1999:658). The music draws upon a diverse range of traditions but the American influence is significant in many cases, as the American Pentecostal churches have had a large impact (Mthembu-Spalter 1999:658). However, the Zionist churches still render service with the traditionally African influences as they have been independent since the beginning of the 20th century (Mthembu-Spalter 1999:658). With gospel music, the solo artist that has gained a large following in recent years is Rebecca Malope, but there is a large variety of choirs such as Ladysmith Black Mambazo and the Imilonji kaNthu Choral Society (Mthembu-Spalter, 1999:658).

The 1990s saw Jabu Kanyile, Bayete, with the hit album Mmalowe, and Ringo as its most popular artists within the post-bubblegum pop style and emergence of hip hop and kwaito.66

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65 Bubblegum was “the modernised, sophisticated choral jazz of Miriam Makeba and Letta Mbuli, blended with popular solo balladry by vocalists such as Steve Kekana” which first emerged in the 1970s (Coplan).

66 There is also a large amount of music amongst the South African minorities such as the popular Indian South African style “chutney” and Indian South African religious music, Afrikaans alternative rock, singer/songwriters such as Vusi Mahlasela, and the impact of reggae in the 1970s was significant (Nixon 02.07.2007).
2.8 Summary
In this chapter I have briefly detailed the history of Norway and South Africa with the people and institutions that link them through centuries. It is an outline of relevant history and musical history presented in order to establish an understanding of the topic within a time frame, as it is crucial to institute the developments within the musical and cultural arena of Norway and South Africa.
Chapter 3
Literature review and theoretical framework

3.1 Demarcating the literature covered
In this chapter, the different works of scholarship that have shaped my understanding and, thereby, the course of this research project will be examined. Through reviewing the available literature on the topic of Norwegian-South African interaction and social history, I examine the main aspects and arguments within this research project, tracing the musical journey of Norwegian-South African collaboration and Norwegian musicians’ perceptions of South African music and musicians, as well as the influence South African music and musicians have had on Norwegian musicians.

I shall review the selected sources of scholarship that I have made use of, organising this review chronologically according to themes.

3.2 Early Norwegian history
Norwegian history is a field that has been thoroughly researched by Norwegian scholars in particular. The following researchers have contributed to my understanding of the topics that follow; Dagre, Fint (1963) and Logan, with regard to the historical summary of the Viking and pre-Christian eras; Ersland & Sandvik (1999), with regard to the historical summary of the Middle-Ages; Flint (1963), with regard to Norway and its relationship to religion; and Dagre and Hærnes (1994) with regard to Danish-Norwegian colonisation.

3.2.1 Norwegian mission history in South Africa
A small number of scholars have contributed significantly to the academic field of the history and interpretation of Norwegian mission, missionaries and missionary work in South Africa. I have consulted the following scholars; Etherington (1978), Bloch-Hoell (1982), Simensen (1986, 1986b), Hernæs (1986), Hale (1997) and Steed & Sundkler (2000).

In Preachers, peasants and politics (1978), Etherington discusses the importance of Christian missionary activity amongst the African people of southeast Africa from
three points of view: that of missionaries deeply rooted in their social background, which was almost synonymous with their religious upbringing; from the point of view of the *amakholwa* (Zulu, African Christians); and, lastly, that of the non-Christian Zulu people.

Bloch-Hoell's (1982:13-22) article, "Norwegian mission to South Africa 1880-1920: colonialist confrontation or apostolic approach?" outlines the history and conditions of Norwegian missionaries in Zululand in order to assess their motives.

Simensen's "Norwegian Missionaries in the Nineteenth Century: Organizational Background, Social Profile, and World View" (1986a:11-55) analyses Norwegian missionaries' social background, creating an understanding of their behaviour and attitudes towards indigenous cultures of Southern Africa. Simensen (1986b:82) also examines religious change in "Religious change as transaction: the Norwegian mission to Zululand South Africa 1850-1906" by means of transactional analysis, arguing that two approaches stand out: the diffusionist (of theological background) and the sociological (of African historians). He further argues that, because the early Norwegian missionary work in South Africa occurred during the opening phase of the encounter between a European civilisation and a politically independent and relatively self-sufficient African society, [... it] became part of a comprehensive process of political and economic change to which they contributed [... which shows] particularly clearly [... how] African religious change is tied up to the process of social transformation (Simensen 1986b:97).

Simensen concludes that religious change should be seen as part of "the totality of transactions between the missionaries and the local population" (1986b:83).

*Norwegian Missions in African History Vol. I: South Africa 1845-1906* (Simensen (ed.), 1986) portrays extensive work done by Norwegian scholars during the late 1970s and early 1980s on early Norwegian mission stations in an African society. The project was an analysis of "the political and social function of the missionaries and the African response in the societies concerned, where the Norwegians were the only Europeans present during the first phase" (Simensen 1982:352).

Hæren's (1986:103-186) "The Zulu kingdom, Norwegian missionaries, and the British imperialism, 1845-1979", has been vital in establishing the order of events prior, during and after the initial contact between the Zulu people and the Norwegian people.

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Norwegian missionaries in Natal and Zululand: selected correspondence 1844-1900, a collection of missionary correspondence edited by Hale (1997), explores the pertinent letters between the Norwegian missionaries in Zululand and Natal and the NMS in Norway. This text contains key information regarding the missionaries’ representation of the Zulus, and how this changed, albeit to a limited extent, in the first thirty years of their work in Southern Africa; it also documents how their attitudes towards the Zulu people changed the longer they stayed.

The history of the church in Africa, the comprehensive book by Bishop Sundkler and Steed (2000) contains references to the early days of the NMS mission in Natal and Zululand. More importantly, it narrates the entire history of mission within the context of missionary history in South Africa prior to and after Schreuder’s time in the country.

The monthly NMS periodical Norsk Missions-Tidende (NMT) (Norwegian, Norwegian mission journal) and their newsletter, Zuluvennen (Norwegian, The Zulu friend), were the society’s means of communication and interaction with their followers, and much of the literature available about the NMS missionaries in Zululand is found in there. NMT, the largest magazine published in Norway at the time, was distributed to a large number of readers in Norway and hence created an image of the mission field and its people (Simensen 1995:138,141). It was crucial to sell the ‘right’ image through NMT, mainly because “[t]he Norwegian Missionary Society […] depended entirely on the [supporters’ financial contributions to keep up its mission] overseas. In this respect, the image of light and darkness can be seen not only as the ideological basis for the mission. In a real sense it would also be its financial lifeline” (Skeie 2001:172 [emphasis in original]).

I have briefly discussed the main points of the seven authors referred to above and have examined their work as one body of knowledge. Due to their generally unanimous argument based on historical facts, I list them as historical evidence. They predominantly argue that the Norwegian view of Zululand and its indigenous people in 18th and 19th Centuries was mostly based on what missionaries regularly reported to the NMS Home Board in Stavanger.
3.2.2 Contemporaries of the Norwegian missionaries former Zululand and Natal

There is a modest amount of literature available on Norwegian missions’ cultural interaction with its African subjects in Zululand compared to that of its Swedish contemporaries. Therefore, on the basis that Norway and Sweden are neighbouring countries with similar traditions and norms, which travelled to the southern African continent with the same religious background and gospel, much of the academic and non-academic literature utilised will be based on Swedish and other scholars with cultural research.

3.3 Early Norwegian representation

The majority of the first images of Southern Africa and its inhabitants reached Norway through the mission discourse. The colonialists, in the process of conquest, slave trading and colonising of African people, had been portraying stereotypical images of Africans throughout Europe. In my search for understanding of these issues, the following recent scholars have been most relevant: Stepan (1982), Hale (1997), Lindfors (2001), Kirkegaard (2001) and Magubane (2001).

In *The idea of race in science: Great Britain 1800-1960* (1982: 189) Stepan argues that the long tradition of scientific racism, which extended well into the 20th century, testified to a deep “psychological need [that] Western Europeans [...] seem to have felt to divide and rank human groups, and measure them negatively against the idealized, romantic picture of themselves”.

According to Hale’s *Norwegian missionaries in Natal and Zululand: selected correspondence 1844-1900* (1997:4), the Norwegian missionaries’ image of Africa and its inhabitants was largely influenced by a geographical curriculum based on Daa’s *Elements of Geography* (1875), “a textbook which revealed [the author’s] ignorance of Africa”. Daa described the African continent as “an immense peninsula” without any high mountain ranges, hence having little variation in temperature, with “nearly the entire continent [belonging] to the hottest regions of the world” and therefore unhealthy for Europeans to live (1875:122-130).

Lindfors’ “Hottentot, Bushman, Kaffir: the making of racist stereotypes in 19th-century Britain”, is a description of the British view of Southern Africans as “children of
nature who needed to be civilized and domesticated” which he analyses as serving to justify the “paternalistic relationship between the colonizer and the colonized [...] as a necessary symbiosis that was morally correct” (2001:51-54). Moreover, the colonial discourse on the African people was based on an assumed biological incompatibility with European people, due to which they were regarded as socially and intellectually inferior (Lindfors 2001:61).

Kirkegaard (2001:35) argues, in “Questioning the origins of the negative image of Africa”, that “racism in Europe emerged at a convenient time, when the Portuguese began to colonize and conquer both the New World and the ancient lands of Africa”.

Finally, Magubane’s “Labour laws and stereotypes: images of the KhoiKhoi in the Cape in the age of abolition” (2001:77), discusses colonialism and “otherness”, arguing that they go hand in hand. Magubane largely attributes this relationship between and coloniser and the other “to the work of post-modernism and post-colonial studies [...] where...] the Colonized-Other becomes a screen upon which negative elements of self-image of the Colonizer are projected” (Magubane 2001:77).

3.3.1 Missionaries or civilising colonialists; a dual discourse

The most relevant recent scholarly contributors to this field which I have used are Beidelman (1982), Comaroff & Comaroff (1991), De Kock (1998) and Skeie (2001).

In Colonial evangelism: a socio-historical study of East African mission at the grassroots, Beidelman (1982) argues that missionaries were criticised early on for being the most radical agents of change on the colonial scene, in fact they literally set out to enlighten the dark, pagan, African mind and thereby paving the way for European colonisation of the African consciousness.

According to Comaroff & Comaroff (1991:88), who developed Beidelman’s (1982) argument, postcolonial critique has been vital in representing how Christian missionaries intentionally and unintentionally operated as “agent, scribe, and moral alibi” for the European colonising project. De Kock (1998:5) is of a similar opinion in Civilising barbarians, in which he argues that

[a]ny study wishing to explore the discursive procedures by which a ‘civilising’ colonialism in nineteenth-century South Africa sought to inscribe orthodox forms of subjectivity in ‘barbarous’ Africans, must have recourse to the assiduous attempt by missionaries to create a universal regime of truth.
Moreover, De Kock (1998:3-5) argues that "the ostensible thrust of the civilising mission was to remake Africans in the European image", and aims at showing how missionaries "re-invented the lineaments of African subjectivity" in order to prepare the grounds for a momentous cultural change where the journey from dark to light was the ultimate goal.

The image of darkness as a negative element, mainly based in Christian symbolic dualism, caused a generally negative view of Zululand and its people, as maintained by the Norwegian Lutheran missionaries. According to Skeie in "Beyond black and white: reinterpreting 'the Norwegian missionary image of the Malagasy'" (2001), "negative darkness" refers to the image of heathenism in Lutheran doctrine as dark, plunged in despair and uncivilised, whereas Christianity was viewed as the light, pure and civilised. Skeie (2001:169) explains that the missionary work was not merely a work of "life and death" but a "matter of eternal life and eternal death". Hence the "light of Christianity and the darkness of [...] heathenism" were the ontological categories along which this dichotomy moved (2001:169). Moreover, the missionary discourse expressed a "dualistic world of light and darkness" where the "actual encountered images would have to transmit something of 'the other', [and] not merely contain the counter-image that serves to define 'the self'" (Skeie 2001:169).

### 3.3.2 The Zulu people

The history of the Zulu people has been thoroughly investigated, but, apart from the more recent apartheid aspect of South African history, it is nevertheless a complicated task to choose what source to rely on when dealing with the history of the Zulu people, because of their oral history.

In connection with the overall history of the Zulu people, I have relied on two texts: *The destruction of the Zulu kingdom* by Guy (1994), which details the early history of the Zulu people, and *South Africa: a modern history* by Davenport and Saunders (2000), an inclusive account of South Africa, specifically with regard to the history and origins of the Zulu people.

study of missionary activity, *Of revelation and revolution*, was a basis for some of De Kock's arguments, although not the core of it (De Kock 1996).

### 3.4 Early musical interactions

I have not come across any references to direct intentional musical interaction between Norwegian missionaries and the Zulu people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Rakkenes (2003) and Weman (1960), however, refer to a small number of unintentional musical interactions that took place in Zululand in the first fifty years of Norwegian presence. None of these interactions have been explored directly in the literature that I have covered. An analysis of the effect of the education offered at the mission stations provides a picture of a "musical bridge" where music was the communication medium. Within this communication medium, missionaries thought they were 'reaching out' to their 'subjects' through a recognisable medium to both parties.

The aftermath of European missionary work in Zululand is a lasting effect on choral traditions (Olwage 2002 and 2003; Weman 1960; Erlmann, 1991). It is well documented that African converts were expected to sing hymns and psalms as part of the congregation of most European mission churches. The development of this phenomenon is analysed by Erlmann in *African stars* (1991), though no specific references to Norwegian involvement is made, but Erlmann's theoretical frame for the interpretation of the social history of the development through mission, music and urbanisation amongst the indigenous people of South Africa, facilitates an understanding of the musical situation within the NMS in Zululand.

*Himmelfolket: en norsk høvding i Zululand*, by Rakkenes (2003), provide two clear references to interactions as a direct effect of the encounter between the NMS missionary Hans Schreuder and the Zulu ruler Mpande kaSenzanagkhona, as well as his mother, Monase. Firstly, Rakkenes' documentation of an *isibongo* where Schreuder is mentioned, which has been compiled by Sipho Sithole, is the most important musical finding relating to early Norwegian missionary work in Zululand that I have come across. The second musical reference by Rakkenes has to do with a series of personal meetings between Schreuder and Monase, when they sang hymns and/or psalms which were reported by Schreuder as a mutually appreciated activity (2001:119-120). Rakkenes'
(2001) musical findings are based on the missionary reports to the NMS home board, as well as on Zulu oral history, which documents the importance of the relationship between this particular Norwegian missionary and Mpande at the time.

3.4.1 Music in the mission church
Considering that very limited research has been undertaken specifically on musical interaction at Norwegian mission stations in South Africa, I have decided to rely on the data that has been collected for the greater field, namely the meeting between Scandinavians and South Africans, in which Sweden has been particularly active. I made this decision on the basis of Scandinavia's close political, geographical and religious history and have therefore used Weman (1960) when demarcating the subject.

The congregational music of the mission church is assessed by Weman in *African music in the church in Africa* (1960:133). He argues that a great "number of missionary churches retained the order of service and music", hence it was "this inheritance" which comprised their "musical and liturgical essentials".68

Within the Norwegian Lutheran mission churches, education gradually grew after 1880, as a result of the realisation that education attracted more people for possible conversion. However, the most important factor in this growth, according to Myklbust's "Sør Afrika" (1949) and Simensen's "Religious change as transaction: the Norwegian mission to Zululand South Africa 1850-1906" (1986), was Zululand's loss of independence.

3.4.2 Cultural assimilation
Weman, a Swedish missionary and academic, in *African Music in the Church in Africa* (1960), writes of increased cultural assimilation through mission school education after 1900 as a tool to convert more indigenous people. Therefore, due to their educational efforts, the mission "created the principle on which musical education has proceeded" (Weman 1960:115-116). Traditional African music, however, was given no place in the educational scheme as it was "automatically rejected as heathen" and treated as dangerous (Weman 1960:116). Instead, the Curwen tonic sol-fa method was introduced

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68 Liturgy; "the service of Christian Eucharist" (Oxford Reference Online) and church music was vaguely included in a missionary's education and were thought to be without any real importance (Weman 1960:134).
as a tool for teaching basic music reading at the mission schools, with this becoming yet another instrument to culturally assimilate the indigenous converts. A limited amount of notated instrumental music was available within this system and for this reason, Weman argues; instrumental tuition did not become part of the general curriculum at the mission schools (1960:117), with the result that musical education “consisted of an altogether one-sided cultivation of vocal music” (Weman 1960:117-118).

3.4.3 New perspectives after 1960
According to Weman, in *African Music in the Church in Africa* (1960:133,136), the old melodies of the Mass originating from Gregorian chant, started changing after 1960 through the particular interpretation they received in the Zulu congregations. Weman argues that Gregorian chant originally provided a common basis for the music of the whole of Christendom and the ecclesiastical modes found within the area under discussion were quite close to that of traditional Zulu music and therefore more easily adaptable for the Zulu people (1960:136).

Weman explains that the improvised, four-part singing of the Zulu congregations became a common phenomenon in congregational singing within the Scandinavian mission church by 1960; however, the chord structure of the Western melodies was automatically altered to adapt to the congregation’s tonal idea (1960:138).

3.4.4 Hymns and transliteration
Jones argues, in *African Hymnody in Christian Worship* (1976:7), that there was an issue with regard to what the congregations were to sing from the beginning of musical work in Southern African missions. Jones argues further that

[n]o one at the time knew anything about either African music or about the subtler aspects of African languages. Therefore, once one [had] a working knowledge of the local vernacular, the process of hymn-making was comparatively straightforward. You [chose] a European hymn, counted the syllables in each line, and – neglecting the rhymes at the end of the line – wrote vernacular verses containing the same number of syllables (1976:7).

69 The Order of the Mass describes “the (almost) invariable parts of the mass” (Oxford Reference Online 05.12.2006). Gregorian chant, also referred to as medieval church plainsong, is described as “[s]olo and unison plainsong choral chants associated with Pope Gregory I (ca.540–604) which became the fundamental music of the Roman Catholic Church” (Oxford Reference Online).

70 These missionaries’ approach was “by no means merely [based] on ignorance”, but rather thoughtfully based on their musical and theological views in which European music was “the proper music for African Christian Worship” (1976:14). However, as Jones argues, it is important to remember that the European missionary brought with him what he knew to Africa and it is very likely that it never “occurred to them to
The language of the Zulu people belongs to the Bantu language family that is generally trochaic in construction in which "an accented syllable is followed by an unaccented" (Weman 1960:142). When trochaic text was set to an iambic melody or vice versa, it resulted in shattering the rhythmical connection between words and music (Weman 1960:142). However, in the mission field of Southern Africa, both missionaries and the Zulu people became used to what Weman refers to as errors, and incorporated them into their traditions (1960:144). The result was hymn singing with the wrong meters in every line due to the "transliteration" of these hymns (Jones 1950).

The vernacular stress of the Zulu language was supposedly solved by the ‘double-knock’ at the end of a phrase, which falsely created an extra accent (Jones 1976:20). More specifically, as nearly all the hymns that the European missionaries brought with them ended on a strong beat, the translated hymns therefore needed an extra strong beat at the end of the phrase, which created two syllables at the end – one strong and one weak – hence the ‘double-knock’ was introduced by the missionaries (Jones 1976:22).

3.4.4.1 Tonetics
Knowledge of tonetics in the early days of mission in Southern African was almost non-existent; in fact, most European people were unaware that an African word did “not merely consist of syllables but [...] also included the pitch of voice on which you say each syllable” (Jones 1976:21). It was the realisation on the part of Ward (1935:21), a linguist who “raised the question of fitting the tones of words to the tones of music” in “African Music” that pioneered the study – now universally accepted – of the ‘tonal’ nature of most African languages (Jones 1976:29). Hence, Jones (1976:29) concludes, African peoples of the mission were encouraged to compose tunes and hymns in their own African idiom.

3.4.5 Recent publications on mission and music in South Africa
More recent scholars such as Steinert, the author of “Towards a “liturgical missiology”: perspectives on music in Lutheran mission work in South Africa” (2003:1), argue that

...
although liturgy and music are important ingredients of Christian gatherings as expression of their life-giving faith, [...] and although music is instrumental in Lutheran missionary work, also in South Africa, in Lutheran missiological writing one does not find much meditating or theologising with regard to the role music plays in missionary work.


According to Thorsén (2004a:9), music “plays an important role in the life and development of societies” and *Sound of change: social and political features of music in Africa* (2004) is a portrait of how “music operates in Africa, with an emphasis on different social processes” promotes the importance of further cooperation between Nordic and African countries (Thorsén 2004a:9).

Thorsén explains that “[c]ulture in Africa is living in a historical process [and t]he legacy of colonialism is ever present, not least in the music” (2004a:15). Further, “[t]he colonial educational systems have, in general, been inherited by independent states” and due to these western-based standards, European music is still the norm and it overshadows the area of professionally recognised knowledge of African music (Thorsén 2004a:16). Moreover, the ambiguity of this values system complicates the cultural development. Therefore “[t]he object colonial music education followed – and still follows – strategies of the mission and colonial governments” (Thorsén 2004a:16).

### 3.4.5.1. A link between missionary views and current preceptions of African music

Thorsén (2005) has investigated the present perceptions of Africa and concludes that these are “biased by an inherited view of African culture”. Moreover, the missionary discourse has disseminated these views “through churches, schools, and mass media” to a much larger extent then that of anthropologists and colonisers.

Thorsén (2005) asked “[h]ow have missionaries reflected music in Africa?” and thereby examined the musical work of Posse, Weman and Olof Axelson, leading
missionaries in southern Africa over three generations. These three missionaries “are particularly recognised for their work in music” and offer diverse understanding of “the image of music in Africa” (Thorsén 2005). To examine these sources, Thorsén (2005) argues, one must consider “intercultural relations” and utilise both a mirroring reflection and a window perspective of “the Other”. Palmberg (2001:10) describes this “imagery of encounter between “them” and “us”” in her “Introduction” to *Encounter images in the meetings between Africa and Europe* (Palmberg 2001), where she asks whether the image is a result of looking through a window with “a frame that provides a certain limited perspective” or gazing into a mirror which portrays “a picture mixed with our own assumptions and prejudices” (Thorsén 2005).

Thorsén concludes that stereotyping is fundamental to missionary scholars’ investigation of music from the perspective of their missionary fields in southern Africa (2005). Moreover,

many common features of the missionaries’ images are fundamental to ongoing constructions of intercontinental or global musical practices. The discourse of World Music sometimes relies on hereditary assumptions about global relations (Erlmann 1999) and the view of The Other (Bohlman 2002), which extrapolate much of what missionaries have told us about “African music” (Thorsén 2005).

### 3.5 Norwegian immigration to South Africa

*Misjonærer, settlersamfunn og afrikansk opposisjon: striden om selvstendiggjøring i den norske Zulukirken, Sør-Afrika ca. 1920–1930*, a doctoral thesis by Mellemsether (2001), investigates an important period for the Norwegian church in Zululand that represents a great deal of turbulence within the church as well as within the bounds of the local European settler society into which the Norwegian missionaries and their families became integrated.

Winquist’s *Scandinavians and South Africa: their impact on social, economic and cultural development before 1900* (1978) is a comprehensive account of the Norwegian immigrants to South Africa, detailing who they were, their places of origin, and when and where they settled and represents a major source of historical information on Norwegian emigration to South Africa. Winquist describes the history of the Thesen family, Ludvig

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72 “The purpose was to convert Africans to Christianity; the rationale behind this was the mission command. “They” should become one of “us” in terms of religious beliefs” (Thorsén 2005).
Larsen, the NMS, the Debora Expedition, Nils Landmark, Alfred County and the Marburg settlers.

3.5.1 Music in a Norwegian settler society
The interactions between indigenous Zulu people and Norwegian settlers were minimal, as the settlers were more likely to be less open-minded than the missionaries and more integrated into South African settler society as argued above. However, no scholars that I read deals with music in this settler society in depth and therefore, I rely on the scholarship of closely related cases in order to establish a framework. For example, the overall Norwegian missionary history is covered by Simensen (1984, 1986 and 1995) and the settlers are discussed by Mellemsether in Misjonærer, settlersamfunn og afrikansk opposisjon: striden om selvstendiggjøring i den norske Zulukirken, Sør-Afrika ca. 1920–1930 (2001).

3.6 Norwegian foreign aid
The history of Norwegian aid to Southern Africa begins in the 1970s. Despite this involvement, however, Tostensen (2002) in “Norway’s Africa Policy” argues that Norway still does not have a clear Africa policy. The following articles details this relationship: Eriksen’s “The Origins of a Special relationship: Norway and Southern Africa 1960-1975” (2000), the beginning of what has become a substantial aid is detail in order to understand the reasons why it took long to develop; “The Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa” by Aøy (2000), details the Norwegian aid as seen by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Norway and how it played an important mediatory role during apartheid; “The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa: a study in solidarity and activism” by Drolsum (2000) details this council’s involvement in Southern Africa; In Eriksen & Krokan’s (2000) article “Fuelling the apartheid war machine’: A case study of shipowner, sanctions and solidarity movements”, examines how Norwegian shipping

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73 The music of Norwegian settlers in South Africa are likely to have contained some traces of Norwegian traditional music, however, this would depend on the extent of their religiousness. Due to the pietistic views of the Norwegian Lutherans, traditional music in general was taken to be a very negative force; hence dance, hardingfele playing and traditional singing was mostly banned as a heathen activity. (Hopkins 1986). Therefore, if they were religious they were likely to disapprove of any sort of African traditional music, and should they have been less religious, they were most likely to seek to integrate into the local white settler society while adapting their values and attitudes towards the indigenous population of South Africa

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broke the South African boycott; Østby (2000) examines the Norwegian role in the liberation movements in South Africa in “The South African liberation struggle”.

3.7 Musical history

A general overview of the musical history of both Norway and South Africa is essential to this study due to its central role in understanding of the background of the various interactions investigated in this research project. I have therefore looked at both Norwegian and South African musics including music including church music, art music, traditional music, jazz and popular music in order to assist this understanding.

3.7.1 Norwegian art music

The Norwegian musical history as it is known today started with the emergence of Christianity (ca 900). There is much academic literature available on the early musical history of Norway; however it is even more widely research from the National Romantic (ca. 1840s -1900s) period onwards.

I have relayed on Martinsen, Reinåmo & Steffenak’s (1996) Crescendo: fra renesanse til rock (Norwegian, From Renaissance to rock) for an overview of Norwegian art music as well as Vollnes’ “Norway: art music”.

For a summary of the most important stylistic features of Norwegian folk music, I have utilised Sevåg & Blom 12.06.2007a; “Norway: traditional music”, Sevåg & Blom 12.06.2007b; “Norway: vocal music” and Sevåg & Blom 12.06.2007c; “Norway: instruments and instrumental music” as a bases for an understanding of this music. Sámi folk music on the other hand, is less documented but Cronshaw’s “Sámiland (Lappland): joiks of the tundra” (1999b), “A brief introduction to traditional Sami song and the modern music” (http://boreale.konto.itv.se/smusic.htm 18.06.2007) offer a brief but concise introduction to the history and current trends of this music and finally Lüderwaldt 05.07.2007a; “Sámi [Saami] music: Sámi music: historical background” and Lüderwaldt 05.07.2007b; Sámi [Saami] music: the current situation”.

The developments of early Norwegian jazz that emerged in the 1920 are detailed by Stendahl in Jazz i Norge 1920 – 1940 as well as Cool, klover & dixie: jazzens lykkelige 50-tall (12.06.2007b). Newer developments however are summarised by Kristiansen in Jazz i Norge etter 1960 (a).
Religious church music and its development might seem insignificant, however as the close relationship between Norwegian state and church as maintain throughout centuries to the present, it proves to an important genre. Cronshaw's "Norway: fjords and fiddles" (1999a) serves as an introduction to the understanding of this surprisingly large topic.

Norwegian popular music is as in most countries of the world a wide-ranging term and includes pop, rock, hip-hop, metal, R & B and electronica in this context as well a range of cross-genre fusions. The Music Information Centre in Norway (MIC) has compiled a brief summary of the various current developments and trends in Popular Music.

3.7.2 South African music
The indigenous music of the Nguni people of South Africa is fairly well documented in Grove Music Online through scholars such as Impey & Rycroft (12.06.2007 a, c, d, e and f) which is based on earlier research such as Dargie (1988).

South African indigenous music first significant contact with the Western world was through the European and American missionasation. As a result, their indigenous music was suppressed but elements are found in the so-called mission music that developed through these encounters. Coplan (12.06.2007) explains this fusion in "Popular styles and cultural fusion".

Protest music was another aspect of the effects of missionisation which is detailed in Gray's article "The liberations Songs: An important voice of Black South Africans 1912-1994" (2004).

Urban popular music started developing as the increased urbanisation of the indigenous people of South Africa was taking place. Through this urbanisation, styles such as marabi, kwela, mbqanga, isicathemiya and maskanda emerged which is well detailed by Coplan (12.06.2007, 1985), Ballentine (1993) and (Impey & Rycroft, f).

3.8 Exile
Under apartheid, numerous South African artists went into exile and many of these to northern parts of Europe, Britain in particular. Several of these artists were jazz
musicians within the avant-garde idiom, a growing genre from the 1960s onwards and some of these musicians settled in Scandinavia.

3.8.1 The Blue Notes
Literature in book or journal form in connection with The Blue Notes band is limited. However, Chris McGregor and the Brotherhood of Breath: my Life with a South African Jazz Pioneer (McGregor 1995) and Mbizo – a book about Johnny Dyani (Rasmussen 2003) have both proved the importance of a furthered investigation into this band.

Johnny Dyani and Louis Moholo are, to my knowledge, the only members of this band to collaborate with Norwegian musicians. They are detailed in Carr’s biographies in The rough guide to jazz, “Mbizo Johnny Dyani” (1995a) and “Louis Moholo” (1995b) as well as Ledesma & Kernfeld (a) “Johnny (Mbizo) Dyani” and Ledesma & Kernfeld (b) “Louis Moholo”. However, Moholo is the only surviving member of The Blue Notes. There are more interviews and articles on him, though these are limited; these include Louis Moholo-Moholo: when free jazz means freedom (May 2005), Louis Moholo, the sound of freedom (Eyles 2002) and “Louis Moholo” (Afribeat web site).

3.9 Recent developments
Contemporary musical interactions between Norway and South Africa are to a large extent vaguely documented in academic writing. As a result of this limitation, I have sought alternative routes as sources of information and therefore rely mostly on web-based material, album reviews, album liner notes, newspaper and magazine articles and interviews, as will become apparent below.

3.9.1 Frode Gjerstad
The information regarding saxophonist Gjerstad is mainly derived from interviews found on the internet as well as various web sites. The most significant of these are European Free Improvisation Pages—hereafter EFIP—(EFIP), Frode Gjerstad’s web site (Gjerstad), an interview with Gjerstad by Vittorio LoConte (Gjerstad & LaConte) on the web site and “An Interview with Norwegian Saxophonist Frode Gjerstad” by Micah Holmquist (Gjerstad & Holmquist).
3.9.1.1 Detail
As Rasmussen states in *Mbizo – a book about Johnny Dyani* (2003:23), “Detail is a much neglected band”, hence the information available about this band is not easy to come by. However, Rasmussen (2003), internet-sourced interviews with Frode Gjerstad (Holmquist & LoConte), the European Free Improvisation Pages (EFIP) and Frode Gjerstad’s own web site (www.frodegjerstad.com) have contributed greatly towards the understanding of Detail’s existence.

Litweiler’s *DownBeat* review (1984:46) of Detail’s second recording *Forwards and backwards / backwards and forwards* (1982 Impetus), is the only reference I came across with regards to the actual music played by the band, as it has proved to be very difficult to get hold of the recording due to its limited distribution.

3.9.2 Marianne Antonsen
To my knowledge there is no published research into the Norwegian popular music singer Marianne Antonsen. However, there is only one web site which details Antonsen’s background: “Marianne—local girl with a great voice” (http://home.online.no/~jkorshav/marianne.html 21.06.2006). There is, however, more information available regarding Antonsen’s *Blomster i Soweto* recording on the CD-liner notes (Antonsen
1995), as well as an article by Kristiansen (1999) called “Harpe og pistol” (Norwegian harp and pistol).

Imilonji kaNthu Choral Society recorded the Blomster i Soweto album with Antonsen. The choir is, according to various internet sources, known as one of the most prominent in South Africa (http://www.safrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/anthem.htm 21.06.2006).

3.9.2.1 Kirkelig Kulturverksted
This music label Kirkelig Kulturverksted is run, as well as mostly produced by, Erik Hillestad who has done much to bring various genres of music together with church music. I have found no published research on Kirkelig Kulturverksted, but refer to, various articles on Kirkelig Kulturverksted web site (KKV) which offer information regarding the history of the label and the various recordings the company has released.

3.9.3 Bjørn Ole Solberg
Information regarding Solberg is difficult to find, however there are some references to him on the internet; Afrikan på trøndersk: ujevnt, men med en viss sjarm (Norwegian, African in “trøndersk”: uneven, but with a certain degree of charm) (Selvik 2006) which is an album review of African Pepperbirds latest album Cape Point and Heftig jazz med afrikansk krydder (Norwegian, Serious jazz with African spices) (Hammerø) which is also a review of the same album. Further, in connection with the San Song (1996) album there were also a few reviews; Song (Mosnes) who gave the album a five-star review (Hareuveni)

There is, however, research-based text, Solberg’s master’s thesis from NTNU, “African horns: Saxophone players in the South African jazz tradition” (Solberg 1996) which is an analysis and comparison of South African and US jazz saxophonist.

Solberg met saxophonist Zim Ngqawana in the course of his fieldwork in South Africa and initiated the SAN ensemble, which the South African pianist, Andile Yenana, was also was asked to join. Information regarding this collaboration, which also included the Norwegian drummer Paal Nilssen-Love and bassist Ingebrigt Flaten, is difficult to find. The data is mostly web-based at the various artists’ own web sites, in the liner notes.
of the *San Song* recording (SAN & Ngqawana 1996), or in a few album reviews posted on the internet (Mosnes).

### 3.9.3.1 SAN featuring Zim Ngqawana
Ngqawana has within the past decade become a popular figure on the experimental jazz scene in South Africa, hence his background and current development is widely available on the web. However many of these reference are linked to his own web site (www.zimology.com). Aside from this web site, the liner notes of his albums contribute to an understanding of Ngqawana’s music (SAN & Ngqawana 1996, Ngqawana 1998, 1999, 2001 and 2003).


Nilssen-Love (drums) and Flaten (bass) started their musical interaction with Ngqawana in the SAN ensemble initiated by Solberg and continued on *Zimology* (1998) and *Ingoma* (1999). Background information on these two is taken from the artists’ own web sites (www.paalnilssen-love.com & www.ingebrigtflaten.com)

### 3.9.4 SouthAfroBrazz
The collaboration between The Brazz Brothers and Women Unite is called SouthAfroBrazz. Literature on this collaboration can, to my knowledge, be found only through web-based sources such as The Brazz Brothers own web site (www.brazzbrothers.com), Women Unite’s agent’s web site (Arries & Gordon, a) and through concert reviews of their one CD, *SouthAfroBrazz—Live in Cape Town*, on the internet (Mosnes). However there is information available on The Brazz Brothers in their biography, *The Brazz Brothers* (2005) edited by the five band members wives.

### 3.9.5 Rikskonsertene, Mmino, Norwegian Church Aid and Norad
These organisations receive funding, whole or in part, directly or indirectly from the Norwegian government. To a large extent they are one of the most important elements in the various contemporary musical interactions between Norwegian and South African
musicians. There is however no academic literature available except for their representative web sites, where, to a certain degree, yearly reports can be obtained as well as an overview of current and past projects. These web sites are www.rikskonsertene.no, www.minno.org.za, www.nca.no and www.norad.no.

3.9.6 Norwegian images of African culture

A scan of the Norwegian media such as the most common read daily newspapers and the national TV (NRK) produced quite sketchy images of Africa. The Norwegian film critic Aalen (2005) in På leting etter et annet Afrika (Norwegian, Looking for a different Africa) discusses how African films, including South African films, are represented abroad through an review of her visit to the Zanzibar International Film Festival (ZIFF) Stone Town at Zanzibar, Tanzania.\(^{74}\) Moreover, Aalen (2005) argues that South Africa seemed to be one of very few countries which are displaying stories other than that of misery, war and poverty. She argues that growth is taking place from within the African continent through filmmakers who want to portray a different picture, “a picture of dance and music and of humanity amongst human beings and towards nature” (Aalen 2005). Aalen found that South African filmmakers have reached the furthest in counteracting the picture of a miserable continent through their good quality films, documentaries and short films (2005).

In Mye Afrika på Maijazz (Norwegian, Much jazz at Maijazz) (Wold), the author notes a growing presence of African artists at the Maijazz festival in Stavanger. At the same time, he automatically classifies the blind Malian duo Amadou & Mariam under the category “World Music”. In Norway, this category, also known as verdens musikk, is a term known to categorise various genres according to the categoriser. For instance, it may be understood as a fusion of Western music with other more “ethnic” types of music, but it can also be understood as all music different to that of your own country of origin. Hence the term seems to have become a category utilised for all African, Asian, Middle Eastern, South American, East European as well as South European music that cannot be fitted into that of worldwide category of popular music as well as rock music.

\(^{74}\) This is now known as the Dhow Countries festival.
The general discourse of the Norwegian perception of the African continent is discussed in an article by Jorde in Kronikk. Jorde analysis of the G8 summit in 2005 and the part Norway plays in the bigger picture of world politics revolving around Africa. The article is a call to change the current image Norwegians have of Africa, which Jorde says is almost exclusively associated with underdevelopment, conflict and an increasing need for aid (Jode).

3.10 “The Other”, othering and alterity

“The Other,” the constitutive other and othering all refer to the same idea which is opposed to “the Same” (Critchley 1998). These terms refer, or attempt to refer to, that which is “other” than the concept being considered and is often capitalised, hence “the Other” is singled out as different. It was the German philosopher George Hegel (b.1770, d.1831) who first argued that the self requires the other to define itself by arguing that “[e]ach consciousness pursues the death of the other”. However, the concept of othering has developed further through the writings of scholars such as Emmanuel Lévinas (b.1906, d.1995). Lévinas coined the contemporary usage of “the Other” by defining it as a radically other and his scholarship has largely influenced the movement of French existential phenomenology (1999a, 1999b & 1999c).

The idea of alterity is closely related to that of “the Other”, and is, moreover, a philosophical term denoting “otherness” and is defined by scholars such as Lévinas as exchanging one’s perspective for that of “the Other” (1999a, 1999b & 1999c). The Algerian-born French philosopher, Jacques Derrida (b.1930, d.2004), took Lévinas’ contributions to continental philosophy further and is known as the founder of “deconstruction”. Derrida’s “deconstruction” theories are based on upon Levinas’ ethics theories and developed further through a method of philosophical and literary analysis questioning “the fundamental conceptual distinctions, or “oppositions,” in Western

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75 Lévinas is a twentieth century ethical philosopher and religious thinker who contributed largely to modern continental thought.

76 Continental philosophy is a “[c]ollective term for the many distinct philosophical traditions, methods, and styles that predominated on the European continent (particularly in France and Germany) from the time of Immanuel Kant. It is usually understood in contrast with analytic philosophy, also called Anglo-American philosophy. In the 20th century it encompassed schools such as phenomenology, existentialism, structuralism, and deconstruction and thinkers such as Martin Heidegger, Jean-Paul Sartre, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, Michel Foucault, and Jacques Derrida” (Encyclopedia Britannica Online)
philosophy through a close examination of the language and logic of philosophical and literary texts (Encyclopædia Britannica Online).

Within the field of cultural identity, recent work by Baaz, Kirkegaard and Palmberg has shed much light on postcolonial African identity through the exploration of “us” and “them” in *Same and other: negotiating African identity in cultural production* (Baaz & Palmberg 2001), *Encounter images in the meeting between Africa and Europe* (Palmberg 2001) and *Playing with identities in contemporary music in Africa* (Kirkegaard & Palmberg 2002). Ideas such as mirroring reflection and a window perspective have sprung from this research and contributed to the understanding of African identity both in past and present.

Baaz’s “Introduction – African identity and the postcolonial” (2001) is based on the Mudimbe’s *The idea of Africa* (1994), a book investigating how the idea of Africa relates to contemporary literature and what the idea of Africa is. Moreover, Baaz’s introduction deals with the “question of relevance and meaning of ‘the African’, ‘authenticity’ and ‘tradition’ in contemporary cultural production in Africa” (2001:5). It also deals with the postcolonial, and Baaz argues that the question of African identity must be situated in the postcolonial, hence the “question of African identity and what constitutes the African […] cannot be understood outside the history of Western colonisation” (2001:6). Further, as K.A. Appiah states; “a specifically African identity began as the product of European gaze” (1992:10).

### 3.10.1 Othering in mission interaction.

The images of “the Other” in Norwegian missionisation and its missionary society in south eastern parts of Africa is not any different to that of its contemporaries. As explained by Appiah, Kirkegaard, Baaz, Palmberg, Thorsén and others, the idea of the African was largely determined by the missionaries’ norms and ideals which they brought with them to the mission field. The exceptions found by scholars such as Thorsén (2005) where missionaries take an active interest in indigenous music and culture of their subjects, do not fluctuate much from the general rule. The main point is that by defining themselves and their fellow missionaires as “the Same”, the missionaries thereby defined “the Other” at the same time.
3.10.2 Othering in contemporary musical collaborations
Within the contemporary collaborations addressed in this dissertation, the same theories of “us” and “them”, as discussed above, apply. However, in these collaborations, the results of a colonised and missionised perspective distributed throughout the Western societies a thoroughly distordered image of “the African” is evident.

3.11 Summary
This chapter details a review of the available literature of the different aspects of Norwegian history, South African history, early musical interactions between Norwegian missionaries and southern African indigenous people, Norwegian immigration and settlement in Natal, Zululand and the Cape Colony, Norwegian foreign aid policy, the musical history of Norway, the musical history of South Africa and, most significantly, the various cases of musical interaction selected between Norwegian and South African musicians.
Chapter 4
Research design and method

4.1 The research design
A research design details a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms to strategies of inquiry and methods for collecting empirical data.\(^{77}\) A good research design can also be explained as “the plan or blueprint of how you intend to conduct your research” (Mouton 2001:55). It is “the logical sequence that connects the empirical data to a study’s initial research question and, ultimately, to its conclusion” (Yin 2003:20). The design situates the researcher in an empirical world and connects him or her to specific sites, groups, people, institutions, and bodies of interpretive material, including documents and archives. Further, this study is of a qualitative nature, i.e. a study based on a few projects, rather than a quantitative one which relies on a large number of projects.

In short, Chapter 4 documents the research design and the methods implemented in this research project, as well as the challenges, limitations, strengths met and changes made during the research process. I will first discuss the research question.

4.2 Defining the research question
A research design focuses on the end product where “what kind of study is being planned?” and “what kind of result is aimed at?” are the two most important components (Mouton 2001:56). However, in order to choose the appropriate research design, it is important to establish the point of departure, more specifically, the research question (Mouton 2001:56). Therefore the focus on the logic of the research, i.e. “what kind of evidence is required to address the research question adequately?” is important (Mouton 2001:56). Moreover, the point of departure of the research design in question is typified by ‘how’ and ‘why’ with regard to the musical collaboration between Norwegian and South African musicians, hence an empirical case study design is chosen.

\(^{77}\) Empirical literally means observed or experimental, hence an empirical research design indicates an observed or experienced study (Oxford English Dictionary).
The most important step to be taken in a research study is to define the research question and "the key is to understand that [the] research questions have both substance [...] and form" (Yin 2003:7), which I will explain below.

As stated in Chapter 1, my research question revolved around Norwegian and South African musical collaboration, more specifically The reception of Norwegian-South African musical interaction: a study of selected musical collaborations from the 19th century to the present.

The research question in this study relates to a small-scale phenomenon and examines a handful of available Norwegian-South African musical collaborations. However, the bigger scope of this research project raises the call for understanding these cases in the context of the broader Norwegian culture-scape and Norwegian perceptual reception of South African music. More specifically, the research question revolves around finding out about Norwegian musicians' perceptions of South African music and the selected cases of the musicians generating these perceptions. I, therefore, define the research question(s) as: a) Did the Norwegians collaborating with South African musicians hold preconceived Norwegian images of South African music and its musicians prior to the various collaborations? (b) What were these images and perceptions? (c) Why do Norwegian musicians collaborate with South African musicians, and (d) Are the collaborations a form of aid or a search for new artistic ideas?

4.3 Ethnomusicological method
In deciding what methods to use, it is important to have the aims in mind and a "discussion of the method […] should establish clearly that it will generate the type of knowledge which can reasonably be expected to satisfy the aims" (Oliver 2004:123).

The methods available when conducting ethnomusicological research and the methods that I have made use of in this research project are discussed below.

4.3.1 Field work
Field work is currently viewed as experiencing and understanding music and most academic writing about ethnomusicology "favours explanation theories of knowledge in which music is concerned as a type of language" (Titon 1997:87, 89). However, the methods of ethnomusicology have no single theory but rather are based on several
interwoven theories (Rice 1997:102). The greater number of ethnomusicologists argues that

[...] music is a form of human behaviour created within a cultural system, and therefore possesses structures analogous or homologous to other culturally constructed forms encoded as art, architecture, everyday speech, ideas about natural sounds, and cosmological or religious beliefs about the nature of the world (Rice 1997:102-103).

The methods characteristic of this theory consist of “describing and finding ways to compare radically different formal structures and behaviours” within a culture (Rice 1997:102).78

Whereas, previously, musical transcription distinguished the ethnomusicological discipline, it is now “fieldwork that constitutes ethnomusicology” (Titon 1997:87). “The methods applied by ethnomusicologists are both systematic and experiential” (Cole 2005:60), but essential to most methods are field work. Field work is defined through the construction of ‘the field’ and ‘field worker’, which frames and delimits “inquiries and identities” (Kisliuk 1997:25). By creating an identity as an ethnographer within the narrative of the field, one defines the experience as field work (Kisluik 1997:24).

Myers (1992b:21) argues that, “[i]n fieldwork we unveil the human face of ethnomusicology”, it is the “eyewitness reports, the foundation upon which all results rest” and the “most critical stage of ethnomusicological research” (Myers 1992b:21). Field work, further, as “the hallmark of many social sciences, including anthropology and ethnomusicology”, constitutes the ethnomusicologist’s “assembly of primary sources” (Myers 1992b:22). These sources include “observation in field notes, recording of music and interviews, photographs, film and video materials”, but, unlike historical musicology, these must be collected from “living informants” (Myers 1992b:22).

The location of the field “is as broad and varied as the world of music itself” and can be “a geographical or linguistic area; an ethnic group [...] a village, a town, suburb or city; desert or jungle; tropical rain forest or artic tundra” (Myers 1992b:23). Within the field, the ethnomusicologist needs to obtain information from an informant. However,

78 However, it requires minimal “fieldwork methods that go beyond the accurate preservation and description of music as an isolated cultural domain to the observation, recording, and analysis of other cultural domains” (Rice 1997:103).
informant is a troublesome word with many negative connotations, therefore I will refer to these people as research consultants (Myers 1992b:23). Field work includes “musical and cultural performances [...] as well as performances staged especially for the scholar”, including informal conversations, interviews and recording session (Myers 1992b:23). During these performances, the scholar should record what is performed with the use of various forms of resources, depending on the nature of the performance. It does not end there, though, as the preservation and documentation of the recording is extremely important due to the fact that this is the data which the scholar will use for his or her analysis and is therefore the basis of the entire study (Myers 1992b). Furthermore, when conducting an ethnomusicological study, planning, feasibility and ethics are essential to the success of the research project (Myers 1992b).

4.3.1.1 Field work strategies
According to Myers (1992:29), “the main strategy used in ethnomusicological fieldwork is participant observation; the researcher lives in the community, participates in daily life, especially musical activities, records observations and asks [the] community to comment on them”. The “participant observation enhances [the] validity of the data, strengthens interpretation, lends insight into the culture, and helps [the] researcher to formulate meaningful questions” (Myers 1992:29). Participant observation is difficult to learn outside the field, but it is possible to obtain some skills prior to entering the field by attaining language competence, and practicing observation, memory and expository writing (Myers 1992:31). Nonetheless, the most essential skills for an ethnomusicologist are recording and photography, hence being completely familiar with the equipment is crucial.

When entering the field, it is important for the researcher to assess his or her “personal and cultural biases” as there “is no purely objective research in ethnomusicology” (Myers 1992b:32). Moreover, [t]he scholar who accepts these biases, deals with them as part of methodology and acknowledges their influence” which may produce good research (Myers 1992b:32).

79 In 1992, informant was the most widely used term. Within the social sciences, it was used to describe the people in the field who talk to the ethnomusicologist about their lives and their music (Myers 1992b:22).
There are two types of interviewing techniques relevant to ethnomusicology: the open-ended interview and the focused interview (Yin 2003:89-90). The open-ended interview is most commonly used because the researcher can question the research consultant about facts and their opinions of an event and they may even suggest other persons to interview or other sources of evidence (Yin 2003:90). However, a focused interview can be equally useful as it, in spite of often being limited to a short period of time, can remain open-ended and assume a conversational manner, though you are more likely to follow a set of questions when using this technique (Yin 2003:90).

"Overall, interviews are an essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about human affairs" (Yin 2003:92). Yin does argue that “interviews should always be considered as verbal reports only” as they are subject to “common bias, poor recall, and poor or irregular articulation” hence it is important to corroborate data from interviews with information from other sources (2003:92). Furthermore the researcher, in carrying out an interview, has two jobs: to follow his or her line of inquiry and to ask the conversational questions in an unbiased manner (Yin 2003:90). Moreover, interviews require the researcher to operate on “two levels at the same time”, “satisfying the needs of [his or her] line of inquiry while simultaneously putting forth ‘friendly’ and ‘non-threatening’ questions in [the] open-ended interviews” (Yin 2003:90).

Apart from participant observation, there are various other significant secondary field work strategies such as archival and library research. Archival research, firstly, is common in conjunction with other sources of information. However, “unlike documentary evidence, the usefulness of these archival records may vary from case study to case study” (Yin 2003:89). Nonetheless, the most important aspect of collecting archival data is the conditions under which it was produced, together with its accuracy, due to the fact that most archives are produced with a specific purpose and a specific audience in mind (Yin 2003:89).

4.3.1.2 Deploying field work strategies
I have used indirect observation in relation to all the cases that are reported, as I was not present at the actual collaboration, but as a Norwegian musician living and working in South Africa for the past six years, I have gained considerable inside knowledge of the
Norwegian-South African musical projects. Therefore, the extent of my indirect observation of Norwegian-South African music making is of a complementary character.

I adopted a focused approach to interviews, which could remain open-ended and assume a conversational manner, as the purpose of this type of interview is likely to "corroborate certain facts that you already think have [been] established" (Yin 2003:90). In this situation, it is important to work out your questions carefully in order to appear "genuinely naïve about the topic and allow the respondent to provide a fresh commentary about it" as leading questions would not serve the corroboratory purpose of the interview (Yin 2003:90-91). I have used this interview technique as my main source of primary data for all the cases in this research project.

Library and archival research was also important. However, I was unable to make use of the archival strategy to its full extent due to my lack of prior knowledge with regard to the conditions of the NMS archives, as well as how to execute an archival search. As a result, no substantial data was acquired from archival records. The library research, however, was employed to a large extent due to the nature of the project, as much of the material required was of a historical and theoretical character.

To conclude: I conducted my field work by using empirical research techniques such as observation, indirect observation, focussed interviews and library-based research.

4.4 The case study
A case study is characterised by the investigation of "a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident" (Yin 2003:13). It is "a comprehensive research strategy" that is defined by asking "how" and "why" in a contemporary situation where "the investigator has little or no control" (Yin 2003:9). "The distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena [and] the case study method allows investigators to retain holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events" (Yin 2003:2). Therefore, the research strategy provides the ability to deal with "the full variety of evidence for case studies [which] may come from six sources: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant observation and physical artefacts"
(Yin 2003:8, 83). However, "one the most important sources of case study information is the interview" (Yin 2003:89).

4.4.1 Multiple case study

The methodology of a multiple case design is a variant within the same methodological framework as a single case study which may, however, require "extensive resources and time" compared to that of a single case study (Yin 2003:46-47). Furthermore, the "evidence from multiple cases is often considered more compelling, and the overall study is therefore regarded as being more robust" (Yin 2003:46).

The most important aspect when selecting the various cases is the verification that each chosen case serves "a specific purpose within the overall scope of inquiry, hence the cases chosen should "predict similar results" or "predict contrasting results for predictable reasons" (Yin 2003:47). However, the number of cases to be included in a multiple case study is irrelevant as sampling logic should not be used, hence the selection of cases should rather be based on the reflection of literal and theoretical replications that are needed (Yin 2003:51).

Upon completing the field work, I divided the various cases of recent Norwegian-South African interaction into multiple case studies in order to perform analysis and research. A total number of four cases were available for analysis and these served as the research population, which I deal with below.

4.5 The research population

The people I consulted in the course of research can be viewed collectively as a research population. I selected these particular people on the basis of a review of various instances of Norwegian-South African musical collaboration between 1982 and 2006. I based the selection of cases upon their significance, diversity and time period in order to establish as comprehensive an understanding of Norwegian-South African musical collaboration as possible. The features of these cases are briefly outlined below in relation to their importance in the overall study.
4.5.1 Four significant cases

The oldest case that of Detail, was chosen because it includes Johnny Dyani, a South African jazz musician in self-imposed exile, Frode Gjerstad, a Norwegian saxophonist of the avant-garde and John Stevens, a British avant-garde drummer. The band is significant because they comprised the only collaboration between Norwegian musicians and exiled South African musicians that occurred during the 1980s within this genre of avant-garde music.

The next case, Marianne Antonsen’s *Blomster in Soweto* recording made in 1994 during South Africa’s first democratic elections, represent a token of hope and growth. The music is of a contemporary nature, centred on a religious, gospel sound, and it involved different South African musicians within the genre of popular South African music and South African gospel.

The third case, the SAN ensemble, was a collaboration initiated in 1996; two years after the new South Africa had been established in 1994. This collaboration under the direction of Bjørn Ole Solberg and Zim Nqgawana comprised of the musical meeting between South African and Norwegian jazz. One of the more important aspects of this collaboration is that it signified the start of a new chain of collaborations between South Africa and Norway. However, there was a further re-establishment of the SAN ensemble, under Nqgawana’s direction, comprising most of the musicians of SAN; however, the music was very different, being deeply rooted in Nqgawana’s traditional Xhosa and jazz roots.

The fourth and most recent case, SouthAfroBrazz, involves two established bands, the South African Women Unite and the Norwegian The Brazz Brothers. The music mostly consisted of Women Unite’s repertoire arranged for SouthAfroBrazz by The Brazz Brothers. The music consists of neo-traditional South African repertoire with neo-traditional Norwegian jazz brass band drawing on Norwegian folk music elements. In addition to the music, the SouthAfroBrazz collaboration is distinguished by a social element; more specifically, all their concerts, workshops and educational promotions in southern Africa charged no entrance fees. Moreover, SouthAfroBrazz signifies a union of two bands dedicated to using music as an educational tool in promoting social awareness around poverty, violence, crime and other social issues.
I conducted these case studies using empirical research techniques such as observation, participant observation, interviews and archive-based research. How I conducted my field work will be explained below.

4.6 Analysis

When the field work process is completed, an in-depth analysis of the data obtained in the field is necessary to make sense of the data and offer an interpretation. There are various ways of analysing data; however, the common denominator is the reading of musical interaction as text.

This section shows how I have analysed the data, as well as the rationale for selecting this particular method of analysis. I provide the matrices used to display and identify the coding process used to convert raw data into themes and categories for analysis, which include specific details about how I have managed the data. Validation of my findings is also included below, as it is important.

Any study more often than not poses challenges and/or suffers from limitations that can make the research process difficult. These issues often occur during the process and can be completely unforeseen dilemmas. However, some of these issues may be eliminated by applying a comprehensive research design that fits the research question.

4.6.1 Textual analysis

Geertz took up hermeneutic phenomenology in the 1980s as a result of Ricoeur's (1981) work with these terms. Ricoeur argued that any meaningful action, including musical performance, could be read as a text. Geertz, however, developed this argument into "linking cultures to 'an assembly of texts'" (Titon 1997:90). Titon (1997:92) refers to this as "the new fieldwork" which is "generated on human relationships rather than collecting information". However, it does not "abandon musical sounds and structures; it just repositions them as texts". Further, musical sounds are documented, analysed and interpreted "as part of the matrix of being", and this documentation is considered "reflexively, as an interpretive product, rather than the analysis of a witness" (Titon 1997:90).

I have used textual analysis to read the music produced by these various collaborations through aurally analysing the available albums. I refer to this as an aural
analysis as it does not include a full transcription of the music but rather a horizontal analysis through various techniques such as comparison, description based on theoretical music principles and genres.

4.6.2 Case study analysis
According to Yin (2003:109), "[t]he analysis of case study evidence is one of the least developed and most difficult aspects of doing case studies". The following techniques, as compiled by Yin (2003:137), are meant to ease these difficulties: to attend to all relevant evidence through the researcher's own interpretation; to address all rival interpretations, if possible; to address the most important aspects of the case study, irrespective of using single or multiple case approaches; to use own prior knowledge of the cases; and to demonstrate current thinking and discourse concerning the subject under research.

The strength of empirical case research design is "that it can take an example of an activity [...] and use multiple methods to explore and interrogate it" (Stark & Torrance 2005:33). Further, due to the involvement of human subjects, the choice of an empirical type of study is also strengthened: as primary data, such case studies are included in the possible types of empirical studies (Mouton 2001:57).

The limitations of a case study consists of the fact that it is impossible to generalise from a small number of cases to the population as a whole, "even though many case study reports imply that their findings are generalizable; we are asked to give them credence precisely because they are not idiosyncratic accounts, [and rather] because they illuminate more general issues" (Stark & Torrance 2005:33-34). Another challenge is the possible need for "extensive resources and time beyond the means of a single student or independent research investigator" in terms of a multiple case study (Yin 2003:47).

I have used case study analysis in all the cases by treating them as separate incidences, as part of a bigger flow of Norwegian-South African musical interaction and as one big case all together in order to establish trends, similarities and differences. However, I have also been able to utilise my own experience as a Norwegian-South African case which has strengthened the understanding of the research subject to a large extent, but has possibly also created a substantial amount of biases.
4.6.3 Discourse analysis
In order to analyse the data acquired during field work and literature research, I have chosen discursive analysis, with the purpose of finding out the "how" and "what" of what people are saying. Discourse analysis is linguistically defined as "a method of analysing the structure of texts or utterances longer than one sentence, taking into account both their linguistic content and their sociolinguistic context; analysis performed using this method" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

I chose to characterise discourse analysis as a way of approaching or thinking about a problem. In this way, discourse analysis is neither a quantitative nor qualitative method of research, but rather a manner of questioning the basic assumptions of qualitative and quantitative research methods.

Discourse analysis will not provide any concrete answers to problems based on scientific research. However, it facilitates access to the ontological and epistemological assumptions behind a project. In other words, discourse analysis will enable the researcher to reveal the hidden motivations behind a text, or behind the choice of a particular method of research, to interpret that text.

Discourse analysis can be applied to any text, that is, to any problem or situation, and there are no specific guidelines to follow numerous different approaches to, or theories of discourse analysis which have arisen. Amongst the most significant are the theories of Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and other critical and post modern thinkers as well as musicologists.

The strength of discourse analysis is that it is applicable to every situation and every subject. However, it always remains a matter of interpretation. For this reason, the validity of discourse analysis is dependent on the quality of the rhetoric.

I have used discourse analysis here by applying critical thought to the social situations in question, and by presenting hidden or semi-hidden politics within the socially dominant, as well as all other discourses, I have been able to analyse the data

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80 Ontology is the "science or study of being; that branch of metaphysics concerned with the nature or essence of being or existence" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). Narrowly defined, epistemology is "[t]he theory or science of the method or grounds of knowledge" (*Oxford English Dictionary*). The epistemological position with regard to the subject of this dissertation consists of the assumptions that I have, whether explicit or implicit, concerning the nature of the knowledge which I regard as valid in order to resolve the research question (Oliver 2004:122).
collected during my field work, mostly through face-to-face and telephonic interviews. I have also employed discourse analysis in order to analyse what research consultants told me in the interviews as an interpretative technique, in order to read between the lines of their statements.

4.7 The original plan
The initial plan was to interview scholars and musicians as research consultants connected to the subject, chosen on the basis of availability as it is common that some decline due to personal reasons, time restrictions or for whatever reason that might hinder communication with the desired research consultants. Their significance was also an important issue, as I wanted to obtain a sound argument concerning the overall tendency in Norwegian-South African musical collaborations; a variety of different styles and genres; as well as different time periods of interaction, as it was expected to assist a broader perspective with regard to the overall topic.

4.7.1 The scholars
The original plan therefore was to interview the scholars Mellemsether and Rakkenes in order to investigate themes and occurrences that I found in their writing: *Misionærer, settlersamfunn og afrikansk opposisjon: striden om selvstendiggjøring i den norske Zulukirken, Sør-Afrika ca. 1920–1930* (Mellemsether 2001) and *Himmelfolket: en norsk høvding i Zululand* (Rakkenes 2003). More specifically, I planned to question Mellemsether regarding her potential knowledge of the Norwegian settlers’ relationship with traditional, neo-traditional and urban music in South Africa. Further, in Rakkenes (2003), I found references to two important musical events that took place between the NMS missionary Schreuder and the Zulu head of state, Mpande kaSenzangakhona, as well as between Mpande’s wife, Monase and Schreuder. Firstly, an *isibongo* was arranged as a result of the first meeting between Schreuder and Mpande with the purpose of honouring Mpande and thereby immortalising Schreuder. Secondly, Schreuder had private meetings with Monase, often referred to as Mpande’s favourite wife, during which they sang Lutheran hymns/psalms, an action referred to by Rakkenes (2003) as mutually satisfying.
My plan here was to assess this *isibongo* and its relevance in Zulu history and culture through establishing contact and dialogue with Sipho Sithole, who is the source of Rakkenes’ information regarding the praise poem in question, in order to set up an interview (Rakkenes 2003). I further intended to acquire information from Rakkenes regarding the relationship between Monase and Schreuder and to find out on which grounds he referred to their meetings as mutually satisfying. Moreover, by assessing both the *isibongo* and the meeting with Monase, I hoped to find a clue in the puzzle to establish a direct line between early Norwegian missionary work in Zululand and current collaborations.

**4.7.2 The musicians**

I planned to interview the following musicians: Frode Gjerstad (saxophones/clarinet), Paal Nielsen-Love (drums), Ingeberigt Håker Flaten (bass), Bjørn Ole Solberg (saxophones) Zim Ngqawana (saxophones/flute), Andile Yenana (piano), The Brazz Brothers, Women Unite, Marianne Antonsen (vocals), members of the Imilonji kaNtsho Choral Society, members of Stimela (Thapelo Khomo (keyboards), Sibusiso Victor Masondo (bass) and Veil Njamani Shabangu (percussion)), participants of the Norwegian-South African production *Fidelio at Robben Island*, including opera singers from both countries, and, finally, the musical participants of the Field Band Foundation programme, whom I specify below.

Gjerstad collaborated with South African bassist Johnny Dyani in the avant-garde trio called Detail. My plan was to interview him regarding their musical relationship, the South African-ness and the Norwegian-ness of the music and his perspectives on South Africa/Africa and its music/musicians prior to and after the collaboration. I also planned to enquire into the fact that quite a few of the Norwegian musicians who have interacted with South African musicians originate from Gjerstad’s home town, Stavanger, and have a connection with Gjerstad on some level.

One of the musicians who grew up in Stavanger was saxophonist Bjørn Ole Solberg, the initiator of the SAN collaboration. He started out in Gjerstad’s band Circulasione Tonale Orchestra where he was exposed to avant-garde jazz and even had a lesson with Johnny Dyani before Dyani died in 1986 (Solberg 1996: II). I planned to interview Solberg regarding these incidences, with particular emphasis on the SAN
collaboration, his perspectives on the musical content of this collaboration and his perceptions of African/South African music/musicians prior to and after the collaboration.

Drummer Paal Nilssen-Love, who is today considered as “one of the most profiled drummers in Europe” (Paal Nilssen-Love), formed part of Solberg’s trio, which was established at the NTNU jazz course in Trondheim during their studies there. As a result of their connection, Nilssen-Love became part of the SAN collaboration that produced the *San Song* recording in 1996. However, Nilssen-Love continued recording and touring with the South African members of the SAN collaboration, but without Solberg. I planned to interview Nilssen-Love to establish his understanding of the Norwegian-South African musical connection and his perspectives on this subject prior to and after collaboration.

Bassist Ingebrigt Håker Flaten, who is regarded as “one of the most important exponents of the younger generation of musicians on the European scene today” (Ingebrigt Håker Flaten’s privat web site), also formed part of Solberg’s trio at NTNU, was part of the SAN collaboration on the same basis as Nilssen-Love and continued working with the South African members after the termination of SAN. In connection with Flaten, I planned to interview him regarding his musical views of these two collaborations, as well as his opinion prior to and after the collaboration had taken place.

The SAN collaboration featured South African saxophonist/flautist Zim Ngqawana, whom Solberg had met during his master’s degree field work in South Africa in 1994/1995 (Solberg 1996). As a result of this friendship, Solberg organised and initiated the SAN collaboration in which Ngqawana composed a substantial amount of music (SAN 1996). I planned to interview Ngqawana in this regard, by addressing the musical idea of the collaboration, his perspectives prior to and after the collaboration, as well as his further collaboration with Nilssen-Love and Flaten on *Zimology* (Ngqawana 1998) and *Ingoma* (Ngqawana 1999).

The other South African part of the SAN collaboration was pianist Andile Yenana, who was also befriended by Solberg in 1994/1995. I planned to interview Yenana, who also continued with Ngqawana on *Zimology* (1998) and *Ingoma* (1999)
after the termination of SAN, with the purpose of revealing his perspective on the collaboration, its music and musicians prior to and after the collaborations.

The components of SouthAfroBrazz are The Brazz Brothers and Women Unite, of whom I intended to interview a selection of members. SouthAfroBrazz recorded *SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town* in 2003; the collaboration, however, commenced in 2002 and continued through touring southern Africa as well as Scandinavia throughout the period from 2002 to 2006. I more specifically aimed at interviewing the Førde and the Tafjord brothers of The Brazz Brothers and Thandi Swaartbooi, manager and member of Women Unite in order to establish the musical impressions and perspectives they had of each other and musically assess the sound of SouthAfroBrazz.

The *Blomster i Soweto* recording by Marianne Antonsen also featured the Imilonji kaNthu Choral Society, members of Stimela, as well as freelance backing vocalists (Antonsen 1995). My original plan was to interview each of these components: lead vocalist Antonsen, members of the choir, with emphasis on conductor George Mxadana, and the members of Stimela, with emphasis on musical producer and keyboardist Thapelo Khomo, in order to ascertain the musical product and their perceptions prior to and after the collaboration.

The joint Norwegian-South African production *Fidelio at Robben Island* took place in 2004 as part of the national celebration of ten years of democracy in South Africa and in recognition of one hundred years of Norwegian independence (Beukes 23.02.2005). The cast was mostly South African and included opera singers Bongani Thembe, Linda Bukhosini, Mthunzi Mbombela, Nkosana Sitimela and Abel Moeng, but also included two Norwegian opera singers, Carsten Harboe Stabell and Trond Halstein Moe (Den norske opera 2004). My plan with this collaboration was to interview either of the Norwegian opera singers, as well as one of the South African opera singers. I chose to exclude the orchestra as they presumably did not have as much interaction with the Norwegians as the cast did. The interview would contain questions regarding the perception of each other’s musical ability/culture and the musical blend of the two prior to and after the collaboration.

Finally, there was the Field Band Foundation’s (FBF) collaboration with the Norsk Musikk Forbund (NMF) in the form of the exchange project between Toneheim
College and various musical institutions in South Africa, sponsored exclusively, since 2005, by Fredskorpset (Norwegian, the Norwegian Peace Corps) (NMF). My aim was to interview both Norwegian participants, who travel to South Africa as music teachers for less privileged South African children and youth, as well as the South African participants who travel to Norway to attend Toneheim College as students (NMF). In doing so, I intended to find their pre- and post collaboration perceptions.

4.7.3 The organisers
It is highly unlikely that any of these collaborations would have taken place without the organisational individuals. There are two groups of people: the funding organisers and the organisers within the various collaborations.

Firstly, the funding organisers who, more often than not, are approached by the organisers within the various collaborations, are all Norwegian. They include Rikskonsertene, MMINO, Kirken Nød hjelp (NCA), Norad, Fredskorpset, of which I planned to interview the people responsible for the various collaborations, in order to assess their understanding of Norwegian-South African musical collaboration and the importance of funding such interactions.

Secondly, the organisers within the various collaborations, such as Søren Hjort of The Brazz Brothers, Thandi Swaartbooi of Women Unite, Erik Hillestad of Marianne Antonsen, and Michael Williams and Helge Wettre, as well as producer Angelo Gobbato, for the Fidelio production. By interviewing these individuals I intended to obtain information regarding the issues that might have risen through these cross-cultural collaborations, as well as the pre- and post collaboration perspectives they might have had on the collaboration.

4.7.4 The archives
As I was dealing with historical material dating back to the early 19th century, archival research posed an important task within the field work. I therefore planned to conduct research to access relevant data81 at the NMS archive at the Misjonshøgskolen (MHS) in Stavanger, where former Madagascar missionary Nils Kristian Høymyr is in charge. The purpose of this archival search was to find information about the musical interaction that

81 The NMS archives are situated at the Norwegian missionary college (MHS) in Stavanger.
was taking place on the Norwegian mission field in Zululand from the mid-1800s onwards.

I also planned to visit the most significant NMS mission stations in former Zululand, Empangeni and Eshowe, which have now been converted into museums. Here I planned to investigate, photograph and analyse possible musical artefacts and documentation regarding the musical interaction between NMS missionaries and the indigenous people in that area.

### 4.7.5 Field work in action

Field work is a general descriptive term for the collection of raw data in the natural and social sciences, such as ethnomusicology. When humans themselves are the subject of study, protocols must be devised to reduce the risk of observer bias and the acquisition of too theoretical or idealised explanations of the actual workings of a culture.

While conducting field work, I encountered obstacles that I had not taken into consideration, which, to a certain extent, hindered and curtailed the fieldwork as originally planned. These hindrances contributed to a change of plans which may have resulted in a better or more accomplishable route, as explained in the sections below.

#### 4.7.5.1 Interviewing musicians in Norway and some archival research

The first part of the field work involved getting hold of the various musicians to set up interviews. In some cases this proved to be a difficult task as some were either very busy, inaccessible or not interested, due personal and other reasons. These preliminary field work tasks were completed mostly via e-mail from South Africa to Norway where the first part of my field work took place.

The musicians who agreed to be interviewed and become my research consultants, were all informed of their ethical rights to decline, to remain anonymous, to decline being recorded, as well as of the purpose of the study and what audience and circulation the final product would have.

Phase one of the field work took place in Oslo, the capital of Norway, where I was fortunate to receive free accommodation and board at my brother’s place, which is

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82 Zululand is part of what is now referred to as KwaZulu-Natal.
situated in the central part of the city. It was so central, in fact, that I was able to walk to the venues of the various interviews I conducted there.

The first interview in Oslo was with Stein Erik Tafjord, the tuba player of The Brazz Brothers, at Noah's Ark restaurant on a wet and cold winter's day in January 2006, over a full breakfast and a pot of green tea with few other customers around. It was a very friendly and relaxed interview conducted with mutual respect and musical interest, which led to the exchange of a album of mine and a book theirs.

The second interview in Oslo was with Marianne Antonsen at Bocata Café on a cold and clear winter's day in January. The interview was slightly stressful as Antonsen was rushing from this to another. She did take time, however, to tell her story and give her perspective on the Blomster i Soweto recording in 1995, the pre-recording process in 1994, as well as their tour in Norway in 1995. The location for the interview was a busy on-the-go coffee shop with quite a high noise level due to music and people's busy afternoon conversations, which contributed to the rather stressed atmosphere.

The third interview took place in Stavanger, on the west coast of Norway, an approximately ten-hour drive from Oslo through a chain of steep mountains. I was travelling by car, which, initially, would have been a pleasant and easy task; however, the weather was not on my and my fellow traveller's side. Fitted with a lunchbox to feed an army, we left early in the morning, long before dawn, only to face a half-rainy-half-snowy weather conditions halting our speed significantly for hours. Halfway to Stavanger, really bad weather conditions set in, causing traffic jams. However, the major reason for these delays was not the cars on the road but the long-distance trucks with tyres that were not properly fitted for such weather conditions and often blocked entire mountain passes for hours at the time. Nonetheless, we reached Stavanger after much strain late that evening.

The actual interview in Stavanger, with Frode Gjerstad, took place the following afternoon at the cafeteria of Rogalandsheimen where I was staying. The interview was fairly informal; resembling a conversation in which the common denominator seemed to be the fact that both the interviewer and the interviewee were musicians, as was the case in most of the interviews. However, the interviewer had a set number of questions by which the informal manner was centered around.
The visit to Stavanger also had another purpose; the NMS archives' at the MHS where Høymyr was expecting me on the day following the interview with Gjerstad. It was a sunny, bright and very cold winter's morning when I arrived at the MHS. Arriving early at the school allowed for a bad cup of coffee at the cafeteria, where we were surrounded by missionaries and missionary students. Half an hour later, I was down in the basement of the school where the NMS archives are situated and met with a friendly welcome from Høymyr and his assistant Bjørg Bergøy Johansen. I soon realised that I was completely unprepared for the cold conditions of these basement archives.

I was shown around by Høymyr and Johansen to the various locations of NMS documentation from KwaZulu-Natal that had been moved to Stavanger after the missionaries withdrew from those fields in the late 1990s. The archive also contained all the *Norsk Missions-Tidende* and *Zuluvennen* periodicals, as well as letters and reports from missionaries in the field.

I soon realised that the time I had allocated for archival research was far too short, as much of the material was not categorised for easy access. I should have made enquiries with regard to the conditions of the archive prior to the visit, in order to estimate the time needed to go through the most likely locations where I could possibly find information in connection with musical interaction during the early encounters between NMS missionaries and the Zulu people. Because of time constraints, I was forced to try to locate as much as I possibly could on the surface within two days. At this stage I also realised that I was not properly prepared for what an archival search requires, as not only the time posed a problem, but also the old-fashioned language in which much of the data was written.

### 4.7.5.2 Interviewing scholars in Norway

The initially planned interviews with the Norwegian scholars Rakkenes and Mellemsether failed as I was unable to establish contact via e-mail or telephone, in spite of repeated attempts prior to and during the field work in Norway. I also tried repeatedly, but without success, to obtain their attention when I returned to South Africa. As a result, I decided to abandon the initial aim to find a strong musical connection in the early encounters between Norwegian missionaries and settlers with the Zulu people of southeastern Africa.
4.7.5.3 Interviewing individuals in Norway who were involved with organising collaboration

The original plan was to interview the people who were involved with the organisation of the various collaborations. This proved to be an even more difficult task than setting up interviews with the actual collaborators. I was able to request some interviews by e-mail, however, these often were not replied to, in spite of prior arrangements. Others were just impossible to get hold of at a convenient time for both of us, so I had to move on to find my information elsewhere.

As a result of these hindrances, my theme had to be changed even more, so that the entire study was driven to rely mainly on the interviews with various musicians and an extensive library search.

4.7.5.4 Interviews in South Africa

In South Africa, I once again experienced difficulties with contacting the various musicians I had planned to interview. As lack of finances restricted me to interviews in Cape Town, I was unable to travel to a more preferable location for some of the interviewees, hence I had to come up with alternative ideas. As a result I embarked on a search to make telephonic or electronic interview. I unsuccessfully directed inquiries to all possible entities at UCT, but there was no set procedure or equipment for such field work techniques and I eventually decided to use Skype as a tool for telephoning and PrettyMay as a tool for recording telephonic interviews. However, in spite of these seemingly modern techniques, I was unable to use the facilities that UCT located for me, after much stress, due to the width of the broadband utilised at UCT, which is more often than not too slow for a successful conversation via Skype. I therefore decided to use the local internet shop, Ronde.com, at which I conducted two internet-based electronic-telephonic interviews, with Andile Yenena and Paal Nilssen-Love, as well as other attempts to get hold of Ngqawana, Flaten and Swaartbooi for interviews. I also contacted Michael Williams at the ArtScape theatre in Cape Town and Jan Helge Trøen at Den Norske Opera (Norwegian, the Norwegian opera in Oslo) who where jointly in charge of organising Fidelio at Robben Island in 2004, as well as Angelo Gobbato, who produced the performance.

83 These tools are discussed in the section below, on Instrumentation.
At the outset, I planned to go to the Eshowe or Empangeni mission station to investigate the Norwegian mission and the significance of musical interchange between the Zulu and the Norwegian people during the initial phase of Norwegian missionary presence in Zululand. However, due, firstly, to financial restrictions, I was not able to carry out this plan and, secondly, after an extensive literature search of the Norwegian missionaries in the area in question, I found very few musical interactions; hence I decided to rather emphasise the importance of current collaborations. This decision does not signify that there was no musical collaboration, but simply that they were not dealt with by the scholars I have assessed. For a more comprehensive understanding of this decision, I refer the reader to Chapter 3, the literature review.

With regard to the performance of *Fidelio at Robben Island* and the various Field Band Foundation exchanges with Toneheim College, I decided to drop both these cases on realising that I had selected more cases than what was feasible for me to carry out. Moreover, I was constrained by financial affairs as well as time, hence the realisation of this made my task more realistic.

### 4.8 Hardware and software

The most important issues when dealing with instrumentation are the appropriateness, validity and reliability of the hardware and software (Roberts 2004:136), which I will briefly discuss below.

I made use of a Sony minidisk player to record my first interviews. This proved to be an undesirable, unreliable medium, causing distortion of several recordings I made during the first part of my field work in Norway, due the faultiness of the minidisk player I was using.\(^4\) However, I was able to transcribe the interviews in spite of great difficulty in understanding and comprehending what the interviewees said.

As I was about to embark on the second part of my field work in South Africa, my supervisor lent me an Edirol digital recording device until the South African College of Music’s recently-acquired field work equipment became available for student use.

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\(^4\) The fundamental issue with minidisk players for researchers is due to the relatively high compression levels of minidisk media files. This is particularly problematic for music and other sensitive recordings, and less of a problem for speech.
I also decided to rely on web-based electronic resources to bridge the considerable distance between South Africa and Norway, for further investigation with musicians and organisational individuals, due to the limitations of my field work in Norway. I conducted web-based telephone interviews via Skype, recorded them with the telephonic recording software *PrettyMay*. At first, this process turned out to be unreliable, due to the unstable internet connection available at the University of Cape Town, where I was conducting my interviews. In spite of this difficulty, I persisted, and was able to conduct the majority of the interviews I initially planned at the beginning of the third phase of my field work through a combination of internet access at the university and at the business centre called Rondé.com.

The questions I directed to my interviewees were based on a broad preliminary literature review, but, with my field work spreading over a period of approximately 17 months, I had read more widely, and had new questions. The questions were therefore changed somewhat, with new issues surfacing. The most essential question, concerning impressions interviewees had had of the South African 'other', remained, though; together with what images they had formed were prior to and after the collaboration or encounter had taken place. Initially, I did not think this would be as important as I came to realise during the course of the study. The second most important question concerned the influence that the 'other' has had on the interviewees' music, a question that surfaced early in the study.

4.9 Sampling design and method

By using one of the three main principles of data collection, one can maximise the benefits of the six sources of evidence referred to above, as they “are relevant to all six sources and, when used properly, can help deal with problems of establishing the construct validity and reliability of the case study” (Yin 2003:97). These three main principles are: the use of multiple sources of evidence; creating a case study database; and maintaining a chain of evidence (Yin 2003:97-105). Given the nature of my research in two continents, and the variety of media of my data, I chose the multiple sources of evidence principle for data collection; my data sources comprised observation (including face-to-face interviewing and electronic interviews, both telephonic and via e-mail) and
archival and documentary sources such as annual reports, personal letters, pictures, historical documents, published articles, unpublished articles, narratives, sound and audio-visual recordings, album reviews and liner notes.

4.9.1 The multiple sources of evidence principle
The multiple sources of evidence principle chosen "allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal, and behavioural issues, [h]owever, the most important advantage […] is the development of converging lines of inquiry". This is also called the process of triangulation (Yin 2003:98) and it ensures that the findings and/or conclusions found "in a case study are likely to be more convincing and accurate [because of being] based on several different sources of information, following a corroboratory mode" (Yin 2003:98).

There are four types of triangulation, as discussed by Yin (2003:98), namely the triangulation of data sources (data triangulation); triangulation among different evaluators (investigator triangulation); triangulation of perspectives to the same data (theory triangulation); and triangulation of methods (methodological triangulation). However, in this research project, only one of these types was used: data triangulation.

4.10 Data collection methods and field work practice
In order to obtain permission to interview the chosen informants, I contacted each individual via telephone and/or via e-mail, arranging a suitable time and place for our interviews.

I informed the research consultants/interviewees who I am and told them about my background, what academic institution I am from and the purpose of the research in question. I had no reason to withhold any information from the research consultants/interviewees about my identity and research purpose in order to acquire information.

I obtained informed consent from all the research consultants/participants by clearly informing all research consultants/participants of their right to withdraw from the research process at any stage, and to withdraw the right for me to use the information they provided, emphasising that the research interviews or access to documents and/or other data was entirely voluntary. I further requested permission to record the interview,
while explaining the purpose of the interview to the best of my ability, hence obtaining a recorded consent.

4.11 Time frame
The initial time frame in my proposal encompassed a period of approximately thirteen months, from November 2005 to December 2006. However, during the course of the research project, the time frame was altered in various ways, mostly due to decisions that I made.

Firstly, there was the insufficiency of the enquiries that I made prior to undertaking the field work in Norway at the NMS archives in Stavanger. My preliminary reading and understanding of how to conduct archival field work was inadequate, hence I did not enquire as to the conditions of the NMS archives beforehand. I therefore underestimated how long it would take to perform a thorough archival search. My time at the archives was restricted to two days due to transport issues; I was unable to obtain possible valuable information.

Secondly, I was hampered by the choice of recording device for the interviews, for which I, in spite of adequate discouragement from UCT staff, used a minidisk player for the initial part of my field work in Norway. The minidisk player turned out to be an unreliable medium; however, the unreliability constituted a different character to what I was informed might happen. The minidisk player caused partly distorted recordings which, in turn, caused problems for transcribing the interviews, which in turn made it more time-consuming than originally anticipated.

Thirdly, I was unable to undertake any field work in Norway upon returning there later than planned, in September 2006, due to family matters. This slowed down the process of field work by four months; however, I was able to perform most of the anticipated interviews via electronic telephonic correspondence, but at a much later stage. Unfortunately, though, I was unable to revisit the archives in Stavanger due to financial affairs during this period in Norway. However, as I had decided to angle the core of my research project towards more current collaboration, this seemed to pose a minor problem by that time.

85 The initial plan was to go there in June or July of 2006.
These decisions played an important role in delaying the research process; hence I only completed the field work in April 2007.

4.12 Data capturing and data editing
According to Mouton (2001:194), “it is imperative to document your data collection as accurately and in as much detail as possible [...because] it is a historical record for yourself and other possible researchers”.

I recorded data by transcription of the interviews conducted during the three phases of my field work. The first interviews, recorded on a minidisk player, were played back by using the same machine. The second and third interviews were played back with the help of Windows Media Player 9 Series and iTunes 7, in order to play the MP3 files converted from the electronic interviews conducted with the help of Skype 3 and Pretty May, professional version 2, which is a voice plug-in for Skype.

4.13 Summary
This chapter has covered the methods used in the study and dealt with in data collection, and their derivation from some primary and, mostly, secondary sources. The chapter also details the approaches used and conditions under which the various stages of investigation were carried out, including the development of the initial contact, as well as the choice of cases.
5.1 Introduction
As indicated in Chapter 1, this research project has examined the details of a selection of musical collaborations between Norwegian and South African musicians. The chapter comprises musicians’ profiles, a presentation of results and a discussion of the results of my research. The purpose of this chapter is to report my findings in as unbiased a fashion as possible without editorialising or speculation and present an analysis of the data.

As this is a qualitative study requiring thorough analysis of the data collected during field work, I have presented the data in a narrative form in order to realistically generate emerging categories, themes and patterns.

5.2 Research consultants’ profiles
As discussed in Chapter 4, the research informants can be viewed collectively as a research population, the “total number[s] of individuals to whom the results of the research are intended to apply” (Oliver 2004:127). To understand the nature of the findings, it is important to discuss the sample of informants and the characteristics of this group.

Below, I offer profiles of the different individuals, their activities and the organisations that I have studied for this research project.

5.2.1 Frode Gjerstad
Frode Gjerstad (b.1948), “Norway’s standard bearer for free improvisation since the mid-1970s”, (Waxman 2005) looked to Britain for work due to the lack of musicians playing free jazz in Norway in the mid-70s (Gjerstad 2006).\(^{86}\) In fact, according to Gjerstad, it is common for Norwegian musicians who live on the west coast of Norway to look

\(^{86}\) All further references to Gjerstad refer the interview of 17.01.2006.
Gjerstad is a highly regarded musician within the field of avant-garde and his official web site presents his career and influence thus;

[Gjerstad] has for many years been the most dedicated free jazz player in Norway. He is one of the few Norwegian musicians playing modern improvised music outside the “ECM-school”. He has chosen to play mainly with international musicians because there was no tradition in Norway for playing this music. However, over the last few years a good number of younger musicians are now picking up on the music (Gjerstad).

Figure 7: Frode Gjerstad playing alto saxophone in New York (Gannushkin 27.07.2007)

In the early 1970s, Gjerstad lived in Sweden, where he met trumpeter Don Cherry, who was on his way to play with Abdullah Ibrahim (then known as Dollar Brand) in Copenhagen, Denmark (Gjerstad). Cherry introduced Gjerstad to the South African bassist, Johnny Dyani who, together with South African trumpeter Mongezi Feza, was

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87 The road from Stavanger, a major city on the west coast (according to Norwegian perceptions), passes though very mountainous terrain and it takes about 10 hours to travel the approximately 500 km to Oslo by train or by car (Gjerstad).

88 Abdullah Ibrahim (Adolph Johannes Brand, b. 1934, Kensington, Cape Town) was known as “Dollar” Brand and many people still refer to him as “Dollar” or “Dollar” Brand (Rasmussen 1998:9). Ibrahim converted to Islam and changed his name in 1968 (Rasmussen 1998:9).
looking for a saxophonist to join their band; however, Gjerstad did not take up their offer.\textsuperscript{89}

5.2.1.1 Collaboration with Johnny Dyani
Bass player Johnny “Mbizo” Dyani (ca 1945-1986), who “brought South African jazz to the attention of international audiences” (Ballantine 12.06.2007), left apartheid South Africa as a member of the jazz group called The Blue Notes.\textsuperscript{90} The band went into self-imposed exile, firstly to France and then to the United Kingdom and was one of the first jazz groups to leave South Africa.

The Blue Notes were young musicians on the verge of becoming great artists in South Africa but needed an environment that allowed them to grow musically and socially. In Europe The Blue Notes’ members were exposed to the avant-garde jazz that emerged in the 1960s, which shaped the musicality of most of the band members who remained in exile. In less than a decade The Blue Notes were “to exercise a major influence on the evolution of jazz in Europe”, but, sadly, “the extent of that influence [is not] always realised today” (Martin 1995:i). Martin (1995:v) explains that South African music was “tremendously enjoyed in [...] Britain and on the Continent, but precisely because it was extremely enjoyable, it was not necessarily taken as serious[ly] as it deserved”.

The Blue Notes and, later, the various Brotherhood of Breath bands, “were never meant to be a free orchestra”; they were, in fact, conducted and had set structures (Martin 1995:iv). However, these exiled South African musicians became highly influential within the avant-garde movement, though not necessarily only through these two bands,

\textsuperscript{89} Johnny Dyani and Mongezi Feza were both living in Copenhagen, Denmark, in the 1970s (Rasmussen 2003).

\textsuperscript{90} Dyani never knew his exact date of birth due to complications during his birth which caused his biological mother’s death. June 4, 1947 is recorded as his date of birth at the “home office in King William’s Town” (which I take to mean the local Home Affairs department) (Rasmussen 2003:9). On departure to Europe, the date of birth was recorded as December 31, 1947 on his passport, but to complicate the matter further, Dyani got the idea that November 30, 1945 was more likely to be his birth date and celebrated this day up until his death (Rasmussen 2003:9). In spite of Dyani’s firm belief of its accuracy, this date is unlikely to be correct as all his other school mates where born in 1947 (Rasmussen 2003:9). The Blue Notes, a band led by pianist Chris McGregor, consisted of Mongezi Feza (trumpet), Johnny ‘Mbizo’ Dyani (bass), Louis Moholo (drums), Dudu Pukwana (alto saxophone), Nikele ‘Nick’ Moyake (tenor saxophone) and Chris McGregor (piano). This band performed and recorded under Chris McGregor’s leadership, changing their name to Brotherhood of Breath in 1969 (De Ledesma & Kernfeld 29.09.2005).
as *all* the members went on to pursue careers in various bands throughout Europe. Thus it was through this music that Dyani met saxophonist/clarinetist Frode Gjerstad and collaborated in a trio/quartet called Detail.

### 5.2.1.2 Detail


Four Detail albums on which Dyani appears were on Gjerstad’s record label, Circulasione Tonale, under which Gjerstad had recorded and distributed eleven albums (Rasmussen 2003:306-307). The limited distribution can largely be attributed to small-scale production facility; Gjerstad “copied tapes in his own home” and reproduced the covers on a photocopying machine (Rasmussen 2003:306). Gjerstad (Rasmussen 2003:307) referred to his label as a “kitchen project” with very little money involved. A second label, Impetus, recorded and distributed Detail’s recordings, the majority of them produced by drummer John Stevens (Rasmussen 2003:306-317).91

According to Gjerstad (17.01.2006), Johnny Dyani came to join Detail through the recommendation of British drummer John Stevens, who was playing with Gjerstad and Norwegian pianist Eivind One Pedersen in the early 1980s.92 They felt a need to add

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91 Impetus Records was a small Scottish recording label that focused on music of the avant-garde (EFIP).
92 Gjerstad contacted Stevens in London, proposing that they should play together, as Gjerstad, knowing that Stevens was playing within the avant-garde, was eager to play with him. That Stevens played a lot with South African musicians from Chris McGregor’s and Dudu Pukwana’s bands in London might have seemed a coincidence to Gjerstad. South African musicians had by then (1980’s) become a major force in the European avant-garde which attracted musicians from the USA and elsewhere, hence those who were
a bass player in order to continue playing together, and John Stevens suggested Johnny Dyani (Gjerstad).

In 1982, Dyani arrived in Norway for the first time and travelled with Stevens, Gjerstad and One Pedersen to north-west Norway, where they performed for the first time as a group (Gjerstad). Gjerstad experienced the first gig as a complete musical catastrophe and he determined to leave, despite a second gig scheduled for the following night. However, on being convinced by Stevens that it was unacceptable to abandon two foreigners, who most certainly would have great difficulties finding their way back home, just because he felt inadequate, Gjerstad stayed on to experience a “fantastic” second gig.

In the autumn of 1982, pianist One Pedersen left the band after a performance in Kongsberg, so Detail became a trio for the recording of Backwards and forwards/forwards and backwards the day after One Pedersen left, a recording which later received a four-star review in DownBeat magazine (Gjerstad 17.01.2006). Litweiler’s DownBeat review (1984:46) is found under the regular 1980s’ column, Waxing On, under the heading “New European Jazz”. The review offers a musical analysis of Backwards and forwards/forwards and backwards which Litweiler claimed was one of Dyani’s best recordings; however, in making this claim, Litweiler managed to suggest erroneously that Dyani was the band leader. Detail’s core consisted of Stevens, Dyani and Gjerstad and there are no suggestions elsewhere, to my knowledge, that any of them was more of a band leader than the others (Rasmussen 2003, Gjerstad 2003, 17.01.2006, 08.06.2007, LoConte 08.06.2007). Despite Litweiler’s suggestion that Dyani led the band, he describes Detail’s recording as “a true ensemble, three fine artists creating together with deep sensitivity for their own and each other’s evolving concepts” (Litweiler 1984:46 [emphasis in original]).

looking for an avant-garde experience were more than likely to play with South Africans such as the members of The Blue Notes (Martin 1995, McGregor 1995)

93 Kongsberg is a large city in the southeast of Norway, south of Oslo. Down Beat magazine is a major American jazz periodical, established in 1934 (www.downbeat.com). The title of this album is referred to as Backwards and Forwards in DownBeat magazine; however, according to Rasmussen (2003:307), the correct title is Backwards and Forwards/Forwards and Backwards.

94 Albums from Moholo/Stabbins/Tippet (Louis Moholo, Larry Stabbins and Keith Tippet), Tern; and Johnny 'Mbizo' Dyani, Grandmother's teaching, were also reviewed in the same DownBeat issue (Litweiler 1984:46-48).
For Gjerstad, the *DownBeat* recognition referred to above and the interaction with the band members of Detail, both on and off stage, constituted an "unbelievable experience" (Gjerstad 2003:146). He remained puzzled, therefore, that the band received next to no recognition in Norway, although he recognised that the lack of recognition could have been related to the free, improvised type of music they were playing. Moreover, as Gjerstad stated, they did some stuff that was disliked by the people who were playing improvised music at the time, as it contained too much jazz, and the people who were playing jazz, thought we were way out [...]. We sort of fell between two stools. So that's why we got such limited attention.

Gjerstad also expressed a great sense of pride in Detail's rhythm section, which he felt was the best rhythm section in Europe at the time. However, he felt looked down upon musically by other people within the Norwegian music world, claiming that this opinion was created by "the ruling kings of the Norwegian jazz kingdom". Gjerstad also found it peculiar that Detail was never approached by the jazz magazine, *Jazznytt*, or for the Norsk Rikskringkasting (NRK) radio as, he claimed, the band would have made an obviously interesting subject, and Johnny Dyani's story in particular since he was a

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95 This phrase refers to individuals who control some of the jazz festivals and the Norwegian Jazz Society and hold top jobs, which he sees as an incestuous relationship (Gjerstad).
musician who came from South Africa, lived in Europe and worked for the ANC. Gjerstad says that he repeatedly approached the media with requests that they interviewed Detail’s band members, and remains uncertain whether the lack of responsiveness was the result of plain cultural ignorance or a general lack of knowledge. He attributes this cold-shoulder treatment to the fact that they were not playing “A4 music”, with the result that people became unsure of what Detail was really about.

The instrumentation of Detail resembled that of Dyani’s other contemporaneous band, Music for Xaba, but the music was completely different in Rasmussen’s opinion (2003:23). The music’s character was varied in tempo and dynamics and portrayed a cool rather than hot sound, and was “loosely structured and very contemplative” (Rasmussen 2003:23). Moreover, whereas Music for Xaba was restricted to a certain repertoire, Detail “never played the same thing twice” and had no melodies, no recurring themes as “it was all improvised music, born on the spot” (Rasmussen 2003:23).

Detail made further recordings that received positive star ratings in Down Beat magazine, “amongst others an album with Bobby Branford called In Time Was which was made during the summer of 1986, a couple of months before Johnny died” (Gjerstad).

96 Jazznytt, established in 1960, is a Norwegian periodical covering quality jazz and related music (Granli). The NRK – the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation – is Norway’s major broadcasting institution with nine radio stations and two TV channels” (NRK) with approximately a hundred percent coverage (NRK 10.11.2006). Dyani became involved with the ANC as a cultural attaché in Stockholm after 1981, when his brother Nuse died as a result of the political situation in South Africa (Rasmussen 2003:24). His involvement with the ANC, the fact that he could no longer obtain a South African passport and the close watch kept by the apartheid government on exiled South Africans made it impossible for Dyani to return to South Africa (Rasmussen 2003:24). 97 Norwegians use the term “A4” to indicate something standard, like the A4 size sheet of paper, average, or mainstream.

98 Music for Xaba – Xaba meaning God in Xhosa – was a trio based in Stockholm comprising Dyani (bass), Mongezi Feza (trumpet) and Okay Temiz (drums) (Rasmussen 2003:20). The trio played a mix of Dyani’s compositions and other traditional South African material; Rasmussen claims (2003:20) it was one of the hottest trios the world had ever heard of at the time.

99 The term “cool” indicates elements of cool jazz which developed in the late 1940s. It is a “jazz style derived largely from Bop, but advocating a moderation of those musical, emotional or ritualistic qualities associated with the parent style. Most of its musicians pursued a soft level of dynamics, for example favouring drum brushes rather than sticks, and many avoided a pronounced use of vibrato. Beyond this the pursuit of moderation was diverse and inconsistent” (Kernfeld). The term “hot” on the other hand, “suggest[s] the qualities of excitement, passion, and intensity; it has been applied to tune titles, bands, individual musicians, and aspects of performance. It was used in the USA in the 1920s in order to distinguish jazz from other genres, and later to differentiate ‘real’ jazz from the ‘sweet’ music played by the more commercial dance bands” (Thacker).
The band continued to perform and record after Dyani’s death in Berlin in 1986 (Gjerstad). Gjerstad is of the opinion that his death was a result of long-term substance abuse resulting from being forced into exile by the apartheid regime. According to Rasmussen (2003:26), though, the cause of death was a throat haemorrhage.  

![Johnny Dyani, playing with his band Music for Xaba in 1972](https://example.com/image.jpg)  

© Rita Knox (Rasmussen 2003:274)

5.2.2.3 Collaboration with Louis Moholo-Moholo

The drummer Louis Moholo-Moholo (b. 1940) left South Africa as part of The Blue Notes, in the early 1960s for Britain and soon became a renowned musician in Europe.  

In London, Moholo-Moholo formed part of a South African exile community that made an important contribution to European and American jazz (Dennis-Constant Martin 1995, McGregor 1995).

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100 By 1985, it was clear that Dyani’s health was deteriorating due to years of alcohol and drug abuse, which, in spite of sobering up, caused him fatal damage (Rasmussen 2003:24).

101 According to Gjerstad (17.01.2007), Louis Moholo changed his name to Louis Moholo-Moholo after becoming the oldest member of his family and found the reduplication of his name to be more ethnically authentic.
When Moholo-Moholo departed from South Africa he was playing mostly within the post-bop genre, with little influence from local South African music. This soon changed (May 2005). Upon his arrival in Europe, “the pace of [...The Blue Notes’] musical development [...increased] rapidly, parallel to the numerous encounters with other musicians”. Moholo-Moholo moreover described London as the “musical Mecca of the era” which was timed perfectly with his arrival (May 2005). He is now known for bringing “the whole ethos of African drumming and music-making” to British jazz, as well as for his diversity due to him working in a wide range of musical contexts (Carr 1995b:447). Moholo-Moholo has played with various musicians and bands, including Steve Lacy (saxophones), John Tchicai (saxophones), Archie Shepp (saxophones), Roswell Rudd (trombone), Chris McGregor’s Brotherhood of Breath, the Mike Osborne trio, the Irene Schweitzer trio, the Peter Brötzmann trio and big band, the Keith Tippet duo and the larger Ark ensemble (Carr 1995b:446).

Moholo-Moholo also led his own bands, namely Moholo’s Unit, Spirits Rejoice, Culture Shock, African Drum Ensemble and Viva La Black (Carr 1995b:447). Moholo-Moholo has made numerous recordings and is recognised in Europe as one of the best drummers working there; he has said, however, that he does not have the same recognition in South Africa (Eyles 2002). Moholo-Moholo, now the only living member of The Blue Notes, has attributed his lack of recognition to what he referred to as a South African lack of a sense of history resulting from apartheid’s legacy (Gjerstad).

To my knowledge, only two Norwegian musicians who performed with Moholo-Moholo; saxophonist Gjerstad and drummer Nilssen-Love. Gjerstad, who collaborated with Moholo-Moholo in the quartet Calling said that Moholo-Moholo accepted him more easily as a result of his collaboration with Johnny Dyani in Detail (Gjerstad 17.01.2006, 08.06.2007). Details produced four albums as a quartet with Moholo-Moholo, namely Calling signals, recorded in 1996 with Hasse Poulsen (guitar) and Nick Stephens (bass) (Gjerstad 08.06.2007, EFIP 08.06.2007), and a further three albums between 2005 and 2006 (Norsk Jazzarkiv 2006).

Paal Nilssen-Love has performed with Moholo-Moholo in London, but they have never recorded an album together. Nilssen-Love said that, although he felt that the
European avant-garde musical tradition had greatly influenced Moholo-Moholo’s playing, “at the same time there are also South African roots” in his playing.

Figure 10: Louis Moholo-Moholo (Archive Africa 12.04.2007)

5.2.3 Bjørn Ole Solberg
Norwegian saxophonist Bjørn Ole Solberg (1996:11) attributes his interest in South African jazz to his background and does not regard it as a common Norwegian interest. He was inspired by his early years in Tanzania (where his parents worked as teachers), by hearing Miriam Makeba’s and Hugh Masekela’s recordings at home as a child, and by the experience of playing with Frode Gjerstad’s avant-garde jazz band Circulasione Tonaler during his youth in Stavanger, when writing his Masters thesis, “African horns: saxophone players in the South African jazz tradition” (1996). Moreover, Solberg claims that he has gained “a unique insight into South African jazz” through a combination of his ethnomusicological research and collaboration in SAN with Andile Yenana and Zim Ngqawana, “two of the foremost young jazz musicians in South Africa” (1996:11).

Solberg conducted extensive field work in South Africa through interviews with the saxophonists Basil Coetzee, Zim Ngqawana, Ezra Ngcucana and Barney Rachabane.
During his field work in South Africa in 1994-1995, Solberg made a strong connection with Yenana (piano) and Ngqawana (saxophones and flute) which led to the realisation of a common perspective on “music and life in general” between Solberg and Ngqawana (Solberg 1996:II). As a result of this connection, Solberg secured funding by Norad for a tour in South Africa and Norway in 1996 with the Norwegian-South African collaboration, SAN, a band Solberg established which included Yenana, Ngqawana, Ingebrigt Håker Flaten (bass) and Paal Nilssen-Love (drums) (Solberg 1996:II).

Solberg’s thesis is an “analytical enquiry into the style of the South African jazz saxophone player [...] and an attempt at placing them in a politico-historical context” (Solberg 1996:V). He comparing the stylistic features of South African saxophonists’ improvisation to those of contemporary American saxophonists of the “modern jazz” period from the 1950s onwards (Solberg 1996:V-VI). Solberg (1996:91) writes that the “important stylistic features of the South African saxophone style” include the variation and manipulation of timbre, an element which he identifies as being drawn from “indigenous African music” and produced by singing into the saxophone, a technique Solberg attributes to “the use of the buzzers in indigenous African music”. Solberg’s comparison of South African and US stylistic features indicates that South African saxophonists portray an expressive style than US saxophonists through “scoops, fall-offs, and glissandi”, which he attributes to the tonetics of indigenous South African languages (1996:91). He (1996:91) further mentions the extensive use of “polyphonic and polyrhythmic techniques” by South African saxophone players in playing repetitive and contrasting polyrhythmic lines in improvisation. Solberg (1996:91) claims that “these techniques are widely used in African music culture, where the concept of repetition and variation are fundamental, and represent a contrast to our Western idea of progress and development”. Solberg, however, does not identify what is distinct about US saxophonists, but rather assumes that the reader is familiar with what he refers to. He

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102 Solberg also interviewed the following jazz musicians: Faya Faku (trumpet), Concord Nkabinde (bass), Victor Ntoni (bass/vocal), Nishlyn Ramanna (piano), Lex Futshane (bass) Simpiwe Matole and Huma Ntete (Solberg 1996:177-178).
103 “Modern jazz” is a term that first occurred in the 1950s to describe bebop and post-bop as these terms were thought of as childish and demeaning (Priestley 1995c:739).
104 I have discussed toniectis above in Chapter 2 (53).
presents an argument on the theory of indigenous African music which I find based on insufficient data, and assumes too much. In my estimation, the overall argument is unsound, and rather represents a description of Solberg's perception of South African saxophone players.

5.2.3.1 Collaboration with Paal Nilssen-Love
The Norwegian drummer Paal Nilssen-Love (b. 1974) grew up in Stavanger where he played with Frode Gjerstad at an early age and was exposed to improvised music (Gjerstad). However, Nilssen-Love has claimed that South African music was never on the agenda during these early years of playing with Gjerstad.

As part of Solberg's already existing trio including bassist Ingebrigt Håker Flaten and Nilssen-Love was asked to join the SAN project in 1996. The SAN collaboration was a completely new experience for Nilssen-Love, who says “it kicked off from the very first time we played together. It was pretty amazing that feeling”. However, what Nilssen-Love found most interesting was the non-fusion of Norwegian and South African traditional music, however I would argue that this non-fusion is more prominent in the latter albums in which he collaborated with Mgqawanahla. Nilssen-Love argues that fusion is often the case when two different music cultures meet, but disagrees with having to feel obliged to fuse musical cultures. The San project portrays less of more South African elements than Norwegian, however, Solberg’s rather US-jazz-sounding compositions on the album reinforce the lack of Norwegian-ness.

It became clear to Nilssen-Love that the South African audience wanted "rhythmical music" and he was amazed by the fact that "they allowed themselves to jump up and dance if they pleased". While performing in South Africa, he also found greater audience expressiveness compared to what he was accustomed to in Norway. Nilssen-Love's argument here is sound, as Norwegian jazz audiences are generally perceived as attentive "listening audiences" that listen and observe performances rather than participating as demonstratively and physically as in South Africa.

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105 Improvised music refers to "improvisation that is not based on a predetermined, underlying harmonic structure, and with no predetermined structural length" (Carr 1995d: 732).
106 All further reference to Nilssen-Love refers to the interview of 08.03.2007.
107 Nilssen-Love uses the term "rhythmical music" when referring to music that is not completely or partly free, as in improvised music as described above.
The music the SAN ensemble performed and recorded was “a small eye-opener” for Nilssen-Love, as he found that he played music which he had never before allowed himself to play with Norwegian or US musicians. The SAN collaboration came at an early stage of Nilssen-Love’s career and was, perhaps, still finding his feet, and being exposed to various genres and styles of music. In this sense, the SAN collaboration could have helped him find a path, which was possibly the reason why he continued collaborating with Ngqawana on two subsequent recordings. Nilssen-Love is currently a drummer of world-wide renown within the avant-garde of jazz, a path which was presumably furthered through collaboration with Ngqawana.

The SAN collaboration unfortunately ended just before the second tour that Solberg had organised. This tour did not materialise for various reasons and the project
fell apart at this stage.\textsuperscript{108} However, Nilssen-Love and Håker Flaten continued working with Ngqawana after the SAN collaboration and Nilssen-Love explained that the \textit{Zimology} recording, which consisted of different suites, constituted a different way of thinking but, at the same time, very similar to what Ingebrigt and I were doing in Element, for example. But [...] Element was based, in a way, on things like the Coltrane concept that we did. Here, it was suddenly from a South African perspective, where this tradition [Coltrane] was very much present.\textsuperscript{109}

As mentioned above, Ngqawana may have furthered Nilssen-Love's career through these collaborations, especially as regards the exploration of what Nilssen-Love saw as the influence of the late John Coltrane (saxophones) achievements in the avant-garde. This is more evident on the \textit{Zimology} and \textit{Ingoma} albums, which are both based more within the avant-garde genre than is \textit{San Song}.

\subsection*{5.2.3.2 Collaboration with Andile Yenana}

The South African piano player Andile Yenana (b. 1968) was inspired to play jazz on the piano at an early age by his father's musical memories and music collection (Ansell). He furthered his studies by completing a degree at the Centre for Jazz and Popular Music in the School of Music at the then University of Natal, Durban. There, among others, he met Zim Ngqawana with whom he continued an enduring musical relationship (Ansell).\textsuperscript{110} Yenana joined Ngqawana's quartet in Johannesburg, a move which signified the beginning of a prosperous musical relationship as Ngqawana's sideman through all his recordings (Ansell).\textsuperscript{111}

Yenana's debut album, \textit{We used to dance}, was released in 2003 and is similar to the albums released by Voice, which also features music by Yenana and Sidney Mnisi (saxophones) and compositions by Johnny Dyani and Dudu Pukwana (Ansell). The title is a reflection of "the historic jazz culture Andile grew up in", a legacy which, Yenana

\textsuperscript{108} I am privy to information about the break-up but choose not to use this information out of respect for a research consultant's request.

\textsuperscript{109} This particular Coltrane concept refers to saxophonist John Coltrane's later years, the 1960s, during which the avant-garde was largely a signifying factor (Priestley 1995a:131).

\textsuperscript{110} University of Natal (UND) is now known as University of KwaZulu Natal (UZKN).

\textsuperscript{111} Yenana has also been involved in other projects such as Mahube with Steve Dyer (saxophone) and leading southern African musicians, with the band Voice, as an arranger for vocalists such as Sibongile Khumalo and Gloria Bosman, and as a producer for instrumentalists such as Winston "Mankunku" Ngozi (saxophones) on an album for which he was honoured with a South African Music Award (SAMA) for best producer (Ansell). Yenana says he deliberately tries "to work with anyone interesting who approaches him", which he claims has helped broaden his scope (Ansell).
argues, “we need to preserve” (Ansell). *Who’s got the map?* (2005), his second album is, according to Ansell, “a much edgier affair, posing questions of [...] cultural identity”. Yenana explained to Ansell that it was “designed to evoke thoughts about places, spaces, treaties, borders and restrictions—what place does jazz have in the so-called post-modern society”. In 2005, Yenana was awarded the 2005 Standard Bank Young Artist Award for Jazz, which he used to try to break “the sometimes stereotyped mould of the current SA jazz scene” (Ansell).

The 1996 *San song* album represents Yenana first recording with Norwegian musicians on, an event he refers to as an overwhelming experience due to “the maturity [...] he] picked up from the bass player and the drummer” and the recording of the album at Rainbow Studios in Oslo with sound engineer Jan Erik Kongshaug who portrayed great professionalism and musical understanding (Yenana).\(^\text{112}\) He gave the impression of having felt a bit inadequate compared to these musicians, due to his musical ability, which he attributed to the musical environment in South Africa which posed “no thriving jazz scene [...] at the time” and hence provided few opportunities for gaining experience. Yenana explained that he “wasn’t ready for it but [...] somehow, survived”.

He compared his experience of playing for Norwegian and South African audiences, and was very positive about Norwegian audiences, saying that playing for them constituted a totally different experience. He believes that Norwegian people value their public places and that they go out to listen to music; he feels that South Africans, by contrast, attend concerts purely out of the desire for entertainment and, consequently, pay little attention to the music, which results in the development of a celebrity status for the musicians. Yenana therefore wonders whether it is possible to remain creative at a fundamental level while experiencing this celebrity hype. He sees the Norwegian government and the musicians’ union to be far ahead of South Africa, as he believes they effectively nurture and promote new talent and work for Norwegian musicians as they are well organised.

Yenana’s impression is that Norway’s musical environment is far better, as musicians from all around the world play at Norwegian festivals and concerts, by contrast

\(^{112}\) All further references to Yenana refer to the author’s interview of 08.03.2007, unless indicated to the contrary.
with South Africa where international musicians are seldom present. As a result, Yenana argues, jazz is not accessible to ordinary people in South Africa.

In the course of SAN’s Norwegian tour they played for children in kindergarten and learnt that many Norwegian children are exposed to different kinds of music through workshops which, Yenana thinks, largely contribute to a level of appreciation of music. He argues that there is “not that kind of institute that can bring music to our kids at school”, as there is hardly any substantial music education in South Africa. He believes that insufficient funding comes from the South African government, as well as the small number of people with “noble intentions”, is putting a discouragement in the growth of professionalism within South African music. Yenana thinks that there are other aspects to this issue: the absence of a jazz musicians’ union to promote and preserve musicians’ rights, and the large number of amateur and under-qualified musicians in the industry who receive government support, but really belong in the classroom rather than on stage. Finally, Yenana believes that the biggest problem is music education.

Yenana argues that jazz, in spite of originating in the United States of America, has developed unique style in Norway and South Africa which he calls “urban expression[s]”, “urban phenomen[a]” which “[take] character according to the geographical standpoint”.

The Norwegian jazz sound, according to Yenana, is furthered through the “influx of international musicians throughout Norway” triggering a search for a different sound, which is the reason why Norwegian musicians come to South Africa. Yenana understood that the Norwegian musicians he has played with appreciated the joy and happiness of playing for a different audience than Norwegian, an “audience that would respond to them with whistles and claps” instead of the generally conservative Norwegian jazz-listening audience.

Yenana says his perception of jazz changed dramatically after working with these young Norwegian jazz musicians whose ability to play with great intensity helped him realise that “there is room for a jazz expression even if you are from outside of America”.

107
5.2.3.3 The SAN ensemble

Solberg’s background and the relationships he made during field work in South Africa, resulted in the initiation of the SAN (South African-Norwegian) project that lasted from 1996-1997. It comprised Solberg (tenor saxophone), Paal Nilssen-Love (drums), Ingebrigt Håker Flaten (bass), Andile Yenana (piano) and Zim Ngqawana (saxophones). They recorded an album in Oslo in 1996, *San Song*, which is attributed on the cover to “SAN featuring Zim Ngqawana” (SAN & Ngqawana 1996) and was released by Sheer Sound. The group played music composed by Ngqawana and Solberg, which, by “drawing from a wealth of African and European influences […] takes the listener on a journey spanning two continents” (Ngqawana). An online journalist, Hareuveni, has referred to the album as

[the] second-generation of collaborations between South African and European musicians almost thirty years after South African musicians […] departed into exile from the apartheid regime of
South Africa. It's a very convincing statement of how music can build bridges between traditions, nations and—obviously—human beings.\textsuperscript{113}

Detail, with Gjerstad, Dyani and Stevens can be seen as the first generation of specifically Norwegian collaboration. Hareuveni, however, in referring to those South African musicians who earlier impacted on the European jazz scene, is most likely signalling the better-known The Blue Notes and others.

There was little South African-Norwegian musical interaction in the period between Detail and SAN, which is another reason why SAN is referred to as the second generation of Norwegian-South African collaborations. Hareuveni also argued that \textit{San Song} was a "very convincing statement of how music can build bridges between traditions, nations and—obviously—human beings" by which he was possibly referring to the longstanding foreign aid relationship between Norway and South Africa as well as Solberg and Ngqawana’s friendship.

\subsection*{5.2.3.3 Aural analysis of \textit{San Song} – featuring Zim Ngqawana}

The \textit{San Song} album is the only recording made by this group and consists of the following tracks written by Solberg and Ngqawana: “San song” (Ngqawana), “Amagoduka” (Xhosa, Migrant workers) (Ngqawana); “1\textsuperscript{st} Movement – Migrant worker in his homeland”, “2\textsuperscript{nd} Movement – Migrant worker on a train to the mines”, “3\textsuperscript{rd} Movement – Migrant worker in Johannesburg”, “Elgseter” (Norwegian, Moose mountain pasture), (Solberg), “43. Casablanca” (Solberg), “Cape Point” (Solberg) and “Øde” (Norwegian, Deserted) (Solberg).

In my opinion Ngqawana contributes more to a distinctly different style of playing and composition than Solberg does on this album. By this I mean that Solberg’s playing and compositions are centred on a traditional US-sounding style, with a strong sense of head-solo-head layout.\textsuperscript{114} But, more distinctively, Solberg’s improvisation seems to struggle to match the intensity of Ngqawana’s at times intensely climaxed solos. According to Solberg (1996:ii), he and Ngqawana had found a common ground of

\textsuperscript{113} Hareuveni is an online journalist for the web-based journal All about jazz (All about jazz web site).

\textsuperscript{114} "A head is short for ‘head arrangement’, […] which refers to the melody of the tune.] Where a performance consists of a theme/solo/theme, in that order, the opening section […] is referred to as the ‘head’, and for the final section, the performers ‘go back to the head’ (in European classical music, \textit{da capo})" (Priestley 1995b:735).
musical interest in the avant-garde of jazz in South Africa in 1994-1995; however, what is portrayed by Solberg on the *San Song* album is a striving to reach beyond the boundaries of the so-called traditional US-sounding jazz into the avant-garde, but without quite succeeding. Ngqawana’s tendency to play the first solo on each track strongly contributes to Solberg’s sometimes, unsuccessful attempts.

![Figure 13: The front cover of the San Song album (SAN & Ngqawana 1996).](image)

The first part of the album contains two Ngqawana compositions which are mostly saxophone-and-piano-based. According to Mazuze, Ngqawana composes his tunes on the piano and shows them to Yenana by playing them and advising him how he would like them to be played. It is therefore likely that this is the reason why these songs are piano-and-saxophone-based.

The first track, “San Song” is a 3/4 + 4/4-metered four-bar form over a I-VI-II-I chord progression in F sharp major with a South African jazz-inspired melody based on a pentatonic scale, at 115 MM with a legato alto saxophone melody harmonised at a major third by Ngqawana and Solberg, which is repeated seven times.\(^{115}\) It is a head-solo-head tune with Ngqawana using variations of the pentatonic scale while gradually moving outside the tonal centre of F sharp where he uses elements of John Coltrane’s “Giant steps” four-note pattern as well as a further development of a three-note pentatonic

\(^{115}\) MM, *Maizel Metronome* refers to the metronome tempo of the song in terms of beats per minute.
pattern and rapid repetitive phrases. Solberg also uses a lot of pentatonic elements, however, through a much more melodic manner and does not venture outside the tonal centre and lacks the intensity of Ngqawana.


Movement one, “Migrant worker in his homeland” is rubato, free of metrical form as in the ălăpana, an unmetered, melodic improvisation within an Indian rāga, which musically means a melodic mode (Allan & Viswanathan 2004:129, 132). Ngqawana further shows his knowledge of Indian classical music through the use of the Hamsadhvani rāga which is based on the 1-2-3-5-7-1 mode, which in the key of F would be F-G-A-C-E-F’ (Bor 2002:80). His interest in Indian classical music comes from the influence of his American teacher Yusef Lateef (b. 1920) who plays the shenāi (a double reed Indian woodwind instrument) as well as the South African Indian population (Nixon 25.07.2007). The second movement, “Migrant worker on a train” to the mines sets of with Yenana’s hymn like piano which leads into a whole tone chord up and down movement (Eb-F-G-Eb) which resembles the traditional music of the Xhosa people such as the musical bow (Impey & Rycroft). Solberg solos melodically on alto saxophone using elements of typical South African jazz musicians phrases, blues phrases, pentatonic phrases as well as certain non-tonal phrases where Ngqawana is complementing on piccolo and uses a harmonica to produce the sound of a train; Dargie (1988:50) documents the occasional use of the harmonica to play the lead part of songs in Xhosa practice; Ngqawana may be quite aware of this use of the instrument, which may influence his choice of the instrument. The third movement, “Migrant worker in Johannesburg”, is played in metered time, MM = 140 with mostly vamp-based improvisation. Ngqawana introduce a continuous imitation on the harmonica leading into

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116 Coltrane’s four-note pattern is based on 1-2-3-5, which in the key of C major would be C-D-E-G, and the pattern moves cyclically up in intervals of 4ths.
117 The typical South African jazz sound is denoted through similar the harmonic structure, often centred around the I-IV-V chord progressions, where certain phrases referred to as licks are common. The history of South African jazz is further discussed out in Chapter 2. Harmonica is known as ifleyithi in Xhosa (Dargie 1988:50).
a short harmonised melody on soprano and alto, with resemblances of a passing train and onto a short Ngqawana soprano solo over a new chord structure and then back to the vamp, where the solo continues in blues-inspired improvisations. He then gradually moves into a freer medium of improvisation by using the fifth mode of harmonic minor, 5-b6-7-1-2-b3-4-5, which in the key of F would be C-Db-E-F-Ab-Bb-C' which also possibly signifies an “Middle Eastern” sound though the alteration of his soprano saxophone sound into a resemblance of an Turkish or Arabic oboe. The movement ends with the piano vamp where Ngqawana is signifying the train again by playing the mouth organ.

Solberg’s four compositions: “Elgseter”, “43 Casablanca”, “Cape Point” and “Øde” resemble each other in style recalling the so-called straight-ahead jazz 4/4-metered compositions with a melody, two or three improvised solos over the chord structure and a return to the melody to the end. However, “Øde”, is different due to the piano introduction as well as the overall vamped form of the tune. The piano introduction has references that seem inspired by classical impressionism due to the arpeggiated soundscaping. The introduction also brings out vague stylistic features of the classical Norwegian national romantic period through the use of fourth and fifth intervals. The introduction eventually leads into a vamp, the basis of the rest of the song. “Øde” is written in a 7/4-meter at ca. MM 120 in the key of E, with a soprano, alto and tenor legato melody, harmonised at the perfect fourth interval. The vamp continues throughout, over which both Ngqawana (soprano saxophone) and Solberg (tenor saxophone) improvise with equally convincing intensity. Ngqawana utilises the whole-tone scale (E-F#-G#-A#-C-D-E’) in his improvisation while increasingly playing outside the tonal centre of E. In Solberg’s subsequent solo, there are certain similarities with phrases that Ngqawana has used, but Solberg seems to wander far from the melodic playing he has shown in the rest of the album into a an intense climax by using over-tone playing and over-blowing to create different sounds. At the end of Solberg’s solo, they return to the head, similar to the beginning.

Segerman, who says that there was a “major buzz going around [regarding] this excellent jazz album” when it was released, has reviewed the album, and argues that
Solberg’s interesting European-angled compositions complement the otherwise South African jazz feel of the album. However, Sheer Sound’s Ngqawana biography describes the music as “deeply rooted in the folk-based jazz traditions of Norway and South Africa, drawing on influences from rural and folk traditions to Indian and Western classical music, world music and the avant-garde”.119 But I argue that the only place where there is any, vague Norwegian folk music contribution is in “Ode”, where Solberg reveals a small fraction of Norwegian sounds in the melody through the use of fourths and fifths. Solberg’s other tracks are more straight-ahead sounding tunes, typical of much of current jazz.

Overall, the tuning of the saxophonists are not hundred percent on pitch, which becomes slightly disturbing when the two saxophones are playing in unison; otherwise it does not become a striking feature.

Journalist and music critic Mosnes reviewing the album on the Dagbladet’s web site has described the album as a union of South African folk music-ness and the free, fearless joy of improvisation in a modal jazz expression, well inspired by the 1960s “Coltrane” style of jazz. Mosnes argues that the album is one of Norad’s most successful musical projects.120

To conclude, Ngqawana’s expression within this avant-garde jazz genre with roots in traditional Xhosa music and South African jazz is strong; hence the overall sound of the San Song album is more South African than a fusion of Norwegian and South African music. It is, however, important to point out that it is only Solberg who makes an attempt at introducing any Norwegian-ness to the album. The drummer and the bass player are very neutral to the South African jazz sound and they do not play solo or stand out in any specific section but do, however, contribute to the very good rhythm section of the album.

5.2.4 Zim Ngqawana
Zimasile “Zim” Ngqawana (b. 1959) is a “South African saxophonist, flutist, and percussionist” who joined Darius Brubeck’s Jazzanians which took him to the 1988 International Association of Jazz Educators’ (IAJE) conference in Detroit (Grove music

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119 Sheer Sound is the recording label that Ngqawana is signed with (Sheer Sound 23.07.2007).
120 Norad was the financial sponsor of SAN.
online). There, "Ngqawana attended workshops given by Max Roach and Wynton Marsalis and, with Roach's help, was admitted to the University of Massachusetts, where he studied with Archie Shepp and Yusef Lateef" *(Grove music online)*.

Ngqawana has since "composed and performed music for modern dance companies and for Nelson Mandela's inauguration in 1994, he organized the Drums for Peace Orchestra, involving 100 musicians" *(Grove music online)*

Ngqawana comes from the new generation of South African musicians who are taking a fresh look at South Africa's jazz and traditional music heritage, [...] he is committed to developing and creating an audience for new South African jazz [drawing] on influences ranging from South Africa's folk and rural traditions to Indian and western classical music, world music and the avant-garde (Sheer Sound 31.05.2007).

According to Sheer Sound, Ngqawana is grounded in his South African [Xhosa] roots, which makes his music strongly percussive, improvisational and highly danceable and, for this reason, theatre and dance companies have been drawn to his music. However, traditional Xhosa music is not highly percussive with regard to drumming, as there are very few drums and percussion instruments in traditional Xhosa music (Impey & Rycroft, c) and Ngqawana's music is most certainly percussive and improvisational, so it is not definite that he draws on his traditional Xhosa roots in this regard, as traditional music also has evolved over time.

According to *Grove music online*,

Ngqawana's playing has been influenced by such groups and musicians as the Brotherhood of Breath, Ornette Coleman, Dudu Pukwana, and Eric Dolphy. While his eclectic work incorporates elements of European and Asian classical music, traditional Xhosa melodies and rhythms predominate.

The rhythm section of SAN went on to collaborate with Zim Ngqawana on his albums *Zimology* (Ngqawana 1998) and *Ingoma* (Ngqawana 1999) (Hareuveni).\(^{121}\) *Zimology*, recorded in Norway, was Ngqawana's first solo album and, according to Sheer Sound (31.05.2007), "illustrates his uncanny ability as a musician, composer and fine saxophonist". Further, "[a]lthough *Zimology* is in essence an avant-garde album, it

\(^{121}\) Zimology is a term made up by Ngqawana, who explains it in the liner notes of *Zimology* to mean "the study of the self" (Ngqawana 1998). On *Zimology*, the line-up consisted of Ngqawana (saxophones/flutes) and Yenana (piano), apart from the two Norwegians, Paal Nielsen-Love (drums) and Ingebrigt Håker Flaten (double bass). The line-up of *Ingoma* was joined by South African Lefifi Tladi (poetry and artworks), Dumakude Msuthwana (trumpet) and Zim Ngqawana Jr (chorus) (Ngqawana 1998).
incorporates many influences from traditional Xhosa rhythms and songs to the more [...] avant-garde] forms of jazz expressionism” and establishes Ngqawana as “the undoubted king of South African avant-garde jazz music” (Sheer Sound).

Ngqawana and his band, Ingoma, toured the USA in 1995 and Europe in 1997 “in collaboration with Keith Tippett’s group Mujician” (Grove music online). The Ingoma album, recorded in Johannesburg and awarded a SAMA: “best traditional jazz album”, is a “collaborative project of art, poetry and music” (Ngqawana). According to the album liner notes “Ingoma is a tour de force of committed conscious culture warriors, blowing a national clarion to draw the concerned listener’s attention to the fire that is engulfing our houses as a nation in a state of emergency” (Ngqawana 1999).

“This project features Norwegian musicians as a result of continued support for cross-cultural exchange by Norad” (Ngqawana 1998).

5.2.4.1 Aural analysis of Zimology

Zimology is divided into four suites: “Prologue”, “Four part suite (opus #20)”, “Elegies in c-minor (opus #1)” and “Epilogue”. All tracks except “Mayenzeke” (Xhosa, Let it happen), a 6/8-metered traditional spiritual in the key of Eb major arranged by Ngqawana from the “Prologue” and “You think you know me”, a tune in F major by Mongezi Feza arranged by Ngqawana from the “Epilogue”, have what Ngqawana refers to as a “social address” (Ngqawana 1998).

The “Four part suite (opus #20)” has four movements: “Hymns for the war orphans”, “The widow”, “Baby Angelina” and “Transformation”. “Hymns for the war orphans” and “The widow” are meant to express how “political and religious wars leave us orphaned and widowed” (Ngqawana 1998). Movement one, “Hymns for the war orphans” is a 4/4 ballad at ca. MM 70 in the key of Eb major based on a legato flute melody by Ngqawana. It is in AABA form with an ad lib section at the end, where all band members improvise.

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122 SAMA is the acronym for the South African Music Awards (SAMA).
Movement two, “The widow”, has a 4/4 time signature at ca. 170 MM in Eb minor over a I-VII-VI-V chord structure vamp which is repeated to the end. It opens with a piano introduction leading into a blues and pentatonic inspired melody improvisation which leads to a freer, however still tuching the tonal centre of Eb minor. It never returns to the head, but vamps on a flute- and piano-based theme to the end.

Movement three, “Baby Angelina”, is meant as a cry to stop the killing of babies and children (Ngqawana 1998). The song is a rubato ABA solo piano ballad in C# major played by Ngqawana, which shows his ability to play the piano very well and also explains why his songs tend to have a piano introduction and/or be piano-and-saxophone oriented. In fact, his playing here could easily have been mistaken for Yenana’s, which confirms the point referred to above, where Ngqwana shows Yenana how he wants his tune to be played by playing to Yenana on the piano.

Movement four, “Transformation”, which demands transformation rather than a renaissance of the new South Africa (Ngqawana 1998), is a modal 6/8 time signature at ca. MM 150 two-chord vamped structure in Eb minor with a soprano saxophone melody which leads to a soprano saxophone improvisation where Ngqwana increasingly ventures out of the tonal centres in a partly free improvisation, then back to the melody via the bridge to the two-chord-based vamp where Ngqwana continues his solo. This two-
chord-based vamp could possibly be derived from Ngqawana’s traditional Xhosa background, where the musical bows tend to play an ostinato pattern on two fundamentals a tone apart (Impey & Rycroft).

The “Elegies in c-minor (opus #1)” consists of four movements: “Biological warfare”, “Requiem for Bucs Gongco”, “Unyangantathu”, “Qula kwedini”. The first movement, “Biological warfare”, a strong protest against the medical experiments previously performed by the powers of the National Party in order to make black women infertile (Ngqawana 1998), is a 4/4 swing tune in the key C minor at ca. MM 260 which starts with a AABAC vamp-like theme led by Ngqawana on alto saxophone, leading into a rubato South African jazz-inspired theme and back to the original vamp, which leads to the solo section over which Ngqawana solo improvises with intensity both inside and outside the tonal centre. The solo section is further developed through a tonal piano solo into a drum solo through what seems to be missing a bass solo, as it is only the rhythm section playing and the bass is walking, with no other instrument soloing. It returns to the rubato South African jazz-inspired theme and vamps towards the end.

The second movement, “Requiem for Bucs Gongco” in “remembrance and celebration” of the legacy that deceased South Africa jazz musicians and composers like Bucs Gongco left for the current generation (Ngqawana 1998), starts with a drone-like introduction with the full band, which leads to the main theme. It is an ABA 3/4 swing tune at ca. MM 120 in the key of C minor, where the A section is based on a I-VII-VI-V chord progression led by Ngqawana on soprano saxophone, which includes elements of blues and whole tone scales. The first solo is a mellow piano solo by Yenana who hands it over to Ngqawana who plays inside the tonal centre with the same drone as the movement was started with.

The third movement, “Unyangantathu”, also a “remembrance and celebration” of the legacy that the deceased South Africa jazz musicians and composers left for the current generation (Ngqawana 1998), is a typical South African jazz tune in 4/4 time signature at ca. 180 MM in the key of Eb major. It has a repetitive theme which leads to the alto solo by Ngqawana in which he uses much of the common improvisational licks

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123 Bucs Gongco was a jazz musician from Cape Town who passed away just after the Chris MacGregor and Dudu Pukwana died in the early 1990s (Ngqawana 1998).
that South African jazz musicians commonly use. It then returns to the melody which leads to the end.\textsuperscript{124}

The fourth movement, “Qula kwedini”, is a Xhosa male initiation song of the transition to manhood and how Ngqawana embraces being a man rather than merely a male (Ngqawana 1998). The track starts with solo piano in a typical South African piano sound, which many may claim was popularised and/or developed by Abdullah Ibrahim with chords broken up into fourth intervals. Pianist Yenana is then joined by the bass and drums while Ngqawana symbolises a train whistle by blowing a two-note minor third interval on a flute-like instrument. The song moves to a 4/4-metered flute-based melody at ca. 100 MM in F sharp minor and into a vocal section in Xhosa sung by Ngqawana leading into a soprano saxophone solo by Ngqawana where he uses pentatonic scales such as F#-G#-A#-C#-D#-F#, which starts in a mellow fashion and gradually but intensely moves out of the tonal centre and back to the vocal part to the train whistle end.

5.2.4.2 Aural analysis of Ingoma

The biggest difference between this album, and the other two others, San Song and Zimology, is the extent of the avant-garde quality and the much greater involvement of Nilssen-Love and Håker Flaten in the music. Both improvise on various tracks instead of primarily providing a background element as is the case of the other two albums.

The album is made up of four parts: an Overture, the “Communion” with three movements, an interlude and two suites with four and five movements: Act one “Ingoma” (Xhosa, dance or song) (opus #18) and Act two “Biko’s Ghost” (opus #19) (Ngqawana 1999).

The Overture, which is called “Communion”, starts off with “McGregorian chant (Oblation to Chris McGregor)” a 5/4-metered tune at ca. 120 MM in the key of F# minor based on a I-IV-VI-VII (D#-G#-B-C#) vamp based around the pentatonic scale. The track starts with a solo piano introduction, which sets up the pentatonic (D#-F#-A#-C#-D#) vamp-like character, furthered when the rest of the band enters. Ngqawana improvises over these sections on flute to the end.

\textsuperscript{124}“Licks” is a term indicating phrases that the musicians have learnt from “players they like and admire” and when this “phrase is either copied and learnt or habitually repeated, it becomes a lick” (Carr 1995e:737-738).
The second movement, “Mamazala”, starts with a piano introduction in typical South African jazz style and is joined by the rest of the rhythm section in a 4/4-metered tune at ca. 60 MM in the key of F major based on a I-III-IV-V-I chord progression. Ngqawana (alto saxophone) joins with the melody, which has a certain resemblance to Abdullah Ibrahim’s “The Wedding”, but it does not have the same type of bridge as Ibrahim’s song. After the melody, Flaten improvises on bass and then hands it over to Yenana, on piano, who plays an “in-the-pocket” solo and, in turn, hands it over to Ngqawana who solos with many blues-inspired phrases before returning to the melody.125

The third movement “Unamaqhinga na?” is sung a capella in a traditional call-and-response style, with techniques such as growling. The tune is possibly derived from Ngqawana’s traditional Xhosa background.

The first suite, “Act one: Ingoma (opus #18)”, has five movements: “Umzi watsha”, “Amanzi” (Xhosa, Water), “Usizi emnqamlezweni” (Xhosa, He/she is pitiful), “Sangoma” (Xhosa, Traditional healer) and “Ingoma” (Xhosa, Dance dance or song). The first movement, “Umzi watsha”, is a fast, high-energy tune in 3/4 at ca. 360 MM with a contrasting half-time melody both sung and played. After a short, free trumpet solo,

125 “In-the-pocket” is a term commonly used by musicians when referring to a performance of any sort that is perfectly fitted to the tune.
spoken words by Thladi lead into a completely free solo by Ngqawana (tenor saxophone) and back to Thladi and eventually back to the head, played and sung. The second movement, “Amanzi”, is a short piece performed by Thladi with a bucket of water. The third movement, “Usizi emnqamlezweni”, is a version of the American gospel tune “When the saints go marching in”. It is a 4/4 tune played at ca. 180 MM in the key of C major, performed without any solos and led by Ngqawana (alto saxophone). The fourth movement, “Sangoma”, is sung at ca. 75 MM by Thladi, who accompanies himself by clapping on his chest. The fifth movement, “Ingoma”, is a drum solo by Nilssen-Love.

The interlude, “Umthandazo (Prayer)”, starts with a lyrical bass solo by Håker Flaten who sets up the tune in 4/4 at ca. 135 MM in C# minor, with a legato flute melody. The solo is played on the piano by Yenana who, amongst other techniques, uses the harmonic minor scale which leads back to the head, played by piano and flute.

The last suite, “Biko’s ghost” (opus #19), contains four movements: “Crucifixion”, “Resurrection”, “Consciousness” and “Amen”. The first movement, “Crucifixion”, is a partly free, very fast tune which starts off with Ngqawana’s alto saxophone solo using long lines, creating a temporary tonal centre, and then leading into a fast and intense trumpet solo. It calms down at the end, possibly signifying death after an intensive fight. The second movement, “Resurrection”, is based on free improvised music with spoken words by Thladi. The third movement, “Consciousness”, is a free, improvised tune with Ngqawana creating a tonal centre with a legato solo with long lines, which resembles Norwegian saxophonist Jan Garbarek’s playing. Yenana then solos, using fluttering arpeggios in an impressionistic manner, leading back to a bass solo and back to the piano, to end with spoken words. The fourth movement “Amen” is a prayer spoken by Thladi.

Overall, Ingoma (Ngqwana 1999) is a deep expression of musicality which involves all band members on an equal level. As mentioned above, both Håker and Nilssen-Love are more musically involved in this recording through improvisation. They are to a large extent much more audible than on Zimology and San song.

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126 “Steve Biko (1946-1977), a political activist and writer, is regarded as the father of the Black Consciousness movement in […] South Africa” (Eastman 1998).
5.2.5 The Brazz Brothers and Women Unite

SouthAfroBrazz was a musical exchange project between Cape Town-based Women Unite and the Norwegian Brazz Brothers. The collaboration was initiated in 2002 by Tom Gravli, head of Rikskonsertene’s international programme as well as chairman of Mmino, the South African-Norwegian education and music programme (Tafjord). As a result, the project was funded by Mmino and Norad and toured Swaziland, South Africa, Mozambique and Norway, conducting workshops and performances between 2003 and 2005, with “the aim of gaining exposure in an African context, as well as in Norway/Scandinavia and neighbouring European countries” (Mmino).

I will introduce the two groups, and then go on to discuss their joint project.

5.2.5.1 Women Unite

Women Unite is an all-woman marimba/vocal/dance ensemble founded in April 1997 by Thandi Swartbooi, who, due to the lack of recognition she had experienced as a woman within the music business, both financially and professionally, decided to approach a number of talented young women in order to make a “future for themselves in the field of arts and culture” (Arries & Gordon, a). Swartbooi has reviewed the awards as the overall and youth category winner at the Western Cape leg of the Community Builder of the Year Awards in 2003 and 2006 as the founder of Women Unite, co-founder of Madam Afrique, a “unique musical project which celebrates the power of women in Africa” and Thandi’s Kids Group from Guguletu whom she has been teaching for the past seven, “developing their creative and musical skills” (PeakPerformance).

They, as a group of eight women who are previously trained in different disciplines of music, dance and drama include women who currently are professionals in different industries, working for prominent companies and offering specialized skills that contribute to the success of [the group] (Arries & Gordon, a).

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127 Through his job, Gravli travels extensively and therefore had the opportunity to attend a performance by Women Unite in South Africa, which triggered his curiosity (Tafjord).
128 www.music.org.za is a Mmino-sponsored web site (est. 1997) whose mission is to be a “useful reference and educational resource about musicians in South Africa and the neighbouring regions” (Gordon & Arries, b). Initiated by Making Music Productions (MMP), the site includes “biographies of an increasing array of South African and African musicians - a priority has been to profile artists who were previously marginalised in much of the media” (Gordon & Arries, b).
129 Women Unite aim at “mobilizing women into [...] developing leadership [skills...] as well as raising awareness within their respective communities by encouraging them to empower themselves” (Gordon & Arries, a). Furthermore, they aim at “educating both children and adults on issues of AIDS, gangsterism, homelessness, the abuse of women, drugs and prostitution” (Gordon & Arries, a). They also aim at
It is important to point out Women Unite's musical and professional background in order to prove their urban and professional perspective on the collaboration with The Brazz Brothers. They are not just merely a random all-female group picked by The Brazz Brothers, who have arbitrary knowledge of traditional Xhosa and Zulu music from South Africa. Women Unite is a group of women who have previous experience with and influence of so-called Western aspects of music. These issues will be addressed in the proceeding paragraphs.

5.2.5.2 The Brazz Brothers
The Brazz Brothers, founded in 1981 by the Førde and the Tafjord brothers after years of studying classical music at conservatories in Norway, was originally a classic brass quartet with a career started through Rikskonsertene (The Brazz Brothers and Tafjord).¹³⁰

According to The Brazz Brothers, Norway has had unique traditions of brass and woodwind ensembles since the end of the nineteenth century, and they claim that there is no other country in the world that has such a big number of these ensembles relative to its

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¹³⁰ The founders of The Brazz Brothers are Jarle Førde (trumpet), Jan Magne Førde (trumpet/flugelhorn), Helge Førde (trombone), Runar Tafjord (French horn) and Stein Erik Tafjord (tuba) (The Brazz Brothers). In 1986, they added a drummer; Egil 'Bop' Johansen, who died in 1998, and was replaced by Marcus Lewin (The Brazz Brothers).
population. This heritage can be seen in their original conception of a classic brass quintet consisting of two trumpets, a French horn and a tuba (Tafjord). However, during a performance of *Die Kunst Der Fuge* by J. S. Bach, their conception was changed spontaneously by “opening up bars” in order to vamp over shorter sections, hence creating their own unique style (Tafjord).

After touring Scandinavia extensively for many years, The Brazz Brothers have become increasingly popular during the past few years, entering the European music scene with great success through more than 120 concerts a year; they are now supported by publics funds such as the Norwegian Cultural Council (currently known as the Arts Council Norway) and privately sponsored by Statnett since 2000 (The Brazz Brothers).

Their music is exclusively composed or arranged by the band members and “represent[s] a unique mix of traditional jazz, modern jazz and folk music from different parts of the world, [but] the Scandinavian folk music tradition is strongly represented [as well] (The Brazz Brothers). Moreover, while continuously striving for an open-minded way of playing in which both improvisation and intuition play major parts, The Brazz Brothers perform with instrumental virtuosity and spontaneous humour (The Brazz Brothers). Hence, The Brazz Brothers claim to set “the brass instruments in focus in a new and refreshing way” (The Brazz Brothers).

Music education has been on The Brazz Brothers agenda for many years through their numerous tours and concerts sponsored by Rikskonsertene who’s involved in education is crucial to its goals (Rikskonsertene). As a result of this activity, The Brazz Brothers launched a concept called *The Brazz Brothers Earport*, which include[s] educational events for beginners, advanced amateurs, professional musicians as well as music teachers, on the subject «playing by ear» in music education. […] The method is based on children’s natural ability to imitate when playing by ear and stimulates all the senses in the

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131 The Ministry of Cultural Affairs (MFA) has been responsible for the national cultural policy since 1990 and “has at its disposal several public councils, as advisory bodies, covering different sectors. The most important is the Norwegian Cultural Council established in 1964 with the intention of decentralizing the administration of state cultural subsidies so that counties and municipalities could use them to a greater extent according to the local needs and priorities. The Council has three main functions: (1) to appropriate funds for special projects; (2) to carry on experimental work for short periods; (3) to undertake report studies and give advice” (Jivr 2005). Statnett is “Europe’s leading and most efficient transmission system operator […] It is a public enterprise, owned by the [Norwegian] State through the Ministry of Petroleum and Energy and regulated by the State Enterprise Act” (Statnett). The relationship between Statnett and The Brazz Brothers is an ideal example of how rewarding and developing a relationship between culture and economic trade can be (Kultur & Naeringsliv web site).
learning process. The Brazz Brothers have developed this method with focus especially on rhythm and improvisation (The Brazz Brothers).

The Brazz Brothers’ international interest was initiated in 1992 when they began to experiment with the idea of mixing their music with music of the world which resulted in a visit to various African countries by Gravli and Førde (Kristiansen 2005:173). They were looking for “non-prejudiced musicians with a curiosity to cross borders” and through their travels, Gravli and Førde found an interesting nine-piece band in Tanzania who called themselves Tatunane and with whom they collaborated through a tour in Norway and in Tanzania (Kristiansen 2005:173). The musical result of this collaboration can be heard on AfroBrazz (1993) and Ngoma (1999) (The Brazz Brothers).132

5.2.5.3 SouthAfroBrazz
In the spring of 2002, The Brazz Brothers and Women Unite met for the first time to develop and perform their collaborative SouthAfroBrazz project which climaxed at the Royal Princess Märta Louise’s wedding in Trondheim, Norway (The Brazz Brothers, a). The project was taken to be very successful, hence, later on that same year, they collaborated for a second time, this time via satellite between Oslo and Cape Town at the opening of a prestigious Telenor building at Fornebu airport (The Brazz Brothers, b).133

In 2003, the success continued when SouthAfroBrazz recorded an album SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town at the Victoria & Alfred Waterfront amphitheatre and the SABC Beach Studios in Cape Town during their Southern Africa tour (Tafjord).134

132 AfroBrazz (1993) was the result of the collaboration with the Tanzanian band Tatunane (The Brazz Brothers).
133 Telenor is one of the largest telecommunication companies in Norway. Fornebu is the former international airport in Oslo.
134 The 2003 Southern Africa tour was sponsored by Norad and SouthAfroBrazz performed free of charge for approximately 12000 people during this tour (The Brazz Brothers, e).
Figure 17: The Brazz Brothers from left: Runar Tafjord, Helge Forde, Jan Magne Forde, Jarle Forde, Marcus Lewin and Stein Erik Tafjord (The Brazz Brothers)

The tour started in Swaziland, continued in Mozambique (where they also held workshops) and came to an end in South Africa (The Brazz Brothers, d). Apart from two workshops in Maputo, Mozambique, a workshop was held in Krugersdorp, at a Norsk Kulturskoleråds (the Norwegian Cultural Council) and Norad project called Umoja [Cultural flying carpet], which was concluded with concerts in Johannesburg in which Miriam Makeba also took part (The Brazz Brothers, d).135

In Gugulethu and Nyanga, two townships on the outskirts of Cape Town, SouthAfroBrazz held two further workshops for approximately 4,000 children at schools

135 Umoja was an international programme with the primary goal of increasing the understanding of art and culture in the society through institutional development between pupils and teachers at eleven culture institutions in Norway, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa (Hofsli 2006).
Figure 18: SouthAfroBrazz performing at the wedding of Princess Märta Louise and Ari Behn (The Brazz Brothers, a)

where Women Unite members Swaartbooi and Matati taught music, dance and drama (The Brazz Brothers). The Gugulethu and Nyanga workshops made a lasting impression on the Brazz Brothers, who claimed that they had not experienced anything similar since they toured Tanzania ten years earlier (The Brazz Brothers). Hjorth, the manager of The Brazz Brothers, explained, in reflecting on the performance by the school children at these workshops, that

"... was as if the whole of Africa’s strength beamed through the dance and song of these children [. . . ] and in such a situation, we, as frozen men of the North [do] well in admitting to our shortcoming. The lives of these human beings are so strong and passionate, that we will never have a chance at getting close to this kind of cultural expression that these human beings stand for (The Brazz Brothers).

In 2003 they gathered forces again for a successful tour comprising sixteen concerts in Norway, with full houses throughout, including those at venues that had never before experienced such a large turnout (Bømlo kommune). Prior to the SouthAfroBrazz concert in Bømlo, Bømlo kommune’s web site advertised them as eight marimba-playing, drumming, singing and dancing ladies from Gugulethu township outside Cape
Town, who were once again collaborating with five white, windswept Brazz Brothers (Bømlo kommune).136

In 2004, another South African tour was formalised. The main aim was to launch their debut album *SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town*; both in Cape Town and Johannesburg. This tour was sponsored jointly by Rikskonsertene, through Mmino, and Norad and received much media coverage in South Africa. Subsequent tours through minor cities in Norway and Sweden took place in 2005 and 2006 (Mmino).

The SouthAfroBrazz project, in which “original South African music and dance [together with...] Norwegian folk music based jazz, [is] fused into a new Marimba-Jazz fusion”, has gained much attention (Mmino). The musical focus of the project was “strongly weighted towards Women Unite’s repertoire of African music and songs and aim[ed] at developing The Brazz Brothers’ understanding and appreciation of African music” available on their *SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town* recording from 2003 (Mmino). In the previous statement, Mmino clearly states that the aim was to expand The Brazz Brothers’ musical horizon rather than that of Women Unite, but this information is not completely objective, as is clear from the synopsis of The Brazz Brothers funding proposal addressed to Mmino (Mmino). However, it is important to consider that The Brazz Brothers is a very versatile group which has collaborated with musicians from all over the world. I would argue that, with reference to the original goal of the project, connecting people through music, demonstrates that Women Unite and The Brazz Brothers shared a similar approach towards working with other types of music and musicians, there has been mutual musical benefit.

When The Brazz Brothers collaborated with Women Unite, they had already gained a set of experiences through previous collaboration in Tanzania some years earlier, and Tafjord refers to this as a foundation and reference for their further “African experiences”.

It’s like when you go on holiday to Syden [the South, a Norwegian term referring to any country south of Germany where Norwegians go on holiday and to get a tan]; you go to the sun-bed and get a tan-foundation.

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136 The use of the term “windswept” here indicates the rather windy weather on the west coast of Norway from where the five founders of The Brazz Brothers originate.
Tafjord’s statement portrays a sense of “cultural tourism”, a phenomenon which has gradually increased in Norway over the past ten to fifteen years. This phenomenon has developed in concurrence with the growing Norwegian economy and as a result, the average Norwegian’s economic freedom has allowed a larger ability for travel to any part of the world.

The Tanzanian project — perceived as successful by The Brazz Brothers — was also initiated by Gravli, which is the reason why The Brazz Brothers had no second thoughts about getting involved with the SouthAfroBrazz project, says Tafjord. For Tafjord, though, there was a major difference between Tanzania and South Africa, because of South Africa being a developed country with traditional music that was easy to understand for The Brazz Brothers because of its more Western character, whereas the Tanzanian music seemed to be further away from their musical understanding (Tafjord 10.01.2006). In Tanzania, The Brazz Brothers were involved with the Bagamoyo institute of music. However, Tafjord gave the impression that they were out in the “jungle” teaching people how to play Western instruments, rather than teaching within an already existing institute. Moreover, it seems that they felt like missionaries ready to civilise the uncivilised through the teaching of western music.
It is possible that Tafjord’s Tanzanian experience involved music more difficult for him to comprehend than the South African music involved in the SouthAfroBrazz collaboration, as it involved more traditional music as such.

Tafjord recognised that The Brazz Brothers quickly realised they were far away from their East African reference of Tanzania, when they received a tape containing items from Women Unite’s repertoire, as well as a short video clip showing how they danced. However, as mentioned above, the South African music that Women Unite had sent them was not difficult for the Brazz Brothers to comprehend with their skills in researching, arranging, reworking and memorising in line with their original concept (Tafjord).

When The Brazz Brothers found it difficult to teach Women Unite their own songs due to their inability to read the music in staff notation; earlier, The Brazz Brothers had sent them the charts of the music together with a recording (Tafjord). The result they were unable to learn any of The Brazz Brothers’ songs prior to the first meeting. Tafjord, however, argues that Women Unite were mentally prepared, as they had heard the music (10.01.2006). I would argue that this reveals The Brazz Brothers noble intentions to a certain extent. Moreover, they seem to think that they portray an image of kindness through their ability to connect with people of other musical cultures. In other words, they take on a role of the Western superior “Same” and in this case give Women Unite the role of the developing “Other”. Hence the kindness they think they might portray is in fact “cultural tourism”.

The tracks on SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town are, as stated above, mostly based on Women Unite’s repertoire and are both of popular and traditional origin: “Mabhongo”, “Shikisha”, “Umtshato”, “Wedding”, “Umona”, “Too-kah”, “Awile-wile”, “Igqirha”, “Woyaya”, “Ufane wavala”, “Izintsiswa” and “Take five”. Below is an aural analysis of the album recorded by SouthAfriBrazz where instrumentation, chord progressions, melodies, interpretation, themes and so on is assessed.

5.2.5.4 Aural analysis of SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town
The musicians comprise five Norwegian men and eight South African women who all perform instruments as well as sing. SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town combines The Brazz Brothers' brass quintet with Women Unite’s ensemble of marimbas, African drums
and percussion instruments. The line-up is: tuba, trombone, French horn and two trumpets/flugelhorns, drum kit, soprano, alto, tenor and bass marimbas, *jembe* \(^{137}\) and the indigenous South African forty-gallon *igubhu* drum, which is laced with two cowhides and played with sticks.

The marimba found in South Africa today is not originally a South African traditional instrument, neither is it traditionally Zimbabwean but rather a constructed Zimbabwean instrument which developed as a new national instrument [in the early 1960s], because it had no ethnic affiliations which could lead to charges of favouritism; it could belong equally to everybody in the country. Yet, of course, it was totally African at the same time, although not played in Zimbabwe itself. The nearest marimba traditions around Zimbabwe are the *silimba* of the Lozi in Barotseland, western Zambia, the Venda *mbila mutondo*, and three in Mozambique, the *valimba* of the Sena, Manganja and others on the lower Zambezi, and the *muhambi* of the Tswa and mbila of the Chopi of the southern coastal plain” (Tracey).

The marimbas found in South Africa today derive from the early 1980s when a marimba factory was set up at Ikhwezi Lokusa School for the Catholic Church in Umtata in the Eastern Cape Province (Tracey). However it was Dave Dargie, who as head of music at Fort Hare University set about introducing the instruments and creating new liturgical music for marimba in Catholic churches and youth clubs, at first among Xhosa speakers in the Cape Province, and later country-wide. The new “Xhosa-fied” marimba sets were first introduced into Catholic youth clubs in Cape Town and from a small start have now spread to schools, churches and clubs almost all over the country. Many professional bands now use marimba sets. The first band to achieve renown was Amampondlo, led by Dizu Plaatjies, in Langa, Cape Town” (Tracey).

The album contains twelve tracks. Two of these are sung and arranged by Women Unite only: “Awile-wile” (Xhosa, They fell), which is a traditional Xhosa song arranged for two vocal parts in fourths in a call-and-response form, and “Izintsiswa” a traditional Zulu song in a three-part vocal arrangement in fourths, with a lead singer and chourus, accompanied by handclapping, ululating, whistling and other expressive sounds.

The Brazz Brothers arranged all the other tracks, but only one, track five, “Umona” (Jan Magne Førde) was written by The Brazz Brothers. However, it is likely that Women Unite wrote or contributed to the lyrics as they are in Xhosa. More importantly, it is the only track that has a significant reference to Norwegian traditional music, where the trombone and the French horn play a phrase called the “horn

\(^{137}\) The *jembe* is originally a Mande instrument, but has become a very widespread drum.
fourths/fifths”, which is a common phenomenon in Forde’s compositions. This phrase is varied by a unison trumpet ornamenting in typical hardingfele manner, moving down in fourths.¹³⁸

Two tracks written by Abdullah Ibrahim were arranged by The Brazz Brothers: tracks four, the “Wedding” and track six, “Too-kah” arranged by Helge Forde and performed by The Brazz Brothers. The choice of two Ibrahim tunes could be related to an appreciation of his music; in fact, according to Tafjord, The Brazz Brothers have in recent years been playing with the idea of proposing a musical exchange project with Ibrahim.¹³⁹ “Wedding” is a rubato ballad in AABA form with a marimba and traditional drum vamp, over which a flugelhorn plays the melody with brass backgrounds. “Too-kah” is more within the South African jazz style and has a hymn-like, harmonised brass sound. The song contains an interesting French horn solo, in which the soloist reveals some of the typical phrases or “licks” that a South African jazz musician would play while improvising. These “licks” can for example be found in the playing of Cape Town-based saxophonist, Robbie Jansen and numerous others.

Figure 20: The front cover of SouthAfroBrazz – Live in Cape Town (SouthAfroBrazz 2003)

¹³⁸ As explained in Chapter 2, the hardingfele is significant in Norwegian folk music as it is the most utilised instrument besides the voice.
¹³⁹ Ibrahim is also an iconic internationally acclaimed musician from South Africa and the “Wedding” is one of his best known composition.
Track twelve, “Take five” by Paul Desmund is arranged by Helge Førde. This 5/4-metered jazz standard is centred around the melody of the original song, with an emphasis on the brass sound. Women Unite, however, are present with a marimba accompaniment and complementing vocalizing; The choice of this piece seem to be a on the fact that The Brazz Brothers already had it on their repertoire.

Track nine, “Woyaya” by Sol Amafio of Osibisa, the internationally famous Ghanaian highlife band, is a vocal, brass and marimba arrangement by The Brazz Brothers in 3/4 time with a distinct hymn sound with English lyrics. The choice of this song can possibly be accredited to the similar colonial and missionary influences of the English and the Dutch both in Ghana and South Africa.

The remaining five songs are all based on traditional South African songs and were arranged by Helge Førde or Stein Erik Tafjord: track one, “Mabhongo” written by M. Mayekana and; track two, “Shikisha”; track three, “Umshato”; track eight, “Igqirha”; and track ten, “Ufane wavala”. “Mabhongo” has a marimba-based continuous melody with a gradual overlaying of traditional brass sounds in a pedal point, in an AABA form. “Shikisha” (Zulu, “belt it out, to sing and dance like you have never danced before”) is a partly vamped call-and-response song with a jazz-inspired brass interlude and a tuba bass line. “Umshato” (Xhosa, The wedding) and “Ufane wavala” are South African jazz-sounding songs with brass interludes and melodies alternating between vocal and brass, but “Ufane wavala” also includes an improvised trombone solo. “Igqirha” (Xhosa, The healer of the road), popularised by Miriam Makeba and widely known as “The click song”, is based on a Xhosa folk song accompanied by a melody alternating between vocal and brass and includes an impressive triple-tongued tuba solo.

5.2.5.5 Impressions
When asked about the perceptions that The Brazz Brothers could possibly have formed of Women Unite prior to their initial meeting, Tafjord thinks it is likely that they thought of them as an “academic bunch of middle-aged men, boring, sad and pipe-smoking” with

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140 Highlife is “[a]dance style that first appeared on the West African coast in the late 19th century. It has since developed into one of the most popular modern dance styles in the towns and cities that border the Gulf of Guinea. The term comes from the association of the style with ‘high society’” (Barz & Mensah).
the only possible reference to brass music being the Cape Town orchestra. However, Tafjord claims that they are quite good at meeting people due to their years of experience in meeting people from other cultures and therefore the initial meeting went very smoothly and efficiently in spite of any possible preconceived ideas about each other.

5.2.5.6 Norwegian reception
The Brazz Brothers are very well known in Norway, not just as live performers, but through their television work, their online newsletter *BrazzNytt*, as well as sixteen albums and a small amount of DVDs. According to the web site, the latest SouthAfroBrazz tour in 2005 was enthusiastically received on the west coast of Norway, whence The Brazz Brothers originate; phrases like “musical fireworks”, “a journey through big African cities, African landscapes and animals – a taste of Africa” abound (The Brazz Brothers, d).

When attempting to describe their music, critics quickly picked up on the inclusion of Abdullah Ibrahim’s tunes on the programme (The Brazz Brothers, d), probably because of his popularity, or the fact that the knowledge that most Norwegians have of South African music includes, primarily, Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and, perhaps, Abdullah Ibrahim. In reviews, the mixture of Norwegian traditional music with The Brazz Brothers’ own compositions rooted in African rhythm and tonality are praised; however, next to nothing is written about Women Unite’s musical participation, with the exception of the visuals in which the colourful vibrancy of their stage show seems to be rated more highly than their musicality (The Brazz Brothers, d). From a musical point of view, this is not a surprising assessment of Women Unite. When taking in to consideration the various elements discussed above with regard to their rather lackadaisical attitude towards learning The Brazz Brothers repertoire, it fall into place with their musical performance on the album. They perform their own material with conviction and confidence. However, on the few tracks that The Brazz Brothers taught them, Women Unite’s performance and musical ability is much less convincing. This

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141 This statement reflects how Tafjord perceives the brass tradition in Cape Town. There is a large brass band tradition in South Africa, however, some of it originally related to the church, but many have evolved and play an important part in the community. Cape Town, in particular, has a long-standing tradition of brass bands in connection with the Cape Minstrel Carnival (Pollack 2007, Bruinders 2007:7-12).
could possibly be a result of the recording being made early on in their collaboration. However, as the other tracks are fairly well performed, this is unlikely.

Finally, for many Norwegians, The Brazz Brothers and their projects have become synonymous with limits-breaking musical experiences and humorous stage artistry; together with Women Unite as SouthAfroBrazz, they once again went a step further (The Brazz Brothers, d).

5.2.6 Marianne Antonsen
Marianne Antonsen (b.1970) is a versatile singer who caught the Norwegian public's attention at the age of fifteen (1985), when she became very popular through her performance in the musical Chess (http://home.online.no/~jkorshav/marianne.html 21.06.2006). In 1990, Antonsen furthered her career with the vocal quartet, Just 4 Fun, which recorded two albums and participated in the Eurosong contest (http://home.online.no/~jkorshav/marianne.html 21.06.2006). Later, in 1992, Antonsen left the vocal group to record her gospel-inspired solo debut Pickin' up the Spirit (http://home.online.no/~jkorshav/marianne.html 21.06.2006), which can be seen as a conscious move towards working with music of a more religious nature.

5.2.6.1 Flowers in Soweto
In 1993, Archbishop Desmond Tutu visited Norway to attend Nelson Mandela and former South African president FW de Klerk's Nobel Peace Prize Award ceremony and heard Antonsen sing while visiting Fredrikstad (Antonsen). On his return to South Africa, he spoke with admiration of this golden voice he had heard and, his wife being a member of the board for Imilonji KaNthu Choral Society, Tomm Kristiansen coincidently learnt about the connection through the 'great grapevine' in South Africa (Antonsen). Kristiansen, Norsk Rikskringkastning's (NRK) correspondent for the African continent at the time, was a long-standing friend of Erik Hillestad, Kirkeklig

142 Imilonji KaNtu Choral Society, often referred to as the “people’s choir” (est. 1983) is an intertribal and interdenominational choir from Soweto, the township outside Johannesburg in South Africa (Antonsen 1995, Kristiansen 1999). They are one of the most prestigious choral groups in South Africa due to their performances at the presidential inauguration of both former president Nelson Mandela's (1994) and current president Thabo Mbeki's inaugurations (1999) (http://www.sfrica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/.anthem.htm accessed 21.06.2006).
Kulturverksted’s (KKV) director and together they had thought of making a recording while Kristiansen was based in South Africa.\textsuperscript{143}

![Figure 21: Picture of Marianne Antonsen from album liner notes (Antonsen 1995)](image)

A further coincidence was that Hillestad knew Antonsen, as he had recently made a recording with her on his label Kirkeklig Kulturverksted (Antonsen). Due to these coincidences Antonsen was asked “to think of something that might develop into a record” and she travelled to South Africa in 1994, to investigate “the possibilities of making a record” (Antonsen).\textsuperscript{144} Hillestad and Antonsen travelled through urban areas of South Africa, with the help of Tomm Kristiansen for historical, political and geographical guidance, to collect people's life stories which they were very determined to include in the project, and which would later form the foundation of the Norwegian texts that Hillestad wrote (Antonsen). As a result, Antonsen, in collaboration with Erik Hillestad, reworked some of Imilonji KaNtu Choral Society’s repertoire of hymns, protest songs as well as traditional and popular South African songs.

Hillestad and Antonsen returned to South Africa in 1995 to record the project in Gallo’s DownTown Studios in Johannesburg, with sponsorship from Kirkens Nødhjelp

\textsuperscript{143} Kirkelig Kultureveksted (Christian Culture Workshop, [my translation]) is a record company with the purpose of promoting culture and the respective artists are not necessarily Christian or religious in any way. The label was founded in 1974 with the aim of building bridges between religious and secular milieus and between traditions and innovations (Kristiansen 1999).

\textsuperscript{144} All further references to Antonsen refer to the interview of 12.01.2006.
The album was called *Blomster i Soweto* (Norwegian, Flowers in Soweto) was released in 1995 on the Kirkelig Kulturverksted label.

### 5.2.6.2 Aural analysis of *Blomster i Soweto*

As mentioned above, the tracks on *Blomster i Soweto* are of various origins. They include “Blomster i Soweto”, “Løven”, “Mor Afrika”, “Tilgi oss Afrika” “Frigjøringsjubileum”, “Send dem tilbake”, “Din Gud er svart”, “Ubuntu” “6 stoler”, “Nelson Mandela”, “Sør Afrikas nasjonalangs” (Antonsen 1995).

The instrumentation of this album consists of a gospel choir, lead vocal, backing vocals, and a rhythm section: drum kit, electric bass, keyboard and percussion. The songs are based on existing popular or religious songs and the national anthem, with Norwegian texts developed from real life stories that Antonsen, Hillestad and Kristiansen experienced or heard. In the following section, I will analysis the various tracks of the album. I have divided them into two groups: tracks based on popular song and tracks based on religious songs.

Track one, “Blomster i Soweto” (Norwegian, Flowers in Soweto) is based on “Unqombothi”, a hit in the bubblegum genre that made popular music singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka very popular in the 1980s (Antonsen 1995, Allingham 1999b:649). Hillestad’s text tells the story of Hector Peterson, who was killed during the Soweto student uprising in 1976 (Antonsen 1995). Musically, it is very similar to the original bubblegum style with staccato plucking and sliding of the bass and penny whistle imitated synthesiser sounds.

Track two, “Løven” (Norwegian, The lion) is based on the traditional South African song “Gabi gabi” fused with an old myth which details how Table Mountain is one day going to rise (Antonsen 1995). Table Mountain is here referred to as the Lion Mountain and is used as a metaphor to indicate how the ANC leader Nelson Mandela he rose as a lion after spending twenty-seven years in prison (Antonsen 1995). The musical style of the song is within the South African gospel style in call-and-response form.

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145 “Norwegian Church Aid (NCA) is a non-governmental and ecumenical organisation” (NCA 04.07.2006).

146 The South African gospel style is discussed in Chapter 2.
Track three, “Mor Afrika” (Norwegian, Mother Africa) is based on the very popular song “Mmalo-we” by Jabu Khanyile and Bayete (Gallo Publishing). The text is inspired by the first chapter of Kristiansen’s book, *Mor Afrika* (1994), where he states that the first human being on earth came from Africa and describes Africa as a mother of all (Antonsen 1995). The instrumentation is without the choir, with Antonsen, the rhythm section and backing vocals and is performed as an exact replica of the original version which comes from an album also produced by Thapelo Khomo (Bayete & Khanyile 1993).

Track four, “Tilgi oss Afrika” (Norwegian, Forgive us Africa), is based on the traditional South African song “Thina sizwe” [We the nation], a very well-known song sung to express the opposition to the apartheid regime in the past. Hillestad’s lyrics beg Africa to forgive its oppressor (Antonsen 1995). The song is performed in typical South African gospel style with a lead singer besides Antonsen and the choir.

Track five, “Frigjøringsjubileum” (Norwegian, Liberation anniversary), is based on “Thato ya hao” (Sotho, Let Thy wish], a Sotho hymn. Hillestad’s text illustrates the

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147 “Khanyile walked off with a SAMA award for best male performer of the year and best song of the year (‘Mmalo-we’)” in 1994 (Barron)
end of three different battles; the December 16 1835 Voortrekker victory over the Zulus at Blood River, the June 16 1976 murder of Hector Peterson in the Soweto uprising and the May 8 1945 Norwegian liberation from Nazi Germany. The song is performed in a South African gospel style with Antonsen leading, together with a soloist from the choir, backed by the rhythm section.

Track six, “Send dem tilbake” (Norwegian, Send them back), is based on “Too many people” (Ahoy Music) and performed in a call-and-response form. It is more blended than the other tracks and shows a greater mix of Norwegian and South African elements, as Antonsen and the backing vocals alternate almost every line. It, moreover, includes sound clips from Archbishop Desmond Tutu’s speech at the thanksgiving ceremony in Soweto after the ANC election victory in 1994, and of former Norwegian prime minister, Gro Harlem Bruntland’s New Year speech in 1992. However, the text represents Norwegian immigration politics and how it mirrored the South African apartheid politics, claiming that Norway is a “rich, white suburb in the global apartheid-city” (Antonsen 1995).

Track seven, “Din Gud er svart” (Norwegian, Your God is black), is based on the Christian hymn “Ndingen’endumisweni” (Xhosa, “Let me enter Thy glory”) performed with the choir, Antonsen and the rhythm section. The music is within South African four-part gospel choir style, with Antonsen singing the verse. Hillestad’s lyrics describe how the previously oppressed people of South Africa have risen through the belief in and worship of their “black” God, and how the “white” God of the Norwegian people is bleak without dreams. The text calls for the “black” God to teach their white brothers and sisters how to put a glow into the “white” God’s face. As a result, the text portrays a dualism, as Hillestad gives an image of multiple Gods, hence revealing his modernistic views on Christianity.

Track eight, “Ubuntu”, is based on “Mapaseka Lekabe”, a popular song with elements of the mbaganga or simanje-manje style. The lyrics describe ubuntu, or the essence of humanity and compassion for our fellow human beings in modern times.  

148 Mbaqanga “was originally the most distributed term for popular commercial African jazz in the 1950s that developed from kwela and blended African melody, marabi, and American jazz. In the 1960s, it came to be applied to a new style that combined urban neo-traditional music and marabi, and was played on electric guitars, saxophones, violins, accordions, and drums” (Coplan 1985:267). It is also known as simanje manje (Coplan 1985:267).
The choir and Antonsen interact more on this track, as the choir hums with Antonsen during her verses, and then climaxes on chorus within South African gospel style.

Track nine, “6 stoler” (Norwegian, six chairs), is based on the Christian hymn “Lizalis’idinga lakho” (Xhosa, “Fulfil Thy Promise”) and is performed in a similar manner to track eight. The lyrics detail the story of a woman called Esther, who lost her family to black against black violence in 1992 (Antonsen 1995).

Track ten, “Nelson Mandela” is based on “Wena Mandela” (Xhosa/Zulu, You Mandela), a traditional South African resistance song. It is performed using free interpretation of the melody by Antonsen with the choir humming in the background. The lyrics ask what are Mandela’s plans to lead the nation faced with problems such as corruption and violence and it also includes a part of former President Nelson Mandela’s 1994 inauguration speech (Antonsen 1995).

Track eleven is “Sør Afrikas nasjonalensang” (Norwegian, South Africa’s national anthem) sung by the choir and based on the South African national anthem, which fuses the former Afrikaner national hymn, “Die Stem” (Antonsen 1995), and the former unofficial anthem, “Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika” (http://www.safica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/anthem.htm 21.06.2006). It starts with “Die Stem”, unlike the arrangement by Mzilikazi Khumalo utilised in most cases today, then moves on to “Nkosi Sikelel’ i Afrika” in Xhosa/Zulu and ends with the Sotho verse (Antonsen 1995).

Overall, it seems that the texts with their humanitarian and Christian values are more important than the music in this collaboration. The texts are casual in style, which is rather typical of Hillestad’s general lyric style as well as the overall image of KKV.

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149 Ubuntu is an ethic or humanist ideology focusing on people’s allegiances and relations with each other. The word has its origin in the Bantu languages of Southern Africa and is seen as a traditional African concept.

150 The anthem is presently known as “Nkosi Sikelel’ i Afrika” and the current standard version starts with the Xhosa/Zulu section (Nkosi Sikelel’ i Afrika), moves to the Sotho verses of Nkosi Sikelel’ i Afrika, then to the old Afrikaans anthem (“Die Stem”) and finally ends with the English version of “Die Stem” (“The Call of South Africa”) (http://www.safica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/anthem.htm 21.06.2006). Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika “was a symbol of independence and resistance to apartheid, sung by the majority of the population and at all anti-apartheid rallies and gatherings” (http://www.safica.info/ess_info/sa_glance/history/anthem.htm 21.06.2006). The album liner notes call the new national anthem a “provoking but strong symbol for reconciliation” (Antonsen 1995).
Moreover, KKV promotes a humanitarian Christianity with a "down to earth" attitude towards religion.

5.3 Norwegian foreign aid and funding for cultural activities

Norwegian aid was initiated towards the end of 1940, when the United Nations (UN) decided to establish a programme to assist developing countries; however, it was only implemented in 1952 when the India Fund was established (Norad 12.04.2007). Norwegian aid to cultural activities in South Africa started developing into an important matter on the political agenda in the mid-1970s, when the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa (NOCOSA) was established and pressured the Norwegian government to support the South African liberation movements, including cultural activities, thereby bringing Southern African cultures directly to the Norwegian public (Drolsum 2000:258).

As a result of Norway's various boycotts of South Africa, very few Norwegian musicians or others citizens travelled to South Africa, as a sign of solidarity with its oppressed people. According to Gjerstad, however, there were some well-known Norwegian jazz musicians who played at Sun City, outside Johannesburg in the 1970s-1980s.

The history of Norwegian foreign aid shows that support for music, culture and art was eventually given in the early 1980s, through governmental sponsored organisations such as Rikskonsertene, Mmino, Kirkens Nødhjelp and Norad. These organisations all contribute to the Norwegian long-term co-operation aid principle, which has always been important in Norwegian aid policy and emphasises grants rather than loans (Tostensen 2002:36).151

The significance of foreign aid in relation to Norwegian-South African musical collaboration is that its, in most cases, has been sponsored by an aid organisation. I will therefore spell out the various organisations that have been involved in the collaborations that I have investigated for this research project.

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151 However, "the overall return flows on bilateral [aid] are considerable [...], whereas the return ratio on multilateral aid is much lower [...] despite considerable financial contributions through aid channels" (Tostensen 2002:36). Tostensen therefore argues that it is important in analysing international aid programmes to "distinguish between stated principle at official levels [...] and the actual practice" (2002:36).
5.3.1 Rikskonsertene
Rikskonsertene (est. 1967) is a government funded organisation which contributes to making quality live music accessible and visible to all in Norway through music that “creates experience, understanding, belonging and communication” (Rikskonsertene).

On an international level, the activity of Rikskonsertene “contributes towards exposing Norway to music from other countries and cultures” through various concert series (Rikskonsertene 20.06.2006). The exposure of Norwegian music outside Norway occurs in conjunction with Norad, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and various Norwegian embassies in countries with a Norwegian aid policy, in particular (Rikskonsertene). Rikskonsertene’s international backing emphasises long-term collaboration aimed at network and competence building in other countries and is involved in the International Music Council, as well as various international organisations and networks which contribute to further this aim (Rikskonsertene). The activities are especially aimed at presenting Norwegian performers internationally; international collaborations and network building; developing models of music education for children and youth; exchange of artists from non-Western cultures, further development of competence regarding non-Western music cultures; and aid related music projects (Rikskonsertene).

Education is a major part of Rikskonsertene and the tours that they subsidise often involve performing at schools around the country while interacting with the pupils. A very good example in this regard is The Brazz Brothers who have been touring the world with educational purposes for children and adults.

In South Africa, Rikskonsertene’s collaboration started in 2000 under the banner of Mmino.

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152 Norad, the Norwegian Agency for Development Cooperation (Norad).
5.3.2 Mmino: South African – Norwegian Education and Music Programme

Mmino — the word means music in SeSotho and SeTswana (Reynierse 1991:101) — was initially a five-year programme in South Africa (2000-2005) financed by the Norwegian agency for development cooperation (Norad) and implemented by the South African National Council for Arts (NAC) in conjunction with Rikskonsertene, but was extended for a further two years until 2007 (Rikskonsertene).

The main goal was to strengthen the culture of music in South Africa and to strengthen bonds between South African and Norwegian organisations and institutions by funding projects involving music education and exchange (Rikskonsertene).153 “The programme also aims to target disadvantaged and marginalised groups and to stimulate capacity-building through institutional co-operation and exchange programmes in the music sector” within the SADC region (http://www.norway.org.za/development/bilateral/culture/culture.htm 09.05.2007).

Mmino has two areas of priority for funding of projects: music education and music exchange (Mmino). Within these two areas, the priorities involve: focusing on strengthening African musical cultures; long-term perspective and sustainability; effectiveness on national level but as broad an impact as possible; targeting disadvantaged and marginalised groups; providing long-term co-operation and exchange programmes with Norwegian institutions and organisations; and contributing to social and economic encouragement of South Africans (Mmino). In addition, emphasis is given to projects that stimulate regional and cross-cultural co-operation within Southern Africa

153 “In the past seven years Mmino has received approximately 2000 applications for support. The programme has provided funding for 211 projects all over South Africa as well as some outstanding exchanges with Norway” (http://www.norway.org.za/development/bilateral/culture/culture.htm 09.05.2007).
and develop links with countries in the Southern African development community (SADC) (Mmino).

Figure 25: The National Arts Council of South Africa (NAC) logo (NAC).

Mmino is an important vehicle for current musical collaboration between South Africa and Norway, firstly because they provide financial means and, secondly, because they promote cultural and musical collaboration across borders. This is the context in which Mmino funded the SouthAfroBrazz collaboration.

5.3.3 Kirkens Nødhjelp
Kirkens Nødhjelp (Norwegian, Norwegian church aid (NCA)) is a non-governmental organisation (est. 1945) as well as an ecumenical organisation which is “anchored in Christian faith” supporting the “poorest of the poor regardless of gender, political conviction, religious affiliation and ethnicity” (NCA). Through “emergency response, long-term development work and influencing attitudes and decisions”, NCA aims at achieving permanent results through collaboration with ecumenical and other local organisations (NCA).

The NCA is an ecumenical and independent organisation, however, it is also regarded as the Church of Norway’s international relief organisation and works closely with the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) and the World Council of Churches (WCC) (Agøy 2000:270).

The Norwegian Church Aid is responsible for cultural and musical aid as well, as in the case of Marianne Antonsen’s Blomster i Soweto recording of 1995. It seems clear that a Christian message has to be present at some level in order to receive NCA funding.
5.3.4 Norad
Norad (est. 1968), the Norwegian agency for development cooperation, is a directorate under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) who are in charge of “the effective management of development funds and...ensures that the Norwegian development cooperation has high quality and is evaluated” (Norad). The directorate’s purpose is to configure the plans for the employment and coordination of the overall Norwegian public aid to developing countries and its main aim is to fight poverty through international cooperation (Norad). The Norad department has seventeen areas of interest and culture cooperation has formed part of these matters since 1981 (Norad). Norad’s responsibility includes cultural support through friendly communication and voluntary organisations and works through three main principles: culture as intrinsic value; culture as means to achieve other developmental goals; and culture as a cross-ranging consideration in aid work (Norad).

Norad is relevant here due to their financial involvement in the SAN ensemble in 1996-1997.

5.4 Current cultural Norwegian perceptions about Africa
The Norwegian “constitution provides for freedom of speech and of the press and the government generally respects these rights” (Worldmark encyclopedia of the nations). For this reason, one can source information about the general perception that Norwegians have of Africa from newspapers, popular magazines, TV, radio and the internet, which most Norwegians read or watch on a regular basis. Moreover, by addressing the general perception of “us” and “them” as discussed in Chapter 3 within the theory of “the Other” and “the Same”, one can theorise why these perceptions are present through applying Levinas’ and Derrida’s theories of alterity and otherness.

154 From 1963 until 2004, the responsibility for managing the Norwegian aid was divided between MFA and Norad, where the directorate had the responsibility for long-term bilateral aid (Norad 2004). In 2004, a reorganisation of Norwegian aid took place and Norad became a department that contributes independent professional advice within the aid business and supports the Norwegian voluntary organisations yearly to an amount of more than one billion Norwegian Kroner (Norad 2004). Norwegian Kroner is the Norwegian currency, which carries the international code NOK.
5.4.1 The general Norwegian perception of Africa
The largest number of Norwegians would regularly read the so-called ‘Oslo-newspapers’, VG (Verdens Gang) and Dagbladet, as they are the two biggest daily newspapers that cover the entire country. According to Worldmark encyclopedia of the nations, the “Norwegian press is characterized by a large number of small newspapers” and VG and Dagbladet account for 20 per cent of total circulation figures. 155

These newspapers, as well as most other media, generally depict the African continent as a poor, war-ravaged entity plagued with illness and misery. This African discourse rarely distinguishes the national issues of the various African countries; hence most people would say, “I am going to Africa”, regardless of whether they are headed for Nigeria, Zimbabwe or Somalia.

The televised images that are broadcast to every Norwegian living room through NRK TV’s Dagsnytt (the news report), TV2 news and TVNorge news, where the news from around the world make up part a small amount of the various thirty to sixty minutes of news coverage throughout the day (NRK). 156

5.4.2 “Good Norwegian students in South Africa”
A positive find is University of Oslo (UiO) student Nickelsen’s (2003) article regarding Norwegian exchange students at South African universities, in which Lara Hoffenberg, at University of Cape Town’s (UCT) International Academic Programmes Office (IAPO), claims these students are more independent and knowledgeable of the African continent and more interested in local politics than most foreign students. Sadly, there are very few South African exchange students at Norwegian universities, due to the high costs involved (Nickelsen 2003). However, a new exchange programme between the South African College of Music (SACM) at UCT and the music department at the University of Oslo was established in 2007 and two South African students were enrolled for a performance programme at UiO in Norway.

155 “The largest dailies (with their affiliations and circulation in 2004, unless noted) are: Verdens Gang (independent, 365,000), Aftenposten, (independent, 398,000) [and] Dagbladet (liberal, 183,000)” (Worldmark encyclopedia of the nations).
156 NRK, TV2 and TVNorge are the three main channels in Norway.
5.5 Presentation of results
The five cases that I have investigated vary in character, but my aim was to find similarities, differences and peculiarities in order to make a general assumption based on these cases. Through in-depth interviews, research and interpretation, I have been able to identify some points which I will develop below.

5.5.1 Empathetic music making and humanistic attitudes
I have found that there is present among the musicians a real sense of passion for the music, as well as empathy for fellow musicians in some of the collaboration between Norwegian and South African musicians that I have investigated. These collaborations speak a language of mutual understanding through giving and receiving musicality.

Firstly, in Detail’s case, Gjerstad expresses deep gratitude towards Dyani, who taught him how to appreciate playing music rather than viewing it as work or something you had to do; it was supposed to be about gratification rather than hardship. Gjerstad is also grateful for Dyani teaching him about space in music through their performances, and, maybe more importantly, Dyani taught him how to be an encouraging or maybe even a complimentary musician. These qualities of Dyani constitute a humanistic character, which Gjerstad believes is possibly rarer nowadays than when Detail was playing together with Stevens and Dyani.

Secondly, in SouthAfroBrazz’s case, Tafjord talks of thankfulness for experiencing how Women Unite work with disadvantaged children and youth in order to teach them how to be part of the new South Africa with its democratic, economic and “social boom”.157 In this case, key to this appreciation is The Brazz Brothers’ own continuous educational aim towards musically and artistically educating children and adults through the joy of music.

However, there is also another aspect to these humanistic attitudes. As discussed in Chapter 3, when gazing upon “the Other”, one most commonly do so based upon a reflection of once own attitudes etc, as described by Baaz and Palmberg (2001) as a mirroring effect.

157 The “social boom” that Tajord is referring to denotes the power of equality for all South Africans, which enables them to achieve their goals in life in a way that was impossible in the country before 1994, when social inequality was legislated in nearly every sphere of life.
5.5.2 A different kind of school

With regard to direct musical influence, Tafjord recognises that playing South African jazz was a challenge, as they (The Brazz Brothers) had to learn how to swing eighth notes like a mix between a duplet and a triplet, which was not what they were used to in their American jazz idiom. Hence Tafjord says they had to “lay a bit ahead, and then a bit behind” in order to get the feel of it. However, on the basis of my perception of South African jazz arrived at through six years as a musician performing in South Africa, I perceive the swing produced by The Brazz Brothers’ drummer, Lewin, to be more like a shuffle than a South African jazz swing. In truth, though, South African jazz does sound very much like shuffle in some cases, so Lewin was not that far off the mark.

In Gjerstand’s case, playing in Detail was like being at school, learning how to play in the avant-garde music medium more freely, expressively and durably. Gjerstad recalls a performance in Oslo when his mouth was bleeding after performing the second set. However, when he uttered his concern about the matter, members of Detail told him: “if you haven’t been bleeding, you haven’t been playing” (Gjerstad 17.01.2006). In this way, Gjerstad learnt that stamina is very important in order to fully express a true musical expression.

5.5.3 Natural musicians and mathematicians, a Western dilemma

Antonsen who refers to playing with South African musicians as a unique experience claims that they are natural musicians who have not acquired knowledge in the same way as most Norwegian musicians have, which “contributes to a sort of liberation in performance” (Antonsen 12.01.2006). However, she went on to say that Norwegian musicians are not necessarily better, but rather that they have a lot to contribute to South African musicians, as they build everything by using “mathematics”. In trying to describe her experience of the difference between Norwegian and South African musicians, she said that “it’s like watching Brazilian soccer or Kenya… Kenyan soccer and Norwegian soccer… and you will see the difference” (Antonsen). I interpret this to mean that she believes Brazilian soccer players are born with a natural ability to play soccer, whereas

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158 Swing is “a term for characteristic rhythmic momentum in jazz” (Randel 2003:852). Shuffle is closely related to swing with a slight nuance

159 According to Antonsen, the South African musicians they collaborated with on the Blomster i Soweto recording were self-taught musicians who had not undergone tertiary level training.
Norwegian soccer players learn to play in school. As a result, Antonsen argues that Norwegian musicians can never have a natural ability to play music without being taught how to. This is rather naïve statement and thus she reveals her blurred vision of “the Other”through her eyes of “the Same”. Moreover, her gaze upon “the Other” is the most distorted of all cases investigated as she portrays “the Other” as fundamentally different to that of “the Same”.

The Brazz Brothers regard what they refer to as the Western practice of too much planning for rehearsals and performances as being simultaneously one of their best and worst assets. This, Tafjord argues, comes with an expensive price tag. He feels that The Brazz Brothers have been trained to discard their natural musicality through their education and adopting social norms, replacing it with efficiency, planning and punctuality. It seems that his ultimate goal would be to become a spontaneous, natural musician without the constraining boundaries of planning. Contradictorily, however, Tafjord feels that the most challenging aspect of collaborating with Women Unite was their apparent lack of efficiency and punctuality; he proudly asserts that Women Unite have adopted elements of The Brazz Brothers’ efficient approach to the music business and their approach to punctuality. Maybe he is comfortable somewhere in between his ultimate goal and the Western dilemma of planning every musical note.

5.5.4 Music as a tool beyond the musical
The Brazz Brothers say they are good at meeting people and engaging with members of other cultures, attributing it to their efficiency and experience. For them, however, the musical meeting is not only about the music, but is also about being a tool for understanding and inclusivity. Tafjord says that meeting other cultures brings about the reassurance that “we” (meaning The Brazz Brothers) are not that different from everybody else. Further, in this meeting, music becomes a tool to get beyond the musical which one can use on different levels. An example of using music to reach “a different level” appears in Tafjord perhaps far-fetched idea that “if [US president George] Bush and [former Iraqi president] Saddam [Hussein] each had a saxophone, they wouldn’t be at war”. In other words, Tafjord means that one should use music as a way to understanding, as music is principally an inclusive rather than an excluding activity which, in many cases, can create a bridge for humanistic cooperation. This is of course a
rather naïve statement, however music has in many cases proved to be a unifying element inspite of not being a universal language as is often claimed.

5.5.5 The soundscape of South African popular music during the 1990s.

When Antonsen went to South Africa for the first time, she expected to hear what she termed “ongo-bongo” music, expressed as “fun with drums and dance”. However, that was not the way she experienced it. She argues that the society she met utilised a sound that, to her, was at a very dated technical level, far behind her Norwegian standard with “bad sounds, weird sounds, [and all together] a rather unfamiliar picture”. To explain this in detail, she believes that the sound she experienced in 1994-1995 was equivalent to the sound of the late 1970s in Norway.

The main reason, apart from being a different country on a different continent, why South African popular music developed differently than Norwegian popular music is to be found in apartheid, which engineered people’s access to education, including music education, and promoted white over black performing arts (Nixon 25.07.2007). Moreover, according to Nixon (25.07.2007), this system encouraged traditional African music and discouraged popular music, which contributed to a further halt in the development of South African popular music as well as to a largely conservative attitude towards music in general. This could very possibly be yet another reason why the musicians of The Blue Notes and others left South Africa to seek a self imposed exile in Europe and USA.

5.5.6 A marimba with a tuba tail

Some of the cases investigated were about fusing but also about imitating sounds while inventing something new. The most direct evidence of this is The Brazz Brothers’ attempt at imitating the sounds of the traditional instruments played by Women Unite. Tafjord uses a metaphor when explaining this phenomenon which he experienced with Women Unite:

So if you’ve got a marimba, a bass marimba, can I possibly [play] something like that on a tuba? The mouth is very flexible, so we can do something with the tongue and the inside of the mouth which will make it sound [more] like a marimba. Could I match the sound by adjusting the sound level so that it can become a tuba with a marimba tail or a marimba with a tuba tail or a new instrument?
In the case of Detail, Gjerstad refer to Dyani’s way of changing the aesthetics of the double bass by occasionally playing it in a rather unconventional way. Gjerstad says that Dyani would sometimes imitate the way of playing a mandolin, which created a whole new element to the instrument and to the ensemble. By using Tafjord’s metaphor, Dyani created a double bass with a mandolin tail or a mandolin with a double bass tail.

5.5.7 Plucking away what you don’t need
As a conservatoire-educated musician, Tafjord argues, you spend the rest of your life after studying as a musician plucking away the knowledge you do not need. In stating this, Tafjord was not referring to these educational institutions as incompetent, but rather implied a need for adjustment when you are to collaborate with people of other cultures and musical backgrounds. Therefore, Tafjord claims, the most important thing they learnt from Women Unite was to remove fragments of what they had learnt formally and in this way they indirectly learnt how to relax in order to make the musical expression more natural and spontaneous (Tafjord).

Through the meeting of other people and cultures who possess a more natural relationship to music due to its everyday use in many aspects of life, The Brazz Brothers have learnt that music can be a continuous social event (Tafjord 10.01.2006). Seen from the Norwegian musical social realm, where you go to and from a concert or a rehearsal, the aspect of continuous music making is very different. Hence Tafjord claims that The Brazz Brothers have become more spontaneous and comfortable within the music making realm.

Yenana, on the other hand, criticises the close relationship between music and society in South Africa, claiming that it creates a less regard for art as it becomes something normal and not out of the ordinary.

5.5.8 Sensitive musicians
Gjerstad comes across as a sensitive musician, by which I mean not as externally tough as the other members of Detail. Both Stevens and Dyani were prone to various substance habits, whereas Gjerstad seems to have steered clear of the more damaging effects of long-term substance abuse due to his cautiousness in this regard. I also found that he was at first less confident playing in Detail than the other two members and seemed to have
relied on their lead. Before he started playing with Detail, he had been invited to join Dyani’s and Feza’s band, but had not the courage to go through with it. These instances portray Gjerstad’s personality and musicality as a careful and sensitive musician.

5.6 South African flavour vs. Norwegian flavour

As mentioned earlier in this dissertation, one of the initial questions was if there is such a concept called flavour within music. After investigating the preceding collaborations, there is no doubt that there is a difference between Norwegian-ness and South African-ness. However, these terms are subjective to individual opinions and thereby difficult to define.

The Norwegian-ness and South African-ness can be defined by “the Other” as well as “the Same”, hence creating a dual flavour. Moreover, both South African flavour and Norwegian flavour are defined through both the perspective of both nationalities.

5.7 Summary

In this chapter I have presented the profiles of the research population; discussed the role of Norwegian foreign aid in Norwegian-South African relations; discussed current Norwegian cultural perceptions of Africa; and, finally, presented the results of the investigation into Norwegian-South African musical collaboration.
Chapter 6
Conclusion

6.1 Introduction
This research project was undertaken to investigate various musical interactions between Norwegian and South African people from the initial phases of early Norwegian missionary encounters with the Zulu people until recent projects. The initial aim was to establish whether a red thread could be traced from the early missionary encounters to recent collaborations. However, difficulties in obtaining musical evidence from the early period of missionary activity significantly reduced the feasibility of that investigation. As a result, the aim of the project subsequently became to investigate the various perceptions existing within recent musical collaboration between Norwegian and South African musicians with an emphasis on exploring Norwegians’ images of “the Other”, referred to as alterity. In addition, I have dealt with the various musical influences that the musicians have had on each other.

In this chapter I sum up my conclusions and suggest recommendations towards further study within this topic.

6.2 Summary of main findings
My main findings are based on primary data, which, in this case, derive mostly from interviews conducted during field work. I also drew on a significant amount of secondary data from album reviews, other interviews, magazine articles, album liner notes, biographies, discographies, books and periodicals.

Within this subject field, funding plays a major part as finances render the possibility of making a project happen, as described below, prior to turning to the various cases and the accompanying images of alterity and influence.

6.2.1 Foreign aid and funding organisations
Foreign aid and funding organisations are vital to Norwegian-South African musical collaboration as, in most cases, the collaborations are made possible through funds from these organisations. Without these organisations, it is likely that there would be much less interaction between Norwegian and South African musicians.

Most of the funds required for interaction originate wholly or in part from the Norwegian government. Moreover, due to Norway’s increasing amount of foreign aid since
the 1970s, with the Norwegian involvement in various South African liberation movements having been channelled through the church of Norway, there is a continued striving to provide funds for those less fortunate and to promote cultural exchange. More often than not, the collaborations/interactions are initiated by individual musicians who approach a funding organisation in order to realise a project.

Below, I show how both the non-governmentally and governmentally funded organisation are important elements.

6.2.1.1 Organisations funded by Government
The majority of organisations that have funded Norwegian interaction and exchange with South African musicians are sponsored by the government. In this research project, I have dealt with Norad, Rikskonsertene and Mmino within this category.

Norad, a directorate under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), funded the SAN ensemble’s tour and recording, as well as Zim Ngqawana’s subsequent *Zimology* recording (Ngqawana 1998) and tours.

Rikskonsertene and Mmino are essentially the same organisation, but Mmino is a branch sponsored by Norad which dealt specifically with funding Norwegian-South African musical exchanges and collaborations in association with the South African National Arts Council and Rikskonsertene. Mmino funded the tours, workshops and recording of the SouthAfroBrazz collaboration between The Brazz Brothers and Women Unite as well as many other Norwegian-South African musical collaborations.

6.2.1.2 Organisations with non-governmental funding
Only one case was funded by a non-governmental, church organisation, possibly due to a need for a strong Christian belief in order to receive funding. This organisation, Kirkens Nødhjelp, is a non-governmental and ecumenical organisation deeply anchored in Christian faith. Kirkens Nødhjelp has two main sources of income: private donors and the Norwegian state, through Norad and MFA. The Kirkens Nødhjelp funded the preliminary *Blomster i Soweto* (Antonsen 1995) visit to South Africa, recording and tour of Norway.

6.2.2 Alterity
Seen from a Norwegian perspective, the image of “the Other” differs from case to case. It seems to be determined to a certain extent by people’s background, but more decisively by interest. Moreover, it is the case of looking upon “the Other” through a mirror which gives a reflection of “the Same” while gazing upon “the Other” which often produce a distorted
image of "the Other". Further, "the Other" is compared to the familiar and known and presumptions are made as to what "the Other" needs or likes. Thus, it is difficult for either part to completely understand each other and therefore make decisions based upon presumption.

In the various cases investigated for this research project, all but one had a genuinely open-minded perception of "the Other" prior to the collaboration taking place. The case which portrayed this genuine open-minded-ness were Detail. I argue that this can credited to the mature of the collaboration as it was the only one investigated here which did not commence as a result of cultural tourism or financial benefits.

6.2.2.1 Missionaries and settlers
The perception of "the Other" of Norwegian missionaries' who came to what was then the British colony of Natal and Zululand were large dererminded by their educational and social background. One of the missionary textbooks at the MHS in Stavanger, Daa's Elements of Geography (1875:122-130), would have given the missionaries expectations of an immense, flat and incredibly hot African continent which was an unhealthy place for Europeans to live. The missionaries' perceptions were also largely determined by their religious heritage; hence the fundamental fact in their religious history is the close relationship between Christianity (specifically 19th-century Nordic Lutheranism) and society (Hale 1997:1).

At the height of Norwegian emigration to the USA, Norwegians also began immigrating to southern Africa, possibly encouraged by the missionary activities that emerged in Natal and Zululand in the mid 1800s. These Norwegian immigrants were mostly traders or whalers whose perceptions were also influenced by their religious background. However, they did not have the same degree of contact with the indigenous peoples of the area as the missionaries did, but became integrated into the British social realm of southern Africa, the Natal province in particular.

6.2.2.2 Frode Gjerstad and Detail
The perceptions that Frode Gjerstad formed of South African jazz musicians prior to his own experiences with Johnny Dyani in the 1980s, were based on exposure to musicians such as Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Abdullah Ibrahim who lived in self-imposed exile. Ibrahim in particular made a strong impression on Gjerstad through Danish TV documentaries and radio broadcasts. He knew very little of the critical socio-political within South Africa, but understood, through the image of South African musicians in self-imposed exile, that it was a country of "many skillful musicians".
In his collaboration with the South African bass player Johnny Dyani in the avant-garde jazz trio Detail, Gjerstad's preconceived perception of "the Other" seemed to have been based on an interest in and curiosity about music he was mostly unable to play with Norwegian musicians, as hardly any musicians were performing such music in Norway at the time. Hence, after unsuccessfully trying to establish contact with musicians in Oslo, Gjerstad decided to go London to find like-minded musicians who were interested in playing with him. As a result, Gjerstad began working with John Stevens, who eventually led him to Johnny Dyani, a choice Gjerstad saw as a coincidence. However, as the South African musicians living in self-imposed exile in London were largely performing within the avant-garde jazz scene, it was not that much of a coincidence.

Gjerstad maintains that Detail remains his "benchmark" and, in spite of having developed into a more mature musician, he still regards it as the best band he ever played in. He claims that Detail's members were his teachers as far as individuality, freedom and attitude to music are concerned, with Dyani, in particular, teaching him about freedom within music and how to move within music.

As for the general perception of African musicians in Norway, Gjerstad claims that playing with African musicians is still not regarded as having the same prestige as playing with US musicians does, and, therefore, African musicians do not have the same status as US musicians.

6.2.2.3 The Brazz Brothers
The Brazz Brothers had collaborated with a great variety of both Norwegian and foreign musicians in Norway through the experience of working with and being funded by Rikskonsertene for many years prior to their first, so-called "African experience" in Tanzania and subsequently with Women Unite. They consider themselves extremely lucky to be able to collaborate with musicians from all over the world. However as discussed in Chapter 5, The Brazz Brothers understanding and empathy only goes so far. It seems that their cultural tourism is more for their own benefit and possibly portrays an unconscious aim at civilising the uncivilised.

The Brazz Brothers' collaboration with Women Unite expresses curiosity about and interest in "the Other" and a belief that music is a tool beyond the musical. It, moreover, is a tool in a meeting through understanding, as music is more likely to include than exclude. "It's about learning from what other people express [and that] you can express and use the same music in order to globalise" (Tafjord 10.01.2006). Through interacting with other cultures The
Brazz Brothers have learnt that “you get the reassurance that you aren’t all that different to everybody else” (Tafjord).

Their perception of Women Unite prior to their meeting was based on tapes and video clips, finding out about Women Unite’s educational principles concerning children and youth, as well as their perceptions of the Tanzanian project, referred to as their “African foundation”. However, they recognise that there is a big difference between Tanzanian and South African traditional music, and found it easier to get under the skin of the music of South Africa, a process they believe is partly based on the fact that South Africa is more Westerised than Tanzania.

The Brazz Brothers have the impression that Women Unite might have seen them as a group of academic, pipe-smoking and boring middle-aged men who played instruments they had little relation to. The notion that Women Unite had little relation to brass instruments does not take into account the long history of South African brass instrument traditions within civil society in churches—including the Salvation Army—, the Cape carnival, and in urban popular music, as well as in military and police bands.

The Brazz Brothers believe they have taught Women Unite about effective rehearsal discipline, which they see as a “Western dilemma, to plan too much” that has both good and bad results (Tafjord 10.01.2007). Women Unite taught them to strip away unnecessary academic knowledge in order establish a more relaxed relationship to music. They have also inspired thoughts on how to fuse the sounds of their brass instruments with those of traditional African instruments such the marimba.

The Brazz Brothers may come across ‘the good sameritans’ with noble intentions of bringing music to the people of the world. On the outside it might seem very noble, however, when stripped down to the core, their aim is cultural tourism. Moreover, when travelling to ‘the remotest’ parts of the world, they bring with them the music and musical instruments of the Western world which is their realm. As a result, The Brazz Brothers create a colonising effect by taking what to them is “the Same” and fusing it with “the Other” seen from the perspective of “the Same” as is the case when looking upon “the Other” through a mirror.

6.2.2.4 The SAN ensemble and Zim Ngqawana
With regard to the SAN collaboration and the further Zimology and Ingoma recordings, the drummer Nilssen-Love seems to find it perfectly normal to collaborate with musicians from a completely different social and musical background and ethnicity. This could be attributed to the growing world-wide recognition of Norwegian jazz musicians since the 1970s through
their increasing collaboration with musicians from around the world. However, Nilssen-Love grew up in the social/musical environment of a jazz club run by his parents, which was regularly visited by international jazz musicians and which seems to have influenced his open-mindedness.

South African piano player Andile Yenana claims that his perception of jazz was changed completely through meeting and collaborating with Norwegian jazz musicians. Yenana maintains that his background in South Africa did not greatly encourage growth due to the lack of musical inspiration. He believes that Norwegian jazz is nurtured through the steady influence of international musicians, as well as musical education provided by the government, which result in the creation of high musical standards and possibilities for Norwegian musicians to prosper. As a result of this interaction with Bjørn Ole Solberg, Paal Nilssen-Love and Ingebrigt Håker Flaten, as well as sound engineer Jan Erik Kongshaug, Yenana believes that his perception of the ability to prosper and develop musically as a jazz musician on an international level in South Africa has changed completely.

6.2.2.5 Marianne Antonsen
Antonsen, in Blomster i Soweto, does not seem to have shared the same preconceptions and positive curiosity and interest in a similar sense to the cases referred to above. When asked what her thoughts were concerning South African music prior to the recording, she referred to “Ongo bongo” music, which probably means that she had a preconceived image of an inferior, rural, traditional music and who and what was involved in the recording she was going to make. As the majority of Norwegian media images of Africa generally depict images of ruralism, war and underdevelopment, Antonsen’s preconceived image is understandable (Aalen, Wold). However, it does reveal a much slighter level of interest in “the Other” compared to the other cases investigated. Moreover, Antonsen’s perceptions of South African popular music and musicians are based on continuous, ethnocentric reference to and comparison with the Norwegian professional musical standards and aesthetics in which she was trained. Thus, she is looking upon “the Other” through a mirror where her own reflection of “the Same” is greater than that of “the Other” creating a distorted image.

6.3 Results related to theory
There is currently no formally published research specifically on the topic of recent South African-Norwegian musical interaction. Looking at the different cases that were investigated, it is nevertheless clear that informal information is available from interviews, album liner
notes and album reviews, as well as from the small amount of biographies that have been written. These secondary sources of information, added to the information collected from primary sources during field work, constitute the essence of this research project.

As a result of the sparse enquiry into the subject of Norwegian-South African cultural interaction and, to a certain extent, the nature of the research subject, there is also no specific theory on this current subject. However, when using related theories together with informal information, one can develop arguments and create new theories as is the case here. Moreover, alterity is the theory in which this research is based as it enables the inquiry into "the Same" and "the Other" to be analysed.

**6.4 Larger relevance and significance of the study and suggestions for further study**

As this, to my knowledge, is the first study to have been conducted into the subject of Norwegian-South African musical interactions, I believe that the current research project should promote further research into the growing phenomenon of musical interaction between Norwegian and South African musicians. It should also encourage further investigation of the Norwegian funding organisations' perspectives, a comprehensive study of the Norwegian missionaries' musical interaction with the indigenous people of southern Africa and a complete musical analysis of the music produced in the extended range of cases in the Norwegian-South African musical collaboration genre.

Finally, music is seen a unifying factor in all the cases that were investigated, but a further and deeper investigation of more cases would possibly produce an even broader perspective of the phenomenon.
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