

1 Derodor Court

4 Kildonan Road

Mowbray 7700

Fax: 086 654 0157

Cell: 082 532 8633

Email: thokozani@gmail.com

The Early Years of Black Radio Broadcasting in South Africa: A critical reflection on the making of *Ukhozi FM*

Mini-dissertation

Presented by:

Thokozani Ndumiso Mhlambi

Student number: MHLTHO014

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree:

Master's in Public Culture (African Studies)

Centre for African Studies

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

2008/9

PLAGIARISM DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

Acknowledgements

Najwa Hendrickse, National Library of South Africa, Cape Town branch.
Sylvia Bruinders, South African College of Music, University of Cape Town.
Eric Mkhwanazi, South African Broadcasting Corporation, Johannesburg.
Dennis Mseleku, South African Broadcasting Corporation, Durban.
Michal Rahfaldt, Director of Programmes, The Radio Workshop.
Tanja Bosch-Ogada, Centre for Film and Media Studies, University of Cape Town.
Nick Shepherd, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.
Brenda Cooper, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.
Harry Garuba, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town
Eve Wilensky, University of British Columbia.
Charlie Lockwood, University of California, Santa Barbara.
Thusho Mokgogo, Johannesburg
Sammy Mgijima, Johannesburg.
Bobby Eldridge, Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town.
Shaheema Luckan, Music Library, University of Cape Town.
Jabulani, Thokozile, Busisiwe, Hleziphi and Vumile Mhlambi, Newcastle
Rejoice Ngcongo, Cape Town.
Mandy Antzoilatos, Cape Town.
Dena Lomofsky, Southern Hemisphere Consultants, Cape Town.
Thandazani Nyathi, Johannesburg.
Fikile Nkabinde-Mbatha, Newcastle.
Jessica Dutton, Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.

Thank you to all!

Table of contents

Page No.

Introduction	2
Why <i>Ukhozi</i>	5
Gaps in the field	6
Limitations	9
Chapter Outline	12
1. 'African as a soldier rather than as a citizen': Radio as a means of gaining political influence	14
1.1 History of Radio in South Africa: Radio as property of the law	15
1.2 First Native Broadcasts	16
1.3 Broadcasting technology and control: Radio and ideology	21
2. "On being an Undisciplined Object": the disciplinary formations of [ethno]musicology in South Africa, Hugh Tracey and his contemporaries	24
2.1 Historicizing Tracey's work within the disciplinary formations of ethnomusicology	26
2.2 On the State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa	31
2.3 Conclusion	38
3. Performing Zuluness: K.E. Masinga and <i>The Zulu Radio Choir</i> in a modern-state	40
3.1 Representations of Zulus in History	43
3.2 Tracey's performance of ideal native subjects: Lalela Zulu	44
3.3 Gestures of Refusal and Silence	46
3.4 Conclusion	51
4. References	54
5. Discography	58

ABSTRACT

The history of black radio in South Africa demonstrates the legacy of colonialism, but also exhibits the performance of novel identities in the ‘modern’ state. In this dissertation I look at the early years of black radio in South Africa *circa* 1940-1944, focussing primarily on the Zulu language service. The service was originally broadcasted on the Afrikaans and English radio stations in South Africa. It was 3 minutes in length at its inception in 1940 and was gradually extended to 30 minutes by September of 1942. Based on the collection of archival material and newspaper clippings I look at three colonial figures that were active in the early years of native radio, namely: Hugh Tracey, who was the initiator of broadcasts in Zulu, K. E. Masinga, who presented the first shows in the Zulu service, and *The Zulu Radio Choir*, who were mentioned as part of the first groups to be recorded for the Zulu radio service (Tracey 1948). All three of these stakeholders have played a foundational role in the establishment of the radio archive in South Africa. Using discourse analysis and Judith Butler’s performativity theory (1988;1990;1999), I trace the discursive interactions of these stakeholders—an area where ‘African tradition’ meets ‘colonial modernity’ (Mudimbe 1988). I then proceed to show how their performative acts reveal multi-layered processes of redefinition and negotiation.

A recurring thread in the entire dissertation is a quest to represent Africa and its people’s in new ways that challenge colonial legacies.

Introduction

The history of black radio in South Africa demonstrates the legacy of colonialism, but also exhibits the performance of novel identities in the 'modern' state.

Recordings of 'Zulu music' played on radio were, in part, conceived as a means to be used, along with other forms of culture, to influence and to control the mindset of its listeners. Radio broadcasts to natives in South Africa emerged in the 1940s as a means of curbing the growing discontent amongst natives regarding their role in the Second World War. It is said that at the time, compounds and townships had "become the nurseries of insidious anti-British and anti-Government propaganda" (*The Sunday Times* 27/04/1941). Increasingly then, the state felt it necessary to obtain control over the information disseminated to its native population. Black radio therefore emerged as a direct means of controlling what came to the ears of the South African black population and can be seen as a colonial legacy.

Unlike other forms of media, such as newspapers,¹ radio technology did not necessarily demand a literate audience. It could reach a broad range of people both educated and uneducated—provided they could listen. Radio was thus an effective tool through which the South African state could capture a mass base of native language speakers with great ease. In addition to this, through its recording technology, radio introduced new modes of music performance and reception. Acting as a stand-in for live performance, radio could simultaneously account for a whole world out there, from the comfort of one's own home.

The early twentieth century brought about radical shifts in the organization of native peoples' lives, characterized by an increasing urban native population. It was at this time, according to Monica Hunter, that the various sections of the Bantu strata began to develop a consciousness as separate classes, those who lived in urban areas, those who lived in homelands/reserves and those who lived on white farms (Hunter 1969: 3). Whilst it may be argued that such distinctions were already evident well before this time, it was, however, the first time that these divisions, more so than with early missionary converts, took on a particularly 'modern' feel. It is not that people live increasingly similar lives or acquire new lives under modernity, but,

¹ Newspapers had been in circulation in South Africa long before the inception of radio. *Imvo zabaNtsundu* for example had been in circulation since 1884 (*Imvo zabaNtsundu* 17/10/1942).

rather, “that they can imagine—and sometimes actualize—more and more different lives through the potentials of media consumption and geographic mobility” (Schein 1999: 363).

In the presence of the external challenge of colonial rule, different collectivities generally became more self-aware and began to define themselves differently, against their degree of resemblance to the West (Hall 1992: 289 & Mamdani 1996: 6, 7). Co-existence with ‘other worlds’ (the converted versus the heathen, blacks versus whites, rural versus the urban, the educated versus the uneducated) crystallized new forms of identities, accompanied with a growing sense of superiority for whatever resembled the West.

Under these conditions, radio broadcasts in the Zulu language became one way of “maintaining a fragile bridge between classes and groups in the fragmented community of Zulu language speakers” (Gunner 2000: 228). It was a means through which a community of Zulu speakers around the country could be ‘virtually imagined’. For groups like *The Zulu Radio Choir* (whom I discuss extensively in the third chapter of this dissertation), performing a ‘new’ music style became a kind of ‘social identity’ associated with being cosmopolitan and modern.

These new identities were merged with existing social formations, to create unique local forms of modernity. Radio in Zulu thus became a significant platform through which natives could simultaneously engage with modernity and Zulu tradition. It provided a new space for the performance of this complex and sometimes ambiguous identity through music. This intermediate space, between modernity and tradition, was constituted and negotiated through repeated acts that may be considered as performative (Butler 1989; 1990). Butler’s conception of performativity combines two strains: firstly, she uses the linguistic dimension, in the invocation of speech acts as a discursive convention which instantiates and produces that which it names. This naming process does not take place prior to reality, but is rather constituted through everyday action. To this, Butler then adds a theatrical dimension, by suggesting that these identities are established and constantly reinforced through the stylized reiteration of acts, which takes place with no ‘real’ actor behind the stage performance (Butler 1988; 1990). These set of acts, in turn, facilitate the formation of the identity of the actor but also constitute stereotypes around the actor. This process is reiterated over and over again until these identities become an “object of belief” (1988: 520). The actors in the formation of Radio in Zulu were performative in the sense that they, rather than depicting one way of being, exhibited

ideologically mixed gestures—“multivocally broadcasting significance” (Schechner cited in Schein 1999: 368).

For example, *The Zulu Radio Choir*'s performative acts ranged from formal studio recordings and compositions to more nuanced gestures of cultural identification. The choir neither denied their own Zuluness nor did they fully embrace dominant notions of being Zulu. Their gestures in fact reveal a critique of some kind that seeks to disrupt and reconfigure preconceived notions of what constitutes Zuluness. It was precisely the conflation of Zuluness with primitivism and backwardness that groups such as *The Zulu Radio Choir* seemed to critique. But in doing so, they could neither traverse those colonial discourses nor could they affirm them, occupying, instead, a rather ambiguous position.

There is a sense of something unresolved in the histories of most colonial actors in South Africa. K. E. Masinga (the first black radio presenter), for example, was viewed as a sell-out in some native middle-class circles for his supposed support of the colonial state in their propaganda broadcast project (Gunner 2000: 224). Hugh Tracey (the person who started black broadcasts) too was often vilified but he has, at the same time, been very instrumental in the archiving of indigenous music in South Africa. In 1954, he went on to start the International Library of African Music (Thram 2007; Lucia 2005: 44). There is no doubt that without Tracey's rigorous hand in the collection of native music, there would not have been any substantial archive of African music from that time. Thus, in as much as individuals need to be differentiated in their way of being during colonial times, there is, at the same time, a need to acknowledge that none of them are unimaginable outside their position vis-à-vis the West. All those who were active in the making of early native radio can be considered colonial actors to some degree or another.

In this dissertation I look closely at the ideological strains of colonial actors like Hugh Tracey, K. E. Masinga and *The Zulu Radio Choir*. The presence of these actors in the early years of radio in Zulu became that 'given set of conditions', which allowed radio in Zulu to take place and, at the same time, established the foundations of discourse through which radio in Zulu was to exist. None of these actors could overtly endorse one side of the colonial debate. Instead, their histories recall the dynamic field of discursive interaction and political negotiation, where so-called African tradition intersects with the projected modernity of colonialism (Mudimbe 1988: 5). The world that Zulu radio creates through performance is

neither here nor there; it holds an unstable position, with very little promise of a move 'forward' (modernity) or 'backward' (traditional).

Why *Ukhozi*

The history of the various broadcasts in native languages in South Africa has many parallels. Choosing one particular radio station for my research poses the danger of diminishing the significance of other native radio stations. But, I believe that focussing on one specific radio station would allow us to uncover a more nuanced reading of black radio in South Africa than a general one. I have, therefore, chosen to limit my discussion to the Zulu language service occurring in the 1940s. The service was later transformed into *Radio Zulu* (in 1960), which is now called *Ukhozi FM* (since 1995).

Ukhozi FM is the biggest radio station in South Africa in terms of listening numbers. It currently hosts an estimated 6.38 million listeners across the country (*South African Advertising Research Foundation* November 2008). According to the SABC, *Ukhozi* is "the second biggest in the world and the largest radio station in Africa" (SABC Corporate Accessed 10 November 2008). It thus offers itself as a significant site of critique even when we speak of the power of radio at a global level. *Ukhozi*'s large listenership is unsurprising since it caters for a Zulu-speaking population in South Africa, who are the largest and most dominant language group in the country.

Ukhozi FM, in its current form, was established in 1995 as a transformed version of its predecessor *Radio Zulu*. The transformation of *Radio Zulu* into *Ukhozi FM* was in part a reaction to the new political dispensation which began in 1994 (Webster & Ndaba 2001: 3). The postapartheid South Africa brought about significant changes to the SABC, not least of which was the need to create a new vision of South African society. This vision had to rid itself of apartheid racial and ethnic classifications. It was precisely because of the 'Zulu' in *Radio Zulu* that the name had to be changed so as to not preclude potential listeners who may not necessarily be Zulu native speakers.

In history, the Zulu kingdom has been one of the most valorised stories of an African indigenous group (La Hausse 2000: 7). Focussing, therefore, on the Zulu language in particular will allow for an examination of how racialized discourses intersected with notions of

ethnicity. So not only am I interested in issues pertaining to what it means to be black, but also what it means to be Zulu with regards to radio.

Lastly, my reason for choosing *Ukhozi* is also a personal one. As a Zulu-speaker myself, I have grown up with *Ukhozi* playing in the background of my everyday life. I am familiar with its contemporary format and style. It carries many memories for me and is a part of my own 'living heritage'. I would like my work to be seen as a critique which allows *Ukhozi* to look within itself and to reflect on its highly contested history. I became quite concerned with the overwhelming reticence around our past in the building of a post-apartheid radio space in South Africa. In projecting its new vision of a Rainbow Nation, the SABC imposed a lot of silences. For example, radio frequency coverage in South Africa was drawn in relation to the geographic and ethnic classifications of apartheid state (and its colonial predecessor). Zulu radio was limited to areas where Zulu speakers were perceived to be living and similarly, other indigenous language radio stations were limited to areas where people who speak that particular language were perceived to live. This phenomenon continues to exist until this day and remains unaddressed within the SABC.

By choosing *Ukhozi*, the intention here is not to convey Zulus as superior or exceptional in relation to other linguistic groups. This is an assumption that may be expected due to the deeply engraved notions of ethnocentricity/xenophobia in South Africa.²

Gaps in the field

Scholarly studies on radio are not new in the South African context. Ethnomusicologists have, indeed, been significant contributors in this regard; the most notable figures being Charles Hamm (1990) and Veit Erlmann (1991). While these works set the tone for the exploration of the field, they, however, lack the kind of specificity demanded by radio's influence in the shaping of South African music and culture. Hamm's work, for example, is general in its approach and fails to take into account the nuances in radio's articulations, brought about by changes in political regimes and policies. The years of native radio, prior to the establishment

² One need not look further than the Jacob Zuma debates that took place in the country, during his rape trial and in the build-up towards his election as the president of the *African National Congress* (ANC) at the Polokwane conference in December 2007. Tag-lines such as '100% Zulu-Boy', and elaborate displays of so-called Zulu attire and weaponry were common at this time. The case of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and *Inkatha Freedom Party* a decade or so before that, in the run-up to the 1994 elections is but another reminder of the same discourse.

of *Radio Bantu*, in 1960, for example, are treated uniformly to the years after the formal establishment of *Radio Bantu*. However, archival material relating to the 1960s, shows that the SABC underwent massive restructuring towards the formation *Radio Bantu*.

It is obvious that from its inception, in 1960, *Radio Bantu* was largely seen as an important commercial venture for the SABC which would allow them to tap into the Bantu market. From the SABC archives, I found an entire folder of documents grappling with ideas around who exactly are these black consumers and what are they like. *Radio Bantu* brought about a need which had not been considered prior to this time: “Planning for Selling to the Bantu Market”, as evident in the title of a conference paper written by W. Langschmidt (1965). The discussion emanating out of this paper exposed a desire to study, investigate and, ultimately, to know what goes on in the mind of the native. Langschmidt’s paper moves like an exploration of this market, an elucidation of the black mind. Most of the subheading titles in Langschmidt’s paper are posed in the form of questions, they are as follows:

How does the Bantu spend his money?/What is the standard of living of the Bantu?/How do the urban and rural Bantu’s buying habits vary?/Where does the Bantu buy his products?/Who does the buying?/How do we advertised to the Bantu?/How do we reach the Bantu? Media coverage./Do the Bantu pay their debts?/How good are the available ‘facts’ on the Bantu market?/The future Bantu market (1965).

Very much in line with the theme of the native question, what these questions reveal is an eagerness to find out about the Bantu, not as people in general, but as a possible market through which profits may be made. Many of the papers in the folder move in a similar fashion.

This sudden interest in the native consumer was not merely arbitrary. In terms of its historical context, the 1960s was a decade in which the SABC began recognizing the native market as a significant sector of the population which needed to be incorporated into its listenership. It came at a time when the SABC decided to combine all the sporadic Bantu broadcasts they had in place before into one unit, namely *Radio Bantu* (branded in its newsletters with an icon of what may seem to be a ‘tribal’ war shield on all its letter heads). The full operation of black radio in South Africa did not, therefore, come by coincidence but had clear economic interests. The invocation of the Bantu listener as a fully-fledged listening population worthy of having

their own radio stations suggests that the native as a radio listener was, for the SABC, valuable so far as s/he propels the economic interests of the apartheid state.

Commenting on the same period, ethnomusicologist Hamm himself writes:

the Republic of South Africa succeeded in having its entire population, black and white, listen to its own radio service, theorised and programmed in accordance with state ideology, to the virtual exclusion of other radio programming; and that this radio monopoly played a major role in shaping attitudes and relations which still inhibit the formation of a multi-racial society (Hamm 1991: 147).

The South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), through the ideology of Separate Development (1958), introduced separate radio stations broadcasting regionally for the various ethnic groups. Separate Development was a policy instituted by the apartheid government, which propagated that black people lived in various native 'tribes' before Europeans arrived, each tribe having its own unique culture and language, and that geographical boundaries should be constructed in order to retain (and often even re-invent) this system.

The 1960s can thus be considered as a time of a major paradigm shift in the SABC's view of the black population, and similarly the view of the South African state in its entirety. The presence and existence of a black population could no longer be denied as a significant sector of the population—something the country had managed to do for many years since the inception of state radio in South Africa in 1924 (Rosenthal 1974: 1; Mkhize 1992: 52-54). The SABC was compelled to heed to the voice of the unheard in order to secure its own viability as an income-generating institution. Although Hamm acknowledges the effects of Separate Development policy, his reading of native radio post-1960, though, remains undifferentiated from the era preceding it.

Erlmann's work, on the other hand, remains sensitive to changing historical contexts. He, makes several mentions of native radio throughout his book (1991), all of which are related to the transitions in the structuring of black populations in South Africa. Erlmann, however, does not dedicate a chapter/section to radio on its own. Instead, throughout his work, radio is treated peripherally to music, which seems to be his primary concern. In so doing, Erlmann reduces radio's significance in shaping the very black performances he claims to convey.

The reduction of radio's role in shaping South African music is a trend present in several other contemporaneous studies of African music histories within ethnomusicology. D. Coplan (1979) and C. Ballantine's (1993) works have all made important contributions in the study of South African music and performance. Neither of these, however, makes adequate mention of black radio, considering the mediums influence in the explosion of popular musics in the country.

Hayman and Tomaselli (1989) also provide a useful account of radio as a broadcasting medium in South Africa. The shortcoming of their approach though lies in its treatment of radio as merely an ideological tool of manipulation and control by the state, without taking into regard the nuances of this control. It also says little about how such forms of state power were challenged and sometimes subverted by those involved; as Liz Gunner notes, how Thokozani Nene (a news radio anchor on Radio Zulu in 1970s) often used creative strategies such as *izibongo* (praise poetry) to distance himself from the heavily censored news of the apartheid government (2002: 268-269). Such strategies not only conveyed people's discontent with apartheid propaganda, but also their resistance amidst tremendous state control.

Gunners writing on radio in Zulu (2000, 2002, 2005) is perhaps the most direct and notable contribution made thus far. She provides some insightful theoretical readings of radio as a medium of resistance and its entanglement in Zulu projections of the past, present and future. As a literary scholar herself, Gunner's work places emphasis on *izitori* (radio drama serials) and song lyric texts, looking at the polyphonic nature of these genres in the way they engaged with social and political realities of the time. Her literary emphasis though invariably privileges the written text over other forms of 'textualities' through which radio comes to gain its meaning.

Limitations

I have decided to limit my discussion to the early years of radio in Zulu, between the years circa 1940-1944. This is prior to the beginning of apartheid (1948) and is also before there was any fully functioning black radio service. A comprehensive black service in South Africa was only established in 1960 with the establishment of *Radio Bantu*. *Radio Bantu* was a division within the SABC which ran a group of radio stations broadcasting in indigenous languages (Hamm 1991: 156). The early Bantu broadcasts, on the other hand, were aired on the English

and Afrikaans radio stations and were allocated a slot during the day, beginning with 3 minutes and then gradually extending to 30 minutes by 1942 (*Ukhozi* Documentary 06/2003).

Part of the difficulty in compiling this dissertation has been on the issue of scope. The more I seemed to narrow down my research focus, the more I realized how titanic the topic of black radio is and how largely unexplored this particular field of research is. I have subsequently taken a decision to extend this work into a more substantial Doctoral dissertation. For this reason, the current dissertation represents only a few fragments of what is yet to come. There is a considerable amount of in-depth archival work that still needs to be done. Part of the difficulty in having done this is that most of the archives related to this area of work are located in Durban and Johannesburg. Whilst I visited these archives on numerous occasions, I realized that I would need to spend a lot more time in these areas in order to do the material justice.

In the SABC archives, the material was mostly uncatalogued or sometimes missing. This meant that one had to be there in person in order to obtain anything that may be useful. I could not hone-in to this material as much as I would have liked to, simply because I had limited time and funds available to me. Furthermore, the SABC archives were largely run by people who were not qualified in archiving and some who had found themselves fulfilling such a role due to bureaucratic processes of restructuring and reallocation. I had greater ease in accessing materials from the University of Cape Town's Manuscripts & Archives Department. Materials held by the University of Cape Town included personal letters of correspondence between individuals, writing on their personal capacity and as members of boards, such as the African Music Society as well as newspaper clips collected by individuals. Some of the collections I used include the Thelma Gutsche Papers³ and the Minutes and Correspondence of the African Music Society. Variations in the ease of access were, in part, due to the different legislations governing the two kinds of archival bodies. SABC archives are considered public records and legislation stipulates that "any member of the public has a right of access to archives that are older than twenty years, free of charge" (Duffy: 2003 422).⁴ University archives, however, are

³ I used a folder entitled 'Radio Broadcasts for Blacks 1939-1952 Clippings'.

⁴ During my visit to the SABC archives where I obtained these songs, I had a conversation with the archivist who was helping me in the library, I asked him if any other scholars had come to conduct their research at the station and he said yes a lot of them do, but when I asked him if they had heard from any of these people after completing their research, he responded: "Cha. Asizange sibone lutho, kugcina kuyinto yabo nje." (*No, we have never seen anything, it ends up just being their own thing*)—February 2008, Participant 1. Whilst many people have done their research on *Ukhozi*, there seemed to be no consolidated initiative in place of ensuring that the findings of those research projects are invested back to the radio station, that the history they outline is inserted into the

considered private holdings and access to these may vary according to donor stipulations. Most of those working in the university archives were qualified archivists.

The university archivists displayed an utmost regard to the preservation of the materials and were more rigid in their adherence to archival rituals, even prescribing how the material should be referenced in academic texts. They had strict instructions in the way their archives should be accessed and restricting the ways in which the archive and its content could be experienced. These archives were heavily surveillanced and audited. The SABC archivists, on the other hand, did not pay as much attention to the preservation of the material, even though the process of preservation was seen as important. They were also less rigid in the ways in which the material could be accessed; they did not seem to have a problem with the photocopying of archive material for example. Whereas the private holdings archivist had greater control of the material and the documents were more intact, the public holdings archivists, on the other hand, had less control of the material and could not adequately determine what was still there and what was missing.⁵

libraries and archives of *Ukhozi* to facilitate an enlargement of what is known about *Ukhozi* and its key figures. To such an extent that even those who work in the archive itself (who are heavily under-resourced) have no way of referring to significant publications that give detail on the material in the archive. Note Participant 1's language shifts between two collectives. At the beginning it is we—meaning those part of the radio station, but also those who all participate in the ritual of data collection. In the latter part of his statement he speaks of another collective, they—those who study radio, those who extract the information, suggesting some imagined community of researchers.

Participant 1's statement infers a dimension of ownership in the end-product of researchers' projects. It is not enough for him, that he might be acknowledged in the paper/dissertation if he does not get to see the finished product himself. For him seeing is indeed believing. Without any effort from the researcher to deliver the finished project to him, he cannot share in the joys of participating in the task of making history. This kind of exogenous research approach prevalent in *Ukhozi* recalls that tension between the object of study versus the subject who knows, which is the very issue that African Studies scholarship seeks to overcome. Any claim therefore to 'adequately' represent those who participate in the making of the radio culture, or explain people in 'their own terms' remains fictitious if those fruits have not been brought home to bear. Our challenge is to exploit research/knowledge-making to its fullest 'transformative capacity'.

⁵ Both sources the private and the public reveal different angles of the same phenomena and therefore need to be read in counterpoint, to give us the bigger picture. Minutes of meetings and other forms of written 'raw' data lack the intimate details we can get from firsthand accounts, given by K. E. Masinga and others in the audio documentaries obtained from the SABC archives. More importantly, these cannot provide us with any meaningful explanation of what the radio station *really* meant for ordinary people. Their verifiability, in this sense, is determined by their shared condition of possibility, through which we can note the moments of overlap and of disjuncture that may occur. This allows us to understand the system in which they operate through its own internal logic. It enables us to understand its inherent inconsistencies which all collide in the "historical accident" (Mudimbe 1988: 2) of the colonial conquest. Discourse as a method holds an unstable position and should be approached at different angles and with varying methods. In order to balance the different knowledge strains, the method through which the archival space is examined has had to be heteronymous and flexible.

Notwithstanding all these challenges, the information obtained has been rich and useful in sparking a lot of interesting questions and concerns. I explore my research question through a series of chapters, each of which stands on its own. Each chapter highlights an aspect which had an influence in the formation of black South African radio.

Most of black radio's growth occurred under apartheid, from around the 1960s, with the establishment of *Radio Bantu*. But, this period has been well explored in studies of South African music (see Andersson 1981, Coplan 1985; Erlmann 1991). I am of the view that, if we are to truly learn about the roots and the nature of white rule in South Africa and the way in which it affected the lives of native populations then the year 1948 (the beginning of apartheid) is not necessarily the year to begin. We need to push back our timeline much further than that. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus my dissertation on the years prior to the establishment of *Radio Bantu*, that is in the years *circa* 1940-1944. This was at the height of the Second World War and a time when South Africa was still under British colonial rule.

Chapter Outline

The first chapter deals with the notion of radio as a means of gaining political influence by looking at the history of broadcasting in South Africa. Black radio's inception was clearly driven by colonial anxieties over the unfolding Second World War. As is discussed in this chapter, broadcasts in native languages were established out of a desire to control the mounting discontent amongst native populations over the World War (*SABC Annual Report* 1940: 8).

In the second chapter, I locate native radio within the broader colonial enterprise. I do so by looking at the formation of disciplines in South Africa, highlighting the discipline of ethnomusicology in particular, as projected through the figure of Hugh Tracey. Ethnomusicology was the site at which native music was established as an object of study. The presence of Hugh Tracey in this endeavour carries much saliency. In his capacity as the Director of the Natal Studios of the SABC (1936-1947), Tracey facilitated the collection of recorded repertory of indigenous Bantu music in South Africa (Hamm 1991: 150). This collection of music was then played on the early native broadcasts. My key focus for this chapter will be the extent to which this colonial legacy (carried forth by the disciplines like

ethnomusicology) affected the way in which we have come to understand African music and by extension black radio. I argue that separate development as a discourse has been the *idée fixe* through which white rule has been imposed in South Africa, even in music; the history of native radio largely mirrors this course of development. In this sense, there was nothing new in apartheid's Separate Development Policy (1958), apartheid only solidified the discourse by entrenching it in state regulated policy.

In the third chapter, I explore Zuluness as a construct. I argue that a restrictive view of identities has pervaded the way in which Zuluness is understood. I then proceed to propose a new formulation in which identities are viewed as a performative, using Judith Butler's performativity theory (1990). Lastly, I use *The Zulu Radio Choir* as a case study in showing how identity as performed can be understood. As revealed in this dissertation, at the heart of such performance has been the redefining of what it really means to be Zulu. It is my hope that in advocating for a performative reading of radio in Zulu, we will begin to see and understand native/Zulu radio in new ways.

1. 'African as a soldier rather than as a citizen': Radio as a means of gaining political influence

Dr Hilda Kuper, writing in *The Star* (15/12/1943) sums up the findings of a listener research study conducted in the same year. In the study a few black individuals (some educated and some not) were asked to listen into the native broadcasts a few months after its beginning and make comments. She suggests that already from its inception, most Africans who did listen to the Bantu broadcasts had sentiments ranging from “mild enthusiasm to positive hostility”. These views were not critical, she says, but rather expressed discontent. She goes on to write:

The most uneducated individual, after a courteous expression of gratitude, connected the broadcasts with the interest of the Government in the *African as a soldier rather than as a citizen*. [my emphasis] A semi-educated chauffeur said: Why did the European bring in this thing now? Before the War we would have listened with pleasure; now the things they tell us make us wild. They want us to be angry and ready to fight. They do not want us to be happy in our homes (15/12/1943).

From this it is clear that the early Bantu language services were not embraced warm-heartedly by all natives in South Africa. There was a pervasive sense of doubt regarding the motives behind the service. The state's own interest in the incorporation of natives into the 'listening economy' was well understood. It is not surprising, therefore, that the broadcasts began, as Kuper's article later suggests, at a time “when there was an active recruiting drive” for natives as soldiers in the War.

Kuper's account is not in isolation (see *The Star* 25/06/1940). The emergence of black radio in South Africa was an ideologically charged affair. In its ability to reach the masses, radio played a foundational role in the proselytising of its listeners towards the interest of the state. In this section, I explore the dynamics of broadcasting as a weapon of the state. I look at the history of broadcasting in South Africa and the extent to which it mirrored the politics of the British colonial state. I then proceed to probe the implications thereof for understanding *Ukhozi's* history in its present sense.

1.1 History of Radio in South Africa: Radio as property of the law

Public radio broadcasts in South Africa began on the 1st of July 1924 (Rosenthal 1974: 1). By public I mean broadcasts which operated specifically under the state. This is not to say that these were the first broadcasts ever in the country. There are numerous accounts of radio having existed as early as the late nineteenth century in South Africa.⁶ It was through a wireless facility at the Royal Navy base in Simonstown that radio communication began in South Africa (in 1904). In 1910, another transmission station was established in Durban to communicate with ships at sea (Mkhize 1992: 52). In 1921, the first proper station for wireless telephony was established in Port Elizabeth. With increasing popular interest in radio transmission, the Union of South Africa government decided to regulate the service in 1923, by requesting applications for licenses for anyone wishing to broadcast in the Union (Hayman & Tomaselli 1989: 25). These were then all placed under the control of the Post Office.

The Postmaster-General had power to decide who could obtain a transmitter and who could own a receiver. Subsequently, experimental broadcast began in 1923 by the Western Electric Company in Johannesburg. By 1924, three stations had begun broadcasting officially under the new license agreement. These stations were based in the three main urban centres, namely Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban (“The Durban Municipal Broadcasting Website” Accessed 18th September 2008).

The early services were characterised by predominantly English-language broadcasts and generally British-related programming (Hayman & Tomaselli 1989: 28). This can be related to the fact that radio in South Africa was largely modelled on the British Broadcasting Corporation (Hamm 1991: 148). In 1936, South Africa founded an equivalent public broadcasting institution, known as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). These institutional shifts were partially because the state saw the medium of radio as an attractive vehicle of instruction and entertainment. They felt that “it would be of benefit to the government to provide a simple, speedy and economical means of communication between the state and the people” (Hayman & Tomaselli 1989: 31). The SABC was thus founded on this premise, which was enshrined in the 1936 Broadcasting Act. Drawn from its British model, the

⁶ Eric Rosenthal (1974) links the beginnings of South African radio to a man called Edward Alfred Jennings, who is believed to have invented wireless telegraphy in South Africa and he is reported to have transmitted a record distance of eight miles as early as 1899 (page 2-6).

Act did not take into account the diversity of the South African situation. Blacks for example, were not mentioned at all in the act. The Act also assumed a shared consensus between English and Afrikaans white groups and could not get away from its anglocentric hue (Hayman & Tomaselli 1989: 31). The English wanted radio to affirm existing elite public culture forms, such as classical music as well as British theatre and literature, amongst others. For example, the centrality of classical music in the SABC is demonstrated in the following statement from its 1940 *Annual Report*:

At no time since the inception of broadcasting has music meant so much to the ordinary listener as in these disturbed days. The Corporation appreciated this when drawing up for the year the usual extensive programme of symphonic and chamber music. A number of first performances were given. Among these were *Symphonie Classique* (Prokofieff), *The Machine* (Mossolov), *Violin Concerto* (Bloch), *Japanese Rhapsody* (Akira Hukude), *El Salon Mexico* (Copland) and *Piano Concerto* (Freda Swain).

While the meaningfulness of music to “the ordinary listener” is emphasized here, the entire list of performances in the “extensive programme” consists of classical music pieces. Adopting a more state controlled approach to public radio would allow elite forms to prevail, a trend which a more commercial system may have excluded. The approach was ostensibly based on principles of independence. This independence entailed the selection of influential individuals who would be seemingly unrelated to any interest or pressure groups (Hayman & Tomaselli 1989: 31). However, these panellists were almost invariably English-speaking white men, such as Hugh Tracey (who I discuss extensively in this dissertation) and H. E. Davies (who was the first programmes superintendent in the Durban Studios).⁷

1.2 First Native Broadcasts

The first programmes directed towards a black audience came from an outdoor service carried through loudspeakers, which was broadcast via telephone lines in the compounds, community halls and hostels in all the major towns and cities. The telephone services would allow even those blacks without a privately-owned radio set the opportunity to listen. These services were known as the *War Bulletin*. The SABC was to “set aside a portion of each day’s programme for

⁷ “The Durban Municipal Broadcasting Website” Accessed 18th September 2008

the purpose of broadcasting a special war news service to Natives, with the object of counteracting unfounded rumours”. They were presented by an official from the Native Affairs Department and each broadcast would conclude with a short musical recording⁸ (*SABC Annual Report* 1940).

The first ‘official’ broadcasts aimed at black listeners, which were fully run by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and on proper wireless radio, took place in 1941. On the 23rd of December 1941, journalist, King Edward Masinga presented the first Zulu-language service from the SABC studios in Durban (Interview on *Radio Zulu*: 16/06/1980). The person who spearheaded this initiative was the then Director of the Durban Studios, Hugh Tracey. The service was to run for three-minutes on the English radio station. It would inform listeners about the unfolding World War and then end with a record of ‘traditional’ native music.

Part of Tracey’s job was to facilitate the recording of ‘traditional’ native music to be made available for the black service. Tracey and his contemporaries (such as Percival Kirby and Rueben T. Caluza) were against the evolution of African music towards forms which incorporated European musical elements. In the collection of ‘traditional’ native music, Tracey wanted to preserve music that he felt was in decay. He believed that Bantu music should be separated from Western music in order for it to retain its ‘purity’ of sound.⁴ In his separate development stance with regards to music, Tracey “thereby provided the scholarly underpinnings of apartheid cultural policies” that were to follow a few decades later (Erlmann 1991: 1). The radio space, therefore, created by Tracey in his role within the SABC was, as Liz Gunner concludes, an “ideologically charged one” (2000: 224). It clearly demarcated the culture of African-language radio as a site of struggle, at which various competing discourses on Africans, their culture and their music would be articulated.

By focussing on the early years of broadcast to natives (1940-1944) under colonialism, I am hoping to highlight a largely unexplored period of study in South African radio/music studies⁹. The material relating to this period is very little and far between. This is partly due to the

⁸ According to the *Ukhozi* Documentary 2003 I obtained from the SABC, the first person to conduct these broadcasts was Charles Mpanza.

⁹ From a music scholarship perspective, apartheid histories have been well-covered within the discipline (see Coplan 1979, Andersson 1981, and Hamm 1990).

failure of the colonial SABC to build meaningful archives on the history of native broadcasts in South Africa. In the Preface of his book *African Stars*, Veit Erlmann is equally critical of the SABC and private recording companies. He writes:

the unashamedly public role that these representatives of private capital have played in shaping South African black musical history has not found its equivalent in equally vigorous efforts to preserve the evidence of heritage. [Similarly] the South African Broadcasting Corporation...has for years denied access to those extensive collections of records and transcriptions that document the profound effect of this institution on black performance in South Africa (Erlmann 1991: xx).

The inadvertent role played by radio in shaping the development of black South African music could be easily exonerated for the sake of retaining order. One of the colonial state's biggest anxieties was the need to create order; following on the logic laid out by the missionaries. Mudimbe discusses the logic of missionary speech in great detail: Missionary speech operates within a discourse that can be called the "authority of the truth" (Mudimbe 47). He views this as a "self-righteous intolerance" predicated on the paradigm of "conflict and significance" (Mudimbe 1988: 26-27). Through its violent imposition, missionary speech follows a logic that says: because Western societies are more significant than others it is the responsibility of the missionary to enforce order (even if it calls for violence, it is an instance in which conflict cannot be avoided) since the gains (which are bringing the dark into the light) are more important. In other words, retaining a pristine African system is important, but exception to this rule may be taken, if it means bringing the natives into the light—and since certain societies carry more significance than others, losing an African way of life is less important. In other words, there are gains to be made in the loss of African systems, if it means gaining something of more significance (i.e. Western enlightenment). The violating aspect of conversion was justified by a doxa that says "a person whose idea come from and are sustained by God is rightly entitled to the use of all possible means, even violence, to achieve his objective" (Mudimbe 48).

Although this superiority (depicted in the doxa's outright self-righteousness) was originally rooted in ideas of Christianity, as the state evolved and became more modern, it slowly began defining itself on more political and economic grounds (Hall 1992: 291). Much in line with the state's attempt of veiling its secrets, the SABC did not have to account for the material in their

hands that greatly shaped the history of South African music. Following the logic mentioned above, the colonial state felt itself entitled to exploit broadcasting for its own political gains, even if it involved the loss of native traditions, for its ideas came and were sustained by God. In this instance, the violating aspect of the recording and broadcasting business on natives could go unaddressed. Acquiring new ways of articulating itself within the modern state, the discourse of 'authority of truth', nonetheless, remained the same in its aim and its effect.

As a result, there is very little available information from the SABC itself on the early native broadcasts. The fragmented nature of broadcasting in its early days, with very little cohesion between the various satellite studios of the SABC has also been a fuelling factor. This has led to a lack of consistency in the information available about early broadcasts to blacks. For example, it remains unclear on what date the native broadcasts actually began. K.E. Masinga claims that he first went on air on the 23rd of December 1941 (Interview on *Radio Zulu*: 16/06/1980), while the SABC's *Annual Reports* hint at the broadcasts beginning in September of 1942. The latter date corresponds to that written in *Imvo Zabantsundu* (17/10/1942) and in *The Star* (24/09/1942) of the same year.

Based on all these sources what I can deduce is that both dates are probably correct. However, it seems the Durban studios under the leadership of Tracey, were at the forefront of native broadcasting throughout the Union of South Africa. The early broadcasts in Zulu done in 1941 by Masinga were in fact experimental broadcasts and were three minutes in length (K.E. Masinga Interview on *Radio Zulu*: 16/06/1980). In September 1942 the native broadcasts became more 'official'. From the details given in *Imvo Zabantsundu* (17/10/1942) these services would "last for 30 minutes each: Johannesburg and Bloemfontein, Pretoria and Kimberley will broadcast in Sesuto, Durban in Zulu and Cape Town and Grahamstown in Xhosa". It seems then that by September 1942 the native broadcast were extended to native languages other than Zulu and were lengthened to 30 minutes. The broadcasts in Zulu in the year 1941 thus paved the way for similar broadcasts taking place in other parts of the country in 1942.

Secondary sources, such as newspaper clippings (obtained from the National Library of South Africa), have been useful in verifying some of this information. The private collection of minutes by members of the *African Music Society* and Hugh Tracey's own published works (all found at UCT's Manuscripts & Archives and libraries) have also been useful in this regard.

Private sources have served as viable alternative sources where the state had kept its information secret. In the attempt to veil its own secrets, the colonial state had done very little to document this significant moment in the shaping of black music in South Africa.

Thus, the verifiability of the sources used in this dissertation is determined by their shared condition of possibility. Through counterpointing SABC *Annual Reports* against newspapers and private collections from the same period we can note the moments of overlap and of disjuncture that occur. This allows us to understand the system in which they operate through its own internal logic. It explains the inherent inconsistencies which all collide in the “historical accident” (Mudimbe 1988: 2) of the colonial conquest. It is only in subsequent sources from the SABC that it was possible to confirm the events leading to the emergence of black radio from its own archives. While in the Durban archives of the SABC I obtained two audio documentaries, recorded in celebration of *Ukhozi*'s long existence, in which the history of early black radio was discussed. Other than these two documentaries, one aired in 1980 and another in 2003, I was unable to find any other material from the SABC on these early broadcasts.

A voice of particular significance from these documentaries is that of King Edward Masinga himself. Masinga too confirms the colonial state's motives behind the early broadcast:

Kuleyo mzuzu kwakutshelwa abantu amaqiniso ayiwona kunalawo ababewabutha emabhasini, nasematek'sini, naseyitimileni, nakoluvovo ngempi yakayiklila yayilwa ngalesozikhathi. Umbuso wawubatshela amaqiniso okuhhiwona ngempela, hhayi osizwa bethi.

In those first few minutes people were being told the truths that were facts than those people were collecting in the buses, taxis, trains and from gossip mongers about the Second World War which was being fought at the time. The Union was telling them the truths that were facts, not urban legends (Interview on *Radio Zulu*: 16/06/1980).

Thus, radio broadcasting played a very vital role within the colonial machinery by ensuring that there was a single dominant lens through which the enterprise could be seen in light of the unfolding Second World War. From one angle, the colonial state was characterised by this desire to civilise the native—a task largely taken over from the missionaries (as previously mentioned in this chapter). From another angle, the colonial state sought absolute control over native life—in order to do so the state had to gain control of the “uncaptured peasantry”

(Mamdani 1996: 12). In order to capture natives as a military force in the World War and as a labour force, the colonial state had to ensure that the British Empire was seen in a positive light.

The radio medium, in its ability to stand as evidence of a world out there, served to guarantee the supremacy of its makers under which there could be no space for alternative viewpoints. Its unquestionable authority as a projector of the 'truth' meant that it could impose certain silences over its listeners. These tended to conceal their racialized and colonially-motivated genesis. Viewed in this way then, radio becomes that "system of statements, those 'rules of practice', that shape the specific regularities of what can and cannot be said". In this system, institutions of the state operate within certain codes of concealment, which determine what categories matter and provide routes through which 'free thought' is permitted. These regulated routes can be linked "directly to the state's audit of its own viability" (Stoler 2002: 89-98). Veiling the state's secrets and interest was thus one of the main objective of these institutions, and radio broadcast to natives were no exception.

In the medium of radio, the listener is able to 'witness' Zulu culture whilst, simultaneously being reminded of who owns the technology through which they gain the ability to witness the event. The success and popularity of radio in Zulu would stand as corroborating evidence for the importance of the work done by Hugh Tracey and his contemporaries on the preservation of African music.¹⁰ There is, therefore, no reading of Zulu radio in which one is not reminded of the West's intervention.

1.3 Broadcasting technology and control: Radio and ideology

In this chapter, I have tried to show how radio emerged directly in response to the interests of the British colonial state in South Africa. This manifested itself in the adoption of a BBC format and radio which carried an English hue. Following the availability of radio technology in the Union of South Africa, the state was quick to respond in regulating the airwaves. The power to decide who could transmit radio and who could own a receiver was handed over to the Postmaster-General. Furthermore, in the 1936 Broadcasting Act, natives were never even considered as a listening audience. The incorporation of natives into the listening economy

¹⁰ As is discussed in the second chapter, Tracey's paper on "On the State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa" (1954) was presented to the *International Folk Music Council* in 1954 as a funding proposal for his 'preservation project'.

coincided with the British Colonial state's desire to take charge of the information which came to the natives' ears regarding to the unfolding war. Clearly, the ability to capture natives as soldiers in the Second World War was central to the state's sudden change of heart and radio's ability to provoke was effectively used by the state. Radio as a modern object could be used to reinforce the power of the West, establishing through itself a marriage between the object and its maker.

Now, one may ask: what are the implications of this indelibly close distance between the maker and its object for those who are not privileged by culture? How do we resolve the "cultural dispossession", to use E. Edwards' term (2001: 11), experienced by those who are part of the Zulu radio text in its making, but are excluded in the dominant views of what it means? If there is no reading of Zulu radio in which one is not reminded of Tracey's mark, how can we possibly begin to exercise transformative readings of the text? In a broader sense, how do we renegotiate the radio archive "to experience the various layers of Zulu identity that have been available and make up a composite present sense of identity" (Gunner 2000: 230) within the postcolonial/postapartheid context?

If we view the radio medium as performative, which seeks to conceal its genesis and to naturalize its effects, we might begin to understand radio and its associated meanings, not as fixed pre-givens, but as ones subject to change, ones that can be altered as radio travels in new circuits of recognition and signification. Such performative acts are derived through complex processes of multi-layering of consonant and dissonant positions. Therefore, the privileging of certain points of view at specific points in history cannot argue away alternative domains through which radio existed and continues to exist. The concealing codes of the Radio Archive through which radio gains its meanings can only delegitimize certain meanings but cannot erase them altogether. It can only control and limit what is considered culturally intelligible, but cannot foreclose all other possibilities.

Understanding radio as performative, therefore, requires a simultaneous understanding of the medium as derived through a fluid space of struggle within different ideological strains. In the coming chapters I will highlight Hugh Tracey as a salient figure in native music (and culture) occupying a double-role; firstly as the forerunner in the development of ethnomusicology as a discipline in South Africa and secondly as the initiator of native radio. Radio and native music developed in tandem and largely mirror the course of development taken by the South African

state. Tracey's dual role is thus useful as a case study in illustrating the relationship between disciplinary formations and the founding of native radio.

2. “On being an Undisciplined Object”: the disciplinary formations of [ethno]musicology in South Africa, Hugh Tracey and his contemporaries

The Undisciplined Object cannot be controlled. S/he cannot even begin to understand what it means to be a subject. A subject can be studied and understood. S/he on the other hand is studied but cannot be understood. S/he speaks a foreign language. Most importantly, s/he cannot learn! S/he cannot learn, not because s/he is mentally incapable of thinking, but because she/he is the unthinkable. It is important that s/he doesn't learn to remind us ALL what happens when you are undisciplined! That is why s/he cannot learn. As a transgressor, s/he is severely punished and yet cannot and does not learn his/her lesson. If s/he is to transcend his/her position of abnormality it would require a complete reinvention, something s/he definitely cannot do. For if s/he becomes normal then who will take his/her position? Who will become the misfit? There is no way out for the object but to live as the unthinkable, the unsayable or face complete isolation.

To live in this way constitutes a crisis in ontology.

My argument is that as an Undisciplined Object, it is impossible to fully align oneself with a discipline without having flashbacks of the trauma, the whiplash, the noose, slave labour; all of which have participated in one's imprisonment, and ensuring one's unintelligible state. The role of anthropology, history, ethnomusicology and many other disciplines in the making of that history is well documented (see Thornton 1983). Colonial institutions exerted pressure on its ethnographers and philologists (through funding and publication) to produce research that was 'useful' for the colonizing project. Any articulations that digressed from this dominant view point were effectively silenced. To accept these disciplines at face-value therefore means to take on a particular historical idea, to materialize oneself as a researcher in alignment with a delimited point of view of what is possible.

The idea of being an Undisciplined Object offers itself as a crucial point of departure through which we can begin to think beyond the boundaries of traditional disciplines. It is a way of rejecting those inbound narratives of history which the disciplines (through their foundations) compel. Significant in doing so, however, is that we understand the ideas produced by traditional disciplines as the very discourses through which “African worlds have been

established as realities for knowledge” and objects of study (Mudimbe 1989: xi). In other words, there is no pre-established world that we can excavate to discover the true Africa. Our experiences and understanding of African societies permeates from the colonial encounter.

Therefore, to think beyond these disciplines does not write away the existence and pervasiveness of their discourses on Africa, nor does it signal some pre-colonial time-travel in which we can locate the ‘real’ Africa. But what it does suggest is a way in which we, in our present-day, can re-look at given histories critically. This calls for a revisiting of specific historical moments, looking at them with ‘new’ eyes, in order to allow us to think such moments differently. This is done whilst maintaining a particular political position that attempts to legitimate those who are unprivileged by history. For, in serving the interest of European supremacy, these versions of history have a tendency of trivializing Africans in such a way that they appear as illegible and unreal. The challenge remains: how do we study processes as uniquely African without risking “complicity with its mythic origins” (Apter 2007: 2)?

Using the early years of black radio, the attempt in this dissertation is to unveil the life that is foreclosed by those trivializing tendencies, in order to reorientate the presence of the African in the making of her/his own history. In this chapter I critically examine the foundations of ethnomusicology as a discipline, looking at the way in which it established Otherness in the study of music. By proclaiming itself as the restricted terrain through which non-Western musics were to be studied, ethnomusicology could free the rest of music scholarship to focus solely on Western classical music. The chapter culminates in a close reading of Tracey’s paper entitled “The State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa” (1954). Here, Tracey and his contemporaries’ separate development stance is revealed. The underlying argument is that there was nothing new brought by the apartheid state in its Separate Development Policy (1958).¹¹ This only served to entrench in policy that which colonial actors like Tracey had already averred decades before.

¹¹ While 1960 may have been the beginnings of Separate Development as a state-enforced policy, this was by no means the first time this notion was averred in the South African context. As early as 1901, for example, prior to any state-enforced segregationist laws (such as the Group Areas Act of 1950), forced removals were already happening in Cape Town, where black people were placed on the peripheries of the city in Ndabeni on the Cape flats. By the 1930s the Cape Town municipality already had intentions of removing the multi-racial slums of District Six and Bo-Kaap (Shaw & Jones 1997). But even prior to this, in the nineteenth century, there were already hints of this uneasiness with regards to the ruling of natives. In dealing with this problem of native influx

2.1 Historicizing Tracey's work within the disciplinary formations of ethnomusicology

The early twentieth century was the time of great restructuring of civil society and the state in Europe and in its colonies. New modes of observation and regulation were being created. Arranging relationships between Europeans and Africans and 'other' Africans through differentiation became an effective tool through which the native population could be ruled and controlled. Academia, as a vehicle of knowledge, arranged society in binary oppositions much in line with modernist notions, such as the 'traditional' versus the 'modern', the uncivilized versus the civilized. It was during this time that anthropology became institutionalized as a discipline. Anthropology shaped itself in accordance with contemporary trends within the framework of dominant Western social and scientific thought (Thornton 1983). The outcome of this was an increase in anthropological 'expeditions' to Africa.

the British Government saw it necessary to take "effectual measures" to prevent natives beyond the boundaries from moving into the "Ceded Territory". The outcome of this uneasiness with ruling natives, was a "strong wish to control the tribes through treaties with their Chiefs (Brookes 1924: 13-14).

In his chapter discussing "The Beginnings of Native Policy in South Africa", Brookes (1924) notes a "perfectly clear" policy stance by the British Government in the 1830s:

That policy was (1) to avoid assuming the direct rule of the Native tribes, (2) to enter into treaties with the various Native chiefs on the basis of their independent sovereignty (Brookes 1924: 15).

Later in the chapter, commenting on the area of Natal (which is of particular interest for the purpose of my discussion) Brookes adds:

[the Colonial Office] desired both to *control* and to *civilise*. Denied the facilities for civilising, they had in the meantime to control, in the interests of a small and scattered white population... The only method of control—and it is an instance of Shepstone's peculiar administrative genius that he grasped the point and acted so speedily—was to recreate the tribal system artificially... [in the 1840s] It was found possible by Shepstone to gather scattered members of the tribes together, and even in some cases to find a scion of the old 'royal' house. In other cases, purely appointed Chiefs had to be given jurisdiction. The policy was a complete success for the first time being (Brookes 1924: 30-31). [my emphasis]

The words 'control' and 'civilise' highlight the dual nature of native rule. At one level, the colonial state was characterised by this desire to civilise the native—a task largely fulfilled by the missionaries (as discussed earlier in this chapter). At another level, the colonial state sought absolute control over native life—in order to do so the state had to gain control of the "uncaptured peasantry" (Mamdani 1996: 12). These were the natives who had not yet been civilised. However, for the viability of the state, it was worth shedding civilisation if it meant retaining order and control. This control could only be successfully achieved through the 'tribalization' of natives¹¹. This saw the emergence of what Mahmood Mamdani calls the "bifurcated state", a state in which rule was arranged differently in rural settings from urban ones. "It contained a duality: two forms of power under a single hegemonic authority. Urban power spoke the language of civil society and civil rights, rural power of community and culture", characterised by binaries of rights versus custom and freedom versus tradition (1991: 18).

These forms of power ultimately affected the way in which different people spoke and addressed the colonial state different ways. These were the underpinnings of Separate Development policy.

Anthropologists, based on their fieldwork experiences, granted scientific legitimacy to differences between Western and African societies. This is not to say that the representation of the 'savage'/ 'primitive' had not existed prior to then, but it is the fact that the discourse on 'savages' was, for the first time, a discourse in which an explicit political and economic power was conveyed and through which the apparent authority over [scientific] knowledge was exploited (Mudimbe 1988: 16). Under the guise of scientific impartiality anthropologists, ethnomusicologists and philologists raised concerns around the intellectual capabilities of natives and their ability to 'survive' in urban settings. On the other hand, these social scientists "could claim the ethnographic description of small-scale societies, as its professional domain" (Thornton 1983: 502). They held absolute authority over scientific knowledge and could determine the moral parameters of all humans. Science then could 'teach' non-normal societies how to function normally. In so doing, they could "simultaneously account for the normality, creative dynamism, and achievements of the 'civilized world' against the abnormality, deviance, and primitiveness of 'non-literate societies'" (Mudimbe 1988: 27).

From this perspective, the order of things is not the absolute, but rather a system of representation which could vacillate in order to suit the West. There is an underlying tension in scholarly methods that is brought to fore in the study of African societies. The tension exists between the object that is studied versus the subject who speaks for and represents the universal. The subject who knows is from the start always the West, power to speak is thus constituted as the exclusive territory of the West. Because the object is activated from outside, the consciousness that is invoked is foreign to the object. Filtered through this grid, the object appears as undisciplined. This disjuncture between thought and representation is often glossed over in the language that is used. In the interest of the external world, language operates in ways that conceal its genesis.

The epistemologies of the humanities, particularly the disciplines of history and anthropology in the representations of African societies, were very influential. These two disciplines have been the most dominant paradigms within the humanities, and have greatly informed musicology in its methodologies and theory in concrete terms (Qureshi 1995; 331). For Mudimbe:

both disciplines are concerned with remoteness and otherness: while history deals with remoteness in time, anthropology deals with remoteness in space. Second, their goal is

the same, namely, a better understanding of temporally or spatially different societies and, thus, a reconstruction, ‘a rewriting’ of what ‘has happened’ or of what ‘is happening’ in those societies (1988: 28).

History and anthropology are different only in their orientation but not in their concern. They are both concerned with explaining societies/events that occur in different time or space, a dramatization of what “‘has happened’ or what ‘is happening’ in those societies” but so far as they concern the West. The epistemological space created by the disciplines such as history and anthropology is a space (represented through discourses) in which stories about Others, as well as commentaries on their differences, are but elements in the history of the Same and its knowledge” (Mudimbe 1988: 28).

While the insights brought out by the disciplines claims to explain ‘differences’ (between Western societies and Other societies) they stem from the same order of knowledge. The insights that they bring therefore say much more about the culture in which they belong than the culture which they purport to explain. Out of this sameness-difference tension emerges the notion of “double representation” that characterizes Europeanist discourses of Africa. At one level, this ordering of signs seeks to accentuate similarities between Africans and Europeans and at another level, articulates the differences between the two. The result is a text that reveals a Western order of knowledge, portrayed through sameness, in its physical appearance and cultural affinity and yet is distinguished through its “accidental differences”(Mudimbe 1988: 8-9).

Notions of sameness and difference have played an important role in the formulation of hypotheses about African musical practice in the early twentieth century music scholarship (Waterman 1991: 170). Manifestations of discourse of sameness are evident in the refusal to recognize long-term differences and regarding each ‘culture’ as a thing on its own, a law unto itself. This is, as will be revealed below, at the heart of the discourse of separate development employed by Hugh Tracey. But before engaging with Tracey’s text head-on, it is necessary to place him within his historical specificity.

Tracey’s work emerges in the early twentieth century. This was quite a significant period in the study of African musical practice within the academic canon. Hornbostel’s 1928 article “African Negro Music”, was published in the very first edition of the ethnological journal of

Africa, was particularly seminal in this regard. This article is now considered as the first significant contribution towards the study of African music.

In his article, Hornbostel constructs an opposition between African and European music-making. Hornbostel fears “that the modern efforts to protect culture are coming too late”, that the music at hand is already ‘disappearing’ before music scholarship has figured out what Africa really *is*. Hornbostel goes on to advocate for rapid movement in the recording “by means of a phonograph” and preservation of African music for otherwise “we will not learn what it even was” (1928: 60). Christopher Waterman suggests that it was ultimately the pragmatics of preservation which demanded that African music be polarized from European music. Emphasising difference then was an effective strategy. Constructing stylistics of African music against Western music was a way of producing those differences. Such differences though were drawn in line with the prevailing power relations. They thus played a crucial role in the way in which Africans were represented, acting as markers of difference than as mere analytical tools.

Hornbostel’s analysis of African rhythm stems from his fear of the effects of modernity rather than from material differences and can be seen as part of his strategy of lobbying for more field recording. Slippages in Hornbostel’s ‘empirical analysis’ come out in the aesthetic judgements he imposes; he claims that a “musical pidgin” emerging as a result of the black and white mixture would be “most undesirable” (1928: 61). Hornbostel’s outcry on the preservation of African music stimulated a number of recording expeditions to Africa in the decades that followed. Hornbostel’s ideas on African music remained salient until the early 1940s, only to be replaced by a more refined theory by Richard Waterman. While Hornbostel saw African music as springing from motion as opposed to hearing, Richard Waterman based his explanation on the interaction of the two. Therefore, although more nuanced in approach, Richard Waterman’s position emerged from the same intellectual tradition as that of Hornbostel and it is interesting to note that neither of them ever conducted fieldwork in Africa. Christopher Waterman thus concludes:

At a more general level, both arguments were consonant with pervasive ideological patterns concerning the relationship of peoples of African and European descent...It is fair to note...that his [Hornbostel’s] ‘separate development’ approach to African and European musics, couched in the language of scientific common sense, is embedded

within a more inclusive culture pattern: that is the antireolization ideology evident in much scientific writing, art, and literature of Western Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, grounded in a fundamental ambivalence concerning Western-educated people of color (Waterman 1991: 175).

It was not until the post World War II period that ethnography became established as a prerequisite for any ethnomusicological assertion (Waterman 1991: 176). This, however, did not detract the discipline from its epistemic tradition (as the case of Hugh Tracey will reveal) which was grounded in Hornbostel's African rhythm claim. What it, in fact, effectively did was to crystallize these as reality. For any claim that was based on actual fieldwork data could not be disputed as it was perceived to be based on insider knowledge.

Ethnomusicologists in their claim of studying music in its context¹² effectively externalized themselves from the very real world of colonial domination and uneven development which they experience within the realm and legacy of the colonial enterprise. The proliferation of ethnomusicology has been framed by the success of this enterprise and has contributed to the ways in which others have been represented in musicological texts and in turn how they have come to represent themselves. No one could simultaneously blend-in, unnoticed and inconspicuous whilst still carrying the imperial power of colonialism and white privilege. In reality, concepts of culture and African rhythm (as Hornbostel's case reveals) were inextricably entangled to the histories and institutional forms of modernity itself. It is therefore no coincidence that these significant contributions by Hornbostel and later by Tracey were emerging at a time in which ethnomusicology was being established as a discipline from which knowledge about the other was being produced.

Ethnomusicologists have played a very significant shadow role within music scholarship, in their explicit interest in the music of the Other. For years ethnomusicologists have concerned themselves in the study of "extra-European and folk music". The non-European element of this definition has been the most strongly received (Merriam 1977). Residing on the margins of dominant musicology, ethnomusicology has sought to address the unmarked category of music. In their 'rescue mission', they have perpetually challenged the foundational assumptions about what constitutes music within the discipline as a whole. They have critiqued the logocentric

¹² See Merriam, Alan P. (1964).

grammars of music theory¹³ (believed to elicit the pure intentions of the composer). But by declaring this field of marginality as their exclusive domain, ethnomusicologists have also, simultaneously, played a foregrounding role in the construction of otherness through music. For, in claiming to study 'other' music, they adopted a "dichotomizing strategy" through which difference is produced.

By creating a specific domain in which otherness in music is articulated, ethnomusicologists have effectively institutionalised exclusionary practices within the academy. For if otherness is studied within "the residual remains of an elitist separation of others" there was no point in mainstream musicologists (who study the Western classical canon) extending beyond their own canonical limits since there exists a separate domain where the music of the other is studied. The result is other music is treated residually. Furthermore, the articulation of otherness within the discipline itself leads to the arbitrary categories being viewed as a reality. Since these categories are backed by empirical evidence. The presence of ethnomusicology as a domain within the discipline of musicology has contributed to the discipline's failure to become self-critical. It is not until towards the end of the twentieth century that music scholarship began really engaging with its positionality in relation to cultural production (Qureshi 1999: 310-316).

2.2 On the State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa

In this section, I examine the paradigm of separate development through a close reading of a paper delivered by Hugh Tracey, entitled "The State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa" (1954). Hugh Tracey came to Southern Africa after the First World War. It was while he was living in Southern Rhodesia that he fell in love with the African indigenous musics. Between the years 1936-1947 Hugh Tracey became the Director of the Natal Studios of the SABC ("The Durban Municipal Broadcasting Website" Accessed 18th September 2008). In this capacity, Tracey played a crucial role within the SABC Bantu bulletin department, with regards to the 'preservation' of a pre-colonial past in South African Bantu music. From the SABC's *Annual Report* (1941), the aim was to facilitate the following:

¹³ Martin Stokes, writing under the heading of 'Ethnomusicology: Contemporary theoretical issues' on *Grove Online Music Dictionary* writes: "Music theory emanating from the metropolitan centres often embodies cultural aspirations rather than social realities, and words used to describe musical procedures came to be seen as unreliable guides to musical experience, at best".

(1) the collection and filing of folk and other music from all parts of the country so as to preserve it, and (2) the proper arrangement and presentation of all South African music to a sufficiently high standard.

Following the SABC's mandate, Tracey, in turn, facilitated the recording of 'Bantu traditional music' and started archiving Bantu music. His work included the recording of performances, documenting and researching indigenous sounds throughout sub-Saharan Africa¹⁴. In addition to this Tracey scheduled the music for the Bantu service of the SABC using his field recordings.

In effect, the first radio sounds to be heard and regarded as African, were mediated through Tracey's experience in the field as an ethnomusicologist and through his employment position. Tracey wielded much power with regards to what was heard (and consequently became) African music. Due to his growing musical collection, Tracey established the *International Library of African Music* (ILAM) and the *African Music Society* in 1954 (Thram 2007; Lucia 2005: 44).¹⁵ He thus played a significant role in the constitution of what we have come to call the African music archive.

Tracey's paper, "The State of Folk Music in Africa" is a brief survey of Bantu music through three facets, namely "original folk music", "music in decay" and "music in construction". It was presented to the *International Folk Music Council* in 1954 as a funding proposal for his 'preservation project'.

Tracey's argument is as follows:

Before white people arrived in the interior of Africa the tribes were in a continual state of mutual hostility and it was unwise if not fatal for a member of any one tribe to wander outside his own territory unarmed. Lines of communication were limited to internal footpaths

¹⁴ He, in effect, according to Dian Thram fulfilled the four basic tasks performed by all archives, as identified by the International Association of Sound and Audiovisual Archives (IASA), namely acquisition, documentation, access, and preservation. In addition to this Tracey fulfilled another task, that of dissemination, as illustrated in the colonial Bantu service and in his sound recordings, culminating in two big projects, the *Sound of Africa* series and the *Music of Africa* series (Thram 2007).

¹⁵ This library is still in existence even up-to-today and is housed at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, under the directorship of Diane Thram.

and a few navigational rivers...Here, of course, environment played its part in determining the kind of musical instruments the tribe would be able to play (1954: 33).

The rest of his argument can be summarized as follows: since nature pre-determined the kind of music these tribes played, divorcing them from this landscape has had a detrimental effect to their music. It is the responsibility of whites to bring natives back to their 'natural' position, as they have not yet—due to their "mental state"—developed, "that civilised ability to treasure what is theirs by birthright" (1957: 36). He is particularly at pains with the level of musical "mediocrity" that the present-day urbanization of blacks has yielded, which although assuming new forms, is still based on a pre-colonial mentality, resulting in "strange things" happening to their rhythm (1957: 35).

In examining Tracey's paper, I am interested in his construction of the image of the 'native' rather than the validity of his 'facts', more specifically, his 'separate development' approach to African folk and European musics. Tracey's opinion was by no means in isolation, but was in fact consonant with prevailing discourses concerning the relationship between Africans and Europeans at the time. Often coated in the language of scientific rationality, separate development was deeply entrenched within a greater cultural discourse visible in much anthropological writing of his time (Waterman 1991).

Lasting connections can be drawn between his ideology of separate development and our present-day reality in post-apartheid South Africa as most public radio continues to be structured along ethnic lines. It has come to represent, in Mahmood Mamdani's words, "that part of the colonial experience—the institutional—which remains more or less in tact" (Mamdani 1996: 4) even after the racial aspect of colonialism has been addressed.

There are certain modes of viewing history ahistorically that emerge in Tracey's representation of Africa as well as African music. The first mode of representation can, in Fredrick Cooper's terms, be classified as "time flattening" (Cooper 2005: 406-407) in the sense that Tracey's somewhat romanticized view of pre-colonial Africa, essentializes a long period in history, as if Africa had been trapped in a fixed-frame of time prior to the arrival of Europeans. That is to say, before Europe's nineteenth century invasion of the continent, Africa had no history.

Peter Ekeh, in his study of the Ibadan school, writes in detail about the relationship between Africa and Europe in Ancient times. The two continents were joined by the “tranquil waters of the Mediterranean Sea”, with their empires intertwined. He goes on to say that it was the overwhelming success of the Arab conquest of Africa (in about the seventh century C.E.) that divided the two, such that by the fifteenth century, when Europe tried to make contact with Africa again, “Europeans and Africans were total strangers to themselves” (1997: 2-3). Significant in Ekeh’s argument, for the purpose of this discussion, is the fact that Africans had been in contact with Europe as well as other parts of the world before ‘modern’ colonial encounters. Even within Africa, chiefdoms had been dividing, conquering and merging with one another for centuries. In accordance with the unfolding exchanges of power, folk music has also been undergoing perpetual transformation.

Time flattening can be traced in the Western tendency of reading history backwards, placing modernity as the centre of this temporal universe, such that whatever happened before modernity is shelved under the great umbrella term of ‘premodern’. This sequential arrangement of history, situates modernity (an era which saw the rise of Europe as a dominant force) at the centre of ‘history’, filtering all global historical events (even ones before European contact) into the Western discourse of modernity. Time flattening results in a grid of knowledge and power which filters African history (and indeed world history) into Western consciousness, such that it becomes impossible to speak of any history without referring to Europe.

Secondly, is the tendency which Frederick Cooper calls “leapfrogging legacies” (2005: 405). That is the habit of jumping from one point in history to another without considering (or even ignoring) the time in between. It is to go from point A to C without taking into account point B. In the case of Tracey, this would pertain to his quest for pre-colonial African music and then complain about the present “decay” of that same music (1954: 34-35). The actual cause of this dislocation (that is the colonialism and its struggles) goes unchallenged. Tracey simply views it as the “vissitudes of the industrial revolution which is sweeping across their continent” (1954: 36). He fails to consider the violent and exploitative nature of this encounter and the manner in which new forms of social organization were imposed on the native people of the land. In so doing, he omits a crucial aspect of the colonial experience thus reducing the role of the British Empire in the ‘destruction’ of that tradition.

Tracey and his contemporaries (such as Percival Kirby and Rueben T. Caluza) were against the evolution of African music towards forms which incorporated European musical elements (Erlmann 1991). They saw this move as absolute 'heresy' as they felt that the 'purity' of African music could only be retained through its segregation from the whole system of Western civilization, because black musicians have this uniqueness about them, as seen in their wildness of rhythm which makes them different from white musicians. Tracey's essentialist view of African music as something "invariably practical" (1954: 33) shaped in accordance with their 'wildness', projects an image of a musician whose foremost qualification for playing music is his/her close resemblance to a savage.

Percival Kirby writing in the 1930s was mainly interested in the continuity of 'authentic' African musical practices¹⁶ and strongly dismissed the Western tainted African music as having "nothing of lasting value" (Kirby 1967: 140). Kirby and Tracey (and to a lesser extent Caluza) were influential thinkers on the role of music on the natives in everyday life on the mines, in rural areas and in education¹⁷ (Erlmann 1991: 149). The works of Kirby and his contemporaries held a "strong bias against any music that was not based on traditional idioms" (Erlmann 1991: 1). This disavowal of any resemblance to modernity in native music was based on the assumption that modernizing could not destroy the native's predilection for traditional life.

In 1938 Tracey was involved in plans to build an *ingoma* dance arena in Durban (a move aimed at regulating the practice of the dance within the city). He saw the *ingoma* as a traditional practice which should be formalized so that natives could learn to appreciate what was their own. However, Tracey's move to formalize *ingoma* coincided with the increasing "anxiety" over the dance by the urban white dwellers in Durban who saw its military qualities as insurrectionist and unacceptable in the context of an urban environment (Erlmann 1991: 108, 98).

¹⁶ Kirby also had an interest in Western Classical music and was involved in the selection of 'Die Stem' by M. L. de Villiers for the national anthem of South Africa in 1925 (Lucia 2005: 33).

¹⁷ Kirby and Tracey were both members of the advisory committee on music at the School of Music at Adams College (Erlmann 1991: 149). Adams was one of the leading black music centres of the time. The School was established through the funds given by the American Board of Missions and placed a lot of emphasis in Western Classical music education. It was under the leadership of Reuben T. Caluza, from 1936-1948, that the School gained its African 'traditional' dimension (Erlmann 1991: 150).

The third mode in which Tracey represents Africans is a more complex form of 'double representation' through the "process of aesthetization" (Mudimbe 1988: 10). Here, Africans are, on the one hand, integrated into the Western epistemological order of culture, in their ability to produce good music. On the other hand, their surface differences (i.e. their "mental state") as humans are revealed, in their inability to "treasure what it theirs by birthright". The significance of the music in its 'native context' is disregarded in this aesthetic evaluation. African music then 'acquires' an originality from the broad differences between the African and the Westerner, not through any native-informed aesthetic judgement. This third mode of representing African music is woven into Rueben Caluza's view of African music. Caluza speaks of the "urgent need for the recognition by the Bantu of merits by their own music" (Caluza speech; *Ilanga lase Natal* 5/12/1942). He, however, adds his own dynamic in this perspective, informed by his local and global experiences.

Influenced by his stay in North America (where he engaged with African-American musicians), Caluza's stance towards music shifted from the 1920s when he had carried mixed feelings towards the role of music on the natives. Upon his return in the 1930s, Caluza became more overt in his stance, taking in some of Hugh Tracey's own "segregationist views" on music in Africa and combining this with his own recognition of diasporic linkages with African-American traditions.

Speaking as Head of the Adams School of Music at the inauguration meeting of the Natal Bantu Music Association in 1942 in Durban, Caluza launches an appeal "to the newly-formed Music Association for the preservation and development of indigenous Music". Through doing so, he believes, "African Music shall receive the recognition that is its due" (Caluza speech; *Ilanga lase Natal* 5/12/1942). His efforts culminated in the reworking of the syllabus at Adams, using black folk traditions, namely indigenous Zulu music and Negro Spirituals. He also became involved in the making of recordings of traditional music from rural areas and choral music (eg: William J. Mseleku's *Royal Amanzimtoti Entertainers*¹⁸), which were broadcast on radio (Erlmann 1991: 150).

¹⁸ William Mseleku was a Zulu composer who studied at the Mariannhill Training College and then later went on to further his studies in music and social science in Manchester. Whilst there, Mseleku started making recordings with the B.B.C., culminating in his participation in the Empire Broadcast of 1940 (Huskisson 1969: v).

Caluza saw a direct link between the African-American and local Bantu traditions and felt that this link should be emphasized as the two represent legitimate black expressions. There was something empowering in the ability to import something from abroad which could be labelled/branded as black music. Seeing the strides his African-American counterparts had made in producing and popularizing music of 'their own', Caluza adopted a discourse of legitimation towards African music and culture. This is a discourse which seeks to legitimize anything that may be deemed African, in opposition to discourses which view 'progress' as the assimilation of anything Western and the failure to do so as regression to the primitive. As reported in *Ilanga lase Natal* of that year, Caluza criticized those who:

condemned the annual Shaka celebrations held at Adams College on the grounds that these celebrations were a reversion to primitiveness and were therefore a retardation of African advancement. Particularly vocal in condemning the donning of Zulu national costumes on these occasions, said Mr. Caluza, were certain sections of the religious movements helped by so-called highbrows with no real understanding of Music. To these people, the appearance of boys and girls in Zulu dress was an encouragement to moral laxity. Mr. Caluza vigorously challenged opponents of the celebrations to show that this is the case, as young men and women who have never donned Zulu national dress in their lives are no credit to their Western clothes (*Ilanga lase Natal* 5/12/1942).

The African nationalist tone of Caluza's plea is undeniable. Yet, in the same speech, Caluza takes on evolutionist currencies by suggesting that a comparative study of Western Music and Bantu Music has shown him that Bantu Music "was going through stages through which Western Music had gone and was emerging as a distinctive Art form" (*Ilanga lase Natal* 5/12/1942) thereby invoking the same notions of 'progress' that he is so critical of.

In this sense, Caluza forms a useful case point in illustrating the multi-layeredness and complexity of the discourses which we inherit. On one level, this discourse, most often adopted by native elites, seeks to legitimate all that is African, and preserve its purity, much in the same way as Tracey's project did. On another level, this discourse speaks to the embeddedness of the native elite individual in the very 'modern' culture that he feels is stifling African artistic expression. In his quest to legitimate, he cannot resist comparing African music to the development of Western music, thereby reinscribing notions of otherness.

In his position of authority (as the one of the most ‘respected’ African musicologists) Caluza tries to dictate what African music is supposed to be, giving praise to genres such as *ingoma* and criticizing those with Christian elements. By his reversal attempt, Caluza disavows the reality of religious conversion and modernity and in so doing, ultimately, replicates the history of the Same. The underlying assumption behind Caluza’s overt stance (an argument that all disciplines push for) is of “social evolution” in which knowledge acts as a form of power (Mudimbe 1988: 27). The course of reasoning this assumption follows is that Africans cannot appreciate the aesthetics of what is their own because they lack the knowledge to do so. ‘Since I (the educated, the trained musicologist) have been endowed with this wisdom, it is my duty to ensure that they are enlightened to the aesthetics of this which is ours.’ In this incapacity of Africans to appreciate what is their own, one crucial thread is omitted, that is the effects of missionary conquest and its outright intolerance of anything African. Missionary intervention is, of course, a not-so-distant cousin of colonialism.

Significant to mention though is that these preservationist voices were not merely heard, but were actively contested. Writing in *Ilanga las Natal*, two years earlier, Aureole asserts:

Of course paying attention to our Folk Dancing does not mean that we should abandon other forms of dancing like Ball-room Dancing, as advocated by some people who seem very anxious to preserve the integrity of our Nation and yet with the same amount of anxiety seem unwilling to meet satisfactorily the questions that arise from the adoption by one people of a civilization which had hitherto been strange to them (Aureole; *Ilanga lase Natal* 5/10/1940).

Aureole’s voice is certainly not in isolation. I found several articles in *Ilanga* and *Imvo* which expressed a similar sentiment.

2.3 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the multi-bounded nature of the discourses employed by Tracey and his contemporaries. The prevalence of the same representational tendencies in these works, from Hornbostel to even Caluza (who was a native himself) demonstrates the powerful nature of discourse, in its ability of moving transnationally and transracially.

Moreover, the historical underpinnings of such discourses, influenced by the conquest of Africa in the nineteenth century, by anxieties over the native question emerging in the rise of a significant Bantu urban population and the colonial state's attempt at regulating this phenomenon. The underlying aim has been to situate separate development discourse historically, in order to show that there was nothing new that apartheid brought in the way in which natives were ruled—it only served to intensify some of those aspects of white rule, by entrenching them in legislative and regulatory frameworks and by an increased patrolling of its citizens. In doing so, I hope to stimulate more critical examination of colonial processes and to move away from apartheid-centred histories in music. It is, in my view, a somewhat ahistorical tendency in itself, to view musical developments from such a limited and brief period in our history.

The development of black radio certainly reflects this discourse. While *Radio Bantu* was formally established in the 1960s, native broadcasts had been running for the past two decades (since the 1940s). Similarly, therefore, there was nothing new that *Radio Bantu*, informed by Separate Development policy of the time (see Hamm 1991), added to the discourses around black radio. It only served to concretize the state's interest in gaining control over the native population, by outlining it in policy. The focus, therefore, on early black broadcasting (in the 1940s) as is done in this dissertation, can demonstrate this history of the Same.

3. Performing Zuluness: K.E. Masinga and *The Zulu Radio Choir* in a modern-state

On the 43rd celebrations of *Ukhozi* FM's existence, Nkosi Hadebe, when asked by Alex Mthiyane if he thinks there is any change in the way in which things are done now in the radio station than they were before, he responded as follows:

Lukhulu kakhulu uguquko. Uguquko ludalwa yini? Ludalwa yisikhathi nanokushintsha kwezinto. Ngakhoke singesho kakhulu sithi uguquko lolu olukhona aluzanga nezinto ezinhle noma liza nezinto ezimbi. Uguquko oluqhutshwa yisikhathi esesiphila kusona kanye nendlela esekuhehwa ngayo abalaleli...Ngakho ke mina ngibona uguquko lukhona kodwa ngeke sithi kwangcono kuqala noma sebengcono manje kunakuqala.

I think the change is very great. What is the actual cause of this change? We must bear in mind that change comes with moving times, with things evolving. Therefore, we cannot say this change has been a bad thing or a good thing. It is change driven by the times we live in as well as the way in which increasing listenership has become emphasized... We lived at a different time and the function of radio then was different from the way it is now. (06/2003)

Hadebe's response plays a foregrounding role to the argument of this dissertation. I am particularly interested in the way Hadebe self-constructs the notion of change. For him this is neither a good nor a bad thing, but rather an inevitability—occurring as a result of moving times. Hadebe's observation may at first glance seem quite obvious. However, part of the lingering legacies of colonialism has been the tendency to view Africans in ahistorical ways—projected through transitory shots, Africans have indeed been frozen in time. By viewing change as a necessity for survival, Hadebe highlights the unsettling effect of change. In its ability to resist fixed interpretations, change *can* in fact be seen to create a rupture of some kind, disrupting the very fixity which colonial modes of evidence try to preserve. It, paradoxically, displaces the idea of a continuum in history (between precolonial and colonial times) which colonial histories try to convey.

Hadebe's voice stands in contradistinction to the view posited by Tracey. In describing the change happening in black popular music (in his Preface to *Lalela Zulu*), Tracey writes

Where the music is *genuinely* of Zulu origin, composed in the tradition of Zulu music, we have classified it as “Country Zulu”. But besides this there are many degrees of *adulteration* by European melodies and harmony, primarily through the teaching of the schools and missions, and, secondly, by the use of European instruments of which the piano and guitar are in the forefront (Tracey 1948: v). [my own emphasis]:

Unlike Hadebe who appears to be praising the effects of change, Tracey, on the other hand, seems to be lamenting the effects of colonial transformations on native music. Invoking missionary speech and its moral judgements of the “authority of the truth” (Mudimbe 47), he deems certain native music as “*adulterated*” through their incorporation of Western elements. If we are to follow Tracey’s logic, then those musicians who have indeed incorporated Western elements have sinned. They have been corrupted by the changes arising out of the colonial encounter. What is different here in relation to missionary discourses of the 19th century is that righteousness is no longer seen as only through God/Westernization. Instead, it is ostensibly defined in the natives’ own terms, which are in line with their level of development and mental capacity as inferior beings. This “does not mean a retrogression towards the so-called ‘Primitive’”(Tracey 1948: vi) as had been previously suggested in 19th century discourses, but an unearthing of what truly belongs to ‘them’ (natives) which does not belong to ‘us’ (Europeans). Such a tainting of Zulu/black culture is merely an “artificial convention” (vi) according to Tracey and it does not capture the essence of the native in his/her own terms. Once the native has ‘grasped’ this teaching and realizes the functional role of music in his/her survival, s/he would be led to the path to righteousness. He goes on to argue that:

From the musical point of view, it is only the country songs which have anything substantial to contribute: the remainder are largely imitations of what foreign teachers have taught them and achieve a dead level of mediocrity (Tracey 1948: v-vii).

Here, Tracey outrightly dismisses the value of non-‘Country Songs’ which blacks have created. He goes on to criticise blacks who perform this corrupted form of music. In doing so, Tracey is purporting for the display of what, in his eyes, would constitute ideal Zulus.

Tracey’s work prescribes the portrayal of ideal Zulus. Hadebe’s statement, in this sense, can be seen as an indirect discursive confrontation of Tracey and his prescriptive viewpoint. It forms a useful springboard from which we may begin to challenge such a limited projection of the Zulu and its representation.

In this chapter I present two issues: Firstly, a book by Hugh Tracey called *Lalela Zulu*, published in 1948. The book represents a collection of one hundred Zulu song-texts translated into English, all of which had been played on the Zulu radio service in its formative years in the 1940s. Secondly, I present *The Zulu Radio Choir*. The choir is listed on the database of performers of the songs in *Lalela Zulu*. The database was attached as an appendix at the back of Tracey's book. I then used the appendix list of gramophone records where all the lyrics were taken as a way of searching for recordings at the SABC archives in Durban and Johannesburg. Out of the list of records I had, *The Zulu Radio Choir* was the only one we (me and the SABC archivist) could find in the archives. We found one record in which the name of the choir appeared, but even on this record I could not find the exact songs used in *Lalela Zulu*.¹⁹

The presence of *The Zulu Radio Choir*, along with other similar groups, on radio and in *Lalela Zulu* challenges the fixed notion of ideal Zulus which Tracey conveys in his text. In this chapter, I look at *The Zulu Radio Choir* in relation to Tracey's stipulations in *Lalela Zulu*. Using Judith Butler's notion of identity performativity, I argue that the presence of the choir on radio sought to performatively challenge the regulation of what constitutes Zulu. In so doing, they subversively destabilize the very political gains which the colonial state hoped to achieve through the native broadcasts. This instant recalls Judith Butler's warning on the mobilization of identity categories for politicization; such a mobilization, she writes, will "always remain threatened by the prospect of identity becoming an instrument of power one opposes" (1999: xxvii).²⁰ The use of Zulu radio as a weapon to gain power over Zulu speakers always faced the danger of being threatened by the very native uprising which it opposes.²¹

²⁰ Butler is writing against a very specific historical frame. She is at pains with a "pervasive heterosexual assumption" in feminist theory and the "exclusionary gender norms" set up by this practice, which often carries along with it homophobic consequences. Butler is concerned with the idealization of certain expressions of gender, at the expense of those who do not comply (1999: viii). The violent imposition of exclusionary norms essentializes and naturalizes the everyday experiences of women, in this sense, to be female is:

a facticity which has no meaning, but to be a woman, is to have *become* a woman, to compel the body to conform to an historical idea of 'woman', to induce the body to become a cultural sign, to materialize oneself in obedience to an historically delimited possibility, and to do this as a sustained and repeated corporeal 'project' (1988: 522)

To view gender (and by extension identity) as performative therefore seeks to show that "what we take to be an internal essence of gender is manufactured through a sustained set of acts, posited through the gendered stylization of the body" (1988: 519). These set of acts, in turn, facilitate the formation of the identity of the actor but also constitute stereotypes around the actor. This process is reiterated over and over again until these identities become an "object of belief" (1988: 520). Through the imposition of gender norms, gender differences are established and regulated along "universal axes of sexual difference" (1999: 11). It is through this historical "sedimentation" of

3.1 Representations of Zulus in History

In history, the Zulu kingdom has been one of the most “centralised and coherent” stories of an African indigenous group (La Hausse 2000: 7). The coherency of this story allowed early colonial administrators to impose fixed interpretations of the Zulu, linking from the pre-colonial Zulu Kingdom to the twentieth century Zulu reality. To most indigenous people, however, the Zulu, as a signifier of an ethnically specific group occupying a geographically designated area, did not exist prior to the colonizing project.

Early missionaries, philologists and anthropologists in South Africa tended to ignore the fluidities in language and cultural practices between the various closely linked indigenous groups in their classification of chiefdoms. In fact most of these categories were quite arbitrary in nature and were largely based on trends prevailing in the nineteenth century. However, what their writings did once they were engraved on paper to freeze individuals within these limiting categories.²² Writing then was a significant part of the discovery and it served to inscribe a consistent reading of Zulus. The discovery of Africa was more meaningful as a “discovery on paper (Thornton 1983: 505) than as an indication of *real* experiences of ordinary individuals on

acts that the body comes to acquire its reality (1999:191). Sediment is by its nature inconsistent and discontinuous and, for Butler, continuity is only sustained precisely through the reiteration of acts. There is therefore “nothing to the actor that bears or carries a continuous identity, except the repeated performance of the role” (Digeser 1994: 657). Nonetheless, there remains violent consequences for those who fail to comply with this “phantasmatic” continuity which is in reality “impossible to embody” (1990: 141).

²¹ What are the implications of Butler’s insights for our work on Zulu identity? This is what she has to say:

I would therefore suggest that the question to ask is not whether the theory of performativity is transposable onto race, but what happens to the theory when it tries to come to grips with race (Butler 1999: xvi).

The question posed by Butler here is quite pertinent. She highlights the dangers involved in the direct translation of one account of discourse to another. While some of their most powerful elements express themselves in similar ways, gender oppression and racial/ethnic oppression are not the same. Therefore, any account that tries to use performativity theory cross-referentially, without critically examining its constraints and foundations of being (located in gender theory), cannot adequately reflect nor explain differences in contexts and phenomena. It is in fact a totalizing attempt to assume that the two would necessarily be interchangeable. My work can, thus, be seen as an exploration of the question of performativity coming to grips with race.

²² Cynthia Ward provides a provoking account of these categories. Restrictive views were imposed in order to: facilitate religious proselytizing—enabling missionaries to standardize grapholects into which the bible could be translated—and later ethnographic objectification—establishing fixed objects of study that could be described, ‘known’, and thus controlled (Ward 1997: 124).

the ground. Similarly, with the advent of recording technology, recording became a significant means through which African music could be established as a corpus of work, to be stored in the archive. It was a means through which Zulu music could be studied and preserved.

Archival processes, whether they be in writing or in audio recordings, were a significant means through which native bodies could be regulated and compelled into a performance of the ideal.

3.2 Tracey's performance of ideal native subjects: Lalela Zulu

Recording technology and its playback capabilities brought about a new era in the history of music. It initiated a mediated musical experience through phonographs, gramophone and other apparatus. Ethnomusicology as a discipline has been one of its main beneficiaries (Shelemay 1991: 277). Yet, there has been very little scholarship within the discipline of the integral relationship between recording technology and ethnomusicology. Recordings have been central to ethnomusicology's discovery of 'other' worlds. It has stood as verifying mechanism to one's experience of exotic sounds, confirming that one has indeed been *there*. In its ability to 'capture and preserve' that moment, recording technology appeared as hardcore fact, without any need for substantiation. Its appeal, acting as a stand-in for people, cultures, even civilizations added its unquestionable force.

Audio recordings purported to convey music 'in itself', free from its external relation and its way of coming into being. This was not a new notion in Western discourse on music, what E. T. A Hoffmann declared as the 'sprit realm', writing in the nineteenth century. Very much like music in notation, audio recordings privileges the packaged material over the 'real' context, thereby helping to shape a hierarchy of music in relation to its own image (Qureshi 1991: 313). Hornbostel (the so-called father of ethnomusicology) saw the ability of the phonograph to isolate music from its context as "positive development that removed a primary distraction in the analytical process" (Shelemay 1991: 280). Such an absolutist conception of music is entrenched in historical notions of composers operating as agents of divine intervention (Cook 1998: 32). These composers supposedly operate at an order at which those granted privileged access might unravel its forms to us and from whose authoritative disclosure we gain a 'true' insight about the music. This kind of abstraction can offer no useful insight in the way music actually exists and in the way it is experienced and understood differently in different contexts.

In fact, music's embeddedness in process (Bohlman 2001: 19) means that it cannot be removed from those conditions through which it is instantiated.

Recording technology emerged at a time (1888) of great restructuring of civil society and the role of the state in Europe and its colonies (Shelemay 1991: 277). It was a time when new practices of observation and regulation were being created. The availability of recording technology gave rise to the establishment of archives by ethnomusicologists. In the African context, Hugh Tracey played a significant role in this endeavour. In the Newsletter of the African Music Society, of which Tracey was the honorary secretary, there are numerous accounts of his recording expeditions, where he recorded "a wide variety of songs from nearly thirty different language groups". Later in the Newsletter the 'evidential force' of the medium is emphasized, where it reads: "we believe the aural evidence of the phonographic record is a better guide than the visual evidence of an inadequate and foreign notation" (October 1949). This comment is in relation to Tracey's then recently published book called *Lalela Zulu*. The book is a collection of one hundred Zulu lyrics translated into English. The Zulu songs in the book had "all been broadcast from the Durban studios of the SABC" in the first five years of native broadcasting (Tracey 1948: v). The rationale behind the capturing of Bantu music was, as mentioned in the previous chapter, linked to an anxiety over the disintegration of Bantu culture and placed a huge emphasis on preservation.

There is little doubt that Tracey's title of his book *Lalela Zulu* was taken from the title of Isaiah Shembe's most well known hymns of the same name. In fact, Tracey recorded this song in 1948 under the label Gallotone. Writing on Isaiah Shembe's hymns Carol Muller interrogates Tracey's role in the recording of these hymns. She accuses Tracey for placing women far away from the microphone so that they can be barely heard over the dominant male voices. She goes on to read this act as indicative of Tracey's own view of the function of women—as being "implicitly peripheral" (Muller 2005: 285-286). The performative quality of recording technology (in its ability to conceal its genesis) could easily be manipulated thereby minimizing Tracey's presence. However, such a presence is significant in a technology that mimics a live performance, whose value is assessed in relation to its closeness to a 'true' performance. The placing of women on the periphery during the recording process bears a mark in the work Tracey produces. Muller's reading provides an alternative platform through which we might understand musical recordings themselves as a performative arrangement. From this perspective (by looking at the performative qualities of music), we might shift our

analytical focus slightly from studying music in itself—its internal essence—to looking at the specific gestures and rituals through which it is established as a reality and in which we feel its presence. It is interesting to add that for a long time access to such material was explicitly denied by the SABC (see Erlmann 1991: xx). In such a system there could be only one channel through which the history of the making of these recordings could be told, which conveniently projected through Tracey as the head of SABC at the time.

Aligning such a project with Tracey was a significant part of the display, for preservation needed to be shown to be a priority in which the state had invested in and which was done out of genuine concern. There are, however, signals of refusal from the very musicians Tracey claims to convey. As will be shown below, the audio recordings of *The Zulu Radio Choir* (who are listed in *Lalela Zulu* (1948)) reveal Western modes of performance through musical gesture, dress, ritual and in the process of naming—all of which would seem to go against Tracey's ideal. From these people's experience, as native musicians and performers, the idealization of Zuluness is performatively challenged.

3.3 Gestures of Refusal and Silence

Very little information on the choir itself and its members is available. Nonetheless here, I am more interested in what *The Zulu Radio Choir* represented than in the choir in itself. There were many groups operating under a similar tradition throughout Southern Africa. Erlmann (1991) discusses these extensively; similarly Turino (1993) notes the existence of such groups in Zimbabwe. Both of these (Erlmann and Turino) have served as valuable secondary sources in my reading of the choir. It can be taken for granted, therefore, that when I refer to *The Zulu Radio Choir*, I am referring specifically to the discourse which the choir represented.

The rise of urban popular culture can be closely linked to the emergence of communities of *amakholwa* (the converted or the believers) who drew on various cultural models locally and abroad (Erlmann 1991: 59). This resulted in new ways of thinking and acting, deeply engraved with ideas of Western civilization and modernity. Comprising of better-paid workers, such as teachers, clerks, nurses, priests and other professionals this group defined itself based on its capital gains. It was precisely because class offered them an opportunity of social upward-mobility—something which neither race nor geographical heritage could. Slowly a distinctive

tradition began to emerge which was strongly linked to the educated natives assertion of their middle-class status.

In the 1930s various types of urban popular styles of music were emerging in Southern Africa. These styles incorporated a variety of elements from missionary education, bioscope films and minstrel shows and consisted predominately of Western classical music, hymns, English ballads and African-American ballads. Largely modelled on North American²³ negro styles, these styles were strongly associated with middle-class performers, audiences and events (Erlmann 1991: 22, 59). The new urban based classes rated themselves in accordance to their degree of assimilation to Western values and culture. Turino calls this a “local cosmopolitanism” and describes it as a style which articulated civilisation within colonial discourse, but more broadly speaking involved a re-definition of categories of class and race in British colonial Africa (1993: 119).

The Zulu Radio Choir was in keeping with this tradition. By choosing to call themselves a choir the group situated themselves within a particular performative arrangement which was distanced from ‘standard practice’ amongst indigenous music practitioners. For the term ‘choir’ already tells us from the start that this is no ordinary singing group, these are choristers trained in a ‘refined’ style of performance practice. Erlmann suggests that the names that these choirs employed signalled “confidence in ‘progress’ and ‘improvement’” which were keywords of the educated black middle-class (1991: 60). Aligning themselves with this style meant aligning themselves with a particularly ‘modern’²⁴ style of formal singing, incorporating western performance rituals of stage performance and musical gesture. Performing modernity was thus a significant point in which the urban-based middle class could position themselves in relation to the world.

²³ African-American (negro) influences in South Africa came about from the performances of the likes of Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers from 1898-1918. Erlmann suggests that the relationship between natives’ and African-Americans’ styles were particularly intensified by the arrest of Richard H. Collins, a member of the group in at a train station outside Durban in 1898. This incident created an increasing awareness of the a shared history of racial oppression amongst black South Africans and their African-American counterparts (1991: 22-23). The incident enhanced the transatlantic political and cultural exchange. Rueben Caluza, as mentioned in the previous chapter, was one the leading figures in the field of music (as the head of Adams College) who had travelled to North America in the 1930s.

²⁴ Modern in the sense that it came about as a result of modernity and its quest to create identikit citizens, who were equal in the eyes of the law and also understood the conventions demanded of civil subjects.

Yet, at the same time, their relation with indigenous traditions (from which they had become ostensibly distanced) was far more complex. One need not look further than their name once again in order to see this complexity of relation: the mere fact that the group called itself Zulu shows that they held a particular alliance with the ethnic group that may be considered Zulu. One of the songs on the recording “Ingoma Yakusihlwa” (literally meaning ‘the evening song’) is in the Zulu language. They were therefore, simultaneously with modernity, performing Zuluness. However, by choosing to juxtapose the term ‘Zulu’ with the notion of being a ‘choir’ means that they themselves saw their Zulu legacy as not so much of a hinderance to their ‘acquired’ civilized state. So already, in their name, *The Zulu Radio Choir* was aligning themselves with a particularly hybrid identity.

In order to understand the interface between the modern and Zulu traditional as more complex than meets the eye one has to look at the actual singing itself. “Ingoma Yakusihlwa” is a Christian hymn, very much in the traditional Western Chorale singing style. This is a very common singing style in Western church music and is characterised by a relatively homophonic movements in harmony and in rhythm.²⁵ The text of the hymn, which is in Zulu, might mislead the onlooker to believe that this is a song entrenched in African indigenous music practice, but the style is definitely of sacred liturgical character. The sacredness of the piece, as a hymn, was well understood by the choir itself and the audience of its days. This kind of singing was acquired through missionary education and church attendance and was therefore a signifier of one’s educational attainment. This kind of music arrangement, combining indigenous language and Western singing was an attempt at purifying traditional Zulu song to meet the standards of refinement demanded by middle-class audiences. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Reuben Caluza, as one of the leading musical proponents of this group, represents this tension between modern forms and Zulu traditional idioms. At one level his discourse seeks to legitimate African practices. It is a discourse of avowal. Yet, on another level, this discourse seeks to inscribe middle-class cultural practices within Western artistic forms, like the chorale hymn singing, stage performance, musical gesture (illustrated in crescendo-effects, homophonic singing).

²⁵ This style of music, pioneered by J.S. Bach has become part ‘standard’ literature in musicology as a discipline in the study of Western Classical music. It is said to be useful for teaching purposes due to its uniform movement of the voices and relatively consistent harmonic rhythm, which is almost always on the beat (see Kennan, Kent (1972)).

Places like the Ohlange Institute and Adams College (where Caluza was the head of music) were great centres of excellence, where education was coupled with rigorous activities involving music and church. Singing, therefore, in this “school singing style”, as Turino (2000: 124) calls it, was seen as ‘progressive’ and indexed a state of being ‘cultured’. From this viewpoint, *The Zulu Radio Choir*’s recording of the hymn ‘Ingoma Yakusihlwa’ can be seen as a performative of their educational attainment and perhaps their degree of knowledge of music. This is evident in the music through the carefully placed phrases, swelling at the beginning (a crescendo effect) and fading-out at cadence point. Natural inflections of the Zulu language are to a large extent disregarded in their singing. Words are often treated syllabically, with each syllable being given equal emphasis, such that these may sound as if they are words on their own while they were not.

The uniform precision in the phrasing of the singing strongly suggest, even without prior knowledge, that the choir was conducted. A studio recording of musical performance is in itself an agent which tends to “conceal its genesis” (Butler 1999). Studio recordings in their nature usually claim to capture into disc the ‘real’ which may be experienced in live performance. Recording apparatus tries to distance itself from the very performance which it tries to convey.

The uniformity of the group is also exhibited in the choice of attire. Western choir traditions place a lot of emphasis in uniformity, not only in the homophonic movements in harmony and rhythm, but also in attire. During stage performances the choir would have probably employed Western choral singing conventions. In Western choral singing there is a clear division between the audience versus the performer. The roles that the two factions play within a concert rendition differ considerably. The role of the musician is to deliver the performance and that of the audience to appreciate. The audience’s intervention is only permitted at specifically designated points of the performance. Even this intervention itself is restricted simply to applause. In Southern African indigenous music practices, on the other hand, collective group performance is a driving feature (see Rycroft; 1975/6). Here, there is no distinction between the performer and the audience; everyone involved is, at once, a performer as well as an audience member.

The new urban middle-class audiences though were well in-tune with these performance rituals. Such performances were also taking places in newly built town halls and other similar formal performance venues. The increase in popularity of formal concert venue was in part in

response to the urban municipalities' interest in African recreation. More 'rurally' inclined genres like in *ingoma* were increasingly being viewed with much animosity by urban white rulers; the militaristic display of such genres were seen as promoting native insurrection. In 1938 Tracey was involved in plans to build an *ingoma* dance arena in Durban (a move aimed at regulating the practice of the dance within the city). He saw the *ingoma* as traditional practice which should be formalized so that natives can learn to appreciate what is their own. Tracey's move to formalize *ingoma* coincided with the increasing "anxiety" over the dance by the urban white dwellers in Durban who saw its military qualities as insurrectionist and unacceptable in the context of an urban environment (Erlmann 1991: 108, 98). Therefore, from this, it is clear that establishment of formal performance arenas for black entertainment were part of much wider attempt at regulating the performance and lives of native urban dwellers.

For middle-class audiences, adherence to Western performance practice was a way of distancing themselves from the uncivilized labourers and paved the way for them to legitimize their leadership interests (Erlmann 1991: 69). Many of those who headed such native performance institutions were taken from the upper echelons of black society, they were the preachers, choir conductors and municipal clerks. In Masinga's interview, he mentions some of the great acts of the time and plays an extract of one of the songs entitled "Tayin hholo", which is a kind of Zulu-ization of the term Town Hall (Interview on *Radio Zulu*; 16/06/1980). The singers proudly proclaim that "*Yithi thina labafana abase tayin hholo*" (We are the boys of town hall).

Tracey's role is largely absent in the interview of K. E. Masinga recorded as part of the celebrations of *Radio Zulu*'s existence (Done in 16/06/1980). But in the 'technology of recording' itself Tracey is given much prominence, with the concealed presence of Masinga. The archives of ILAM (International Library of African Music) in Grahamstown are totally indebted to the achievements of Tracey, with very little mention of Masinga. Interestingly, though in the same interview with Masinga during the *Radio Zulu* celebrations, Masinga provides a vivid account of how he would travel far-and-wide all over South Africa, pleading with leaders and musicians to allow them permission to record their music. He speaks as follows:

Ngayiyengiphume ngiyekwaZulu, ngithi masengibuya ngibuye sengiphuma ngasemampondweni. Ngiya ezinkomponi, ngiya emaceceni, ngiya ezikoleni, ngiya ko-Chief, ngiya kuyona yonk'indawo ngibuye nama record azinhlobonhlobo, ehlukeni

I would go out, travel to kwaZulu, and then on my way back come back via Mampondoland. I would go to compounds [presumably in the urban areas], I would go to schools, I would go speak to Chiefs, I would go to all of the place and bring back recordings of all sorts.

Ngiyabonga kumntwana uNkosazana uMagogo ozala umntwana wakwaPhindangene. Maningi ama-record ayenginika wona ngiwenza kwakhe. Ngibonge nakumntwana oqobo lwakhe wakwa phinda ngene wayeba phakathi kwawo l'oma record. Ngihambe nakoGqokinstimbi, oChief Gqokintsimbi.

I thank Princess Magogo [Buthelezi] the mother of the child of kwaPhindangene [Mangosuthu Buthelezi]. There are many records which she would allow me to make at her home. I also thank the Prince himself very often he would be inside those records. I also went to Prince Gqokintsimbi (Interview on *Radio Zulu*; 16/06/1980).

From this, it appears Masinga did in fact play an instrumental role in the making of Tracey's recordings. Furthermore, it is unlikely that Tracey, as a white man, at this time (1936-1947) in history would travel on his own all over the various lands recording musicians without a native assistant of some kind. The availability of Masinga's interview therefore provides us with a useful counter-commentary to the dominant voice of Tracey. His distinguished praise of the various Zulu royal households and public acknowledgement of the many visits to Princess Magogo's homestead bears testimony to his deep involvement in the recordings.²⁶

3.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have tried to show how constructions of Zuluness are performatively challenged through gestures of refusal, silence and indeed presence. In their refusal and elision such gestures have not pointed to something else. What they in fact elicited is a sense of

²⁶ Hugh Tracey (and if I may add K. E. Masinga) started recording Princess Magogo Buthelezi in 1939 (Rycroft:1975/76)

ambiguity, an ambiguity pervasive in most colonial actors. None of these actors could overtly endorse one-side of the colonial debate, as already suggested at the beginning of this dissertation. K. E. Masinga, for example, was viewed as a sell-out in some native middle-class circles for his supposed support of the colonial state in their propaganda broadcasting project (Gunner 2000: 224). Tracey too has often been vilified, but he has, at the same time, been instrumental in the archiving of indigenous music in South Africa. *The Zulu Radio Choir* too, could neither traverse those colonial discourses nor could they affirm them. It was precisely the conflation of Zuluness with primitivism and backwardness that groups such *The Zulu Radio Choir* seemed to critique. But in doing so, they did not detest colonialism and its 'modern' effects.

Instead their histories project multivocal gestures of ambiguity, unable to fully align with colonial modernity and unable to outrightly denounce 'tradition'. Mudimbe's accurately describes this space as follows:

At any rate, this intermediary space could be viewed as the major signifier of underdevelopment. It reveals the strong tension between a modernity that often is an illusion of development, and a tradition that sometimes reflects a poor image of a mythical past (Mudimbe 1988: 5).

The world that Zulu radio establishes is neither here nor there; it holds an unstable position, with very little promise of a move 'forward' (modernity) or 'backward' (traditional), powerfully embodied through performative gestures.

The study of early black broadcasting, therefore, reminds us that in the grand narrative of colonial history there are no other 'characters' to check, verify and put the master's voice into perspective. In the absence of an alternative viewpoint the reader is given no other choice but to listen to the European's voice, who remains the centre of consciousness throughout the narrative. We must keep John Tagg's point in mind that: "There is no meaning outside of these [colonial] formations, but they are not monolithic" (1988: 30-31). Such meanings are derived through a fluid space of struggle between various ideological positions, all intertwined. The institutions, practices and relations which compose them offer multiple points of entry and spaces for contestation. The result is an image that is 'desirable', perhaps even more 'real' than the African; which floats between Europe and Africa, without will nor consciousness, and functions against Europe with no life of its own. Shot through Western lenses; lasting

connections are drawn between this image of the African and the African her/himself, even beyond the decolonization period.

The implications of this are profound and their consequences far-reaching. They extend beyond the *Ukhozi* archive, challenging the very ontology of the postcolonial Archive as a whole!

4. References

- African Music Society, *Occasional Letter* (October 1949). *A: Minutes & Correspondence of African Music Society*. Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town Libraries, Cape Town.
- Andersson, M. (1981). *Music in the Mix*. Johannesburg: Raven Press
- Ballantine, C. (1993). *Marabi nights: Early South African jazz and vaudeville*. Johannesburg: Raven press,
- Bohlman, Philip V. (2001). "Ontologies of Music", in Nicholas Cook & Mark Everist (eds) *Rethinking Music*. New York: Oxford University.
- Brookes, Edgar (1927). *The history of native policy in South Africa from 1830 to the Present Day*. London: Simpkin, Marshall.
- Butler, Judith (1999/1991). *Gender Trouble*. New York: Routledge.
- Butler, Judith (1988). "Performative Acts and Gender Constitution: An Essay in Phenememology and Feminist Theory". *Theatre Journal*, 40/4, 519-531.
- Cook, Nicholas (1998). *Music: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cooper, Fredrick (2005). "Postcolonial Studies and the Study of History", in Loomba, Ania *et al* (ed.) *Postcolonial Studies and Beyond*, 401-422.
- Coplan, David (1979). "The African Musician and the Development of the Johannesburg Entertainment Industry, 1900-1960". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 5/2, 135-164.
- Edwards, E. (2001). *Raw Histories: Photographs, Anthropology and Museums*. Oxford: Berg.
- Ekeh, Peter (1997). "European Imperialism and the Ibadan School of History", in *Problematising History and Agency: From Nationalism to Subalternity*, State University of New York at Buffalo, 1-60.
- Erlmann, Veit (1991). *African Stars. Studies in Black South African Performance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Gunner, Liz (2000). "Wrestling with the Present, Beckoning to the Past: Contemporary Zulu Radio Drama". *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 26/2, 223-237.

- Gunner, Liz (2002). "Resistant Medium: The Voices of Zulu Radio Drama in the 1970s". *Theatre Research International*, 27/3, 259-274.
- Gunner, Liz (2005). "Supping with the Devil: Zulu Radio Drama under apartheid—The Case of Alexius Buthelezi". *Social Identities*, 11/2, 161-169.
- Hamm, C. (1990). *Privileging the Moment of reception: Music and radio in South Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hamm, Charles (1991). "'The constant companion of man': Separate Development, *Radio Bantu* and music," *Popular Music*, 10/2, 147-172.
- Hornbostel, Erich M. von (1928). "African Negro Music," *Africa*. 1: 30-62.
- Kennan, Kent (1972). *Counterpoint*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs : Prentice-Hall.
- La Hausse de Lalouviere, Paula (2000). *Restless Identities*. Pietermaritzburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Mamdani, Mahmood (1996). *Citizen and Subject*. Cape Town: James Currey.
- Merriam, Alan P. (1977). "Definitions of 'Comparative Musicology' and 'Ethnomusicology': An Historical-Theoretical Perspective". *Ethnomusicology*. 21/2, 189-204.
- Mkhize, V. V. O. (1993). *The spoken and the written word : stylistic creation in Black broadcasting*. Doctoral Thesis. Killie Campbell Africana Library, University of KwaZulu-Natal. (Unpublished)
- Mudimbe, V.Y. (1988). *The Invention of Africa*, James Currey.
- "Radio Broadcasts for Blacks, 1939-52 Clippings." *Thelma Gutshe Papers, BC 703*. Manuscripts & Archives Department, University of Cape Town Libraries, Cape Town.
- Rosenthal, E (1974). *You have been listening...The early History of Radio in South Africa*. Cape Town: Purnell.
- Rycroft, D. (1975/76). "The Zulu Bow Songs of Princess Magogo". *African Music: Journal of the African Music Society*, 5, 41-97.
- SABC *Annual Report* 1940.
- SABC *Annual Report* 1941.
- SABC *Annual Report* 1942.

“SABC Corporate” <www.sabc.co.za> Accessed 10 November 2008

Schein, Louisa (1999). “Performing Modernity”. *Cultural Anthropology*, 14/3, 361-395.

Skalnik, Peter (1988). “Tribe as a Colonial Category” in Emile Boonzaier and John Sharp (eds) *South African Keywords: The uses & Abuses of Political Concepts*. Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip.

Shelemay, Kay Kaufman (1991). “Recording Technology, the Record Industry, and Ethnomusicological Scholarship” in Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (eds) *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*, p 169-186. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

“South African Advertising Research Foundation” <www.saarf.co.za> Accessed 10 January 2009.

Stoler, A. L. (2002). “Colonial Archives and the Art of Governance, On the content in the form” in C. Hamilton *et al* (eds) *Refiguring the Archive*. Cape Town: David Philips, 83-100.

Tagg, John (1988). *The Burden of Representation. Essays on Photographs and Histories*. Hampshire and London.

“The Durban Municipal Broadcasting Website” <<http://pumamouse.com/SABbrbDurban.html>> Accessed 18th September 2008

The Star, 24/09/1942.

The Star, 15/12/1943.

Thornton, Robert (1983). “Narrative Ethnology in Africa, 1850-1920: The Creation and Capture of an Appropriate Domain for Anthropology”. *Man*, 18, 502-520.

Tracey, Hugh (1954). “The State of Folk Music in Bantu Africa,” *International Folk Music Journal*, 6, 32-36.

Tracey, Hugh (1948). *Lalela Zulu. 100 Zulu Lyrics*. Johannesburg: African Music Society.

Turino, Thomas (2000). *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Qureshi, R. B. (2000). “Music Anthropologies and Music Histories: A Preface and an Agenda.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*. 48/33, 331-42.

Waterman, Christopher (1991). "Uneven Development of Africanist Ethnomusicology" in Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (eds) *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*, p 169-186. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Webster, Naomi & Ndaba, Thokozani (2001). "Case Study: *Ukhozi FM*", presented at the *Department of Communications Workshop* 6th September 2001.

5. Discography

Gospel Singers, Gospel Singers (Male Trio) & Radio Zulu Choir. Media Libraries

Transcriptions/SABC CDT2145A.

Masinga. K.E. (1980). Interview on *Radio Zulu* [16th June]. SABC Archives, Durban.

(Unpublished)

Ukhozi Documentary (2003). [16th June]. SABC RadioPro, Johannesburg.