THE JAZZ DIVAS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE MUSICAL CAREERS OF SIX NEW BRIGHTON VOCALISTS

by

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DECLARATION

I, Netsayi Butete, declare that "The Jazz Divas: An analysis of the musical careers of six New Brighton vocalists" is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete reference.

ABSTRACT

There has been insufficient academic research on the music of the Eastern Cape in general and Port Elizabeth and New Brighton in particular. This study, as part of the International Library of African Music (ILAM)/Red Location Museum Music History Project (ILAM/RLMHP) – an oral history intervention to save the music history of New Brighton from extinction through research and documentation of the memories of veteran musicians – is focused on jazz vocalists. The primary objective of my study is to investigate, critically analyze, interpret and document the career experiences of six New Brighton jazz vocalists in the context of performing in the Port Elizabeth music industry during the apartheid and the post-apartheid eras. The secondary objectives are to stimulate research interests in music students and ethnomusicologists to pursue research on the music of Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape and to inspire and motivate the vocalists to continue making music with renewed zeal.

A qualitative research paradigm informed the field research necessary for this study. The fieldwork paved the way for an eclectic framework of analysis grounded in Pierre Bourdieu's notions of habitus, field and capital, examining the impact of the context on the vocalists' habitus which influenced how they viewed and interpreted their past and current experiences in the performance field.

Data obtained through extensive interviewing of New Brighton's contemporary female vocalists and their male counterparts revealed that they have no opportunity to make commercial recordings. The musicians have to migrate to Johannesburg to have successful music careers, although personality politics, greed and lack of professionalism also work against the musicians' success. The data shows that New Brighton musicians, both male and female, do not have enough performance opportunities and there are fewer chances to tour now than there were from the 1960s through the 1980s. As in the apartheid era, female vocalists are still discriminated against in terms of pay, and men discriminate in how they pay other male musicians. Analysis of the vocalists' jazz compositions revealed that their song lyrics depict a bona fide urban African culture and reflect the emotional needs of the society in which they live.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
EPH	Eastern Province Herald
IDAF	International Defence & Aid Fund for Southern Africa
ILAM/RLMHP	International Library of African Music/Red Location Music History Project
NEMMMA	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Musicians Association
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
PE	Port Elizabeth
PEBCO	Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation
PECC	Port Elizabeth City Council

SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAMRO	South African Music Rights Organisation
UDF	United Democratic Front

Chapter One

Setting the Stage in New Brighton Township

Introduction

South African jazz enjoys wide renown through the work of artists who come mostly from major cities such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. Even beyond the borders of South Africa, talk of musicians such as the much celebrated Miriam Makeba, Dorothy Masuka or Dolly Rathebe from the halcyon days of Sophiatown in Johannesburg, is quite common. Yet other cities also have a claim as centres of jazz music through being home to some notable jazz artists. This research highlights the musical careers and life experiences of jazz musicians in New Brighton (a township of Port Elizabeth) in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, whose personal testimonies have received little or no scholarly attention. Specifically, it seeks to document, interpret and critically analyse the musical careers and experiences of six female jazz vocalists, five of whom occasionally perform together as the 'Jazz Divas'.

This research falls within the broader ambit of the International Library of African Music (ILAM)/Red Location Music History Project (RLMHP) headed by Professor Diane Thram, who was also the principal supervisor hereof. The Music History Project was a collaborative music history and community outreach endeavour between ILAM at Rhodes University, in Grahamstown, and the Red Location Museum in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, and was funded by the National Heritage Council for 12 months from March 2009 through March 2010.

The project aimed at documenting the rich music history of New Brighton and its veteran jazz musicians as well as promoting and reviving the music of New Brighton musicians by facilitating performances. This noteworthy objective catered for musical performances by three generations of musicians who were amongst the project participants. Workshops in which emergent younger generation jazz musicians were mentored by older musicians were held during the period from June 2009 to March 2010. These culminated in the production of a 'Jazz Heritage Concert' at Centenary Hall in New Brighton on the 27th of March 2010 under the auspices of the ILAM/RLMHP. In this concert, the Jazz Divas performed alongside other female and male musicians from Port Elizabeth. Oral history interviews conducted by Professor Thram

and myself were aimed at understanding the political history of New Brighton from the musicians' perspectives. As such the documented music history was meant to complement the holdings of the Red Location Museum which primarily houses exhibits pertaining to the political history of Port Elizabeth and the members of its community active in the apartheid struggle.

Through my involvement in the ILAM/RLMHP as a postgraduate student in Ethnomusicology at Rhodes University, I was able to establish common research ground with Professor Thram, who, as my thesis supervisor, suggested that I make jazz vocalists of New Brighton the topic of my research. Thus, I found an opportunity to do research on relatively uncharted ground as I became a student-researcher in this ILAM/RLMHP.

Additionally, this project presented me with a chance to broaden my academic horizons by studying a culture other than my own Zimbabwean culture. The process granted me the privilege of working with musicians of mainly Xhosa origin, something that has deepened my appreciation of cultural diversity and knowledge of diverse musical influences and traditions. I harboured no preconceived ideas about the jazz vocalists' circumstances because at that time, I knew very little about South African history and nothing about New Brighton, so that I went into the ILAM/RLMHP with an open mind which minimised the subjectivity that could occur with local researchers. My participation meant that I valued them both as performers and as people which helped them recognise their importance as part of South African jazz history.

I was highly motivated and enthusiastic to learn about the research participants' experiences. The interest I showed in their lives enhanced my relationship with the research participants at an individual level to the extent that they were comfortable in confiding in me. This improved the validity of the data I collected in that when a research participant trusts the researcher, the likelihood is that they are truthful about themselves. The trust they developed in me was reflected in the depth of what they told me about their experiences. As Shirley Lebakeng later commented, they were grateful that I had made them believe in themselves again. Through the interviews I had with them, I helped restore their self-confidence as capable musicians and because they revived their performance the jazz scene, which by consensus they believed "was dead", became alive to them again.

An initial visit to the Red Location Museum in the company of Professor Thram, Dr. Lee Watkins and Rhodes University undergraduate music students had sowed the seeds of what would become this research. We had gone there to attend an oral history workshop conducted by Dr. Janet Cherry, a lecturer in the Development Studies Department at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), Port Elizabeth. The purpose of the workshop was to train prospective researchers and research assistants in the ILAM/RLMHP on how to conduct oral history interviews. It was originally intended that students from Rhodes University and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University would conduct oral history interviews and carry out related investigative endeavours as part of their training in history and ethnomusicology. It transpired that I remained the only student researcher when the others withdrew from the project for various reasons.

The aforementioned workshop also created a platform for the first meeting between stakeholders in the ILAM/RLMHP. Musicians from New Brighton and surrounding areas, among them Big T Ntsele, the (now late) Victor Miza, Boyce Mzinyathi, and Shirley Lebakeng were present. Dudley Tito and Patrick Pasha, who eventually became research assistants for the ILAM/RLMHP, also attended this workshop. These last two would be instrumental in locating most of the musicians who participated in this project. This meeting further served to break the ice between researchers and musicians and provided an opportunity to arrange for more collaboration. The meeting brought to light the musicians' eagerness to tell their stories and make this project a success. Their passion for music was quite evident from their contributions during discussions, and I felt the desire to be a part of this history-making process. I also realized that through this project, I could make a small contribution to ameliorate the mistrust of researchers that these musicians harboured. It was common experience amongst them that they had neither received feedback on nor seen the results of the work of previous researchers as per promises made.

The second visit to the Red Location Museum was more eventful than the first because I managed to talk to Shirley Lineo Lebakeng, one of the Jazz Divas, on a one-to-one basis. She appeared so fragile that I became curious about her as a possible subject of study. I was eager to find out more about her musical career so as to understand why, old as she looked, she was still eager to sing. I wondered what drove her passion for music. The only way for me to find out was

to interview her about her musical experiences. With this in mind, I asked her permission if I could do a biography on her. The enthusiasm that greeted me encouraged me to continue in my efforts to work with her. Later on we grew close during the fieldwork process and I was brave enough to ask if she had any health problems. Cheerfully, she explained to me that she had always looked fragile and that I had no need to worry because she was as fit as a fiddle. This exchange brought us even closer and enhanced our trust in each other, in our capacities as researcher and informant. Later on, when Shirley and I met again at another meeting at the Red Location Museum, she told me about the Jazz Divas during an informal conversation. That was the point when I decided to incorporate the other four vocalists from the Jazz Divas vocal group into my research project.

The Jazz Divas

The members of the Jazz Divas and one additional vocalist are as follows: Nomzamo Jeanette Mkuzo (b. 23 May 1938), Shirley Lineo Lebakeng (b. 12 June 1945), Vuyelwa (née Qwesha) Luzipo (b. 17 August 1951), Welekazi (née Pemba) Mosia (b. 3 January 1955) and Leo Nomalungelo Mwanda (b. 14 June 1958). Linda Tsaone KaMhlaba (b. 28 June 1975), a younger jazz vocalist and composer with an active career, is also included for comparative purposes. The vocalists were all born and brought up in New Brighton, the oldest township in Port Elizabeth, far removed from the South African hubs of jazz performance of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Three of the vocalists currently live in New Brighton. The remaining members, Nomzamo Mkuzo, Vuyelwa Luzipo and Welekazi Mosia, live in Zwide, Dassie and Motherwell respectively, which are all townships in the immediate area surrounding New Brighton.

The selection of the Jazz Divas and Linda Tsaone was based on their involvement in the RLMHP. In reading literature on South African jazz, I discovered that female jazz artists are generally marginalised and accorded minimal attention. Despite their significant participation and contribution to South African jazz, they are usually represented in a supportive or subordinate role where their function is to illuminate the narratives of male musicians, a relationship documented by Allen (2000). Yet they do have individual identities and capacities as female musicians. Dudley Tito and the (now late) Errol Cuddumbey, both active jazz artists in New Brighton/Port Elizabeth, had previously been the subjects of masters degree thesis research

projects, but New Brighton female artists had not yet received any attention from scholars,[1] hence my decision to focus on them was reinforced. The Jazz Divas were important sources of information concerning the experiences of local female musicians. These vocalists have been performing jazz in Port Elizabeth most of their adult lives; as such, their experiences present a multifaceted narrative musical ethnography. They speak from general and specific personal perspectives as well as from a collective stance.

Feminist standpoint theory posits that because of their common subordinate position, women have universal experience. As such women's experience could be used as research material for writing the history of repressed identities (Hofman 2010). The artists speak first for their group as members of the Jazz Divas and second, as individual black female vocalists performing in a male-dominated music scene during the apartheid and post-apartheid dispensations. Their stories add another layer to the history of Port Elizabeth thereby contributing to South African jazz.

The existing body of literature concerning the music history of Port Elizabeth is negligible (Rasmussen 2003). A number of scholars (Allen 1993 2000, 2003; Ballantine 1993, 1995, 2004, 2005; Coplan 2007; Fraser 2007; Muller 2001, 2004, 2007; and Ramanna 2005a, 2005b) have researched South African music history in areas such as Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, generally focusing attention on male musicians. Exceptions are Allen (2000), who focuses her research on female musicians and provides a lengthy biographical discussion of Dorothy Masuka's musical journey; Muller (2001), who devotes an entire chapter to the female jazz musician Sathima Bea Benjamin; Ramanna (2005a: 218-226) who explores the reasons why women jazz musicians in the jazz scenes of post-apartheid Durban and Johannesburg have been marginalised, and Fraser (2007), who provides biographical sketches of women jazz musicians in South Africa, albeit without going into a lot of detail about their musical experiences.

Furthermore, little music research has been done in New Brighton despite it being home to some of South Africa's renowned musicians such as Feya Faku and the late Zim Ngqawana and Lulu Gontsana. Therefore there is a crucial need for historical documentation of the formative role of this township in Port Elizabeth in shaping South Africa's jazz. This need becomes more acute

[1] See Hughes (1999) and Goosen (1999) for the research on Dudley Tito and Errol Cuddumbey.

when it is noted that the jazz musicians who are the subjects of this research do not enjoy as wide an acclaim as they deserve. The vocalists have not received the attention they deserve both as accomplished composers and as performers because their longevity on the Port Elizabeth music scene remains uncelebrated beyond their local community. Their musical experiences exist only in their memories and the memories of their significant others and fans and would be lost if they were to die. This shows that the vocalists have not been given due attention. They have shared the stage with distinguished musicians such as Dolly Rathebe, Hugh Masekela and Chris McGregor, whose lives have been extensively documented, but nothing of these vocalists' associations with them is mentioned.

Yet, popular South African musicians' associations with famous local and international musicians such as Abdullah Ibrahim, and Sathima Bea Benjamin with Duke Ellington have been documented in great detail, a relationship narrated by Muller (2001); Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela with Louis Armstrong and Harry Belafonte, an experience recounted by Makeba and Hall (1988). Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng, Welekazi Mosia and Linda Tsaone have composed but none of them have had their music recorded and marketed for public consumption; and like their musical experiences, it is at risk of being lost because it has not been preserved.[2] Save for a few local newspaper reviews and articles, most of which are nowhere to be found, there is no other documentation available on the vocalists. Thus, to the younger generations of Port Elizabeth, the South African nation and the world beyond, the vocalists remain anonymous because they are not engraved on the South African jazz historiography map in terms of documentation, yet they are significant performers who deserve a note in its annals.

Another observation is that most of the above-mentioned works are mainly concerned with the convergence of South African politics and music history. This dual focus provides material from which to contextualise and analyse the vocalists' experiences, as I attempt to identify and describe the factors that gave meaning to the experiences of South African jazz musicians in general in terms of their socio-political and career circumstances and in comparison with that of the vocalists who are the subjects of my research. Detterbeck (2003: XIX cited in Mugovhani

[2] Welekazi Mosia's compositions are not part of the song analysis of this research because they were not made available to me.

2007: 3) asserts that, "cultural practices cannot be investigated without considering socio-political circumstances and that musical structures cannot be dislodged from social and political structures". Thus in order to construct a holistic picture of the vocalists' life stories, a wide-ranging scrutiny of socio-political, cultural and historical contexts is necessary.

The primary objective of this research is to recover and document the non-written jazz legacy bequeathed to South African jazz by its artists, by highlighting the vocalists' musical achievements and journeys during both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras in the city of Port Elizabeth. I attempt to discover through the vocalists' experiences as jazz performers and their contribution to South African jazz historiography. To achieve the latter aim, the research analyses the manner in which these vocalists negotiated the racial and gender inequalities they faced within the South African socio-political historical context.

A fundamental aim of this study is to advance knowledge of how the history of jazz from the small city of Port Elizabeth can add value to the understanding of the jazz music culture of South Africa as a whole. This research is an attempt to do for these vocalists what Devroop and Walton (2007) did for the male artists they interviewed. Through documentation, interpretation and analysis of the musical experiences of these female jazz vocalists, this research complements the ILAM/RLMHP in documenting and preserving the jazz music history of New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. This study accomplishes this task by adding to the research that has been done on New Brighton music by Hughes (1999) and Baines (2002). The research seeks to add to existing stories of South African female jazz musicians through the production of biographies of the six vocalists and subsequent analysis of their experiences.

Whereas the ILAM/RLMHP sought to inspire and motivate the musicians to continue making music with renewed zeal, this research augments these efforts by documenting the life encounters of some important artists as a part of the cultural assets of South African jazz. The study is also a way of exploring the alternative understandings of oppression and marginalisation which give a unique character to South African music in general and female musicians in particular.

The research attempts to furnish the Red Location Museum with documented musical history that complements the socio-political history depicted in its exhibits. The research findings will

contribute to the documentary content of the Red Location Museum and to the ILAM archives for the purposes of developing and conserving resources for jazz heritage education. The material of this study can thus serve as educational material in music, history, heritage and cultural studies in schools and tertiary institutions. It can also be used for policy formulation in the performing arts by guiding policy makers in how to address the concerns of female musicians. In seeking to so meaningfully add to the body of knowledge on popular music culture in South Africa, particularly from Port Elizabeth, it is hoped that the study will stimulate research interests in music students and ethnomusicologists to pursue research on the music of Port Elizabeth and the Eastern Cape in general.

Methodology

This research employs a multidisciplinary research design that is founded in the qualitative approach. It draws on primarily (but not exclusively) qualitative methods: non-participant observation, open-ended and semi-structured interviews. These methods are adaptable to dealing with multiple realities (Bresler 1995: 1), and aim to describe and understand rather than explain human behaviour (Mouton & Babbie 2001). This research endeavoured to obtain an in-depth understanding of the meanings and definitions of the situations presented by informants. Qualitative research methods afforded effective data-collection tools because "they are contextual in nature, and call for holistic, synthetic and interpretive data analysis methods" (Mouton 1996: 169). Accordingly they were helpful in understanding the participants' points of view and interpretations and their particular social and institutional contexts.

Bresler states that "qualitative methods are more sensitive and adaptable to the many mutually shaping influences and value patterns that may be encountered" during the research process (1995: 1). This shows the inherent subjectivity of oral history as a qualitative method of research. According to Alessandro Portelli (1981: 57-102) as cited in Bornat (2008: 347-348):

> The orality of oral sources possesses unique qualities inherent in that "it tells less about events than about their meaning and that the unique and precious element which oral sources possess in equal measure is the speaker's subjectivity. As such oral sources have a different credibility in that today's narrator is not the same person as took part in the distant events he or she is relating. Therefore, oral sources are not objective; they are artificial, variable and partial.

As such both researcher and informants must be aware of how their own values and the passing of time influence their recollections and narratives. Thus, as the vocalists speak now there is an added dimension of maturity and hindsight which was absent when the events they recollect took place.

Biographical methods were mainly used in this research as suitable ways to generate a knowledge base from which to understand, interpret and analyse the vocalists' life experiences in order to describe their social world (Bornat 2008). Biographical methods are:

> an umbrella term for an assembly of loosely related, variously titled activities: life history, oral history, autobiography, biographic interpretive methods, storytelling, auto/biography, ethnography and reminiscence...By their very nature biographical methods encourage a universalistic and encompassing approach encouraging understanding and interpretation of experience across national, cultural and traditional boundaries, better to understand individual action and engagement in society (Bornat 2008: 345).

I employed biographical research methods – ethnography and oral history interviews – in order to explore connections between past and present public and private domains of the jazz vocalists' lives and their future projections.

Owing to the interactive and dialogic nature of the biographical method and, indeed, qualitative research methodology, I use the term "interlocutors" in preference to "interviewees" or "informants" and "narrators". This follows the example of Hofman (2010: 2) who finds that the latter terms have a static meaning that is restrictive in the context of biographical study. The preferred term better captures the essence of the discourse exchange nature of the relationship between the vocalists and myself.

Hofman draws upon authorities who focus on musical experiences of individuals and adopt an ethnomusicological epistemology which defines fieldwork as "knowing people making music" and an interactive and dialogic way of researching music (Erlmann (1991), Rice (1994), Titon (1997), Danielson (1997) and Stock (1996) cited in Hofman 2010: 3). Rice (2003 cited in Hofman 2010: 3) emphasises that ethnomusicological research must focus attention on studying individuals and small groups of individuals' musical experiences, and defines that approach as the "subject-centred musical ethnography".

Ethnographic research, as employed in ethnomusicology, requires researchers to spend a significant amount of time in the field and conduct in-depth research. By so doing, researchers immerse themselves in the lives of the people they study and place the subjects studied in their social and cultural contexts. In this manner, ethnographic methodology helps to understand people as well as social and cultural phenomena. Ethnographic research is not objective but is an interpretive endeavour. In this role it combines and uses such data collection strategies as participant and non-participant observation, formal and informal, structured and unstructured interviews, focus group interviews, analysis of documents and story-telling/life history methods, amongst others. Ethnography is not based on large numbers of cases and all the fore-mentioned strategies except participant observation were used in this research to collect biographical information on the six jazz vocalists. According to Bertaux (1981: 40) each life story and each piece of evidence contributes towards understanding the network of social relations.

Field Research

I observed the following live performances where some of my subjects the vocalists performed: Presbyterian Church's 50th Anniversary Dinner at Daku Hall in KwaZakhele (26/09/2009) (Shirley Lebakeng performance); the Jazz Tribute Dinner (26/02/2010) at the Red Location Museum and the Jazz Heritage Concert (27/03/2010) at Centenary Hall in New Brighton.

I conducted 47 interviews over a period of six months each of which I transcribed, interpreted and analysed before returning to carry out further interviews. The majority of the interviews were with the vocalists and included feedback and follow up interviews. The number of interviews I conducted with each of the six vocalists depended on their individual availability. I had seven interviews each with both Nomzamo Mkuzo and Shirley Lebakeng, I interviewed Linda Tsaone five times and Leo Mwanda three times. Vuyelwa Luzipo and Welekazi Mosia were each interviewed once because they both have full-time jobs and were not available for follow-up interviews. I had one focus group interview with Leo Mwanda, Welekazi Mosia and Shirley Lebakeng to obtain further details the individual vocalists might have forgotten or overlooked. Nomzamo Mkuzo and Vuyelwa Luzipho were not present but agreed that I interview their counterparts in their absence. I excluded Linda Tsaone from the focus group interview because she is not an original member of the Jazz Divas though of late she occasionally collaborates with

them.

I used open-ended question interview techniques as the primary data collection method to conduct in-depth oral history interviews with all the participants. The types of questions I used facilitated flexibility and flow in conversations which allowed the research participants to feel at ease and do most of the talking while I probed for more detail. I centred the interview questions for the vocalists on the following: family background; childhood and upbringing; exposure to music and motivation to sing; race, class and gender experiences in the local and national music industry; future plans and aspirations and life experiences in general. Significant others and contemporary male musicians' interview questions focused on the following: the vocalists' childhood; life and musical experiences; assessment and experiences of the local and national music industry and the future of jazz in New Brighton and Port Elizabeth as a whole.

I interviewed three significant others and eleven contemporary male musicians: Thembu Mwanda (Leo Mwanda's sister), Nicky Mushonga (Leo Mwanda's friend and a fan of the Jazz Divas group) and Maria Qwesha (Vuyelwa Luzipo's now late mother); Phillip Mbambaza (piano), Luvuyo Moses Tinky Zwane (saxophone), Lumkile Jacobs (saxophone), Richard Hatana (drums), Patrick Pasha (saxophone), Thami Ngwcangu (vocalist), Dudley Tito (saxophone), the now late Errol Cuddumbey (piano), Melvin Robert Neff (guitarist), Nceba Felix Madlingozi (vocalist) and Jury Ntshinga (piano) and Xolani Faku (a new to the industry young male trumpeter). I interviewed Stanley Mosia (founder and former manager of the Jazz Divas, and husband to Welekazi Mosia) and Thobile Muhlahlo (former minister of Safety and Security who owns Village Vanguard Jazz Club in the city). Also interviewed were three Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Musicians Association (NEMMMA) representatives: Manxoyi Dumile, Lloyd Coutts and Thobela Fibi. Additionally, I draw on five of Prof. Thram's interviews with the following musicians: Shirley Lebakeng (22/05/2009), Vuyelwa Luzipo (22/05/2009), Big T Ntsele (29/05/2009), Lami Zokufa (29/05/2009) and Victor Miza (19/06/2009).

There are three main reasons why the views of the interviewed male musicians are important in the context of my study. First, most of them were born earlier than the vocalists, and hence they are more conversant with the issues surrounding the pre-apartheid era which profoundly impacted on the musical performance of the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. Second, because

male musicians have dominated the music industry since its inception, their views give me insight into the vocalists' circumstances and how their male counterparts treated them. Third, the information from male musicians discloses how they, as black musicians in the townships, viewed the world in which they lived and performed. Their input is important in that their perspectives both concur with and differ from those of the vocalists who are the key participants in this study, implying differential experience of male and female musicians.

I interviewed Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Musicians Association (NEMMMA) representatives to corroborate the musicians' perception of the association's role in representing their needs. The interviews I conducted with former Jazz Divas manager, Stan Mosia, and a local music promoter, Thobile Mhlahlo, gave me alternative versions and perceptions about the New Brighton music scene and the Port Elizabeth music industry. Collating data obtained from various interviews with 29 different people, 26 of whom I interviewed personally, and some documented and archival sources I could access enabled me to validate the data I collected and draw conclusions at the end of this study.

I chose to interview significant others and other musicians who contributed in performing, non-performing and observation roles to the vocalists' own biographies. I attempt to obtain, through their analysis, an alternative understanding of the vocalists' experiences and to authenticate the individual accounts from separate interviews with the six vocalists. I compared all the data I collected from different interviews against written sources to increase the validity of this research as Bell (1993: 8) and Denzin (1970: 297) advocate. Upon discovering that the vocalists and most of the contemporary male musicians were somehow related to each other if they were not close friends, I embarked on a thorough interrogation of the data I collected to minimise inconsistencies, instances of bias and misrepresentation of facts. Robinson (1995: 200) contends that it is possible to objectively characterise first-person perspectives as consistent or inconsistent with the perspectives of, firstly, other participants, secondly, each person's established ways of experiencing and thirdly, their previous reports of events. He further adds that this manner of treating first-person narratives raises two questions for memory studies: first, how does one's experience (or account of that experience) diverge from others' and what do those divergences signify? Second, how does a person's account of an event at one time diverge from that person's account at a later time and what do those divergences signify? I draw on Robinson with regard to

the manner in which I triangulate the vocalists' narratives for veracity, such that they represent the truth as much as is possible within the context of my study and the ILAM/RLMHP at large.

I started visiting New Brighton at the planning and implementation stages of the RLMHP in March 2009. In May 2009, I conducted pilot interviews with three male musicians, Phillip Mbambaza, Moses Luvuyo 'Tinky' Zwane and Lumkile Jacobs, as well as the eldest of the female vocalists, Nomzamo Mkuzo, in order to inform my research proposal writing, embark on the preliminary reading in preparation for actual fieldwork and subsequent writing and acquaint myself with my field of research. I suspended the interviews at the beginning of July 2009 until late September 2009 to concentrate on writing my proposal. However, I continued to interact and build rapport with the interlocutors by accompanying Prof. Thram on some of her trips to the Red Location Museum.

I resumed the interviews in September 2009 and continued through to end of March 2010. In late August and early September 2010 I conducted follow-up interviews to clarify issues that arose as I interpreted and analysed the data. I also did unrecorded follow-up telephonic interviews with Shirley Lebakeng, Dudley Tito and Patrick Pasha.

The analysis of the data I collected as recounted above completes this research. My approach to data presentation and analysis is eclectic (Robson 1993). I utilize the content analysis research technique to make valid inferences from data to the apartheid and post apartheid South African context, (Bennet et al. 1994). I examine the significance of recurrent themes and/or concepts in the data using deductive and inductive analysis. The analysis is therefore in the form of thick descriptions. This increases reliability and validity of the research findings. I listen to and contextually analyse the lyrics of the vocalists' personal compositions in order to deduce explicit and underlying themes. In my listening analysis, the objective is to analyse the themes depicted by the lyrics and their relevance to cultural and socio-political contexts. I critique the general structure of the music without focusing on transcription and analysis of the music *per se.* Thus the analysis of the songs is based on the song texts only. In so doing, I put together bits of information drawn from available sources to draw a picture of the whole study.

Conclusion

The background information provided in this first chapter demonstrates that the vocalists who are the subjects of this study live in obscurity despite their contribution towards Port Elizabeth music history and South African jazz history. The available literature reveals that male musicians form the majority of music research subjects and where women are involved they highlight the achievements of male musicians. Thus my study enables these female vocalists to tell their stories and have their experiences and the song texts of their compositions analysed.

Chapter Two is a review of the literature that informs my study, and Chapter Three provides the theoretical framework for the analysis. The historical contextualization of New Brighton which outlines the background necessary to understand the context in which the vocalists live is covered in Chapter Four, followed by the vocalists' biographies and the history of the Jazz Divas group in Chapter Five. Chapter Six is an analysis of the vocalists' experiences as jazz artists. The song texts of selected compositions of Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng and Linda Tsaone are analysed in Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight is a summary of my research findings and recommendations for further research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Literature on South African Jazz Performance

This literature review is intended to demonstrate the extent to which female musicians have been accorded attention in the existing South African jazz literature, to establish pertinent issues discussed in the literature on female jazz musicians in South Africa and beyond, and to discuss literature on oral history and biography methods.

Ballantine (1993, 1995, 2005) and Coplan (1985, 2007) both researched famous male musicians, mentioning female jazz musicians only in passing. Nevertheless the contribution of these two authorities towards this research must be noted. They provide an in-depth source of social and political historical background information crucial to the understanding of the development of South African music in general and jazz in particular. Their studies help contextualise this study by highlighting the common trends which have impacted musicians from all walks of life in the South African music industry.

A number of additional scholars have written about South African jazz, as follows: Allen (2000, 2003), Fraser (2007), Muller (2001, 2007), Ramanna (2005a, 2005b) and Titlestad (2004). Muller (2007) argues that South African musicians experienced early jazz, vaudeville and the wartime 'concert party' forged in the speakeasy/shebeen culture as discussed by Ballantine in *Marabi Nights* (1993), an experience which ran parallel to that of American blues musicians. Muller (2007: 4) further asserts that South African musicians, especially those who performed in the post-World War II period, were influenced by street, popular, church and traditional music and the distribution of American jazz recordings, radio programs, and magazine and newspaper articles in what she calls "a trickle-down effect" of American jazz in South Africa. This impacted the manner in which South African jazz musicians learnt how to perform and compose.[3]

[3] See Chapter Four, page 45, for more information on how New Brighton musicians learned to perform.

Of the above-mentioned scholars, all but Titlestad have written about female jazz musicians in South Africa. While the fact that the afore-mentioned authorities have written about female musicians is noteworthy, they focus on famous musicians from major cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. Muller (2007) notes that though written records popularise Johannesburg as the home of jazz *per se*, a closer analysis of this scenario shows that the ghettos and the slum yards gave rise to this genre. She therefore argues that small cities and towns, although they have been largely ignored by the media and academic research alike, are wealthy sources of information which can significantly contribute to South African jazz historiography.

Muller (2007: 1064) further states that "parallel musical initiatives in two different places are not necessarily recorded or given the same kind of media – and by extension scholarly – attention". In other words, there are contemporary musicians with a non-written legacy who perform elsewhere other than in the major cities and towns which are home to most famous musicians. The implication is that both the media and academic researchers focus on what is known and select subjects for a particular research purpose and with a specific audience in mind. I argue that the reason why the majority of researchers focus on the popular musicians is because the groundwork has been laid down for them by their predecessors; hence it is a comparatively easier starting point than uncharted ground. Muller's observation helps to understand why the focus of research has mainly been on documenting the experiences of famous musicians (irrespective of gender) from the above-mentioned major cities. At the same time, her observation also necessitates the documentation of the musical experiences of less popular musicians in these major cities and towns who remain unnoticed because they are overshadowed by the presence of more famous musicians. Muller's observations inform my intention to document the contributions and musical experiences of less popular musicians from New Brighton and show how they significantly enrich South African jazz.

Of the researchers who have focused on female jazz musicians, only Allen (2000) devotes a complete thesis to the experiences of female musicians in Johannesburg. Her subjects include among others famous female musicians Miriam Makeba, Dolly Rathebe, Mary Thobei, Marjorie Pretorius and Dorothy Masuka, to whom she devotes a lengthy narrative discussion about her musical journey in her 2000 and 2003 publications. However, her research presents them in a

subordinate role to their male counterparts. This in turn, illuminates the narratives of male musicians.

Other writers have confined issues to do with female jazz musicians to a chapter at most. For example, Muller (2001) devotes an entire chapter to jazz musician Sathima Bea Benjamin detailing her dual musical experiences as a female musician of colour in South Africa and abroad. Nine pages of Ramanna's (2005a: 218-226) doctoral thesis address how female musicians experienced racial and gender inequalities as he discusses jazz as a "gendered discourse" that contributes to the marginalisation and discrimination of women musicians in post-apartheid Durban and Johannesburg jazz scenes. He interrogates how gender inequality and patriarchy find expression through division of labour and under-representation of women musicians in jazz performance. On the other hand, his choice of musicians is to be noted, because even though these female musicians are from the major cities, they are less popular than the more widely known names such as Miriam Makeba, Dorothy Masuka and Dolly Rathebe whose stories have been told, documented and heard time and again as in Allen (2000). Ramanna's (2005a) choice of uncelebrated subjects shows that there are other female jazz musicians who did not make it to stardom who warrant the attention of scholars.

In his biographical sketches of female musicians, Fraser (2007) does not provide an exhaustive analysis because he does not detail their musical experiences, showing that their real stories have not yet been documented. In addition, sources in South African jazz historiography reveal the tendency by both international and local writers and journalists to focus on musicians in exile. Examples among many others are Dalamba (2006), "Writing against Exile: A Chronotopic Reading of the Autobiographies of Miriam Makeba, Joe Mogotsi and Hugh Masekela" and Muller (2001), "Capturing the "Spirit of Africa" in the Jazz Singing of South African-Born Sathima Bea Benjamin".

Devroop and Walton (2007) argue that if only a small percentage of male musicians are receiving the recognition they deserve from the music industry itself, then female musicians receive even less. Although Devroop and Walton are aware of the marginalisation of female musicians in the music industry they, like the writers mentioned above, focus their attention on male musicians. According to Muller (2007: 1062) women jazz musicians in particular are an

urgent subject of investigation that requires academic attention and recognition because research in jazz is still new to the academy.

In addition, I draw on Muller (2007: 1062) who advocates that in order to constitute a correct accounting for the full extent of the mapping of twentieth-century jazz, it is necessary that its "market driven dimensions" be examined. Women face challenges trying to market their music and in holding their own in a bid to make an impact in the music industry. Sathima Bea Benjamin struggled to produce and market her own music in the United States (Muller 2001). Allen (2000) highlights women musicians' differential experiences of this male dominated arena as they tried to earn a living as performers. Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph (2005) describes her personal experiences with the SABC and South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) as a female conductor attempting to market her compositions. In the same vein, I explore the vocalists' experiences in the music industry inside and outside their immediate context of New Brighton.

From Allen (2000), it is apparent that the most popular female musicians frequently moved from one band and/or record label to another because bands and recording companies competed for the best female vocalist on the market. Consequently, Allen presents female subjects who have experienced the music industry differently in that they received unequal treatment at different times and places. She depicts Dorothy Masuka as the most fortunate of all because of the preferential paternalistic treatment she received at Troubadour Records, unlike her female counterparts who were underpaid and not treated as well as she was. Mary Thobei, a backing vocalist at Troubadour and Masuka's female contemporary, recalled that she was well paid but all this changed when she moved to another recording studio. To prove that black musicians received different treatment at recording studios, Horrell (1959: 148-49 cited in Allen 2000: 231) reports that the Troubadour musicians' salaries placed them in the top two percent of African wage-earners. Additionally, Allen (2003: 230) reports that Dorothy Masuka and other singers recounted with great fondness their time as Troubadour employees though according to Coplan (1985: 178 cited in Allen 2003: 230) exploitative employment conditions prevailed in South African recording studios during the 1950s.

Gender Studies

My work is informed by studies similar to Ramanna's (2005a) which discuss the experiences of female musicians in different contexts and across cultures by the following female writers: Allen (2000, 2003), Chari (2008), Hassinger (1987), Koskoff (1987), Muller (2001), and Robertson (1987). Chari (2008), Makore (n.d.) and the majority of authors in Koskoff (1987), such as Robertson and Koskoff herself, focus on genres other than jazz. A notable exception is Hassinger (1987) who focuses on American jazz. All the above-mentioned writers discuss female artists' musical experiences in male dominated music arenas. Central themes in the works of these writers are the role of culture in music performance, the gendered division of labour and patriarchy, motivation for singing and composing, themes of songs, achievement of goals and aspirations, market dimensions, multiple identities and under-representation of female musicians. The findings in these studies depict an all-embracing vulnerability and marginalisation of female musicians in any given music industry. This shows that although female musicians' experience is culture- and context-specific, it is common because it cuts across class, race and culture. This is the social reality for women as argued by feminist standpoint theorists (such as Dorothy Smith, Sandra Harding, Carol Gillegan, and Patricia Hil Collins in Hartsock (1987 cited in Hofman 2010: 4). To demonstrate that race is not the only determining factor, the majority of Ramanna's female subjects are not black, yet they, like the South African female musicians of colour, experience the same gender dynamics (Allen 2000; Muller 2001; Ramanna 2005a; Zaidel-Rudolph 2005). These scholars' work not only laid the ground for my own research, but provided analyses and perceptions for comparative analysis with the New Brighton vocalists' experiences.

Most of the above cited authors observed that female musicians' performance roles are limited to piano playing, singing and dancing (Allen 2000: 231; Hassinger 1987: 196, 198; Koskoff 1987: 8; Makore n.d.: 50, 52, 53; Muller 2001: 138; Post 1987: 12; Ramanna 2005a: 220). Historically, women in jazz in the USA were limited to the role of singing and the South African jazz tradition orients women towards singing and men towards playing instruments through gendered difference (Muller 2007: 1065). Drawing on a Zimbabwean case, Makore (n.d.) infers that the majority of women are either backing vocalists and/or dancers, as is the case in the Indian singer-

dancer tradition reported by Post (1987: 12). These studies show how patriarchy, which knows no racial, class or cultural divide, discriminates, subordinates and subjugates women and perpetuates male dominance in both the public and private spheres.

Various literature reviewed reveals that gendered division of labour is characterised by sexual stereotyping where women who engage in musical performance are generally perceived as "women of the night", or "prostitutes" (Mcleod and Herndon 1975 cited in Koskoff 1987: 3; Chitauro et al. 1994: 11, 118 cited in Makore n.d.: 49, 50; Muller 2001: 139). It is apparent that while context- and culture-specific, gender inequalities cut across class, race and culture, class, race, and culture play an influential role in the gender inequalities in the experiences of the vocalists in this study. I argue that through documenting the experiences of female musicians who are not nationally and internationally famous, gendered stereotypes can be demystified to pave way for accommodating women as competent performers as deserving of recognition as their male counterparts.

Given the challenges that female musicians face across cultures as indicated above, it is necessary to acknowledge the positive discoveries made by these writers. While women musicians have been marginalised on the professional music performance scene, they have always found ways to circumvent male domination. Though their degree of agency is small, they do exercise their agency and show their willingness to act in relation to their social situations (Goddard 2000). Robertson (1987: 12) cites examples of all-female groups, such as the Kassena-Nankani in Ghana and the Mapuche of Argentina, who adopt various male performance repertoires to assert power and control, and the Feminist Chorus in the Washington DC area, who formed an all-female group based on non-hierarchical notions of consensus and cooperation.

Furthermore, music can be used as a vehicle of protest over gender inequalities providing a socially acceptable forum for female musicians to express themselves, though most often it does not challenge basic social arrangements (Koskoff 1987). In her article (1980: 427-29 cited in Koskoff 1987: 11), "Poetry as a Strategy of Power: The Case of Riffian Berber Women", Joseph describes how Berber women of marriageable age perform songs for the entire community which

they compose for purposes of justifying breaking up an engagement, or ridiculing an unwanted suitor. They also use songs to encourage suitors using sexually explicit words and the men in question must endure this in total silence. This performance context protects Berber women against unwanted marriages and controls the role their fathers play in marriage negotiations. Post (1987: 12) reports that female singer-dancers in India rejected a dance characterised by highly erotic gestures and destroyed the singer-dancer tradition which was characterised by sexual stereotyping, thereby liberating Indian women from such experiences, albeit with moderate success. These examples illustrate women's efforts towards autonomy, demonstrating that they are aware of their disadvantaged and marginalised position and seize every available opportunity to rectify this status quo.

The above literature shows how women are crossing over into the mainstream of music performance by adopting musical behaviours previously reserved for men. Koskoff (1987: 11) observes that female musicians are using music performance as a context for symbolic gender role reversal and/or transformation necessitating inter-gender communication and the mediation of antagonisms. For example, the Boswell Sisters learned recording technology, a sphere predominantly occupied by males (Hassinger 1987). In addition, Indian female musicians are trained in male genres such as "*dhrupad* and *khyal*" which raises their musical status and results in them abandoning the female-related genres of the temple and court tradition (Post 1987). The South African female trombonist in the Prisoners of Strange, Siya Makuzeni, is one of few female jazz performers on instruments other than piano (Ramanna 2005a: 225).

Further examples include Zimbabwean female musician Stella Chiweshe, who broke gender boundaries by playing the *mbira*, an instrument traditionally reserved for males due to its spiritual overtones, thereby laying the ground for the emergence of more female *mbira* players such as Chiwoniso Maraire (Makore n.d.: 50). Consequently, Zimbabwean schools and tertiary institutions have embraced teaching female students *mbira*. Besides breaking gender barriers by playing instruments normally intended for men, women are creating their own music and own backing groups, although material and ideological constraints still minimise their full involvement in music (Makore n.d.: 48). One such example is Stacey van Schalkwyk, a South

African female jazz musician who has stayed true to jazz and managed to hold a band together (Ramanna 2005a: 224).

Historical Studies of Eastern Cape/New Brighton

The backdrop to the economic, social and political history of New Brighton between 1903 and 1953 is provided by Baines (2002) who addresses the circumstances which preceded and followed the 1923 Urban Areas Act, a critical period (1938–1974) during which the vocalists were born and grew up in this environment. Furthermore, Cherry's (1988) BA (Hons) unpublished dissertation provides useful information on the political history of Port Elizabeth in general which helps paint the mood of the era in which the vocalists grew up. The unpublished theses of former University of Port Elizabeth (now Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University) students, Goosen (1999) and Hughes (1999), provide weighty insights on the history of music in both New Brighton and Port Elizabeth. To all intents and purposes, their historical contextualization, to be incorporated in Chapter Four, is highly informative with reference to New Brighton, the space occupied by the vocalists and their contemporary male musicians.

Music Industry Studies

Zaidel-Rudolph's (2005) experiences at the SABC and SAMRO are an example of how women struggle to market themselves. Allen (2000) depicts the South African music industry as manipulative because recording companies did not pay musicians royalties and the majority of them underpaid the musicians, with the relative exception of Troubadour whose former musicians were accorded better working conditions and wages. Coplan (1985: 178 cited in Allen 2000: 230) observed that during the 1950s black musicians regardless of gender were subjected to exploitative employment conditions in South African recording studios. His observation illustrates that the exploitation of black South African musicians was a nationwide manifestation and hence the documentation of the vocalists' experiences of the Port Elizabeth music industry adds a new version to this history by revealing how they have experienced this exploitation. It also provides different perspectives into the operations of the South African music industry because the research, focusing on popular musicians from major cities and towns, demonstrates that the operations of the music industry differed from city to city. Consequently, from the

literature I reviewed, I noted that female musicians experienced the music industry differently depending on their geographical locations. The fact that Johannesburg-based female musicians Dorothy Masuka and Mary Thobei experienced its music industry differently indicates that female musicians from other places must also have experienced it differently.

Meintjes (1997: 5) researched the experience of mbaqanga musicians in the recording studio and refers to the difficulties experienced in the music industry as a result of the apartheid era political climate. The cost of cassettes increased such that average workers could not afford them, violence limited the organisation of live promotional performance and festivals, black media workers went on strike, studios closed and musicmakers moved from one corporation to another (*ibid.*).

Oral History and Biographical Research Methods

Douglas et al. (1988), Ritchie (1995) and Stanley (1992) (cited in Hofman 2010: 2) argue that the aim of oral history method is to make a subjective record of how an individual looks back on his/her life as a whole or in part. This method prioritises the interlocutors' views and does not impose meaning on their experiences. Accordingly, my study is a "socially produced interpretation" of the vocalists' experiences (Stanley 1992: 7 cited in Hofman 2010: 2).

The biographical method has threefold expectations: it accesses social life comprehensively 'from within', in its meaning and subjective aspects, and in its historical dimension (Kohli 1978b cited in Kohli 1981: 63). It represents individual life histories and it gives access to the reality of life of social aggregates, strata, class, and culture. The term "social construction" denotes that autobiographical memories are built not only internally but also socially and culturally through interacting with significant others (Conway 1995: 118). As a result the vocalists' thought processes are moulded according to their context and environment as they interact with significant others, family and friends during the socialisation process. I encouraged the vocalists to highlight key issues in their family background, educational and professional achievements, and adult relationships, both personal and professional, in order to enrich the data I collected for analysis. By documenting the history of the vocalists, I first bring out their diverse experiences as six different individuals through their biographies, and second, as vocalists from Port

Elizabeth whose experiences vary in certain respects from each other as well as from their counterparts elsewhere in South Africa.

Following Renders's (2008: 119) proposal that biographies must clearly show that life can be understood in its relation to a whole historical context, I contextualize the socio-political history of New Brighton in Chapter Four. The vocalists' life spans incorporate both apartheid and post-apartheid eras which have shaped their collective experiences and perceptions of themselves and interpretations of their world.[4] Each of the vocalists creates their world according to how they were socialised as suggested by Eber and Neal (2001: 4). However, due to my intervention as a researcher, all the vocalists focus their memories to interpret their musical experiences in accordance with my questions. Their biographies are focused mainly on their careers and those of their life experiences which impacted on their careers.

Kohli (1981: 62) approaches biography from three different perspectives: biography as a life account, as a text and as a method of research. In this study I adopt all three of Kohli's insights which are corroborated by Gagnon (1981). Kohli (1981) and Gagnon's (1981) approach to the analysis of life accounts gives precedence to lived experience as interpreted by the individual who lived it. I seek to understand the vocalists' experiences via the themes depicted in their narratives. I used biography as a data collection method in order to generate the text (interviews) which I then analysed so as to interpret the meaning of their experiences.

Vansina (1961) stresses that "cultural history" is important to the notion of personality and identity and projects the self-image one cares to transmit to others as dictated by social norms, values and expectations.[5] Rassool (2004) looks at life history and studies of the production of history, the biographic landscape of memory, collective experience and ordinary experience and the narrative. His approach and Bertaux's (1981) conceptualisation of biography provide the means by which I construct the vocalists' biographies and analyse their experiences. My rendering of the vocalists' biographies and my subsequent interpretation and analysis of their experiences represent who the vocalists are, how they perceive themselves, how they interpret

[4] For more information on the vocalists' self-perceptions, see Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

[5] This is apparent in Nomzamo's biography when she describes how and why she dropped out of school (see Chapter Five).

their world and how they think they are seen by others as well as how they want to be seen by others. Furthermore, according to Gabbard (1995: 122), methods in oral history advocate that interviews be corroborated with one another and with written sources to establish their validity. Doing this type of comparison empowered me to draw conclusions from my research.

Ricoeur (1980 cited in Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000: 58) says that by telling their stories, interlocutors recall what has happened, put experience into sequence, find possible explanations for experience, and play with the chain of events and feelings that shape their individual and social life. Thus, a biography is constructed and composed rationally (Szczepanski 1981).

I gathered, interpreted and analysed my research data applying oral history interview and biographical techniques to connect individual experiences to the characteristics of a precisely dated, experienced historical situation of the vocalists in the context of the apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

Memory and Reminiscence

I draw on Hamilton and Shopes (2008), Rubin (1995), Conway (1995) and Peretti (2001) who address the place of autobiographical knowledge and memory in biography and oral history. They argue that autobiographical knowledge is influenced by memory, a term which is synonymous with remembrance and/or recollections and also denotes that which is remembered.

I draw on Mendels (2007) and Eber and Neal (2001) who interrogate various ways of interpreting the role of memory in recollections. McGaugh (2003: 2) argues that "we are our memories" because they shape how one views the world and makes sense of it, because it shapes how we think. Significant historical events form stronger collective memories and hence affect what events are remembered (Pennebaker and Banasik 1997). Following this thinking, I reflected and interrogated the vocalists' recollections, verified inconsistencies and deciphered the arrangement of the themes that stood out and ran through their overall experiences.

Vansina suggests there is a gap between what actually transpired in the past and how interlocutors render it (1985: 9). Failure to present their pasts as they happened is caused by remembering being characterized by selectivity which focuses attention on the objects and events of immediate interest (Eber and Neal 2001: 5). That is, the vocalists recalled issues related to the

focus of my study which is the interpretation and analysis of their musical experiences. Furthermore, the human memory itself rules out certain "correct reminiscence", because opinions change with time (Peretti 2001: 594). This tendency to selectively remember was taken into account in my analysis of the vocalists' life stories. Following Vansina's method of obtaining reminiscences through in-depth oral history interviews, I aimed at saving "sources from oblivion, to come to a first assessment of the events/situations studied or to promote consciousness among the actors of the happenings themselves" (1985: 13). Through the biography method, the past becomes an important way of establishing the basis of the vocalists' successes and failures, lost opportunities and what have been inappropriate hopes and aspirations and "the role of chance happenings in human affairs" (Eber and Neal 2001: 8). The vocalists' biographies address thematic time periods such as childhood and family life, school years, musical breakthrough, highs and lows of musical experiences, goals and aspirations as well as their multiple roles/identities in their social and professional spheres (Conway 1995: 67).

Conclusion

The above literature on South African jazz, gender studies, oral history and biographical methods informed my attempt to synthesise the information gained from the vocalists' life stories to create a flowing and meaning oriented interpretation and analysis of their life experiences. Four themes emerged in my literature review. First, the music industry is depicted as a male-dominated space cutting across class, race and culture; therefore implying a common experience of female musicians which is, however, uniquely context specific for each individual. Second, women are asserting their positions as competent musicians despite material and gender-ideological constraints. Third, female musicians from different classes, races and cultures contest gender ideologies through music performance, showing that they are generally accorded unequal treatment in the majority of music industry setups. Therefore the notion of music as a gendered discourse knows no class, racial or cultural divide. Finally, the researches conducted by female academics tend to focus on the experiences of female subjects, a trend which extends into disciplines such as anthropology and gender.

The literature covered in this chapter together with the theoretical grounding explicated in Chapter Three form the basis of the interpretation and analysis presented in this thesis.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework of Analysis

Introduction

This research is based on a theoretical framework of analysis that principally draws from Bourdieu's notions of habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu 1977: 78; Webb et al. 2002) and tenets of the oral history and biography methods as articulated by Hofman (2010). Her work studied the feelings, thoughts, attitudes towards music and performing, points of view and interpretations of the past of female singers in Southeastern Serbia. Her study applies to mine in the sense that I am investigating how female vocalists from New Brighton, Port Elizabeth, have experienced musical performance – their feelings, thoughts and attitudes towards music and performing as well as how they reflect on and interpret their past and present experiences. My analysis takes its cue from Hofman's study. I use the notions of habitus, capital and field as developed by Bourdieu and adapt them to my own work.

Bourdieu's Notions of Habitus, Field and Capital

Bourdieu defines habitus as

> the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations...[which] produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principle...the past which survives in the present, the immanent law...laid down in each agent by his earliest upbringing (Bourdieu 1977: 78).

Bourdieu in Webb et al. (2002: 2) says habitus is

> the historical and cultural production of individual practices – since contexts, laws, rules and ideologies all speak through individuals, who are unaware that this is happening – and, on the other hand, the individual production of practices – since the individual always acts from self-interest.

According to the above quotes, habitus constitutes a set of durable unconscious schemes which form the foundation of one's thinking, perceiving and acting – one's worldview. It therefore determines the way one interprets and gives meaning to experience. This amounts to an individual's opinions and attitudes relating to the world and things in general. In other words, habitus is a system of dispositions developed by agents during their primary socialisation.

Primary socialisation is constituted by such groups as families, peer groups, co-workers, neighbours and classmates. One's background is fundamental in the formation of one's habitus. According to Bourdieu (1977: 81, 87) primary socialisation impacts and structures subsequent experience: as a result, habitus is durable, transposable and transformable across contexts.

In my study, the vocalists' worldviews are a product of their habitus which is highly anchored in the circumstances characterising their primary socialisation during the apartheid era. Due to changing circumstances during the apartheid era and the transition to the democratic dispensation, the vocalists' worldviews changed. Therefore, how have the vocalists' worldviews changed over time from the apartheid era through the post-apartheid era to the present? How have their present circumstances influenced how they interpret their past?

The cognitive dispositions of Bourdieu's notion of the habitus overlap with the definitions of memory given by Gagnon (1981: 56) and McGaugh (2003: 3) who define memory as an exhibition of a solidly retained past in the present and the "glue to our existence". According to both definitions individuals view, interpret and give meaning to their past experience in light of their current experiences and vice versa. Memory enables individuals to make sense of their experiences by linking the past and present and being able to project the future. Through this process they form a coherent narrative depicting their individual identities at given moments because memory is malleable, never static, but always in a state of flux.

It is apparent from the preceding discussion that memory plays a fundamental role in the formation of the habitus. Both habitus and memory are unconsciously formed and are a result of assimilating one's environment. Habitus and memory impact and are impacted by the context. The way the vocalists view themselves influences how they are seen by those around them and how they give meaning to their own experience and vice versa. Memory, like habitus, is a consequence of experience and influences one's actions, worldview, choices and reactions to given situations. Memory is active in the vocalists' narratives and influences how they interpret their experience.

Habitus and memory together with experience produce dispositions which generate ambitions and aspirations. Swartz (1997: 103) defines dispositions as tendencies to behave in ways

consistent with the conditions under which these tendencies are produced. In the context of my study, the vocalists were predisposed to enter the field of cultural production where they occupy the position of female creative performers. Their choice was due to the influence of their socio-historical contexts which ranged from their class origins, family, background and educational opportunities. The vocalists' habitus also impacts how they negotiate their positions as female creative performers in their music industry.

The above discussion demonstrates that context forms the backbone of experience and is fundamental to the formulation of the habitus and memory. Bourdieu refers to context as the "cultural field", and defines it as

> a series of institutions, rules, rituals, conventions, categories, designations, appointments and titles which constitute an objective hierarchy and which produce and authorise certain discourses and activities (in Webb et al. 2002: 21).

The above definition depicts a cultural field as a fluid and dynamic entity characterised by mutually dependent interactions which produce and transform attitudes and practices. Concerning the interrelationship between these institutions, Bertaux says:

> each individual does not totalise directly a whole society, he totalises it by way of mediation of his immediate social context, the small groups of which he is a part; for these groups are, in turn, active social agents which totalise their context, etc. Rather society totalises every specific individual by mediating institutions which focalise it with specificity towards the individual (1981:23).

The aforementioned institutions mediate between the social and the individual, and influence the psychological dimensions of their constitutive members and the structural dimension of the social system. An individual is therefore a sophisticated product of the social practice (Bertaux 1981: 26). In this regard, the subjects of this study are as much products of their context as they are contributors to the construction of its reality. Contexts comprise both the physical and cognitive realms. Due to their interdependence both contexts are negotiated concurrently. The vocalists' habitus determines how they negotiate specific contexts which constitute their experience, part of which is highlighted in Chapter 5.

I apply Bourdieu's notion of the field of cultural production to the analysis of both the physical and cognitive environments of the vocalists. I analyse the physical context, the Port Elizabeth music industry in terms of their space and location in the Eastern Cape Province in relation to the

rest of the South African music industry. I also analyse the music industry dynamics during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras, the context which defined the social conditions which engendered the vocalists' dispositions. I then analyse the cognitive context in terms of the vocalists' interpretation of the reality of their situation as female creative performers within the socio-political context described above.

Webb et al. underscore the importance of cultural fields in the production, dissemination and authorisation of different social realities and self-interests which are motivated and informed by competition (2002: 7). This implies that the Port Elizabeth music industry comprises different social realities for the different stakeholders within it and competition is inevitable due to the existence of numerous bands in an under-resourced competitive environment. Domination characterises the objective relations existing between different positions which social agents occupy in the cultural fields (Bourdieu cited in Eber and Neal 2001: 127). In this sense a cultural field is a space or place where agents meet and struggle for power and/or control of resources. Hence, to understand the vocalists' social reality in their cultural field, I address the following questions: What position did the vocalists occupy in their field of cultural production? What did it mean to be vocalists in New Brighton during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras? Who occupied powerful/influential positions, and how did they negotiate and distribute the available resources? Who benefited or did not benefit, and why?

The field/context is a structured system of social positions occupied by agents. The nature of the social positions determines the situation for the agents while capital enables them to exercise power and influence in particular fields. Capital determines an individual's movement around the field.

Evidently, capital shapes social relations within a system of exchange between habitus and field. The term capital covers goods that are material and symbolic and exist as social, cultural or symbolic. Capital is thus defined as that which constitutes gain for the artist; that is, any type of resource, both tangibles and intangibles such as expertise, social networks, or prestige (Bourdieu in Webb et al. 2002: 178). In analysing the vocalists' experiences, I interrogate whether or not they have accrued either tangible (material/financial) or intangible (social/symbolic) forms of capital.

Symbolic capital is

> any property (any form of capital whether physical, economic, cultural or social) when it is perceived by social agents endowed with categories of perception, which cause them to know it and to recognise it to give it value (Bourdieu 1998: 47).

In this sense symbolic capital is defined through its function of mediating power in relation to one's reputation and value as perceived by others such as being known and recognised. This can be equated to honour, fame, good name, reputation and prestige. Have the vocalists earned any symbolic power in terms of fame, honour and prestige? If so, how much? This can be determined by assessing how much honour, fame, good name, reputation and prestige the vocalists have been accorded for their contributions to the jazz performance in Port Elizabeth. What are the implications? What forms of capital did the vocalists receive as participants in the Port Elizabeth jazz scene?

Gregs (2003) cited in Fuller and Tian (2006: 288) suggests that symbolic capital can be exchanged for economic capital. I pose the following questions: If the vocalists earned any form of symbolic capital, have they exchanged any of it for economic capital/money? Put simply, have the vocalists made money from their musical performances? Whether they have or not, what impact does this have on their overall lives?

Fuller and Tian argue that

> for socially responsible acts to carry symbolic capital they must be perceived (by stakeholders) as being of value, or must symbolise value and/or leverage power from a perception of prestige and repute (2006: 291).

Given the fact that most of the vocalists' performances were community based, I raise the following questions: 1) Are the vocalists' socially responsible acts symbolically valuable to warrant prestige? 2) Have the local music industry stakeholders perceived the vocalists' community contribution as of value? The answers to these questions help minimise subjectivity in that they clarify whether or not the stakeholders merely ignored the vocalists' contributions as insignificant or whether their acts were in reality symbolically insignificant to warrant recognition.

Social capital is another form of capital which, according to Liao and Welsch (2003 in Fuller and Tian 2006: 289), comprises network ties which provide access to resources. Burt (1992 in Fuller and Tian *ibid.*) says resources and information benefit come in three forms: access, timing and referral. Following this notion, I examine whether or not the vocalists have had access to resources and necessary information. I also scrutinise their entry time into the creative performance arena and their social networks in terms of the significance of the people they know in their field. Liao and Welsch (2003 in Fuller and Tian 2006: 289) contend that the structural dimension of social capital symbolizes the presence or absence of network ties between actors. As such, well-connected actors have more access to resources and information than those without connections. So networks necessitate the smooth running of the actors' endeavours and create opportunities in the field through which they gain capital in its varied forms. In other words, who you know affects what you know. Were the vocalists sufficiently well-connected in the social networking structures in their industry to be able to access resources and information? Which forms of capital have they gained as a result of such networks? What are the implications of the answers to the two preceding questions to my study of the vocalists' experiences? How have their social networks helped promote their cause as female creative performers?

Cultural capital is "a form of value associated with culturally authorised tastes, consumption patterns, attributes, skills and awards" (Webb et al. 2002: x). The amount of power a person wields determines both their position and the amount of capital they possess in that field. The field imposes practical limitations on the artists thereby forcing them to adjust their expectations regarding capital (Webb et al. 2002). I analyse the vocalists' positions and worth in the context of performing in Port Elizabeth during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. The questions I ask in this respect are: What aspects of their performances did they hold dear and why? Did they receive the recognition of their community as cultural performers? Were they a creative force to be reckoned with in their community? What do they have to show for their life-time participation in the Port Elizabeth jazz scene?

Oral History/Biography

The above discussion of Bourdieu's theory of habitus, field and capital is an elaboration of the diverse ways individuals experience life. I adopt biography as a method of research because it

prioritises the notion of diversity of experience and therefore complements the role that habitus, field and capital play in the vocalists' narratives. Biography is thus the medium through which the vocalists narrate, interpret and give meaning to their experience.

According to Hofman (2010: 2) oral history is alternatively known as biographical, narrative, life writing or life history method. It facilitates understanding of how people experience challenges and transformations in their own lives by allowing them to define, articulate, formulate, represent and interpret their own experiences and perceptions. This means that oral history prioritises the interlocutors' interpretation of their own lives and advocates that their lives be understood from their points of view.

Story-telling is central to the biography/oral history method of research because it is an elementary form of human communication that enables individuals to tell their life-stories (Jovchelovitch and Bauer 2000: 58). People define themselves through what they say about themselves and others understand them as such – hence stories make people who they are. In relation to my study, the vocalists define themselves and form their identities through their narratives. The readers and I understand who the vocalists are through their narratives. The meaning I ascribe to their experiences is based on their own interpretation of their life stories filtered through the interpretive lens I have outlined in this chapter.

I use the narrative method to access the vocalists' personal attitudes towards their past and present musical performances, their views and interpretation of their experience. Through their narratives I gain insight into their future aspirations and plans. The biography method enables me to keep records of their personal histories which I construct as biographies in Chapter 5. My research, like Hofman's (2010), aims at understanding female musical experiences through their oral testimonies. It is from this premise that Hofman's study provides a model for my own work.

Experience moulds and determines who an individual is and differentiates one individual from another. Perks and Thomson (2006: 30 in Hofman 2010: 2) contend that studying the history of ordinary people facilitates understanding ways in which people experience social upheavals and transformations in their own lives and it also reveals the diversity of social experiences within

the community. The implication for my study is that, though the vocalists perform in the same context, their experiences and/or the meanings they give to that experience differ from one another. Hence, each vocalist's narrative is representative of their individual experience, depicting the person they are as a result of that experience. Moreover, the vocalists differ in their creative abilities as performers which show the multiplicity of experience. Thus the biography method endeavours to understand an individual's life as interpreted by the one who has lived it, and does not seek to homogenise experience or impose meaning on an individual's experience.

Experience is central to memory as it is to the oral history/biography method of research. It therefore denotes and exhibits a close reciprocal relationship to Bourdieu's notion of habitus. The biography method of research projects the individual's habitus through the narrative while memory influences how one recalls and interprets experience as informed by specific contexts. The vocalists draw on their habitus and/or previous experiences and their past to respond to given situations in given contexts in the present. They reflect on their past and interpret and give it meaning in view of the present and vice versa, projecting their future on that basis. In turn, their habitus is influenced by their position and worth in the Port Elizabeth music industry. It is therefore from this standpoint that I adapted Bourdieu's notions of habitus, capital and field to my analysis of the vocalists' musical experiences.

Chapter Four

Historical Contextualisation of New Brighton

Introduction

This chapter consists of two main parts: first, the political history of New Brighton from the beginning of the twentieth century until the early sixties, and second, the social history of jazz in New Brighton during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. Because music can best be understood in relation to the social context that gave it birth (Ballantine 1993: 3), this chapter contextualizes New Brighton's prevailing socio-economic and political circumstances before and after the vocalists were born. It paves the way for the analysis of the vocalists' musical experiences as situated in historical, socio-cultural, economic and political contexts, both to explain how these impacted on their musical careers and to gain knowledge of the politics and struggles of their everyday life. Following Muller (2004: 10), I consider it pertinent to "factor in" the making and dismantling of the apartheid system of government in order to understand the vocalists' musical performance.

I begin with a discussion of the establishment and expansion of New Brighton and existing conditions created through the legalization and institutionalization of practical segregation by the National Party when it came into power in 1948. Baines (2002), Cherry (1988), Christopher (1994), Goosen (1999), and Hughes (1999) are highly informative, but Baines serves as a principal source because his research on the socio-political history of New Brighton authenticates the musicians' testimonies which serve as primary data. The wider South African context is considered only when it has a direct bearing on New Brighton and/or its musical activities.

The Birth and Political Governance of New Brighton.

Port Elizabeth had a well-established black urban population quite early in the mid 1850s (Owen 1994: 82, Baines 2002: 63).[6] The practice of residential segregation reinforced the significance of race as a form of identity and had a long history in Port Elizabeth prior to the establishment of

[6] See Baines (2002: 63) for more information on the locations.

New Brighton (Baines 2002: 217). The colonial government's propensity towards urban separatism in Port Elizabeth is evidenced by regulations issued as early as 1855 and the creation of a series of locations. The 1901 bubonic plague, which the Port Elizabeth Health Officer's Report attributed to overcrowding, started in Gubbs Location and precipitated the closure of the early municipal and private locations of Port Elizabeth (Hughes 1999: 26; Maylam 1995: 24; Baines 2002: 63).

Patrick Pasha, jazz saxophonist, emphasized that the Cape government "used the bubonic outbreak as a ploy" to legalize the removal and relocation of the African population (Personal Communication, 22/05/2009). In January 1902 the Cape Colonial Government decided to establish a "model native settlement" to supplant all the existing municipal and private locations within the city. The Native Reserve Location Act (40) was passed in the same year consolidating mass evictions and slum clearance. Emergency public health measures were translated into permanent urban locations legislation which mandated the removals in Port Elizabeth (Baines 2002: 63).

Dr. G. L. Galpin's property, which constituted portions of Cradock and Deal Party, was the site chosen for establishing New Brighton (Harradine 1996: 111).[7] The land was considered unsuitable for industrial purposes or white residential development and was ideally situated eight kilometres outside of Port Elizabeth and its municipal boundaries. The Cape Government assumed its administration for twenty years, from 1903 until August 1923 when New Brighton was placed under the Port Elizabeth City Council (PECC) (Baines 2002: 65, 79; Hughes 1999: 24). The first and oldest part of New Brighton was the Red Location (*Elalini Ebomvu*). The name 'Red Location' resulted from the fact that the houses, built from old army barracks materials, were painted red, not because it primarily housed so-called 'red' people, who were Africans who lived according to traditional customs (Baines 2002: 63, 67; Hughes 1999: 24).

As a way of curbing the resistance of the Africans who opposed the removals nationwide, the state enacted various laws, twenty of which were targeted at facilitating forced removals (Muller 2004: 16). The Cape government used the Native Reserve Location Act (8 of 1905), the 1919

[7] For more information on this see Hughes (1999: 24) and Baines (2002: 65).

Public Health Act and the 1934 Slums Act to perpetrate segregation through large scale slum elimination programmes (Maylam 1995: 27). Port Elizabeth was among the most segregated towns in the country (Baines 2002: 75).

Between 1938 and 1942 the PECC undertook an extensive sub-economic housing scheme to re-house the Africans evicted from Korsten, a racially integrated poor area near the city centre. The apartheid government used the pretext of "maintaining hygienic standards" to justify the subsequent removals, described by Matyu (1996: 1) as follows:

> After living as God's united children of all races in Korsten, the blacks were targeted for removal: trucked under police surveillance with luggage, dogs and cats they were driven across the Dassie Kraal, another multi-racial area at the time, to New Brighton.

New Brighton musician/saxophonist Tinky Zwane told me that his father had bought a house from the Korsten municipality, but their family was moved to New Brighton without compensation during the 1938 Korsten removals. He stressed that the government used the bubonic plague as a subterfuge to move the Africans to New Brighton which then consisted only of the White Location and the Red Location (Interview, 22/05/2009).[8]

McNamee Village, built in the 1930-40s to house New Brighton's middle class residents, was made up of two- and three-roomed houses, each with a tap, a fenced-off yard, a flush toilet shared between two families and space to cultivate little gardens. There were street lamps and trees which served as windbreaks and provided shade on hot days (Matyu 1996: 1-2). The rest of New Brighton had 21 communal standpipes, and no electrification or water-borne sewerage so that the residents used a communal bucket system for latrines. Waste water and matter which seeped into the ground and down the storm water drainage into the Papenkuils River resulted in recurrent sanitation problems, hence the Housing Committee Report of 1920 singled out Port Elizabeth as the "most unsanitary town they visited" (Baines 2002: 67, 79). Due to rising demand for accommodation, New Brighton was eventually expanded to include the following areas: Elundini, KwaZakhele, Zwide, Motherwell, KwaMagxaki and KwaDwesi (Matyu 1996: 1).

[8] White Location was built as an extension of the Red Location to accommodate more Africans who were moved there.

Residential segregation was a form of social control over the African population (Baines 2002: 65). Africans remained as tenants through section 11(3) of the Native Reserve Location Act which regulated the erection and occupation of private dwellings without freehold title. The apartheid government aimed at using Africans as labour in the fast-growing modern economy based on agriculture and industry, without permanent residence for them in urban areas (Muller 2004: 11). Thus the failure to grant title in New Brighton meant that the growth of a middle class was stymied even though many residents were from the ranks of the educated elite (Baines 2002: 65). Patrick Pasha told me of a practice applied only to Africans regarding home ownership: an African man or woman who lost a spouse was expected to remarry immediately or risk losing the house;

> For instance if your wife died, you are going to lose the house... Unolali [the superintendent] would...if there are women in his office who also have lost husbands; they were going to lose some of the houses. So Unonali would now organise you to marry one of these women in his office (Interview, 13/11/2009).[9]

Such marriages took place without prior arrangements or courtship between the involved parties, a factor which contributed to the superintendent's unpopularity in New Brighton. African women were forced to remarry because only men were entitled to own houses in town while single women formed liaisons with men in order to be eligible to live in town as they were not allowed to be tenants to New Brighton landlords.

The government proposed sites for churches and shops to be positioned between the areas occupied by the 'civilised' and 'uncivilised natives', but this plan was never implemented (Baines 2002: 67). Instead schools served as multiple purpose venues and congregations applied for building sites to erect their churches. Concerts were held in church halls and schools due to the absence of performance venues for black musicians in the townships (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009). The majority of church congregations gathered in homesteads because not all churches were granted sites (Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

The enactment of the 1923 Natives (or Urban Areas) Act marked a nationwide struggle over slum clearance which started as the government's reaction to the growth of Johannesburg's slum

[9] Unolali was the name used to refer to the township superintendent. Big T Psyche Ntsele composed a song he entitled 'Unolali' see page 54 for more information (Interview, 13/11/2009).

yards. The Stallard Commission advocated total exclusion of blacks from municipal areas unless demanded by the wants of the white population (Stallard TP1 1922: 241 cited in Allen 2000: 57). The Urban Areas Act led to the establishment of the Advisory Boards for African people: these were, however, ineffective (Hughes 1999: 25; Maylam 1995: 32).

Existing common practices were often formalized through legislation authenticating apartheid's institutional separations (Olwage 2008: 5). The Stallard Commission of 1922 proposed total segregation and no freehold tenure for Africans (Stallard TP1 1922: 241 cited in Allen 2000: 57). The Housing Amendment Act was passed in 1943 to facilitate racial restrictions in ownership and occupancy under public housing schemes (Maylam 1995: 28). This Act impacted on New Brighton because the majority of the Africans could not afford to build their own houses and were therefore forced to remain tenants all their lives (Baines 2002: 67). Long-time New Brighton jazz musician Big T Psyche Ntsele expressed his frustration over how these conditions have not changed:

> And now even here now I don't have electricity...We must pay for water. We must pay for everything now. I think we are going to pay for the sun now, why is the sun shining? (Interview, 29/09/2009).

Africans were promised that they would own houses "rent-free" after fifteen to twenty years of paying for the costs in full (Matyu 1996: 2), but to date they still pay ever increasing rental charges.

Apartheid Legislation

A series of acts were passed to guarantee the effectiveness of apartheid nationwide. Among these was the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949, enacted to guard against inter-racial marriages (Owen 1994: 19). The 1950 Population Registration Act classified the population into "discrete racially defined groups" (Christopher 1994: 103; IDAF 1991: 18). The Group Areas Act of 1950 was specifically designed to preserve "white South Africa" by creating the total urban spatial segregation of the various population groups defined under the Population Registration Act (Christopher 1994: 105; Muller 2004: 11). Different racial groups were driven into separate urban areas (Stapleton and May 1989: 187). The desire to completely remove Africans from South Africa's urban areas fed the government's aspirations towards separate

development policy more specifically focused on Africans although it was implemented after other racial groups were also removed and relocated (Hughes 1999: 26). Buffer strips were created to bar and restrict movement and social contact between different racial groups (Christopher 1994: 106). Hence, whites and coloureds did not interact beyond the sports field (Baines 2002: 216). While coloureds resided and worked in urban areas they lived in racially segregated residential spaces. However, the policy of separate development proved to be totally unrealistic. In Port Elizabeth the policy of separate development affected mainly coloureds, Indians and Chinese because Africans had largely been segregated before separate development was implemented (Hughes 1999: 26). New Brighton residents lived under constant police surveillance which gave the apartheid government a sense of security and control over them.

The Group Areas Act restricted traders from trading with population groups other than their own and resulted in economic self-supporting racial groups. Different population groups were to be governed separately and had to be self-sufficient in trading and business (Goosen 1999: 24), thereby restricting Indian and coloured communities to allocated residential and trading zones (Hughes 1999: 13). Yet New Brighton had longstanding white (mainly Jewish) and Indian traders who were officially given sites and whose presence created stiff competition for the few African entrepreneurs (Baines 2002: 215). The Group Areas Act had little or no impact on New Brighton residents because Port Elizabeth's African population had already been segregated by way of earlier legislation which created some of the earliest locations (Baines 2002: 63).

The pre-1950 Port Elizabeth City Council (PECC) was liberal according to the standards of the apartheid government. The free areas of trade which the PECC allowed perpetuated the interests of the commercial and manufacturing groups (the majority of whom were Indians and coloureds), with the African population being an abundant and unhampered labour supply in the fast-growing modern economy based on agriculture and industry, but denying them permanent residence in the urban areas (Maylam 1995: 33; Muller 2004: 11). The relative permanency of Port Elizabeth's African population provided the traders with more reliable markets and allowed the money to circulate within Port Elizabeth (Baines 2002: 67).

The Aftermath of the 1952 Riots

The marginalization and domination by the apartheid government culminated in the 1952 riots which were directed at white small business owners within New Brighton (Hughes 1999: 27). The police assault on a suspected thief at the New Brighton train station instigated the riots and resulted in Mr. Brandt, owner of New Brighton's Rio Cinema, being stoned to death by the enraged rioters (Hughes 1999: 27).[10] The riots were meant to fight the apartheid system though individuals caught in the crossfire got hurt (Neff Interview, 28/03/2010). In retaliation the government imposed a three-month ban on political meetings and gatherings (Baines 2002: 293). The Africans in New Brighton were not allowed to gather in large numbers, for any reason, lest police attack them if discovered (L. Mwanda Interview, 24/02/2010).

The government linked the 1952 New Brighton riots to the Defiance Campaign, and reacted by imposing and implementing the infamous pass laws which controlled the movement of Africans in and out of townships and confined them there. All New Brighton residents had to produce residence certificates on demand and to report their visitors to the township superintendent stipulating the length of the visit (Maylam 1995: 13). Close surveillance of New Brighton residents began before pass laws were institutionalised and they were not implemented until after the 1952 riots (Coetzer 1991: 278).

Curfew was imposed which banned Africans from the city between 9pm and 5am. New Brighton residents were not affected by the curfew which was enforced in the town but non-residents were expected to have a pass in order to be allowed into the location (Baines 2002: 78). Blacks had to carry the infamous pass on their person at all times or face either going to jail or being sent back to their homelands. The 1953 Group Areas Act amendment was the government's attempt to rezone the city but it threw the non-white communities out of balance. Thus in March that year, the PECC and the government-appointed Reference and Planning Committee reached an impasse on how to rezone the city (Goosen 1999: 24). They disagreed on incorporating 'free areas' of trade because such areas would be completely uncontrolled because this arrangement conflicted

[10] See more about the riots, their aftermath, explanations and consequences in Baines (2002: 287-301).

with the purpose of the Group Areas Act to promote racial segregation (EPH, 11/12/1953 cited in *ibid.*).

The Port Elizabeth removals were completed between 1956 and 1958. The relocated people were allocated four-roomed houses or were given 'sites' to 'service' themselves, hence the name KwaZakhele (do it yourself) was given to one newly-established location (Hughes 1999: 26). The Promotion of the Bantu Self-Government Act fostered racial segregation. The land apportioned to Africans across South Africa was to be subdivided into ten 'homelands' or 'Bantustans' intended to become sovereign states with presiding African chiefs chosen under the jurisdiction of the state (IDAF 1991: 8, 18). Most of these chiefs represented their fellow Africans ineffectively because they were puppets of the apartheid regime (Baines 2002). Only Africans with approved accommodation in locations or sites and service schemes were permitted to work outside their assigned Bantustans while those without passes were incarcerated within (Hughes 1999: 27). Thus African Port Elizabeth residents enjoyed no rights or security of tenure.

Two main events took place in 1960. First, the Group Areas Act was implemented in Port Elizabeth. Additionally, 16 successive proclamations to extend and modify the original dispensation were implemented between 1963 and 1990 (Christopher 1994). Second, the declaration of a State of Emergency brought mass political meetings in Port Elizabeth to an abrupt end with the subsequent banning of the African National Congress (Cherry 1988: 27). It was in this politically repressive climate that the jazz vocalists whose stories are told herein came of age.

The Music History of New Brighton

This section describes the social conditions and the musical environment of the period in which the vocalists grew up, to help explain their experiences. I narrate the main events concerning the development and performance of music in New Brighton, discussing how the apartheid and the post-apartheid governments impacted on New Brighton musicians.

From the 1940s onward, music and song have always been key components of Port Elizabeth's popular culture and contributed to the shaping of popular consciousness (Baines 2002: 228). African shebeen music evolved around 1910 and maintained popularity until the early 1930s

(Ballantine 1993: 26). The same type of musical activity was popular in Johannesburg where shebeens and the illicit brewing trade were important means of socialization among Africans (Baines 2002: 227). In Port Elizabeth, house parties were a feature of social life in Korsten, while in New Brighton, domestic brewing and drinking was confined to the 'wet areas' in the Red Location and under very strict regulations.[11] Religious music and spirituals held a distinctive place in black elite culture, where dance and jazz bands were appreciated but *marabi* culture was rejected (Baines 2002: 228). *Marabi* was denounced by the African educated elite elsewhere as documented by Coplan (1985: 109) and Ballantine (1993: 73-83). *Marabi* was described as "a malignant vice, rotting the lives of moral reprobates" by those Africans who believed that acceptance into European society depended on displaying moral, civilized behaviour "as defined by Christian education" (Allen 2000: 56).

Music and songs revolved around everyday life issues like unjustifiably high rental charges by landlords. As we were driving from my first interview with Tinky Zwane, Patrick Pasha sang 'Koyana', a popular Xhosa song sung by Africans to ridicule landlords who thoughtlessly increased rentals.

> In Korsten we used to sing, 'Koyana'...If I had a house, in my backyard I would have a lot of shacks; hire them out! This Koyana now...would increase rent. Then people would sing about those things like communicating; because...in fact jazz itself if you want a very easy interpretation, it's a language about expression. It may be sad, it may be happy. (Personal Communication, 22/05/2009).

Lumkile Jacobs, our driver that day, added that jazz can be 'hot' by which he meant that it can be lively, with a strong beat (Personal Communication, 22/05/2009). Dudley Tito holds that rural migrant workers enriched early musical activities by performing traditional Xhosa music. These were temporary urban residents who worked either offloading cargo at the harbour or as railway workers on contract basis (cited in Hughes 1999: 28). Typical house party melodies were simple and repetitive (Pasha in Hughes 1999: 28; Coplan 1985). In due course, black urban music making developed into all night 'stokvel' concerts held at churches featuring keyboard music and vocal groups (Hughes 1999: 28).

[11] For more on the development of urban black music in Port Elizabeth see Hughes (1999: 27-37) and Baines (2002: 227-228).

Meanwhile in New Brighton regulations stipulated that no social gatherings were allowed except in public halls, schools or churches, and the use of dwellings even to entertain friends was virtually out of question. Shebeens were not locales of much musical performance in the highly regulated New Brighton township before the 1960s (Baines 2002: 227). Black musicians had neither rehearsal places nor performance venues. They used to rehearse in cramped places (Neff Interview, 28/02/2010).

New Brighton musicians had to apply to the Municipal authorities to use the available schools and church halls and adhere to stipulated time restrictions: 10pm on weekdays, 11pm on Saturdays and not at all on Sundays (Baines 2002: 227). Curfew regulations created a huge obstacle for the musicians because most shows started as late as 9pm and they were not allowed to be in town after 9pm, making it difficult if not impossible for them to perform anywhere outside their own locations. Curfew times differed slightly from place to place and Africans were expected to remain indoors unless they could produce a special 'night pass' (Allen 2000: 60). However, because New Brighton musicians could not always obtain the special 'night pass', they often ignored or circumvented these restrictions though they paid the price when they were caught.

The development of music in New Brighton from the early 1900s through the 1960s forms the background to the vocalists' careers. In the following I describe the musical environment and portray the vocalists' place in the New Brighton music scene, which helps to explain their present circumstances.

Church music played a pivotal role in the development of New Brighton musicians. By the late 19th century, music education, in the many details of its practice, was structured by race in colonial South Africa (Olwage 2008: 5), with an integral component of Christian hymns and/or music. Black students received largely vocal, specifically choral, training, and their musical literacy for the most part was confined to the tonic sol-fa system of notation. No music training extended beyond school for black people. Two centuries saw black South African children and churchgoers, especially in the Eastern Cape, being immersed in religious and classical repertoires of Europe and the US which introduced four-part harmony. Mission work sought to convert black South Africans to both Christianity and European civilisation (Muller 2004: 3-4). Bands

and choirs accompanied most cultural programmes and owed their origin to their members' involvement in church musical activities (Baines 2002: 229). Tinky Zwane's church used to gather at his family's home and that was how he learned to sing and play music (Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

The 1940s were something of a watershed as the concerns which informed the music of this period were different from those that surrounded the practices and the music of the early years of the century. Changing material circumstances characterized the 1940s and gave rise to new and radical styles of political will and organization (Ballantine 1993: 2), unlike the absolute lack of resistance of the earlier years (Matyu 1996: 1). The 1940s jazz styles displayed a new self-awareness that differed from the more liberal forms and outlook of previous years (Ballantine 1993: 2). South African musicians were shaped by a wide range of street, popular, church, and traditional music making, while American jazz had a noticeable effect on South Africa, principally through the distribution of recordings, radio programmes, and magazine and newspaper articles (Muller 2007: 4).

> America colonised the mindset of South Africans because what was available was American music and it channelled itself into our mindset because even all the musicians, instrumentalists and vocalists alike who grew up then started by emulating the Americans (Faku Interview, 2/02/2010).

After World War II choral music and swing jazz spiced with jive elements were popularised and it was then that New Brighton music culture appealed widely to the masses (Baines 2002: 235).

Musicians received rudimentary training and exposure to western musical notation/tonic sol-fa in either church bands or community choirs such as Chalmers Qwesha's United Artists Choir of Port Elizabeth and Mzwandile Matthews's Matthews Singers (Baines 2002: 229). Mike Ngxokolo, who taught at Sikhosana Higher Primary School in New Brighton, was one such individual who could read music. Still, though musicians from the educated elite read music, most musicians could not master it even after being taught how to, rather they "played out of their heads" (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009 and Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

> Through being...keen listeners we used to make a good job of emulating those people...I didn't read my music then. But through listening, or rather listening to the other fellow playing, then I would try and get the chords that this fellow is playing or I would rather ask what part should I play then I will be shown what part to play (Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

Talent and early exposure to a variety of music (including musicals) and instruments contributed to the emergence of a lot of music in New Brighton (Baines 2002: 232). Most musicians grew up listening to an array of music styles, learnt how to play musical instruments at home and participated in singing, mostly religious music (especially choral).[12] The following quotes from interviews with several musicians attest to this:

> While I was schooling as all the children [were] singing at school. Now when I get at home, we started, being a lot of boys...composing old music...singing together in the street...During that space of time my father bought us an organ...The organ was bought 1937 or 1938...peddling olden days organ (Mbambaza Interview, 29/05/2009).

> My mother was musically inclined in church...Since I was musically inclined it was not difficult for me to master the way of playing this saxophone (Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

> At home from my father's side there was an old organ and in the evenings, we used to assemble for evening prayers. So this is when we used to sing especially Anglican hymns though we were not Anglican Church members but we used to like the Anglican hymns...So the singing part came there and of course with the organ, I didn't actually master the organ, but it was my uncle who used to play...But now from an early age I used to like musical films because we used to get allowances from home after we have done our chores on Saturday they will give us money to go to the cinema to watch movies and my best movies were musicals (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).

> My father...and my mother...used to sing together in a church choir. And I think that's where the legacy comes from. We were all singers at home...When the supper was not ready, we used to sing [while waiting] for them to dish the food (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

According to Patrick Pasha, New Brighton veteran musicians learnt how to play music through listening and imitating American records and learnt how to read music at a later stage:

> The other area...where I think we developed was though we could not afford to buy albums and records those days but there were people who were buying them from America. Some of them had contacts so we would have those sessions where you would sit around and listen. And I think that was what we called our township situation where we learnt music because that's where we picked up a tune we liked and...we played it over and over again until we mastered it. And I think this is how we developed musically (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).

Big T. Ntsele learnt through listening to records in McNamee village where Monde Skuchwa held Sunday record listening sessions at his house. Skuchwa encouraged members of the 'Question Marks' and many other aspiring young jazz musicians to listen to a variety of records.

> Monde used to call Sunday...record listening sessions...and he used to play jazz for us. That's where I was introduced to jazz through Monde Skuchwa...on records on those big LPs in New Brighton...in McNamee here in Gqamlana Street...He had a collection of records...all giant jazz musicians...American musicians (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

[12] For more information on activities of the churches and their leaders in New Brighton, see Baines (2002: 229-30).

Monde had LPs by Ella Fitzgerald, Dinah Washington, Charlie Mingus, Ray Brown, Sarah Vaughan, Count Basie, Quincy Jones, Carmen McRae and Duke Ellington amongst a host of other famous African-American jazz icons. Ntsele and his colleagues also frequented a record bar in Grey Street in the city where the white owner allowed them to listen to music though they did not buy records (Interview, 29/05/2009).

Big T Psche Ntsele, Kabal Maxuyi, Sharp Boy and Zola Nongxokwana were about twelve years old and still in school when they founded the Question Marks in 1959. The Question Marks were inspired by the Inkspots, the Woody Woodpeckers, and the Manhattan Brothers. Welile Ntshekisa, whom Big T Psyche Ntsele described as father-like, organized the Question Marks' tours in Johannesburg, East London and Cape Town. Monde Skuchwa convinced the Questions Marks to learn to play instruments by borrowing instruments for them from seasoned musicians in New Brighton. The experience inspired Big T Psyche Ntsele to play bass which he was subsequently taught by Charles Ntabi, a veteran bassist from the Red Location who played like Ray Brown. It took Big T Ntsele three years before he could play well (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

Fig. 4.1 Bassist Big T Psyche Ntsele (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

New Brighton played a pivotal role in the development of jazz musicians in particular, though they did not have formal music education.

> Most of the musicians who grew up in New Brighton went into music without any form of education. New Brighton has been an incubator in music...It incubated a lot of world renowned musicians and jazz has been the culture in this place...I couldn't actually run away from the

> influence. And apart from the fact that I grew up in New Brighton I was born by a musician. My father was also a musician. He was a piano player...His name was Thandekile Bax Matiwane (Faku Interview, 2/02/2010).

One of the renowned musicians groomed in New Brighton was the late Lulu Gontsana, who Big T Psyche Ntsele describes as,

> a ten year old whom we groomed...and he played [drums] so wonderfully...And he also became a professional more than us...He played with Dollar and he has played with many guys from America. He even went to America in New Orleans...He played with Dave Brubeck's son, Darius, and he died in Johannesburg (Interview, 29/05/2009).

But it is also necessary to consider the importance of the vocal jazz and big band developments going on in New Brighton from the 1940s to the 1960s.

Vocal Group to Big Band Transition

New Brighton played an important role in the transitional development of vocal music into big band music during the 1940s to 1960s. The Tiny Tots, one of the first vocal music groups in New Brighton, were founded by Mrs Nyaluzwa, a Methodist School teacher, in 1941. Although their songs were centred on Xhosa word play, their repertoire was highly influenced by the Andrew Sisters, the Inkspots and the Mills Brothers, whose music they accessed through records and the cinema.[13] The Tiny Tots produced prominent musicians such as Robert Maduba, Leonard Duru, Bulelo Makwezela, Dilesa Vikiva and Nomaniso Dlula (Hughes 1999: 29; Baines 2002: 230). They inspired the mushrooming of numerous vocal musical groups during the 1940s, starting with the Broadway Brothers, a band formed around 1945 by pianist and trumpeter Lucky Malagani.[14]

The Broadway Brothers later graduated into the Broadway Band and transformed vocal jazz to a fuller jazz sound by incorporating two saxophones, one trumpet, two trombones, drums, piano and bass into their music accompanied by a solo vocalist. The Broadway Band was from Walmer Township and performed in church buildings and warehouses around Korsten and occasionally in New Brighton. They imitated American swing, though it is not clear how '*marabi*-inspired

[13] For more information on this, see Baines (2002: 230).

[14] The Broadway Brothers was the first band Tinky Zwane joined while he was in Korsten (Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

mbaqanga' or African jazz eventually developed as a distinctive style, due to the absence of recordings of *marabi* (Pasha cited in Hughes 1999: 30).

Once a Broadway Band drummer, Dick Khoza joined the Barnacle Bills when he moved to New Brighton, as did David Mzimkhulu (Baines 2002: 232). Edward Bonakele "Showbiz" Nomkonwana, Robert Madula (formerly of the Tiny Tots) and Milton Madinda (who later joined the Barnacle Bills) were inspired by the Broadway Band to form the Broadway Yanks (*Ibid.*; Hughes, 1999: 30).[15] They were influenced by the Johannesburg-based Elite Swingsters. Dudu Pukwana and Nick Moyake later became members of this band which played its own compositions, most of which were rearrangements of common songs sung by children in the streets. Years later, the Soul Jazzmen, a bebop oriented combo, composed their music in the same manner (Tito Interview, 12/11/2009). The Broadway Yanks were often hired to perform at open-air concerts, weddings, ballroom competitions and beauty contests. They came close to emulating the American thirteen piece big band sound (four saxophones, three trumpets, three trombones, guitar, bass, drums and piano) with their four saxophones, two trumpets, two trombones, piano, bass and drums.

One of the Broadway Yanks members was Jury Mpehlo who upon his return to Grahamstown in 1951 formed the Gaiety Brothers, a five-part vocal group (Baines 2002: 231). Most vocal groups were influenced by 'classical' American jazz singers and crooners such as Nat King Cole as well as vocal groups like the Mills Brothers and Inkspots, but later developed into bands which used instruments like those of the American big bands (Baines 2002: 232). Norman Ntshinga led the Keynotes and was its lead vocalist until Mabel Magada (who played the female lead in the film *Song of Africa* in 1952) joined them. Norman and Mabel's subsequent marriage brought to an end Mabel's promising and brilliant career when Norman asked Mabel to choose between her career and her marriage (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).[16] By choosing her marriage, Mabel gave up her chance to play the vocalist role in *King Kong* which was then given to Miriam Makeba and facilitated her rise to stardom (*ibid.*).

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[15] Nomkonwana earned the nickname 'Showbiz' because he was good at arranging performances (Hughes 1999: 30).

[16] Jury Ntshinga is Norman and Mabel's son, and founder and band leader of the popular 1970s group, Black Slave.

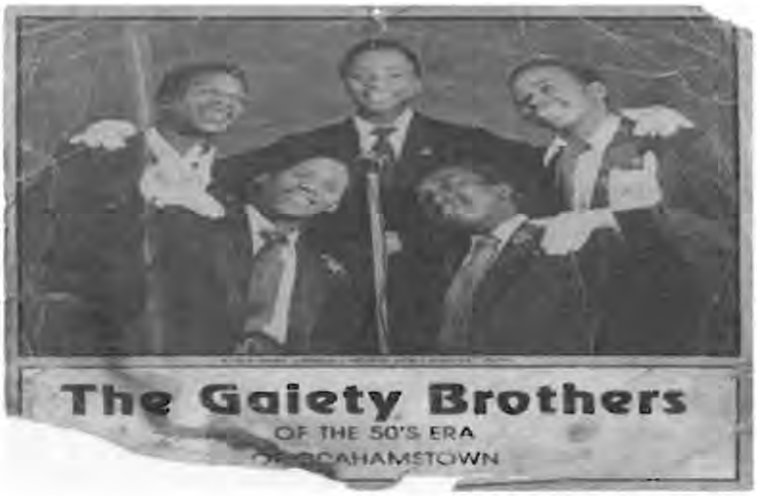

Fig. 4.2 The Gaiety Brothers Band (Richard Hatana Collection).

In the late 1950s big bands often re-formed into smaller combos and ensembles because of the prevailing harsh political environment, escalating cost of living and low performance fees. Performance opportunities became scarce, resulting in stiff competition among black musicians, as white club owners only hired competent musicians. Musicians were often forced to break pass laws and curfew regulations in order to earn a living performing in white owned clubs causing them to clash with the police.[17]

Popular New Brighton Jazz Bands

Whilst Baines dubbed the 1940s the 'vocal era', the late 1940s and the 1950s can be termed the 'big band era' and 'a beehive of activity' in which a number of bands stood out (Baines 2002: 232).[18] The most popular among them were the Barnacle Bills, the King Cole Basses, and the African Rhythm Crotchets (Baines 2002: 232; Hughes 1999: 30). These early bands modelled themselves on the American jazz performers in dress style (for example, the African Rhythm Crotchets who dressed in black suits) and the message in their music resembled that of the African-Americans in that it depicted their struggle (Pasha Interviews, 13/11/2009; 5/02/2010).

[17] For more information on these bands, see Baines (2002) and Hughes (1999). See also the subsequent section on musicians' apartheid experiences.

[18] Baines (2002: 232-33) and Hughes (1999:30-1) discuss these bands in greater detail.

Lent Maqoma led the African Rhythm Crotchets which comprised Ntabi Charles, Xolise Marwaqanga, and Sakkie 'Grootkop' Nkopane. Patrick Pasha credits the Rhythm Crotchets with moving beyond mere imitation of the American 'big band' sound by extending their music to "original *mbaqanga* compositions with a more driving rhythm" (Pasha cited in Hughes, 1999: 30). They were 'middle class teachers' who met in college and formed a band specialising in western dance music such as tango, foxtrot and quick step. Lent Maqoma and Sakkie Nkopane were two notable members of this band (*ibid.*).

Fig. 4.3 The Barnacle Bills Swing Band (Richard Hatana Collection).

Fig. 4.4 The African Rhythm Crotchets Band (Richard Hatana Collection).

Trumpeter 'Kekie' Njekilana formed the King Cole Basses in 1952 with Fatu September, Paya Pandle, Charlie Moss and Sizwe Kapi. Big T Psyche Ntsele left the Question Marks in the early sixties to join the King Cole Basses, all professional teachers except for him. Ntsele considered playing with King Cole Basses "a privilege" (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009). In the mid-1960s, Monde Skuchwa founded the Soul Jazzmen together with Tete Mbambisa, Duke Makasi, Whytie Kulumani, George Shefman Mafufu and Sonwabo Makubalo. Around the same time, Big T Psyche Ntsele left the King Cole Basses and joined the Soul Jazzmen.

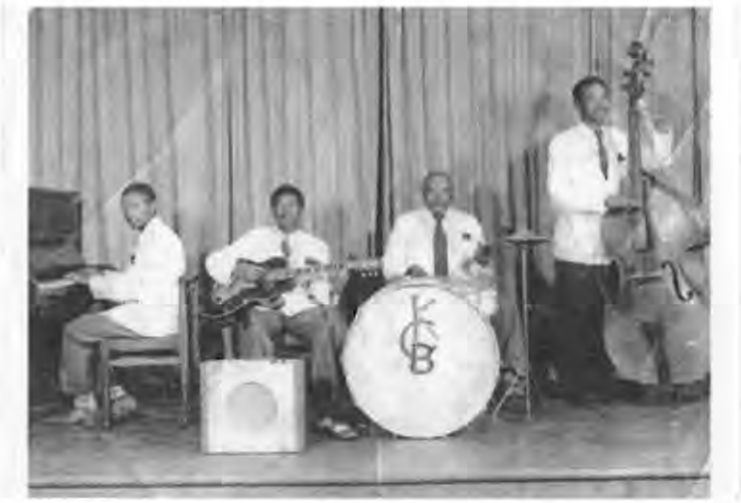

Fig. 4.5 King Cole Basses Swing Band (Richard Hatana Collection).

Dudley Tito joined the Soul Jazzmen in the 1970s and is now its current leader. The majority of the founding members have passed away. Of the surviving original members, Tete Mbambisa is based in Cape Town while Big T Psyche Ntsele remains in New Brighton.

In 1969 the Soul Jazzmen went to Johannesburg where they played many live shows. Upon returning from Johannesburg alone, Ntsele invited Dudley Tito to join him to continue with the Soul Jazzmen. This group included Whytie Kulumani, Peter Johnson and the late Lulu Gonstana (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

> Where ever you go in Port Elizabeth, the Eastern Cape you hear people talking about the Soul Jazzmen. They have won a lot of competitions. They were a challenge in the whole of Eastern Cape. They are the best. They have produced a lot of musicians [such as] the late Lulu Gontsana, Mankunku...a lot of well known musicians have shared the stage with the Soul Jazzmen. They are still going strong those that are still around (Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009).

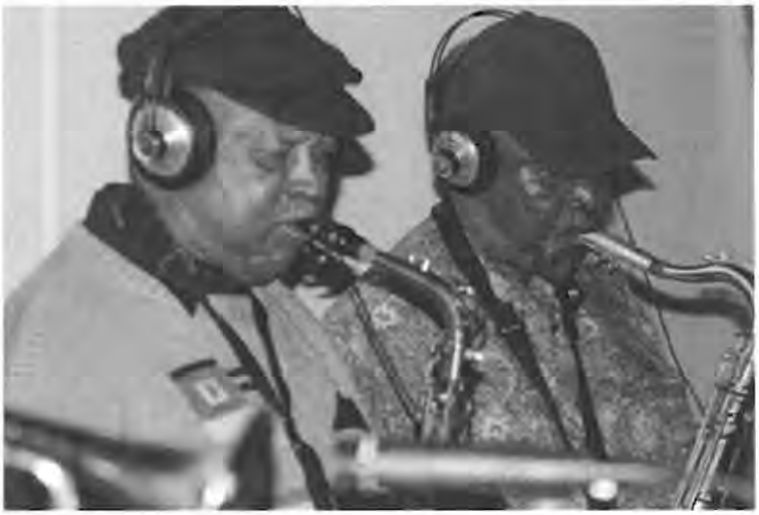

Fig. 4.6 Saxophonists Patrick Pasha and Dudley Tito rehearsing at a music workshop at the Red Location Museum (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

The Soul Jazzmen performed in many jazz festivals and recorded for the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) for radio broadcasting in Port Elizabeth. They remember this time with regret because they never received the remuneration or royalties promised by SABC (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

The late Welcome Duru formed the Basin Blues in 1952, the first band from the Eastern Cape to release a record. Following in the steps of the majority of aspiring Eastern Cape musicians, Welcome Duru went and tried his luck in Johannesburg in the mid-1950s. He recorded with the Cape Earthquakes, whose lead singer was Dolly Rathebe, but returned to Port Elizabeth after he failed to make a breakthrough (Baines 2002: 231).

The Junior Jazzmen, formed in 1953, was led by the accomplished trombonist, vocalist, choirmaster and composer, Mike Ngxokolo (Baines 2002: 232). Lumkile Jacobs, Seargant Mjo and the multi-talented Mra Ngcukana (from Cape Town) were members of the Junior Jazzmen. Ngcukana, a multi-talented trumpeter, saxophonist, vocalist and composer whose stage name was 'Christopher Columbus', formed the Rhythm Down Beats upon leaving the Junior Jazzmen in 1954. Hubert Tini, Dick Khoza, Phillip Mbambaza, Derrek Xujwa and Coleman Stokwe were members of the Rhythm Down Beats (*ibid.*).

Another 1950s band to reckon with was Swannie's Swing Aces, which was led by Swannie Segoe who hailed from Bloemfontein. Segoe was a consummate professional artist who choreographed the performances of his band to the finest detail (Baines 2002: 232). Richard Hatana joined this group as a drummer in 1953 (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009). Dalton Kanyile from Durban teamed up with two Johannesburg musicians and founded the Keynote Combo where they were joined by New Brighton musicians Charles Ntabi and Leonard Duru.

Fig. 4.7 The Junior Jazzmen Band (Richard Hatana Collection).

Fig. 4.8 Drummer Richard Hatana (Richard Hatana Collection).

As they worked with the above-mentioned bands, musicians experienced music differently as shown in the following section.

New Brighton Musicians' Experiences

This section presents narratives of the musicians I interviewed who relate their experiences as performers during the apartheid era. The pass laws and curfew regulations had a lasting impact on the majority of musicians I interviewed. Club owners concerned themselves with making profits at the expense of black musicians who provided quality entertainment for their clientele but always had to endure the brunt of police harassment. Dudley Tito told me the following story.

> The time we went to perform there, it was the club owner that wanted a band not caring about what's going to happen once the band is there. It's only when the police come that no, no, out, out! They used to give the club owner warning; 'Next time we mustn't find this, otherwise we will lock them up'...Pass laws yes...sometimes you get lucky, sometimes the police van comes, 'What do you want here in town at this time?' Sometimes if they are nice they will say, 'Take out your instruments and play for us'...you sing and they say – 'go home!' (Tito Interviews, 12/11/2009; 5/02/2010).

Another example of how the police sometimes released the musicians after asking them to play for them was told by Tinky Zwane.

> We had to have a special permit...We didn't have it so we were taken to the nearest charge office...So I suppose we were supposed to be charged for not having a night pass. But funny enough, the gentleman who was interviewing us...instead of packing us into a cell he asked us to play a song before him...So...everybody wanted to know which song we are going to play for this gentleman. Well, since this gentleman...happens to be a little jovial with us, somebody suggested that we should play a tune called '*Suiker Bossie*' [literal translation 'sugar bush'] that is an Afrikaner song. We started banging in that charge office, playing *'Suiker Bossie'*. After playing *'Suiker Bossie'* the man in charge...the sergeant told us that we should pack up and leave. He didn't charge us (Interview, 22/05/2009).[19]

After yet another performance in Uitenhage, Zwane was taken to the police station in Korsten where the policemen on duty gave the men who negotiated for his pass a hard time as they tried to obtain permission for him to return to New Brighton. The police were "touchy...using their might. In fact they were bullies, they used to bully us [musicians]" such that getting a permit or night pass depended on mood of the police officer on duty (Zwane Intreview, 22/05/2009 and

[19] 'Suiker Bossie' is an endearment which means 'sugar bush'.

Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009). Zwane tells of a different occasion when special branch police disrupted a show in Somerset East.

> We were playing in Somerset East where in the middle of a show – we were playing really enjoying ourselves, somebody came through that door and that somebody looked different...Here are the other chaps playing, banging, others enjoying themselves, dancing...We could see that this character is not part of this crowd...he had his coat over his arm. It was very strange. We started being suspicious and we could see that there was some talk between this person and those guys at the door. We were stopped right in the middle of the song by the people who had hired us, telling us these are the special branch police. We had to stop, packed our instruments and we were bundled into a van we had used to go to that place. The next thing, we were in the charge office taking our belts off...We were hired but I am sure those guys who hired us didn't explain our being present in that place...We were bundled into a police cell. In the morning we were called in the charge office, given our belts and told to pack up and go back to Port Elizabeth. We didn't ask any questions, instead we bundled ourselves into our van, off we went back to Port Elizabeth (Zwane Interview, 22/05/2009).

While some were fortunate to be released after light punishment others were detained and interrogated. Apartheid police offered bribes in exchange for information. Musicians who accepted bribes were branded informers – '*impimpi*' – by their own community and the ANC leaders (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009). Jury Ntsinga told me this story:

> Shirley was in a cell with me in Algoa Park. We had to go to court...if you played in the Rio Cinema...we know that we are going to be picked up the following day...to go to the police for interrogation...We were kept two days, three days in jail...What these whites did then was to sort of put pressure on you...so that you might even say something that you didn't do...They wanted to ask you things...to a point that you break and say something that you didn't even know...They will go to the point of saying, 'Look we will give you so much money if you tell us...Who are the ANC people who were there? Give us the names; we give you so much money'...Tomorrow you get involved yourself like you are an informer (Interview, 10/11/2009).

Ntshinga went on to relate how frightened his Black Slave vocalist, Shirley Lebakeng, was when interrogated by the police after a 'Save the Children' show where Black Slave performed:

> She was detained...Things were bad then...If you are detained it's either you come back or you don't. You will be killed...People will just say she was detained, tomorrow she is dead. So she was very scared...I was worried too and the parents were worried. We were all behind her...I think she handled it very, very well because she composed herself (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

Big T Psyche Ntsele and Pat Pasha related how black musicians accosted by the police while performing in the white owned clubs, escaped via the back door or pretended to be waitresses if female.

> We were not allowed to play in town. I remember one time at Grey Street, I went and played there...And when we were still playing with these other white guys...Van Reich was a pianist from here and another white trumpeter from somewhere in Joburg...Tony York who was a drummer. I had to go to the back door carrying that bass, big thing. The police men wanted to arrest me there.

> They wanted to know, who is that one there with those guys? That is a black guy! And these guys put on that curtain and I had to carry that thing [bass] out back door...to the terminus (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

> Blacks were not wanted in the town halls...You had to go to your own township and those days there were actually no community halls...We were affected by...night passes...people would be standing at the front door to give the signal that cops are here...We just go out the back door. They would come in, look, look...We as a band would now go out the back door...But those people who had female vocalists, and they will just put an apron and begin to serve (Pasha Interview, 2/02/2010).

Only permits and passes licensed black musicians to perform in town and travel through town at night. Among black musicians, Feathermarket Hall was a popular venue in town.

> Even the days of Feathermarket Hall we used to play...When there are big gigs they used to hire that Feathermarket Hall...We used to have some...competition when there is a band from East London (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).

Harassment of black musicians extended to their own townships where they "were tear-gassed". For instance, Ntsele fainted when the police threw teargas into the hall during one of Soul Jazzmen's performances at the Rio Cinema (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009). The audience were not spared and some of them ended up hospitalised after sustaining injuries during the pandemonium. Police used tear gas to disrupt performances and physically assaulted people as they ran out of the halls.

> We used to play sometimes the policemen throw teargas inside the hall then people run on the stage (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

> When the police come they would just throw tear gas inside the hall and the people would stampede to get outside where the police will be waiting for them again beating them up (Tito in Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

> Police used to come and disrupt the show and destroy everything. I thought that the police and everything happening then has become normal because it was their way of life so I did not notice (Neff Interview, 28/03/2010).

Apartheid laws compromised and compounded the scarcity of jobs and sources of income for black musicians, while their white counterparts were not necessarily affected by apartheid laws.

> Those days it was tough to get a real job in town...because...by nine you mustn't be...in town playing in a night club. Only white musicians were allowed to. The police come there and take the whole band and you have been charged for being in town at this time. So, most of the jobs in town were done by white musicians...Playing in a club...was a tough thing...That's why most of the time we did our own shows here at St Stevens Hall (Tito Interviews, 12/11/2009; 5/02/2010).

> Life was bad because things were not easy...We wouldn't just go and play whether it's a white somebody who hires us...There were lots of questions that must arise about us unless that person made all means so that that thing is free...some whites did like our music. So they will make

> means so that he or she will tell us, 'No don't worry yourself I have got this permission for you people to go and play there' (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).

Due to these restrictions black musicians were only free to "perform right in their own backyards in the townships" (Pasha Interviews, 13/11/2009; 5/02/2010). Black musicians did not have freedom of expression and choice but had to perform following the dictates of the apartheid government.

> Honestly it was quite difficult...Not that we were very young not to see what was happening...during that time...In order for people to perform, they had to...be given like a desired style of playing...in order to appeal to...this minority...To be specific I would say there were lots of impediments; lots of restrictions as far as music is concerned...There was no kind of a freedom like as far as...black music is concerned...Because if you had to perform...there is certain genre of music or like a kind of music that you cannot actually perform in front of the white people...We didn't have freedom of choice (Faku Interview, 2/02/2010).

Although the apartheid system ostracized Ntsele's anti-apartheid compositions, he was very popular among blacks.

> We got arrested at times...especially me...who was also singing these songs. They used to choose me, come here. Sunday I will perform, Monday morning they are there at my place... So those were my words (in my songs)... protesting the kind of inhuman treatment of human beings. That was something that was happening. I was singing about something that was happening in front of me (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

> Like Big T and other guys were banging at that Rio Cinema and the following morning they were picked up, they go to the New Brighton Police Station. Asking them questions, why did you play there? What was being said there? Like that 'Unolali' of Big T...had a political message...Telling him (superintendent) what he is doing is wrong in a song way (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

> Yes...most of the songs were freedom songs...The guy who composed the song was from the Soul Jazzmen. Big T composed the song 'Unolali' and he sings, then we had to back him as a band (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

> There was one that was composed by Psyche Ntsele that says '*le* Bastard'. It was a hit song; Bastard, it's a little bit insulting...the picture of what a bastard is. We were suffering, we were poor...we were suffering...So most of the songs that were composed were sort of...struggle songs...but the backing was a [jazzy] one...I also remember there is another one which was sung by Psyche Ntsele saying 'Unolali'. It was quite famous that song...So we sang out of frustration; and we composed out of frustration (Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009).

> We had vocalists who were singing songs like the experiences of black people in those cotton fields in America. Like some of the lyrics would say, 'All lucky old son who has nothing to do'...meaning white people. These were the songs that were coming through...People like...Big T Ntsele...also composed songs...He was unpopular with the system, but people liked him because he sang about...the white Superintendent...'Unolali'...He was very popular with the communities because the Unolalis were messing us up (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).

Curfew and pass laws complicated black musicians' performances in townships around Port Elizabeth because they clashed with the police during curfew hours. Blacks were confined to their home townships which made it difficult for musicians to travel to other cities and towns to perform.

Security officials' brutality towards black musicians was not confined to Port Elizabeth as witnessed by this experience of Ntsele's in Johannesburg:

> It was hard for us to go to Johannesburg because of the pass laws. We got arrested there and harassed and all that kind of jazz. And it was so difficult. At some point you wanted to go home because of difficulties we were encountering there in Joburg...I was arrested for a pass and deported back to Port Elizabeth. I don't belong in Joburg...Yes the cops...did that to me...the first time in my life to be in a jail...far from home you can imagine!...There I was...kicked, beaten and abused... "It's just...pure discrimination. Apartheid laws man. I didn't violate anything. I didn't steal anything. It's just that I was not supposed to be in Johannesburg...It was matter of influx control...so we were supposed to be here in Port Elizabeth (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

However, despite the challenges they encountered, the musicians continued performing in clubs in town because whites paid them better than township promoters who cheated them out of their hard earned cash.

> But that didn't stop us from playing because the clubs were paying much...better than what we would get from promoters in the township. Because in the township...the doorkeeper, who is the promoter, is there to collect the money but whilst you [are] playing as time goes on, you don't see the door keeper anymore. He is gone with the money and you go to his house, people tell you, 'No he is not home'. They would show up with some hard luck stories. In some instances we had heard that they would pay the leader quietly to talk to us like, 'Hey I tried that man payment didn't come out'. It was just a question of saying we won't work with this one anymore (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).

Class Consciousness

Baines records that functional literacy amongst Africans in the Eastern Cape was probably slightly higher than the national average and could have contributed to the fact that the majority of the musicians came from the educated elite (2002: 214). The functional literacy level could also have been the cause of a condescending class consciousness attitude manifest amongst Port Elizabeth musicians and New Brighton musicians in particular. This took place between bands and amongst musicians from different black townships. The King Cole Basses refused to audition saxophonist Lumkile Jacobs because he was formerly from Cradock, hence a "country bumpkin" in Patrick Pasha's words (Hughes 1999: 31, Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009). The King Cole Basses might have been prejudiced against Jacobs because their band was made up of

teachers who came from the educated elite which Jacobs was not (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009). However the King Cole Basses were impressed when they witnessed Lumkile Jacobs' performance at Acenta, a wooden building in New Brighton often used as a venue (Hughes 1999: 31).

On a separate occasion, the King Cole Basses went to perform in Walmer location where they were surprised to discover that bands from that location performed complicated music without reading. Pasha tells of how he once performed in the presence of the King Cole Basses:

> One of the best bands which was called King Cole Basses...went to play in Walmer location...We had worked so hard for that show because we said this is the day when we want to show them who we are...We were not reading music. Now this band was reading music...They used to put stands in front of them and all that and we were playing out of our heads...We selected very difficult and nice songs like from Glenn Miller... And that night they were seating there with all their tuxedos...and we started playing. It's just a pity that it was never recorded. As we were playing we saw them stand up from their chairs coming down and they stood in front of the stage...I suppose they were wondering how can...Walmer location people play such music. I think that's where they started respecting us though they would not fully accept us (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Pasha emphasized that Africans practised 'apartheid' or class consciousness whereby musicians in particular and New Brighton residents in general thought of themselves as 'the people', 'the elite' (*ibid.*).

Thus New Brighton residents segregated themselves from those who lived in the Red Location area because they considered it an unsuitable place to live or raise children. The elite preferred staying in McNamee where living conditions and services were better (Matyu 1996).[20]

> Apartheid was also practised very subtly among black people...For instance...people from New Brighton had always seen themselves as 'the elite' people as compared to Kwazakhele people and so on. Now it's the same thing with Walmer. Walmer was now worse. Like nothing good could come out of Walmer location. That was the general feeling among blacks (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).

Band managers doubled as band leaders and lacked transparency in managing the bands' finances, refusing to be accountable for their behaviour. Hatana argues that greed prompted band managers/leaders to claim the lion's share of the proceeds among blacks themselves:

> So now the other thing is these chaps who are now band leaders...comes up with a job from the white side...he is going to put himself his own way not as you people. And if you...question anything he will tell you, 'Listen here I'm the one who has done this and this and I am running

[20] For further discussion of these attitudes see Baines (2002: 228).

> about with my car, so if you are not satisfied with such and such a thing you can just see what you can do'. So that's the way they used to do that...it's still going on now to us alone amongst us there is no whites now...if you don't combine well he will tell you, ' I bring a job to you, now you are saying silliness if you don't want this, go and get somebody else' (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).

Hatana asserts that female musicians were the most affected because "the band [instrument] players must get their own amount and the girls that sing...mustn't get what...men were paid" (Interview, 13/11/2009). The majority of male musicians believed that playing instruments demanded more effort than singing, hence the money could not be shared equally with female singers. Stan Mosia, former manager of the Jazz Divas, pointed out that female musicians were

> exploited in this sense, there would be an event, a promoter who would approach one of them as an individual...*u*Nomzamo for instance...she will go and sing and she will be given taxi fare and then at the end of the show she will be given R50, that's the end...Or she will then be approached maybe by a group like...Soul Jazzmen and she would get a slot...render three songs. But...because she was not contracted...as an individual...she would then wait on the band members to give her a slice of what they got then. That was very sad (Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

> It's painful if you get to think of it...because today we have got like fine female vocalists who could not go anywhere today because of the suppression that they had...When you have..a talent like as a female, a talent of singing. In order for you to...keep yourself afloat and be able to look after yourself, you need to be respected in what you do...Anything that came from New Brighton in terms of music was not...fairly given a platform to flourish...Because if that was given like to them today...they would actually be proud of themselves and say, "Look this is what I have done when I started to sing, you see until now." But if I can take you to those people right now, some of them are hopeless because of lack of support, suppression of arts (Faku Interview, 2/02/2009).

This data shows that male musicians treated female musicians in the same manner that private promoters treated them (male musicians) when they negotiated for performances with them. Male musicians were not transparent in the sense that there was no open communication between them and the female musicians. Female musicians were expected to be grateful for the opportunity to perform and earn a little money in the same way male musicians were supposed to be happy that promoters were giving them jobs at the lowest cost possible.

> The problem was that now he is the one who is bringing money; we have to dance to his music. He will say, 'I want the whole band I am going to pay it one hundred rand'...We didn't say anything because we didn't have our own job. We had no choice (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

Musicians' attitudes created rifts amongst them, especially in regard to fairness and transparency. Stan Mosia is a jazz fan whose interest in uplifting the musicians has often been discouraged by what he termed the 'Pull him down syndrome' – 'PhD':

> Dudley used to caution me and say...."You are going to struggle to get this thing off'... because people around here have that tendency of the PHD syndrome...The 'pull him down' syndrome...There is a whole lot of jealousy (Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

In-house fighting is the major factor which derailed New Brighton musicians' success because they did not help each other climb up the success ladder. Rather they pulled each other down and as such, impeded individual, as well as, collective musical development of New Brighton and Port Elizabeth at large.

In New Brighton, the apartheid government capitalized on this apparent division among the Africans, and provided entertainment facilities and recreational activities such as libraries stocked with newspapers and books; reading and social clubs as well as educational films for the 'educated elite'.[21] Given these provisions, the strategy of 'divide and rule' was effective because the 'educated elite' were treated differently, though it is unlikely that they benefited from the policy of separate development (Hughes 1999: 26). In fact, the policy of separate development hampered development as it confined people to their tribal lands where Africans could not do much using their own meagre resources (Muller 2004). Interestingly New Brighton musicians did not allow these restrictive rules to deter the growth of black urban music in their community.

The Separate Amenities Act socially separated black and white people. This gave some coloured and Indian musicians the courage to defy the regulations of the Separate Amenities Act. Melvin Neff, a coloured guitarist and composer who lived in a mixed area with whites, was moved by the Group Areas Act from South End to Springdale where white, coloured and Indian people each had their own area. The removal of Africans made Neff curious to find out how they lived.[22] Consequently, he ended up in New Brighton playing with Afroteens where he was accorded the same treatment as blacks. He was not allowed to be "here [in New Brighton] or in town after the 9pm curfew or...[I] will be locked up" (Neff Interview, 28/03/2010). The now late Errol Cuddumbey, a coloured pianist and composer who frequented New Brighton and played with members of the Soul Jazzmen, once clashed with the police on his return from attending a 'black' concert in New Brighton without a pass. Fortunately the police were not harsh with him

[21] For more about these activities see Baines (2002: 229).

[22] Neff married a black woman, with whom he had two children, but his family never accepted her and eventually his marriage fell apart.

(Cuddumbey Interview, 3/02/2010). He regularly backed up several of the vocalists who are included in this study.

For most musicians it was necessary to find a 'day job' in order to survive, as there was simply not enough income from working as a musician. Apartheid curfews and the attitudes of the government regarding what work was 'appropriate' for black people took their toll. It was not uncommon for black people to be sent to work on farms or to labour camps.

> They wanted us to go and work or otherwise they sent us to...labour camps where we would take out potatoes by hand and that kind of thing. It has happened to most of our professional guys I have mentioned here (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

Peter Johnson and George Shefman were among musicians who were sent to labour camps by the apartheid government (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009). Patrick Pasha worked as a messenger for a shop in town (Interview, 5/02/2010) and Dudley Tito reported that being a motorbike driver in town saved him from being sent to the labour camps (Tito in Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009). The majority of black musicians had day jobs to supplement the insignificant income they obtained from their sporadic performances. This meant that musicians rehearsed and performed in the evenings which minimised their chances of growing into fulltime professional performance.

The scarcity of jobs coupled with underpayment by band managers and music promoters worsened the musicians' situation. Richard Hatana, a black drummer, Xolani Faku, a young up-and-coming trumpeter and Melvin Neff, a coloured guitarist, like the rest of the musicians I interviewed, emphasized that they continued playing for the love of music and not necessarily for money, because they could not live on the income from their music performances.

> If one gets a gig they will be...paid peanuts...Something you cannot actually use to sustain yourself (Faku Interview, 2/02/2010).

> Those days music wasn't paying much money...It's only that we love music but deep down you are not happy but for the sake of music, for the love of music, we did play those shows... The only way we were able to survive was doing our own shows...but being hired by a private promoter hey, it was...was little money...we used to...come out of the show each one get two rand, five rand each but that time money could buy – five rand could buy something those years (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

> There wasn't money...we used not to get money...There were no shows man where we could make our shows to make profit. We used to play from hand to mouth (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

> Black musicians did not make good money...I just can't remember how much we were paid...but...we couldn't live on music. It was practically impossible (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009).

> Those days it wasn't like now...our big bands never get monies. We were so excited...like showing people that we are musicians and we used to play all around where there were some functions and alongside the beach there when there is some visitors from other towns...We used to get...little then...Sometimes we only get about five rand per person...We didn't think about money then, but as long...we are musicians...Things were very cheap then. At least we used to buy mealie-meal for the family and all that...We just say thank for that little we got...Unlike now...This is time for money. Things went up, everything...The bands are charging five thousand a gig, so it's...time for the musicians to get money (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).

> And then we used to play three four hours and things are different now. You play for R5000 only for five minutes...We used to play four hours for a thousand rand (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

The musicians of the generation in their prime from the 1950s to the 1970s were more concerned about demonstrating their musicianship than with the amount of money they were paid. Music performed by blacks sought to effect "moral persuasion" and convince whites that blacks were "worthy" of better social, political and economic treatment (Ballantine 2005: 182). Musicians could not afford to buy their own instruments and hired or bought instruments on lay-by agreements as a group.

> If we buy the amplifier, we all buy the amplifier...If we have to pay let's say there is a music shop we bought a keyboard, from the money that is being paid, if we get thousand rand we've got to take something there and pay the instalment for that thing (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

Lumkile Jacobs's first instrument was a plastic flute he bought with the money his mother gave him (Interview, 29/05/2009). In cases where the band bought the musicians instruments, they had to leave them behind upon leaving the band (Baines 2002: 234). If musicians managed to buy their own instruments they needed to service them and for this purpose the Soul Jazzmen accepted the low payment SABC offered them for their recordings.

> If we get this little money we will be able to...buy trumpet valve oil, reeds for the saxophone and all those things...better than not having that money or I won't be able to buy certain things for the instruments (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

New Brighton musicians made efforts to create their own performance opportunities by organising events such as the 1989 Sounds of the 50s Memorial Jazz Festival. This was a musical event they organised aiming at financially aiding the widows and children of musicians who had passed away. This event was also staged in memory of the musicians who have died (Hatana Personal Communication, 08/09/2009).

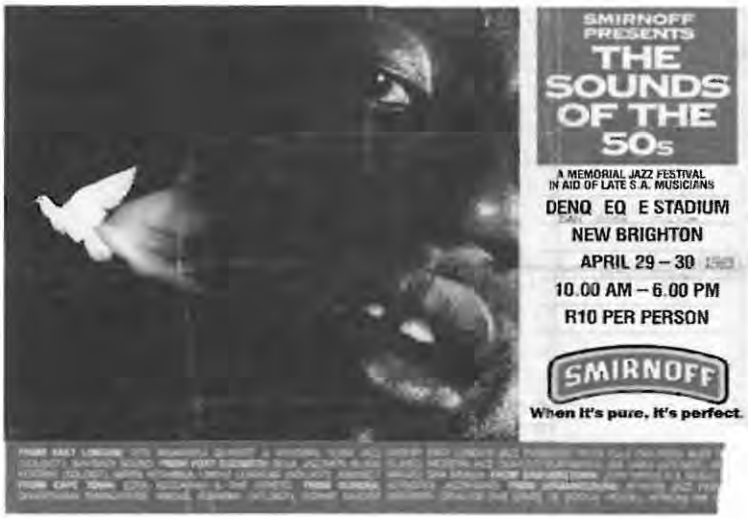

Fig. 4. 9 The Sounds of the 50's Memorial Jazz Festival (1989) (Richard Hatana Collection).

Performing for the ANC

Although the ANC was officially banned by the apartheid regime, musicians in New Brighton consistently told me stories about how they were called upon by the ANC to perform at their events in the community. They never spoke of any other parties such as the UDF or PEBCO calling upon them or being active in New Brighton. The musicians interviewed appreciate that they had a role to play during the struggle for democracy, but they feel neglected and unappreciated by the ANC members who have had lucrative jobs since the 1994 referendum and are now in positions of authority and living comfortably. Following are several accounts which testify to the musicians' feelings of exploitation by the ANC during the struggle.

> We did play...for Save the Children fundraising even for school children. We were just told come and play bring your instruments...If you refuse you are in trouble...with the organisers, the politicians, the young ones too. No you must play for us; this is a struggle for us all; so you have got to play. It's like we used to play at Rio Cinema for those things....I always say now they are well up they don't care for us. They forgot in the 70s we used to play free for them, not paid...The band is playing on stage they are sitting there discussing their things (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

> All the guys that are in top...in the ANC, top offices they know we played for them, we went to jail for them here...What happened if you played in the Rio Cinema...tomorrow we get picked up...We wanted to raise funds whatever cause it might have been. If they say they wanted to raise funds for anything, we go there as *muzabalazo*...is in the struggle ... We don't know what's happening to the ANC people but we know that we are going to be picked up the following day. We people who were playing on stage we had to go to the police for interrogation...There was no money for playing...Nobody will pay you...(Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

> We were being hired by these political organisations like ANC. At times we were taken by force by...ANC...'This is for you also, come and play there.' They used not to give us anything. We used to play free of charge, but that was for a good cause...in fact we did that quite willingly. There were no hassles about it...we got arrested at times (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

On the other hand young -up-and-coming musicians were better placed in terms of resources than the older musicians were (Tito Interview, 12/11/2009). Feya Faku is one of the musicians who were fortunate to come into music when the situation had improved for black musicians.

> Fortunately for them they came at the right time. Their time was right. There were no pass laws when they got into music and they were taught in town. They were tutored in town by white guys (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

Unfair Treatment

Eastern Cape musicians received second-class treatment in Johannesburg at least in part because they were considered 'from the hinterland' or 'country bumpkins'. The Soul Jazzmen won a jazz festival in Johannesburg but were cheated out of a trip to Newport Jazz Festival in the USA by Ray Nkwee who took a Johannesburg-based band, the Jazz Ministers, instead.

> We played for this wool company that was sponsoring jazz festival of 1974. We won that festival. We came first...In fact it was a national competition and we came first. We got one thousand; first prize was one thousand rand. Our vocalist then was Vuyelwa Qwesha and the late Dennis Mnana. He was elder to us; he used to sing like an old man...A band that won first prize then was to go to Newport Jazz Festival. They cheated us those guys... Ray Nkwee...was working for that record company...Teal Records. He took the Jazz Ministers, I think that was the band he was managing that time...he took them...and sent them to New York, Newport...we were so disappointed. We couldn't do anything because we were not in Johannesburg. Those guys he took were originally from Johannesburg...We were from Port Elizabeth so they looked down upon us...but musically we beat them (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).[23]

The Soul Jazzmen were popular because they played the type of jazz which appealed to the people who were going through 'bad times' – Ntsele called it "Protest Jazz" – while the Jazz Ministers played American jazz (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

On the other hand, Port Elizabeth music promoters have often disadvantaged local musicians by giving preference to big-city-based musicians for performances and festivals. Trumpet player and band leader Xolani Faku had this to say:

> There is a tendency to overlook people from a certain place in this case musicians from New Brighton/Port Elizabeth. There has been a serious situation that has happened within the Metro whereby...a person that has been staying in Joburg because...they think Johannesburg is the only

[23] Vuyelwa Luzipo and Dudley Tito as well as other non-Soul Jazzmen members confirmed the same story.

> place, they would actually overlook me when I bring a proposal...and they would...[ask], 'who are you?' They do this without being interested in looking at where the musician is coming from...One person that is gonna be considered is the one that is coming from a big city with the proposal (Faku Interview, 2/02/2010).

This state of affairs shows that local musicians suffered both at home and away. It also helps to explain why the local music industry has remained underdeveloped, and shows why local musicians have negative attitudes towards big cities where these famous musicians are based.

Recording Industry

Port Elizabeth musicians have always lacked recording studios. In 1948 the Modernaires went to Johannesburg to record where they competed against the Manhattan Brothers, African Inkspots and the Merry Blackbirds for recording time (Baines 2002). Musicians could not secure recording contracts and mobile facilities only produced demo-quality recordings. The Basin Blues (1952) was the second band from the Eastern Cape to release a record. Its founding member, Welcome Duru, composed '*Isileyi sami*' which they recorded in a mobile studio in Port Elizabeth under the Troubadour Label. Miriam Makeba later recorded '*Isileyi sami*' under a different title – "UmaNovela" (Prickly Pear) – while working with the Manhattan Brothers. The Soul Jazzmen made only one professional studio recording, '*Intlupheko*' (Distress) for Teal Records in Johannesburg in 1969.

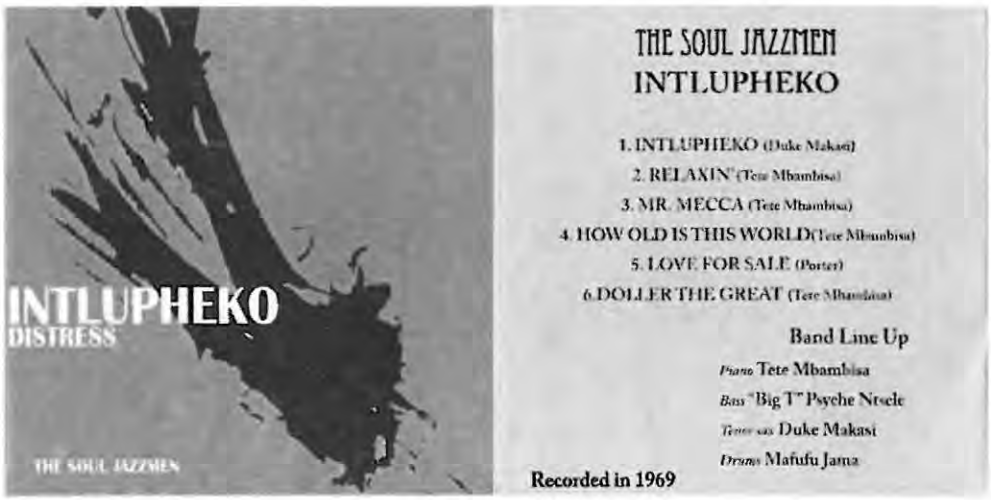

Fig. 4.10 The Soul Jazzmen recording "Intlupheko" (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

Recounting how they recorded music at the SABC but never got to own it, Big T Psyche Ntsele and Dudley Tito say:

> We didn't have the chance to make some commercial recordings. There were no studios at that time...we did some recordings but those they don't get out of there [SABC Archive] (Interview, 29/05/2009).
>
> Those days we used to record for the SABC and the master tape used to stay with the SABC. We used not to get the music...It used to belong to the SABC (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

Local musicians recorded at the SABC radio studio for non-commercial purposes with the recordings played at the discretion of SABC authorities. At present the few available studios are too expensive for most musicians.

Conclusion

New Brighton was actually a "highly regulated social space" in which musicians' freedom of both movement and expression were curtailed (Baines 2002: 227), but their passion for music and resilience triumphed over the challenges they faced. New Brighton musicians struggled to perform and negotiate their agency as artists and spokesmen for their community during the apartheid era and still struggle to make ends meet despite the referendum in 1994. The musicians' testimonies attest to common experiences borne out of the prevailing socio-political contexts they found themselves in. They continued to play music for the love of it.

The absence of recording studios in Port Elizabeth impinged on the personal growth of individual musicians and their local music industry. Jealousy derailed musicians' success as they fought against each other instead of supporting one another. It was under the circumstances depicted herein that the vocalists whose biographies I present in the next chapter were born, grew up and developed as professional musicians.

Chapter Five

New Brighton Vocalists' Biographies

Introduction

This chapter presents brief biographies of six New Brighton vocalists, all of them original members of the Jazz Divas jazz vocal group except the youngest, Linda Tsaone. The lives and experiences of Shirley Lebakeng, Nomzamo Mkuzo and Linda Tsaone are presented in more depth because they are the vocalists I spent the most of my time interviewing. I present an analysis of the lyrics of a selection of their compositions in Chapter Seven. In authenticating what the vocalists said about themselves, I have included information I obtained from interviews with their significant others and fellow musicians.

Linda Tsaone kaMhlaba

Fig. 5.1 Linda Tsaone, performing at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

Linda Tsaone kaMhlaba was born to Mphilontle Mhlaba and Mandisa Mithi on 28 June 1975 in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. At a very young age, she played a homemade drum and improvised songs which led her mother to conclude that her daughter would grow up to be a jazz singer like her maternal grandmother. Linda was raised by her grandmother who loved Dolly Rathebe's song *'Into Yami Ndiyayithanda'* and Miriam Makeba's songs *'Qonqothwane'* and

'Ilanga Litshonile'; her grandmother used to perform in the halls in New Brighton. Accordingly, her grandmother became the little girl's musical inspiration. As indicated in a local newspaper article, Linda "has always been bowled over by legendary voices of Mama Africa – Miriam Makeba and Dorothy Masuka" (*Ilizwi*: 8-14 September 2004). In her own words, Linda says "The duo inspires me more every day musically...it's the messages in their songs that speak to my heart" (*ibid.*). Her grandmother held many traditional ceremonies at her house that involved music and dance. The impact of these cultural events on Linda was apparent when at the age of five she began singing songs such as *'Umakhoti ngowethu'* at traditional Xhosa weddings at which she was asked to sing (*ibid.*).

At age seven Linda was already actively involved in music when she began to attend Khama Lower Primary School. The teachers recognized her talent and put her in the school choir where she learnt staff notation. The school won many choral competitions. Later at New Brighton Higher Primary School she embarked on performing prose poetry, an aspect reflected in some of her compositions. Although she was the soprano soloist for the Arthur Wellington Methodist Church choir, Linda loved the challenge of singing in a male voice range and chose to sing tenor, subsequently becoming the school choir's tenor soloist. She later joined the Matthews Singers, a New Brighton-based community choir led by Mzwandile Matthews.

Linda passed matric at Kabane High School in 1996 and intended to become a social worker "because of my love for children and feeling for others" (*Ilizwi*: 8-14 September 2004). Linda says that she is mainly concerned with the plight of children and the underprivileged who are vulnerable to the social ills in her society. Due to her disadvantaged background and lack of funds, she did not pursue social work, but studied towards a diploma in industrial relations through Intec College in Port Elizabeth, but had to drop out due to financial constraints as she had to provide for her siblings after her parents' death. Eager to serve her community, Linda became a qualified nurse's aide and currently works as a volunteer for the Casual Care Unit in Motherwell and intends to make a difference in her society's health care sector. She juggles her musical aspirations, which include learning to play saxophone, and her work as a care-giver, because she has a passion for both.

Linda's musical breakthrough came in 1997 when she started with 4x4. She became "the sweet and soothing voice...whose captivating sounds wows the crowds wherever the group performs" (*ibid.*). 4x4 was led by Vuyisile "Chayi" Bojana and included Boyce Mzinyati (keyboards), Fikile Marwana (drums), Linda Tsaone (vocals), Bongani Tulwana (bass), Xuba Xaba (sax), Nkhenke Hatana (drums) and Xolani Faku (trumpet).


Talented 4x4 singer Linda Tsoane kept the large crowd who attended the Sipho Gumede jazz concert at the Great Centenary Hall spellbound with her sweet, jazzy melodies.

Fig. 5.2 Linda Tsaone performing at Sipho Gumede jazz concert at the Great Centenary Hall, in New Brighton (n.d.) (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).[24]

In 2000 as Linda walked to the shops one day to buy electricity, the sound of music attracted her to Dudley Tito's music workshop. She discovered the Soul Jazzmen rehearsing. Fearlessly she walked in and boldly told "this old timer" that she could sing (Interview, 21/09/2009). Dudley Tito arranged to audition her. The next day, the Soul Jazzmen performed with her for the first time, marking the beginning of Linda's career as vocalist with the most popular jazz band in New Brighton.

Diversity characterizes Linda's performances which range from cultural and charity events to musical competitions, road shows, festivals, community events and family functions both in New Brighton and in clubs in the city. Local papers *Ilizwi*, *Imvo*, *The Herald* and *Evening Post*

[24] I collected old photos from the vocalists with their permission to scan and place them in the ILAM/RLMHP Collection and then returned the originals to them.

cover her performances. From 2004 to 2006, she participated in the 'Melting Pot' project which was a Port Elizabeth-based organization that promoted up-and-coming young musicians. Linda prides herself in having shared the stage with "international acts like the great Hugh Masekela, Don Laka, McCoy Mrubata" (*Ilizwi*: 8-14 September 2004), Ringo Madlingozi, Stompie Mavi (she learnt a lot from doing backing vocals for his album), and the late Winston Mankunku Ngozi, for whom she composed a tribute song when he passed away in 2009. She respects skilled musicians and readily learns from them. She believes that competition brings out the best in her and makes her work harder.

Describing one of her performances, Government Zini, who writes 'Jazz Notes' in the *Evening Post*, said,

> The spark is her appearance with the 4x4 band at the much talked about Evening Post 50th Birthday Bash at the Wolfson Stadium, Kwazakele...The festival...will provide final proof that local talent and music is of a very high standard, and Linda is the roaring young lioness of jazz... Linda is Dolly Rathebe, Miriam Makeba and Dorothy Masuka all fused into one. Most singers hit a high note straight on but Linda is like an instrument in that she bends up and goes above it with ease. Tsaone does not settle anywhere as she can run faster and then wait for the instruments to catch up with her on the closing bar, or let the band reach the third bar and races after it" (*Evening Post*, 16 March 2000).

Fig. 5.3 Linda Tsaone, brushing shoulders with the legendary veteran musician, Hugh Masekela (n.d.) (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

Below Linda describes how she feels the song and expresses herself through her singing.

> I am starting very slow, I feel the song. I listen to the background, the instruments. And then I come to relax, and then I appreciate the song...And then I play with the song, and after I can do improvisation or instead of improvisation I can just wait for somebody to take a solo...And then I feeling easy, I feel the solo, the rhythm, everything of the music, I move (Interview, 23/09/2009).

Of her composing Linda says the plight of fellow human beings touches her and motivates her to write songs based on the ups and downs of daily life. "Listening to her 'Ibuyil'iAfrica', you notice her love for her countrymen" (*Ilizwi*: 8-14 September 2004). Nature inspires some of her songs and she composes gospel songs to preach love and forgiveness. She loves both the diversity of African people and the African way of life, which has led her to write and perform praise poetry. Linda wants and expects to continue writing songs and hopes to record her own compositions.

Freedom to Linda means accessing basic needs, being gainfully employed, owning a house and being able to afford the things one desires in life. Nevertheless, she remains prepared for any situation that comes her way. Linda values education because it gives a person economic independence and earns one respect. She wishes her fellow countrymen would learn to stand up and work for themselves – *"vuk'uzenzele"* (literal translation, 'wake up and work for yourself') and quit blaming other people for their problems. Independence and self-reliance is very important to her. She believes that knowing one's legal rights is very important in the music industry.

> I want to know my own rights...when I [have] finished...maybe one song... I must register this song...I must know this song it's gonna [be] taken maybe to Radio Umhlobo Wenene...wherever stations it is, [I want to know] what are my benefits there? (Interview, 23/09/2009).

Linda's desire to help young up-and-coming musicians achieve their musical dreams stems from the conviction that her musical talent is God-given and therefore must be used freely to benefit others.

> I didn't buy what I have got. I didn't buy what I have in me...And if you have got a talent, you are somebody to share about it. You must find ideas; you must look about how in my living I can survive with this. Because if you don't use it, if you don't that strategy...it may go and not come back again, maybe I will die and I didn't even help anyone out of everything that I have (Interview, 23/09/2009).

Her love for jazz goes back to its emergence in the United States of America, which to her is an expression of autonomy. Linda sings pop music because the market demands that diversity, but her passion for jazz remains unquenchable.

The major problem Linda encounters in her quest to make a living out of performance is exploitation, especially underpayment. She suggests that she can read from what transpires that she is being taken advantage of (Interview, 21/09/2009).

Limited performance opportunities are another challenge Linda faces as a female musician.

> We don't have much more opportunities to get performances. Sometimes you get a job once in a month...that is going to pay you...like R200, R150 in a month...You don't have a stable amount that you can get. It depends when or how you get the job (Interview, 23/09/2009).

She believes that people who are conversant with show business can help her:

> I am saying if there can be people...who know...this business industry...can come forward and address us about everything...in this business. The new things that are coming, the new implementations that are coming for this coming year...for this 2010...If they can come and assist us... (Interview, 23/09/2009).

Listening to jazz makes Linda worry less about whatever situation she finds herself in because "when you listening to jazz...you don't feel too much stress even if something stresses you, but when you listening to jazz you just relax, you just take anything, everything easy" (Interview, 23/09/2009). She lives to see the day she will record her own music and be able to live comfortably from it.

Leo Nomalungelo Mwanda

Leo was one of twin daughters born to Peter and Nompi Mwanda on the 14th of June 1958 in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth. Her parents were both employed: her mother was a matron at Livingstone Hospital, while her father was a ticket examiner at the Down Train Station. Leo prides herself in that her father was the first black ticket examiner in Port Elizabeth. Her mother died in 1972 and her father in 1995. She is the only surviving member of her immediate family because her twin sister died in a car accident in 1987 in Johannesburg and her brother died of cancer in 1999. After these unfortunate incidents in her life, Leo's aunt, with whom she has been staying ever since, "adopted" her in 2002.

> I'm staying now with my...cousins! We are one big family. You won't say I'm cousin there, you say I'm the first born. We treated as one (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Leo grew up with her parents in New Brighton and went to All Saints Boarding School in Transkei for her primary years and for the first part of her high school education. She returned to

New Brighton where she attended Mzosundu High School and Newell High School. After she matriculated, Leo embarked on a full time musical career because "that oomph of being a musician...That thing of saying I want to be a singer...grew and grew" (Interview, 25/02/2010).

She chose to be a musician although there were no professional musicians in her family *per se*. Her parents' huge collection of records provided her with a launch pad for her musical career because she learnt how to sing listening to these records. Together with her twin sister, Leo listened to the radio and wrote down the lyrics of her favourite songs which she eventually practised. She was "more into music" than her twin.

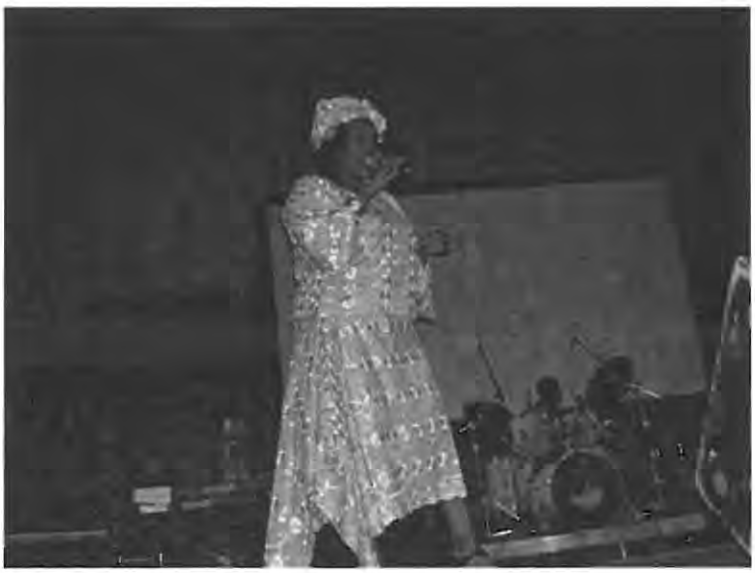

Fig. 5.4 Leo Mwanda performing at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

Their father loved jazz and had a piano at home and he accompanied his twin daughters while they sang. The twins sometimes played the piano but they did not take it further. Although her parents loved American jazz singers such as Nat King Cole, Leo was inspired by South African vocalists whose songs she performed when she joined Afroteens, a band led by Sizwe Zako:

> All those big 'mamas' who used to sing I used to like...I...got some inspiration from the Makebas, the Letta Mbulis. Letta Mbuli was my most loving person because I remember I used to sing most of her songs...when we were singing for Afroteens. 'Buza' was a beautiful song that we used to close the show with because it always starts with the drums. When the people heard the drum start...everybody is quiet in the hall and people used to scream...I used just to love her. Then they were still in exile Letta Mbuli, Miriam Makeba...all of them (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Leo was attracted by Letta Mbuli's originality and her performance in exile.

> Letta Mbuli, I think what I liked about her was she was original and she never changed...She was an African. She was in exile but she used to sing Xhosa...African songs...I think I liked that where ever she was, she never changed her roots. I liked the fact that she was an African in spite of all...She was an African. And all her songs used to give me goose bumps...every time she sings...I still like her now (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Like her idols, Leo believes in upholding her African heritage and wishes to express it through her compositions though she has not yet done that. She values music that communicates and told me that she chose to sing Letta Mbuli's songs for this reason. Leo admires the efforts of Letta Mbuli and Miriam Makeba to speak out against apartheid on behalf of their fellow countrymen through the way they continued singing their South African songs in exile.

Leo wants to fuse Xhosa songs and jazz, and says that she derives inspiration from her surroundings. She prefers composing Xhosa songs because the music speaks to her in a profound way, and defines and reflects her identity as a Xhosa woman. She would like to sing in Sotho and Zulu, the two other South African languages in which she is fluent, and says she will not be satisfied until she records her own compositions.

Leo's beginnings in the music scene came at the age of seventeen when she encountered Mabel Ntshinga, a friend of her aunt who lived in Kwazakhele. Leo and her twin sister had visited their aunt to help sell liquor in her shebeen when Mabel Ntshinga heard them sing and immediately recognized their potential and decided to introduce them to the world of music. Mabel asked their aunt for permission to feature them on her pending show at Rio Cinema. Jury Ntshinga and the Black Slave backed Mabel and the twin sisters as they performed the songs she chose for them for the show. Leo did a solo performance of *'Alfie'*, while her twin sister sang *'My Life Story'*, songs they knew from recordings by American artists Dionne Warwick and Gladys Knight and the Pips. The show was a resounding success and marked the beginning of Leo's career as a vocalist.

After her first show, Leo approached Sizwe Zako, band leader of Afroteens.

> I went straight to Sizwe. Yes, and I, can I sing with you, can I join? I love your music, can I join the band? Can I? Sizwe says, yes you can come for rehearsals, let's hear your voice. Let's whatever...Then I came and I clicked with the lady...Nokuzola (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Sizwe Zako dispensed with an audition and incorporated Leo into the group as their second vocalist along with Nokuzola Gqamlani because he had heard her sing with Mabel Ntshinga at the Rio Cinema show.

> I joined a group that was then called Afroteens...It was a...sensational band. We toured the whole of Eastern Cape. We were...'the band'...It was us Afroteens, Blake Slave, Tulips. But Afroteens were the main because...we were like the Brenda Fassies then. It was me and the other lady Nokuzola Gqamulani...singing for Afroteens. The band leader was Sizwe Zakho. He is big now...He is a producer of Rebecca Malope (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Jury Ntshinga confirms that Black Slave, Tulips and Afroteens were the best bands in the Eastern Cape at that time (Interview, 10/11/2009).

In these early years of her career, during the apartheid era, Leo experienced a lot of disruptions which she feels were unwarranted.

> I remember then we were singing...then we heard...the police just throwing tear gas. We couldn't sing, we were so suffocated...people were trampling each other. There was stampede and the show had to end...It was just them...wanting to be felt...police didn't want African gatherings...the policemen never wanted blacks to be plenty in one place...Otherwise we never used to sing any political songs...People had to be...hospitalised. Some of the instruments were broken because people [were] trampling (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Afroteens is the only band Leo worked with on a permanent basis and her experience with them marks the apogee of her musical career as they won many awards and trophies in local competitions, which were kept in Zako's custody as the band leader.

> We toured the whole of Eastern Cape and then we won so many awards...on The Go Show, numerous awards... all the competitions that were done...we packed halls inside and outside...the people would climb in the windows because the hall is packed (Interview, 25/02/2010).

It was a beautiful experience because there was harmony and discipline and they used to pray as a group for everything they did. Leo believes that she was lucky to work with the Afroteens and cherishes her experiences with them because the male musicians treated the vocalists like 'queens'.

> We were staying in hotel. And the guys were in a house...Sizwe would prefer us to be comfortable....In fact, we deserved to be treated like that because we were big (Interview, 25/02/2010).

The Afroteens were hired for six months at Studio 45 in Springs, near Johannesburg, in 1982, where Leo met her husband, also a musician. She subsequently joined the Methodist Church choir at the church where her in-laws worshipped. Leo and her husband were married in Port

Elizabeth and the Afroteens played at the wedding. During the early stages of their marriage, her husband did not have problems with her singing but later objected, which forced her to stop singing for the duration of their marriage. It was a difficult decision to make, but Leo prioritized her marriage and so she abandoned her musical career.

> I got married...I remember we used to sing some duets...he used to join me. I didn't know that he could sing...I think he was supporting me in a way... It felt good...and then my ex...was jealous...he didn't want me to tour with the band...He didn't want me to sing, I had to be an office lady worker...a receptionist (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Fig. 5.5 Leo Mwanda and Melvin Neff (guitarist, composer) who she worked with during her time with Afroteens, New Brighton, 28 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

In all this Leo had a feeling that somehow her marriage was going to fail and she would return to music, which eventually happened after they divorced. They have however remained life-time friends and often meet at jazz festivals in Cape Town.

Leo enjoyed performing and entertaining people so much that money was not the real issue for her. Fortunately for the Afroteens's female singers, there was a lot of transparency and they were paid fairly. Their problem was the local people's unwillingness to pay, hence "whatever amount [they] got was fine".

> We weren't in it for money and at least...whatever we got there then was enough because since we were a big band and a sensational band we were paid...We were comfortable with the salaries...And we were paid equally...whoever plays tambourine...because that's work...you sweat

> a lot. They didn't say you play tambourine that's a small job...He would make the deal with those people and, then after that he will call us for a meeting and say, 'I have made a deal with such and such a people' and bring one of those people whoever they were...He is very disciplined, I loved him to bits...fair and transparent (Interview, 25/02/2010).

After their marriage failed in 1992, Leo applied for a job transfer and returned to Port Elizabeth with nothing more than her personal clothing. Once back in Port Elizabeth she returned to music, this time as a session vocalist, singing with Vuyisile Bojana and the 4x4 band and other local bands. After quitting the job she had in Port Elizabeth in 2006, Leo went to Cape Town to work as a receptionist, but she could not sing due to work commitments although there were occasions such as when Sylvia Mdunyelwa, a Cape Town jazz vocalist, invited her on stage and the Cape Town audience liked her performance. Early in 2010, Leo returned to Port Elizabeth after working in Cape Town for nearly five years.

Leo actively involves her audience during her performances and mentioned several long-time Port Elizabeth jazz artists who have inspired her. She is moved by the saxophone playing of Patrick Pasha and by Musa Mavundla on the trumpet and flugel horn, saying they "take her to town" (Interview, 25/02/2010). The late Errol Cuddumbey's musicianship and piano playing inspired her to a great extent. She is very concerned with the future of music in Port Elizabeth and would like to educate up-and-coming musicians about professionalism to improve their image. She feels responsible whenever they make mistakes and ruin their potential careers. Leo believes that humility is the hallmark of good musicians because even if they stop singing, they remain a part of their community. She feels that it is important to safeguard one's cultural heritage and social relationships and be a "people person" (Interview, 25/02/2010).

Leo's dream is to see Port Elizabeth's music talent being recognized at a national level. She believes that recording their own compositions earns musicians the respect of local promoters and helps them create their own identities as recording artists. Local promoters tend to prefer famous Johannesburg-based musicians who are no better performers than the local musicians but are paid lump sum amounts of money because they have created names for themselves as recording artists. At one time a Johannesburg-based female artist was hired to perform at the opening ceremony of the town house in Port Elizabeth and Leo felt sidelined, unrecognised and unappreciated.

> PE musicians are not taken seriously by, by the PE people...They don't recognise us here...They will get a Joburg female [musician] to come and sing here while there is us. That's how it is. Here, people here will take a Joburg guy [musician] who sings...not even better...than [musicians] here...because those people have recorded. That's why...But they won't take us here to come and open...our own town house...It's definitely somebody, a big name from outside (Interview, 25/02/2010).

In spite of the above, Leo vows never to leave Port Elizabeth and abandon the people who have always supported and looked up to her because she is happy to be among them. She has performed at funerals and memorial services in her community and held a 'gig' in the lane at her home in January 2010 where fellow vocalists Vuyelwa Luzipo, Shirley Lebakeng and Nomzamo Mkuzo and various young up-and-coming musicians performed. The ex-mayor, Nceba Faku, and Mike Pantsi, Director of Zanodumo Sports and Living Arts Marketing Agency, were among the audience who attended the show (Interview, 28/03/2010).

Leo was one of the founding members of the Jazz Divas when the group was formed in 2004. Stan Mosia, the then manager of the Divas, attests that "she has played a very instrumental part in the success of the group because she is active" (Interview, 13/11/2009). Leo believes that "you have got to know somebody up there to be where you want to be. You have got to brush shoulders...to get this and that" (Interview, 25/02/2010). She thinks the Jazz Divas are not getting gigs because they are not focusing on their group venture and have not recorded original compositions. She is currently actively involved in reviving the Jazz Divas group.

Welekazi Mosia

Welekazi is a twin daughter of the late prominent visual artist, George Pemba, and his wife Eunice, born on the 3rd of January 1955. As she grew up her mother played piano accompanying her family when they sang at home. Welekazi developed a passion for music at the age of five and eventually became a soloist in her school choir at fifteen years of age. She later joined the Matthews Singers – a New Brighton-based community choir conducted by Mzwandile Matthews.

Presently, her parents and two brothers are all deceased. Her twin sister and an elder sister are the only surviving members of her family. Being a trained nurse, she and her husband moved to her father's house in Motherwell, Port Elizabeth, to take care of her brothers who were sick, and they continue to live there now. They are raising Nondumiso, a daughter of one of her brothers.

Welakazi says that people in her community especially women, look up to her for advice.

> I don't have too much friends but people do come to me for advice sometimes...it's nice when you see that it works (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi feels that marriage stands in the way of the development of a woman's musical career; which according to her is not right because the voice is a gift from God and must be nurtured through pursuing one's dreams.

> And the married life girl my goodness is always the priority, which is not right. It's not because this is my gift from God, I'm supposed to pursue my career you know...the marriage is there but I'm supposed to pursue my career. God gave me the voice (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Fig. 5.6 Welekazi Mosia, performing at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

However she does not regret her marriage because she is very much in love with her husband and confesses that her life would be meaningless without him.

> Eish, the problem is I love this person that is the problem. If he can be out of my life I can't imagine how my life is going to be...I'm telling you he really, really stole my heart, you know, really (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Stan Mosia describes how he met Welakazi when he was asked to be the Programme Director at the memorial service of her father, George Pemba, who died at 89.

> It was very coincidental how I met my second wife by the way. The father, the late George Pemba, an acclaimed artist...passed on in 2001 and a memorial service was organised in his honour at the Centenary Hall which is now known as Nangoza Jebe Hall. And on the eve of the memorial service they got stuck, they needed a knowledgeable programme director – master of ceremonies. By then...I didn't know the beautiful ladies that they had in the family at all. And I was forced into that situation... Here am I being a youngster, being tasked to be programme director, master of ceremonies at that auspicious event which is with due respect, a memorial service attended by so many dignitaries, high profile persons from all over the country including government ministers etc. But because I am used to MC-ing, programme directing, so that's one of the reasons the family approached me... On the day it's then that I got exposed to the members of the Pemba family...Then my wife insisted that...I also feature on the day of the funeral. She actually approached me directly...I agreed on that and then I got closer now to the family and on the day of the funeral I interacted with her a lot and the rest is history. So it is through the death of her father that brought us together (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Mosia was aware that Welekazi was a part-time musician when he directed the memorial service programme. He knew that she featured with local bands and had once observed her perform at her father's 80th birthday party.

> I was fully aware of the fact that she was a part-time musician...because I remember attending her father's 80th birthday at one of the top venues around here. She also sang there and she also used to session with the Soul Jazzmen, the Dudley Tito, but it was just on part-time basis. And we somehow clicked because the interests were more or less aligned and she got more and more interested in the music thing (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Welekazi confirms her part-time involvement in music performance.

> It wasn't a serious career...I will just sing...I just realised that when I was growing up that, I think I love singing...So I just can't say then I was serious about the career. It was just a hobby (Interview, 6/02/2010).

From what she says, her musical experiences are not as diverse as those of the other vocalists who sing in the Jazz Divas. She devotes most of her time to her demanding job as a nurse and regards music as a pastime; she acknowledges that to her music is a hobby.[25]

Mosia claims that his unpublished research on the plight of local female musicians gave birth to the 2004 National Women's Day celebrations and the all female vocal group, the 'Jazz Queens', who evolved into the Jazz Divas. Welekazi is a founding member of the group. Reflecting on dissension among group members, she claims that she does not know what the other Jazz Divas group members think about her and does not care too much because she knows who she is, and she does not have a problem because she can handle anything (Interview, 6/02/2010).

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[25] Male musicians as well as the other vocalists attest to having day jobs as a way of supplementing the little money they received from their performances, implying that if music paid they would not have bothered with day jobs.

Welekazi has performed with the Soul Jazzmen as a session vocalist, mostly on projects funded by the Department of Arts and Culture. Her work with the Soul Jazzmen depended on how often they obtained jobs.

> There wasn't much because at least we will just perform for that show. We used to meet if the show was going to be close and then we meet only for about a week then we don't meet (Interview, 6/02/2010).

As far as management of finances was concerned, she points out that

> there were so many people involved like Musa Mavundla...He was one of the people that were responsible for monies then...we were all rehearsing together...so if there is a show, for instance, there was a show...outside Uitenhage, I just forgot the name of the place now...So the money was from Arts and Culture, so it was distributed amongst us from him (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi never bothered to enquire about the total amount of money the band charged per performance since there were too many of them. Only a selected few of the band members were privy to the budget and the rest had to unquestioningly accept what they were given as payment.

> You just accept whatever you are given. No you don't even question because we were so many so you can't be asking why I am getting this...If they give you R400 you just take it, that's all. Well, if you are many there because I mean we do not know the budget, so you just accept whatever you get (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi believes that local musicians are greedy for money but are so used to getting peanuts, getting big amounts is a pleasant surprise. The musicians do not question the manner in which band leaders handle their finances because being underpaid is second nature to them.

> I am telling you the way we are so hungry in PE to get big monies; we are used to the small amounts. So it's no big deal having a big money. For instance there was a show especially in this DVD, on that show I got only two thousand and I was so excited because it was the first time I got such a big amount (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi attributes the acceptance of small amounts of money by musicians to the scarcity of performance opportunities which leaves them with very little choice. She attributes her failure to question how the band manages its finances to lack of knowledge about the music business rather than to fear.

> Not that I was scared... here in PE we are not exposed to the musical...We don't even have places to rehearse, so when a person calls you and say there is a show that is going to be at such and such a place, so I just want you to perform there, I will give you so much. I just do it, that's all. I am not

> fussy at all...it's because of the way it is here in PE...It's dead here. It's dead! Music is dead here. So when you get that chance you grab it, that's all! (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi takes up whatever performance chance that comes her way due to her love for music. She also admits that she does not ask many questions when she is called to perform because she is less involved in music and considers being called to perform great fun!

> I can't say much because I was not that involved...where I can go and complain. Why are you doing this and that, no? They will just call me...we need you to go and sing at such and such a place, at the Board Walk for instance, I did perform there...in 2008 (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Although Welekazi is keen on composing her own songs, she cannot afford to record them because she does not have money to pay instrumentalists to back her for rehearsals and for studio time for recording sessions. She has composed three songs, one of which was for her father whose work she is proud of.[26]

> I have got at least three songs that I wrote...One for my father. First of all he was a prominent figure, he was an artist internationally they know him. And when I write that song about him...I become emotional because he struggled to be where he is today...He was the best artist in town...I am so proud to be his daughter because even now I can say, he is still...alive because when you see his work, that is why I am so honoured to have a father like him (Interview, 6/02/2010).

The second song she claims to have written was actually a version of the song, "Let's fall in love" from an album by Diana Crow. She sang that song to encourage people in relationships to value and cherish each other. Welekazi's third composition is a Xhosa song about a single-parent-headed home. She believes a home becomes dead when the husband/father is deceased.

> It's...a Xhosa song but I haven't put the melody yet...It's about a broken home. When you don't have a person in your life everything becomes dead and especially when he is gone. You go back there; there is no one...Everything is just dead (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi performed at an event in Centenary Hall where actor Sibusiso Dhlomo and actress Queen Moroka from the South African soap opera 'Generations' were guest presenters. She has a live video recording of the two cover songs she sang at that particular show which I could not watch. Talking about her stage performance on this DVD, she says:

> I was supposed to sing only two songs there in that show because we were five. So I asked that guy to just make the DVD for me for those two songs. So that's what he exactly did. It was at Centenary Hall. It was a big show...there were two presenters from Generations, Sibusiso Dhlomo

[26] Welekazi was not comfortable giving me the lyrics of the three songs, the DVD of the live performances of the two songs or the CD of the cover versions which she recorded, and these are therefore not included in the discography.

> and Queen Moroka. It was a jazz show...There is a friend of mine that gave me that fabric from Zimbabwe. When she gave me that fabric I said I am going to make a beautiful dress for myself for that day. So that's how I wear when I am singing jazz. It's more dignified...especially when I am singing my songs there...I like to wear dignified clothes...I am sure it's the way I am...I must look presentable...When I got on stage there, people must know...she is going to look beautiful. I like that. They know me as a lady. I respect people...They know even when I am at work I am the same thing. I don't change (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Dignity is very important to Welekazi and, as such, she measures her actions and how she relates to those around her. She does not allow situations to take control of her emotions or change the person she is.

Welekazi has also recorded a CD of cover versions with Double Vision, a band led by Jury Ntshinga. Band members requested her to include *'Ntyilo Ntyilo'*, a famous Xhosa traditional song which is widely sung in Port Elizabeth, in her repertoire.

> They chose that one for me because they said you can't have all the English songs at least you must put one Xhosa one. So I decided...I will just sing it because everybody knows that song... it's an old song. Most of the singers here in PE...sing that song...That one is for life even a small child can sing that one. I'm telling you if you sing that one even the audience becomes mad. It depends on the way you sing it...*Ntyilo Ntyilo* is always the best song (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Welekazi is a member of Double Vision but their drummer, Vuyisile Madikana, passed away in 2009 and the band has been struggling to get a replacement ever since. Double Vision is not very active and they meet only when they are hired to perform. On such occasions, they rely on cover versions because they do not have enough time to compose their own songs. Welekazi thinks that it is due to laziness that musicians do not practise.

> We don't practise that's why I'm saying people are lazy. If there is work now they say ok we must come for rehearsal. But after that...it's quiet...Why? We are supposed to sing right through so that we don't have the problem of...doing the same old songs...We don't rehearse (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Part of Welekazi's plans for the future include recording with Xolani Faku, jazz trumpet player, who wants Titi Luzipo, Nomzamo, Linda and her to sing and record together for a project he is planning. But she commented that, as with Double Vision, Faku's plan already shows signs of failing before they have even started rehearsing. Welekazi's dream is to be featured on television, to be seen by the whole nation and beyond.

> I wish I can be on TV one day, sing there, so that people can see me. Have an interview with Vuyo...And sing there because one thing, God give me this voice, nobody else has it...because we have got different voices...So I wish I can go and perform in Joburg, and perform in Cape Town, those are my wishes (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Her wish to have this kind of exposure, however, remains one of the major challenges Eastern Cape musicians have had to grapple with.

Vuyelwa Luzipo

Vuyelwa Qwesha Luzipo was born to Maria and Chalmers Qwesha on the 17th of August 1951 in New Brighton. She cried a lot as a baby and her father predicted that she would be a great singer, because in his Xhosa culture a baby who cries a lot has musical talent. Vuyelwa lived up to her father's prediction growing up in her parents' home where life revolved around music.

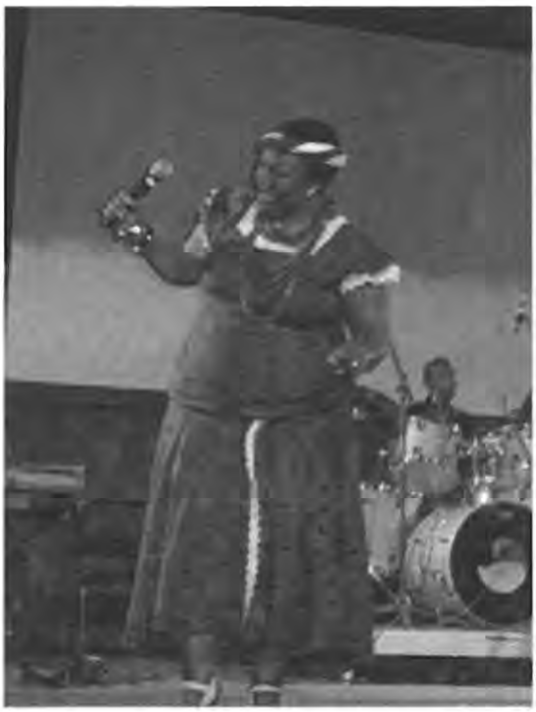

Fig. 5.7 Vuyelwa Luzipo performing at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

> My father [was] a musical composer, conductor of the famous United Artists Choir of Port Elizabeth, and my mother comes from a musical home also. Her own father used to play the piano in church and her brothers are all jazz musicians. My mother is a singer too...During the sixties...my father's choir used to practice at my home...So that is where I also started to sing because I used to join the choir. I think I was five or six then (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Stan Mosia related,

> Vuyelwa Qwesha, we were together at high school...I was very deep into choral music as well, her late father was a composer (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Vuyelwa's motivation and musical talent is a family heritage to which Soul Jazzmen band leader Dudley Tito attests:

> She is a talented woman... [who] can sing...She comes from a musical family. Her father was a choral composer...I'm sure that's where she got the talent... her mother was also singing in her early years so music was in her home...Her parents had a lot of LPs...where she used to listen (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Vuyelwa received most of her inspiration from her mother's family, especially her maternal uncles who used to sing jazz at family gatherings.

> My mum was a singer...she is outstanding...She sings...with me today. She still remembers those beautiful songs they used to sing...They used to sing with Welcome Duru, my mother and her brothers...When they have family gatherings sometimes...my mother and her brothers...they will sing...They will play instruments with their mouths...that inspired me a lot because they are creative (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Vuyelwa grew up listening to various jazz recordings from collections in her parents and her maternal grandfather's homes. She first learnt how to sing as she watched, listened and practised with her father's choir at their home during the 1950s and 1960s. Her father would ask Vuyelwa and her mother to sing different parts of the tonic sol-fa notated compositions whenever he needed to test the songs he composed for his choir. Vuyelwa's first public performance was with her father's choir in KwaZakhele at eight years of age.

Vuyelwa also learnt how to sing by listening to numerous versions of jazz standards on LPs and the radio.

> I had a lot of LP records...from my mother's side...I will borrow or sometimes I would go to Dudley's place to listen to a lot of jazz standards. That was how I got them. Sometimes I would also listen from the radio...then learn them. In fact, I would listen to the LP first and then I will say...I love this one, then I would pick that lady maybe Sarah Vaughan. That's my lady, I like her. Ella Fitzgerald – those are my favourite ladies...They sing jazz that's why I love them. I love singing jazz music (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Her favorite South African vocalists, whose songs she performs often, are Miriam Makeba, Thandi Classen and Abigail Kubeka.

Vuyelwa values the message conveyed by the songs she sings:

> There is something in music; there is something that changes my life...When you sing you minister to the people whether you are child of God or not, but singing is storytelling...saying something to the people...in any song that you sing there is a message (Interview, 26/09/2009).

She likes songs that talk about love and the world in general. She loves instrumental music. Her favourite instruments are trumpet and alto saxophone, and in the absence of these two she must have her number one instrument – the piano.

Vuyelwa sang right through primary school where she led junior groups. When she was in secondary school, she realized that she could also act and eventually took up leading roles in musical dramas. By the time she attended teacher training school at Lovedale she was singing with a lot of groups and many people knew her. Vuyelwa claims that she became so popular that newspapers referred to her as "the singing teacher" (Interview, 22/09/2009).

It was during her days at Lovedale that Soul Jazzmen discovered her and decided to incorporate her into their outfit as the first female vocalist. Dudley Tito relates,

> Vuyelwa was the first to sing with the Soul Jazzmen as a female singer...We met Vuyelwa first time she was acting in a play, in a drama...'This girl is talented, she has got a nice voice, she can sing'. So we just talked with her, 'Vuyelwa can you join us we need a female vocalist? We have got a lot of male vocalists.' And that was easy, she said, 'I can do that'. Then that's how we got her (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Vuyelwa had a harmonious working relationship with the Soul Jazzmen because she did not whine or complain under unfavourable performance conditions. At times they had to do without accommodation and would sit on couches all night.

While with the Soul Jazzmen, Vuyelwa performed Big T Ntsele's composition entitled 'Bastard' which she recorded with the Soul Jazzmen at the SABC studio under the name *'Le Ndoda'*. When she performed that song, Vuyelwa saw that "people were moved because it also raise[d] some anger because of the way we lived...or the way that we were treated as black people" (Interview, 26/09/2009). She has also performed *'Unolali'*, another of Big T Ntsele's compositions. She has recorded Mike Ngxokolo's compositions 'Bomber' and *'Siyavuya Namhla'*, a Christmas song which Umhlobo Wenene Radio Station requested he compose for broadcasting purposes.

Vuyelwa performed with the Soul Jazzmen from 1972 to 1984, in and around Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Grahamstown, Cradock, and the Transkei. They won many competitions. Vuyelwa recounted how the Soul Jazzmen lost their opportunity to perform at the Newport Jazz

Festival in the USA.[27] Vuyelwa felt 'robbed' of an 'opportunity of getting overseas" to showcase her talent at an international jazz festival and still regrets this missed opportunity (Interview, 26/09/2009).

While still single, Vuyelwa was actively involved in music because she had ample time and freedom to perform and tour with the bands.

> In those days I was not yet married when I was very much involved...Soul Jazzmen was such a big name outside and in Port Elizabeth. I was still single. That is why I had a lot of time to travel to Johannesburg with the famous Soul Jazzmen (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Vuyelwa became a born again Christian in 1983 and has since been actively involved in church activities where she now sings gospel jazz with a group called 'Women Aflame'. In 1985 she went on tour with Reverend Patrick Pasha singing gospel music. She currently sings at memorial and funeral services in her community in general and particularly for fellow musicians.

However, she also continues to sing with her long time jazz colleagues as the occasion arises in the community and was a founding member of the Jazz Divas when the group formed in 2004. Presently she sings with her son Balo, an accomplished jazz pianist, whenever he has gigs. Vuyelwa feels fulfilled because she has passed the music legacy on to her children and inspired them to sing and play musical instruments. She says,

> I think I have achieved. I made my name through drama, through music. I have shared the stage with great people Thandi Classen, Abigail Kubeka...I feel satisfied. Great people, great musicians, Ngozi, Feya Faku, Zim Ngqawana, Lulu Gontsana...It has played a big role...Music has done so much to me to an extent that this has influenced my own children...I have achieved because now I'm sitting down looking at my children doing it...I am a role model for them... There is so much potential in this house to the extent that...myself and my kids we can just start up a band. I have Balo as a pianist. I have Titi as a singer and flutist...Balo is also a singer. I have my first born son Timkile as a guitarist. He is a singer too. I have Koko as a singer; I have my son-in-law as a pianist. So there is everything and there is me (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Dudley Tito comments on Vulyewa's talent and that of her daughter thus:

> She has got her sixteen year old daughter that sings jazz at that age. Where ever she performs people are surprised, whose child is this? When you say, no that's Vuyelwa's child then they start understanding that she grew up in a musical family. So in other words what she used to do singing jazz, her daughter is singing jazz too at an early age...It [music] was important because it's from the family...I think so because look now the influence she gave to her daughter now. Her daughter is a jazz singer at the age of sixteen...At least she has passed her knowledge to her daughter, her daughter is singing and her son...Balo is playing keyboard (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

[27] See Chapter Four, page 66, "New Brighton Musicians' Experiences" where Big T Psyche Ntsele tells the story.

Vuyelwa is protective of her young daughter, Titi, because she feels that promoters from her own era robbed and manipulated her and she wants to prevent her daughter from similarly becoming a victim of the music industry.

> I want to be very much on the lookout because I know how they can exploit...this little one is still very young. She doesn't know anything about show business and she just sings for the love of it, having inherited the family [legacy] because this whole family sings...Anyone who wants Titi to sing, he or she will have to start with us. We will manage her (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Vuyelwa neither wrote down nor recorded any of the original songs which she used to sing at home, but still hopes to record her own compositions.

> I have never composed. I just...sang...something that I know it come from me but I did not write it down. That was my downfall...I used to hum some few songs at home...I can't remember because I didn't take notice of [the] song (Interview, 26/09/2009).

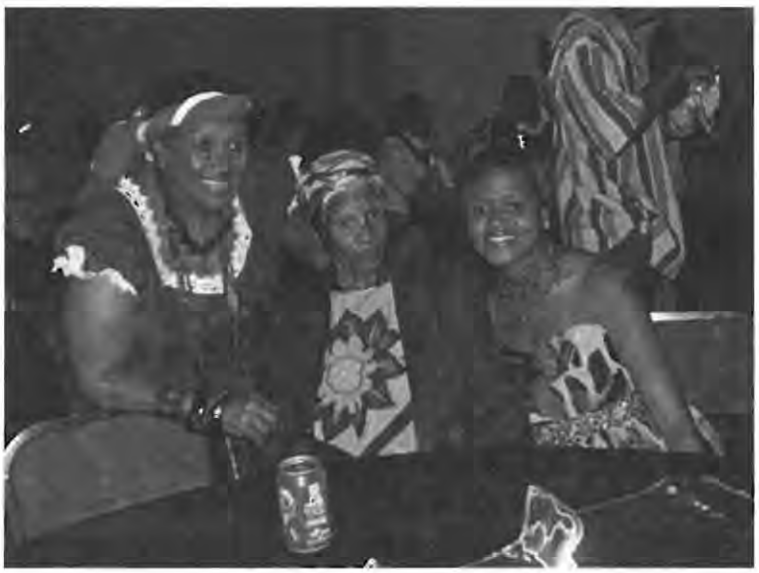

Fig. 5.8 Vuyelwa Luzipo with her now late mother, Maria Qwesha, and daughter, Titi Luzipo at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

Marriage slowed down Vuyelwa's singing career as she became less active on the music scene. When she got married in 1984, she had the responsibility of being a wife and she had children. She thought the two could not go together because she would not have time for rehearsals but most importantly to her was that she was very involved in church then (Interview, 26/09/2009). Although she left the Soul Jazzmen when she got married, Vuyelwa is invited to share the stage with them whenever possible and she enjoys every moment on the stage.

> Every time I put my foot on the stage it's an excitement to me...I sing with dedication...[and] passion; so it's a very important moment to me when I set my foot on the stage...There are a lot of performances I have done where I have felt good...[the] day we were awarded those certificates. It was a great day for me that at last I can be awarded a certificate [by] people who could really remember where we come from with jazz; where we come from as women in singing (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Concerning her apartheid experiences Vuyelwa says that she fought against the injustices of the apartheid government with her singing. She was "out to kill with her singing".

> I also remember there is another one which was sung by Psyche [Big T] Ntsele saying 'Unolali'. It was quite famous that song...Us as black people not having places to stay, not getting jobs, underpaid...especially musicians, they were not taken care of. Nobody cared...There was so much segregation you wouldn't get into white people's toilet...all those writings: blacks and whites...Even queues in the bank, you cannot stand in a bank queue where white people stood...So we sang out of frustration and we composed out of frustration (Interview, 26/0009/2009).

Vuyelwa works as a full time probation officer in Port Elizabeth and despite her job responsibilities she finds time to perform as opportunities arise.

> I have not forgotten about jazz, no. I still sing jazz because even now with the groups that I am singing with...in my own church I have introduced jazz...singing is [in] me. Music is [in] me. Music is in my blood. I wouldn't mind singing with anyone (Interview, 26/09/2009).

The nature of her work involves helping people and she extends this through her performance at funerals and charity events where they raise money for the cause of the underprivileged.

> There was also a fundraising effort where we sang as Jazz Queens...it was a charity thing...there was a gospel concert also...a fundraising...It was a community thing...During this Post Office one...our Eastern Cape Premier was present. We sang for the Premier (Interview, 26/09/2009).

Vuyelwa has had a fulfilling musical career and looks forward to composing and recording her own songs with her children.

Shirley Lineo Lebakeng

Shirley Lineo Lebakeng was born to Ivy and David Lebakeng on the 12th of June 1945 in North End, Port Elizabeth where her parents rented a room. In 1946 they moved to New Brighton where they again rented a room, in McNamee Village. Their landlord offered her parents the use of his house to celebrate Shirley's first birthday. Her mother was Xhosa and her father was Sotho so he wanted his daughter to learn Sotho, his language. To accomplish this, after she completed her standard six at Upper United School at the United Methodist Church in New Brighton, her parents enrolled her in a school in Maseru in Lesotho. Shirley studied in Lesotho

for two years but returned to New Brighton and enrolled at Newell High School where she completed her studies.

Shirley grew up in a musical home where her parents listened to big band music on the gramophone, playing on vinyl 78rpm records. They had a big collection of music including Frank Sinatra and American jazz artists such as the Andrews Sisters, the Inkspots, Sarah Vaughan and Ella Fitzgerald. These and other famous African-American musicians became her inspiration. Shirley learnt how to sing jazz by listening to these records from an early age. "Her father used to collect a lot of jazz LPs. She used to listen to jazz. I think her father was a jazz lover too" (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

Her parents had a great influence on her because they told her from a very young age that they wanted her to sing jazz. Vuyiswa Mbambisa, a contemporary jazz singer, became Shirley's role model who encouraged her to listen to jazz by giving her records.[28]

> She was my role model. I would go to her place ask her...to teach me how to sing. She would laugh and she would choose records for me, Ella Fitzgerald, Sarah Vaughan and say listen to that...She didn't put on pop music for me, she would put jazz...and say, 'I sing jazz so I'm going to teach you jazz too'. I said, ok. So she inspired me...that is how I learnt (Interview, 24/09/2009).

In 1957, at twelve years of age, doing standard three, Shirley started singing in the Anglican Church Sunday school at St Steven's Hall in New Brighton. Her parents were very supportive and wanted her to play the piano but the pianist they hired to teach her experienced family problems and discontinued the piano lessons. Mr. Lizo Mubopa, a member of their congregation, facilitated Shirley's musical breakthrough by taking her to the Waldorf Club where there was a talent show hosted by the club owner, Mr. Freshitt. She surprised everyone by winning the competition. Motivated by the audience response at the Waldorf Club, Mr. Mubopa took Shirley to other clubs as a way of marketing her talent. On one occasion, he took her to Crispin Hall in Port Elizabeth where Chris McGregor was performing.[29] Shirley gave a stunning performance of "Misty", a cover of a version sung by Ella Fitzgerald.

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[28] Vuyiswa Mbambisa is married to jazz pianist Tete Mbambisa, a founding member of the Soul Jazzmen, and they live in Cape Town.

[29] Chris McGregor was a famous white South African jazz artist who was at the time based in the United Kingdom and had come to Port Elizabeth on his South African tour.

Fig. 5.9 Shirley Lineo Lebakeng, performing at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

Subsequently, Shirley won three trophies during her youth for outstanding performances in musical shows. Most of these talent shows took place in Korsten, especially in the Sonop and Waldorf clubs. When Mr. Mubopa was transferred to East London, Shirley continued singing at children's birthday parties, wedding anniversaries, and Anglican Church concerts. She used to entertain her parents' guests whenever they had parties at home. She sang without payment at these functions because she was not concerned with making money but enjoyed performing in front of an audience. After high school Shirley worked as a messenger for a company in Main Street in the city and sang part time. According to Richard Hatana, "She was a good singer. She knows...lots of songs...Cover versions...also her own songs" (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Shirley started singing professionally in 1974 when Jury Ntshinga, the leader of Black Slave, asked her to join the band permanently as their vocalist. She says she gladly accepted the offer because, in her estimation: "that was an honour for me because Black Slave then, was a very popular and powerful band" (Interview, 24 /09/2009).

> Shirley, I played with her in the band for a long time... the way she did things, she was so responsible... She's got a beautiful voice, decent, experienced...humble, and she can sing. She relied on me in everything...She is older than I am but she learnt a lot of things from me (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

> Shirley...we are close in terms of cultures, she is Sotho and I am also Sotho, so we used to interact and she was...with the Soul Jazzmen and another group again called Black Slave...She featured prominently with Black Slave (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

She started rehearsing with Black Slave on a Monday and performed with them the following Saturday. Their shows were usually four hours long. Jury Ntshinga was strict concerning punctuality, rehearsals, good behaviour among band members and conduct towards the audience. Black Slave performed at numerous political rallies held by ANC.

> I know Lineo and them they have been singing in groups which were moving of the flow of politics – the political flow. You know there has been a group here in Port Elizabeth called Black Slave... It was like if Black Slave is playing there to entertain students when they are on school holiday then Black Slave will be commissioned, the place will be packed. All Port Elizabeth will be there because the contents of their songs were very much relevant to the times. So in other words, they have been part of the evolution of our society (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

Ntshinga believed in Shirley who exhibited a lot of self-control and strength whenever they encountered problems. He ensured that Shirley was always comfortable wherever they went to perform. Shirley says, "He motivated me. I am who I am today because of Jury" (Interview, 24/09/2009).

> She is a lady. Let's say we've travelled to Transkei, the first person to be sorted out with accommodation is the lady. I had to see to that so...I was very strict that's why I went this far with the band (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

Black Slave toured East London, Transkei, King Williamstown and Grahamstown, they played all over Port Elizabeth. Shirley recorded "United Together" and "Take Me with You" with Black Slave at the SABC radio studio in Port Elizabeth for broadcast purposes. Jury Ntshinga performed the vocals with her when they recorded these songs. Black Slave had another vocalist, the late Vuyisile Dikana, a drummer who used to sing Nat King Cole and Aretha Franklin's songs.

Shirley was still with the Black Slave when she started writing her own songs based on real life issues, but they were not recorded or performed because it was around that time that Black Slave disbanded. In all this, Shirley managed to juggle her multiple roles as mother and professional singer.[30]

> On the onset I said she was so humble. She was principled...Shirley would do everything at her home and she has to attend rehearsals, she has to go back and cook. She has to juggle with the kids...they were still younger then. You do all that but I think...her mother encouraged her into singing because she would help her while she was away...When we travelled the kids will be with her mother...but with the way she did things that's why I say she was so responsible, you didn't have any worry (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

When Black Slave disbanded Shirley worked in a photographic studio in the city where she was promoted to taking identity card photographs. In the interim Shirley composed songs while singing as a session vocalist for various bands such as Afromix, and Maiden Voyage - the late Errol Cuddumbey's band that included Musa Mavundla and Patrick Pasha and sometimes featured Dudley Tito; who in turn featured her with the Soul Jazzmen. Shirley sang pop songs for school fundraising shows and beauty contests held mostly at the Centenary Hall in New Brighton.

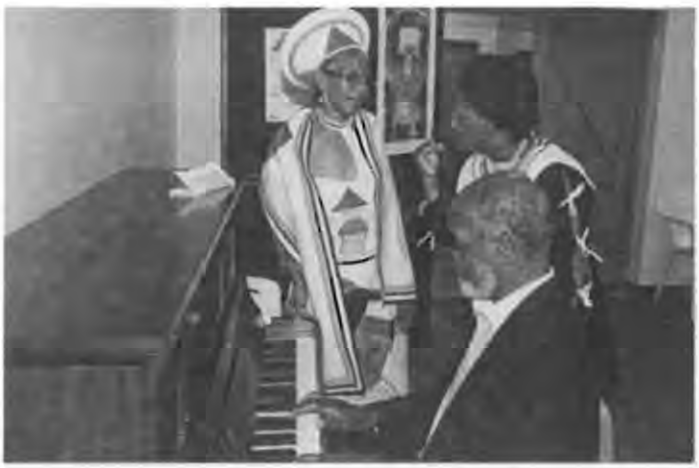

Fig. 5.10 Shirley Lebakeng with pianist Lami Zokufa, performing at a local school fundraising show in New Brighton (n.d.) (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

[30]See Shirley's story in Chapter Six, page 139 for more information about her experiences performing with Black Slave.

Another opportunity in Shirley's career during those years came when Mike Ngxokolo asked her to do lead vocals for a Christmas carol *'Siyavuya Namhla'* which the SABC radio studio asked him to compose for broadcast. The Living Sounds, a trio which comprised Thami Tshumi and Toti MuAfrika (both of whom have passed away) and Vuyelwa Luzipo backed her. They recorded the song at Umhlobo Wenene radio studio with Tio Mbetshu as the producer.

In 1994 Shirley joined the Soul Jazzmen permanently as vocalist. She signed an agreement with them concerning rehearsals, attendance, general rules and regulations, what to do and what not to do on stage. Band members who drank were not allowed to do so before a performance.

> After Vuyelwa we got Shirley...Shirley was also talented....We did approach her because at the same time before us she was singing for a band called the Black Slave...She stayed longer with the Black Slaves too...but at the same time we were playing different types of music. Black Slave used to play let's say funky music...We used to play jazz and...*mbaqanga* (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

Shirley was well-behaved and got on well with fellow band members.

> She was nice too...She was not a fussy kind of girl like... 'Where are we going to sleep?'...She was just same like Vuyelwa...In our band when we work with a girl we treat her same as us and she understands that. She is part of the band, she is part of us (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

Working with the Soul Jazzmen was quite an experience for Shirley because the Soul Jazzmen is the longest standing and most popular jazz band in New Brighton. Even Johannesburg musicians regarded the Soul Jazzmen as exceedingly competent given the fact that they once competed for studio time with famous Johannesburg-based bands in the late sixties.

Shirley recorded her composition, *'MaRadebe'* with the Soul Jazzmen at the SABC radio studios in Port Elizabeth for broadcast purposes.

> She had one song that we did record at SABC... *'MaRedebe'*...there was a healing woman in the Transkei...[called] 'MaRadebe'. [Shirley] wrote the song when we were with her...This woman... used to be a healer people used to flock to her...More powerful than *igqirha* because she had more powers...people used to believe in her healing (Tito Interview, 13/11/2009).

Shirley did a duet with Big T Psyche Ntsele of a cover version of Miriam Makeba's song *'Jikela Maweni Siyahamba'* which talks about Xhosa initiation ceremonies. This song was a favourite with white audiences in clubs in the city and the Soul Jazzmen always performed it on demand. The CD she recorded with the Soul Jazzmen is a mixture of simple jazz songs and traditional Xhosa music, intended to please their audiences who preferred African rhythm.

> With traditional music...people like that African beat, the rhythm...they like to dance on it ... Not all of them are traditional songs, but mainly ..., it's traditional songs. And they are easy to follow...even a child can dance on mbaqanga music...Not everybody is a jazz follower, so we are making it easier...for the audience because sometimes we don't only play for a jazz crowd. We did not want to record deep jazz because not everybody is a jazz follower...Some people say jazz is complicated although there are many people who like jazz, but some of the people prefer mbaqanga...It's easy to understand (Lebakeng Interview, 11/11/2009).

The audiences preferred specific dances associated with *mbaqanga* because of their Xhosa background.

Although jobs were difficult to come by, Shirley was fortunate in that she got more gigs than most of the Jazz Divas. Shirley obtained many gigs because she sang songs which the instrumentalists found easy to follow (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009). Shirley was one of the founding members of the Jazz Divas in 2004. Port Elizabeth businessman and politician, Thobile Mhlahlo facilitated most of her performances such as her participation in the Standard Bank sponsored Manyano Jazz Festival held in East London in 2007 and 2008 along with Nomzamo Mkuzo.

> So my objective when I pulled them together was to display the capacity. They toured East London...I mean people giving them standing ovation...During break, and people wouldn't leave their chairs...and buy drinks. They were singing until past one in the morning and people were just sitting down quietly. They couldn't believe these old ladies...asking where are these people...(Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

As with Nomzamo Mkuzo, Thobile Mhlahlo kept Shirley 'busy' by sourcing gigs for her after the Jazz Divas stopped performing together. From time to time he booked her at his club, the Village Vanguard Jazz Club, or at Arts and Culture Department sponsored functions with the help of Musa Mavundla, who works for the Department.

> The voice from her... it's outstanding but she survives and lives out of that voice and there is nobody else seemingly who acknowledge[s] that point that her living and survival depends on the voice (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

Winston Peterson, a fellow Port Elizabeth musician and promoter, used to run a club in the city where Shirley performed accompanied by the bands he hired. In many performances, Shirley invites Nomzamo Mkuzo to join her.

> The most active of them is Shirley, uLineo. She is lucky to get a few gigs now and again and then *yena* what she does, shame, she is not selfish – she ropes in Nomzamo. She squeezes her, Nomzamo in and Nomzamo gets a slice...In other words she shares whatever because of Nomzamo's plight (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

Shirley sings at fellow musicians' memorial and funeral services along with many others in her community. In 2009, Victor Mhiza's family honoured Shirley by asking her to speak at his funeral because they were close friends. They performed together as members of Black Slave and later the Soul Jazzmen. At Welcome Duru's funeral, she teamed up with veteran male vocalist Thami Ngwcangu and sang one of Welcome Duru's compositions entitled *'Sindi'*. Shirley is called on to sing at many funerals in her community. She performs whenever there are opportunities. Above all her life revolves around music.

> Music is my life. I have been singing almost all my life. I enjoy singing...Yes there are no gigs now, but just to be there seeing people happy while I'm singing...it keeps me healthy. Yes, I'm old but when I'm on stage I feel like a youngster...I become very, very fresh...I don't have much to think about you know. Even when I'm at home...just to listen to a song...makes me very, very happy...I imagine myself on stage singing in front of people...That is why I say music is my life. I love singing (Interview, 3/02/2010).

She is presently composing songs and working on recording an album and is actively involved in reviving the Jazz Divas.

Nomzamo Jeannette Mkuzo

Nomzamo Jeannette Mkuzo was born to Samuel and Minah Mkuzo in Korsten, Port Elizabeth, on the 23rd of May 1938. Her family survived the removals and moved to New Brighton ten years later where Nomzamo went to primary school. Nomzamo's father, Samuel Mkuzo, played a pivotal role in her musical development. He was born and brought up in Grahamstown but moved to Port Elizabeth where he worked at Sherwood Garage. He had a passion for jazz and often sang with his daughter, thereby inspiring her from a very young age.

Samuel played the banjo, snare drum and the organ, which Nomzamo refers to as their "family instrument" (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009). She wanted to play the snare drum and the piano but her father was reluctant to help her so she gave up. Her father never played in a band but he taught his daughter how to read tonic sol-fa by singing church hymns with her. Nomzamo's family were devout Christians who attended the Anglican Church at St Steven's Hall in New Brighton where she was a girl guide. Samuel often helped their church choir in singing hymns.

Nomzamo learnt how to sing through singing with her father and listening to Lourenco Marques Radio Station from Mozambique. She was already good at singing when she began to attend

lower primary school. Also, her late brother bought her sheet music, which she used to learn how to sing. Nomzamo's grandmother who sang with her sister also inspired her to sing.

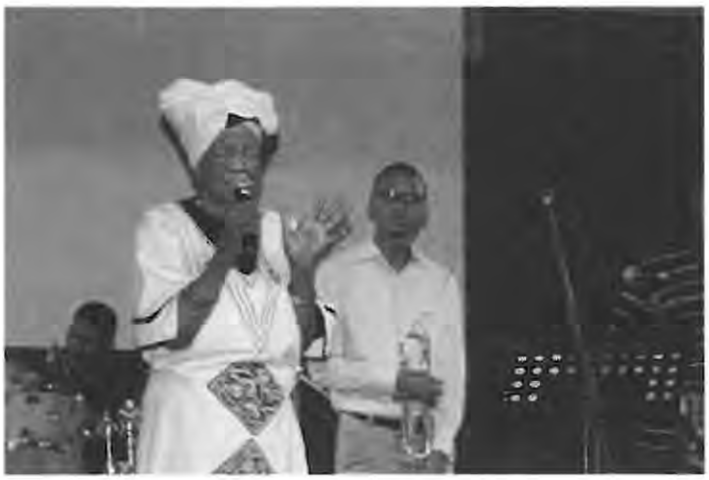

Fig. 5.11 Nomzamo Mkuzo, performing at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, New Brighton, 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

> She was a great singer. *Umakhulu wam'* (translated 'my grandmother') she died with her voice (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Richard Hatana, jazz drummer, is Nomzamo's close colleague in music with whom she watched local bands perform in the halls in New Brighton.

> Same as Nomzamo, it's where she started to get on with singing. She used to speak to me when she sees me wherever I go, if we meet we just speak about music. As youngsters we used to go to the older musicians to...the TC White Hall, eHoza Hall and all that to listen to the older musicians. So it's where we started finding whatever instruments we would like to play or a singer, what kind of music you would like to sing (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).

Nomzamo was also inspired by Nat King Cole, Ella Fitzgerald and Doris Day, but Sarah Vaughan was her favorite. Nomzamo says:

> These three ladies I even take their style when I'm singing... When I started singing I start with those three ladies I have been talking about...Nat King Cole [especially "Mona Lisa"] was my favourite too and Frank Sinatra. It's where I learn how to sing jazz. So many times I had to sing their songs. As a result people will say, 'Nomzamo sing standard music...I used to sing at clubs because sometimes there is no job in the location in New Brighton. I used to sing at Alabama...There were three clubs there Alabama, Waldorf and [Sonop] (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Nomzamo's beginnings in the music scene came at the age of fifteen. Ken Tsotsobe, founder and leader of the Barnacle Bills band and a former member of the Johannesburg-based Zonk Group, identified, recruited and mentored Nomzamo after witnessing her debut performance at a

farewell party for a retiring social worker (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009). Port Elizabeth's popular Barnacle Bills band backed Nomzamo's performance of the song "Confess" which she had learned from a version by American singer Doris Day. She mesmerised the crowd with her singing: the crowd went quiet as she sang.

After the party, Ken Tsotsobe enquired from other school children where Nomzamo stayed. He went to her father's house to ask him if she could sing in their band. "You could say those people have come to look for a wife" as they begged him to let her sing with them (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009). Her father objected that she was still too young to join a band. Relentlessly, Ken Tsostobe continued to persuade Nomzamo discreetly, and because she loved music, she performed with the band at TC White Hall without her father's consent. From then on, the band featured her. Samuel Mkuzo sternly warned Ken Tsotsobe that he would be answerable to him if Nomzamo got obsessed with music and abandoned her studies. His fears and concerns were confirmed when she dropped out of school in Form One and went into music full-time at age seventeen.

Subsequently, she competed in many night-time talent shows. Her first newspaper coverage came when Mabel Qethu, a journalist with a local newspaper, wrote a story about her after she won a talent show in a club in Korsten. Nomzamo performed with the Barnacle Bills for a long time from the early fifties in places such as the Feathermarket Hall, Crispin Hall, Alabama Hall, Motherwell Hall and a host of other clubs in Port Elizabeth. She learnt a lot about music from band members as they mentored her from the time she first entered the music industry. They packed many halls including Hoza, War Memorial and Centenary Halls in New Brighton, where the band members had to clean the halls first because they were always dirty.

When the police continuously disrupted their shows Nomzamo's father forced her to stop singing because he had on many occasions intervened on her behalf. Thus around the mid fifties, still a teenager, she stopped performing in public, but continued practising at home using a metal tin to amplify the sound of her voice. Then the cast of Shanty Town Review, a musical show by the Friendly City Jazz band, heard that Nomzamo had a large repertoire of songs and asked her to sing with them. She returned to the public music scene by joining Friendly City Jazz with

whom she performed in and around Port Elizabeth, and toured East London, King Williamstown and Grahamstown.

> She would say to us just play this for me I have got this song and she will sing...she had so many songs. She takes this one and another one but she came up nicely...We had more than twenty groups in New Brighton...We used to call that the Friendly City Jazz (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).

Nomzamo had her first child, a son whom she called Nkululeko, in 1956 but he has since passed away. Her father once again ordered her to stop singing and she found herself at home raising her child. Two years after Nkululeko's birth, jazz drummer Richard Hatana asked Nomzamo to join his band, the Junior Jazzmen. She performed with the Junior Jazzmen in and around Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Transkei, Grahamstown and East London. In this band, she sang Xhosa songs with Sipho Tyombo, a male vocalist.

> Sis Nomzamo Mkuzo, I happened to grow in the same neighbourhood, in the same street. She was just three houses away and she was very close to my late mother. And I knew her also to be an accomplished jazz vocalist (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

In the early sixties, Nomzamo moved from MacNamee Village to Red Location to help raise her elder sister's children. When her sister died Nomzamo took over responsibility for her children. While staying in the Red Location she developed a passion to help orphaned, abused and neglected children such as her neighbour's mistreated children; even though life was not easy for her as she also looked after her late sister's children and her own son.[31]

In the mid-sixties, Nomzamo met and married Jamani Skweyiya, a guitarist from Kwazakhele at a function in Zwide.

> We loved one another; we loved the way we sang. We played jazz, Xhosa, swing and dance music. My husband was very humble and he played guitar (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Nomzamo and her husband were inseparable, "You will never see Nomzamo alone in the street, always like that" – (demonstrating with his two fingers that she was always with her husband) (P. Pasha in Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009). Nomzamo had two more children with Jamani: a son, and a daughter Sindiswa, who is deceased but whom she claims was more gifted than her.

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[31] In Chapter Seven I analyse the song Nomzamo was motivated to compose by the behaviour of this particular neighbour of hers.

Fig. 5.12 The Jay Jay Duet: Nomzamo Mkuzo with her guitarist husband Jamani Skweyiya (right) at a local function in Port Elizabeth (n.d.) (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

Nomzamo sang duets with her husband, composed, practised and recorded songs at the SABC radio studio in Port Elizabeth for broadcasting purposes. While they were recording at the SABC, she called her husband "Jay" instead of his full native name Jamani. Nomzamo and Jamani, with Leonard Duru accompanying them on piano, popularised *"Uqugubani"*, a club in the Red Location, when its owner hired them to perform there. They also performed at Skymens, another club in the Red Location where they drew large audiences. Nomzamo and her husband varied their repertoire according to the performance context: when they performed out of the location, they played jazz, swing, and dance music, but in the locations they concentrated on jazz and traditional Xhosa songs.

Nomzamo was one of the founding members of the Jazz Divas in 2004 and, as with Shirley Lebakeng, Thobile Mhlahlo kept Nomzamo 'busy' by sourcing gigs for her after the Jazz Divas stopped performing together. In 2006, Nomzamo performed at former Port Elizabeth Premier Raymond Mhlaba's birthday celebration and at a Sports Conference that was held at the King Edward Hotel in the city where Mhlahlo ensured that she also performed in 2008 and 2009. He also facilitated her participation in the Standard Bank sponsored Manyano Jazz Festival held in East London in 2007 and 2008. Mhlahlo facilitated performances for her at his club, the Village

Vanguard, or at Arts and Culture Department sponsored functions. She also performs at fellow musicians' funerals and is actively involved in the revival of the Jazz Divas.

Fig. 5.13 The Jay Jay Duet: Nomzamo Mkuzo performing with her guitarist husband, Jamani Skweyiya at a local function in Port Elizabeth (n.d.) (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

Standing ovations have become a benchmark of Nomzamo's success as a vocalist. The audience's response moves her.

> I'm still good. I'm still singing and if I am on the stage I'm doing what they want because if I sing there they give me a standing ovation and clap their hands…They are very happy with my performance...I thank God man...I get pain here (touching her heart) because I could see all these people, they love me, they love my music and they said, 'I'm alright and I'm good' you know (Mkuzo Interview, 11/11/2009).

> [In] East London...people g[ave] them [Nomzamo and Shirley] standing ovations...They couldn't believe these old ladies...That other one she looks like you can dismiss her, Nomzamo, you can say this is a drunkard and all that [until you hear her sing] (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).[32]

Welekazi Mosia's comments reflect the respect for Nomzamo's performances and her powerful voice among other vocalists.

[32] Nomzamo neither drinks nor smokes.

> I didn't know Nomzamo until I met her when we were Jazz Queens...she is sweet. I love that woman...we just click...she is so humble...She is old but...she has got a powerful voice... Nomzamo sings that song [*Ntyilo Ntyilo*] better than me hundred times. She has got her own version of singing, it's powerful...I love it when she sings (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Nomzamo thinks that promoters and sponsors should not consider her old because she still gets standing ovations when she performs. She resents that they treat her as a helpless old lady who cannot sing anymore and does not like being the last one to perform at functions because the vocalists who perform first sing some of the songs she would have liked to sing. But she allows that it could be the organisers are saving the best for last given the audience's response to her performances.

She speaks of how club owners, promoters and male musicians used to come and beg her to sing, but she rarely gets invitations now and is left out when promoters hire musicians to perform at functions. As a result, her life has become difficult because she is the breadwinner in her family. She believes that her "voice will never get old until the day she dies" like her grandmother (Interview, 10/10/2009). At 72 years of age, Nomzamo has the same conviction that Miriam Makeba had, that she will sing until the day she dies. Makeba died aged 76, after collapsing during a performance in Italy on 9 November 2008. In her biography, *My Story*, Miriam Makeba highlights the thing which, like Nomzamo, she was born with and will have until the day she dies, and that is "song" (Makeba and Hall 1988: 1).

Nomzamo does not "sing chaff", but sings to make a difference in her community.[33] Music gives her peace of mind, soothes her and takes her mind away from painful experiences and her disadvantaged situation:

> If I involve myself in music, I forget everything... Like for instance, you see *mos* my house...when I am singing I feel like everything is there...I feel peaceful...When I'm singing I feel joy...It heals worries, especially now, you see my grandchildren, sometimes there is nothing to eat here you know. I have no money I must go and borrow money somewhere. Those things I don't like them but once I'm with music I forget all those things (Interview, 10/10/2009).

During performance, Nomzamo conjures up the bygone images of her youthful days which "revitalizes" her and makes her "forget" her old age such that she performs magnificently (Interview, 10/10/2009). Good backing from the band is essential when she is performing and

[33] See Chapter Seven for further discussion of Nomzamo's personal compositions as well as those of Linda Tsaone and Shirley Lebakeng.

she has been fortunate to be backed by seasoned musicians in all her acts. "I feel otherwise when I'm on the stage...If the backing is good behind me; I just give you what you want!" (Interview, 11/11/2009). Nomzamo's favourite instrument is the piano and she believes that it forms the backbone of all her performances.

> My favourite instrument is piano, you know. If I hear that piano is playing alright...then I can see everything is alright (Mkuzo Interview, 10/11/2009).

Nomzamo's love for piano explains her close relationship with Jury Ntshinga, a renowned band leader, vocalist and piano player.

> Sis Nomzamo...whenever there [are] concerts she comes and I do the backing...So if she had a function...and let's say she is invited to sing in any place; she will say, 'Jury I am invited to sing there. They are paying me so much I give you so much I want you to do the backing'. That's how I work with Nomzamo...She didn't sing in the band like Shirley did but she relied on me with all her acts. If she is gonna sing she will say, look I've got a band to back me up and that's Jury (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

Nomzamo thinks that if she had completed her studies she would have improved her musical skills and she would have taken her career to another level (Mkuzo Interview, 10/10/2009).

> Because of this music I didn't care to go to school because I was already a band star, singing for the band Barnacle Bills,...And another thing, I was very fond of music... not knowing you must first go to school and finish up your matric then you can [say] you want to do music,... I realize that after I did all this (Mkuzo Interview, 10/10/2009).

Nomzamo has had many difficulties to contend with, fending for herself since her husband died in 1989. Nomzamo has never worked a day job, and as a result she has struggled financially all her life. Nomzamo looks after her grandchildren and is concerned about what will happen to them if she were to die while they are still young. Her grandchildren love music and know that her music is their means of livelihood. Life as a musician has not been smooth sailing for Nomzamo, but she is satisfied that she was able to do what she loves most. She intends to compose and record more songs and make videos if she can get sponsorship. Nomzamo believes that she will die happy and fulfilled if only she can record and commercialise her music.

The Jazz Divas

Stan Mosia is a jazz enthusiast and promoter who brought the Jazz Divas, originally called the "Jazz Queens", together as a performing group in Port Elizabeth in 2004. Mosia taught in Johannesburg and worked with musicians at the famous Dorkey House, and he accommodated

some of these musicians in his house in Alexandra. He later returned to Port Elizabeth where he became the first black sports presenter on SABC 2. He was a freelance sports journalist on television and is an award winning sports presenter.

Mosia's concern about the plight of female musicians prompted his interest in promoting them. He formed the Jazz Queens because he wanted to promote the vocalists and help them make a living out of their music. Mosia aimed at breaking the culture of exploitation of female musicians by promoters, band leaders and managers alike. On his prompting, Shirley Lebakeng and Leo Mwanda approached Vuyelwa Luzipo, Nomzamo Mkuzo and Welekazi Mosia and together they formed the "Jazz Queens".

> Then I spoke to *u*Lineo. Then I spoke to *u*Leo Mwanda. Those were the two I spoke with first. 'Well, *nina* and whoever and whoever, can't you come together and let's make a collaboration of the five of you? Let's form up a collective band because you are the only musicians who specialise in jazz in this area here'. Hence, the concept of the Jazz Queens was born (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

There was consensus that the vocalists could continue working on an individual basis as well as being part of the group.

> The idea [was] for them to rehearse songs as the Jazz Queens but they are able to perform as individuals; and Lineo agreed, Leo agreed. Then we had to approach the other three, Nomzamo and whoever and whoever; Nomzamo, Webro [Welekazi] and they all agreed. So the concept of *i*Jazz Queens came to light. Then it was agreed because I came with this idea that I should manage them (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

The Jazz Queens project was officially launched at Centenary Hall in New Brighton on 24 May 2004.[34] The launch marked the beginning of Ladies Jazz 'Nite' events which were staged on the last Wednesday of every month. Subsequent shows at the same venue were very successful. The Jazz Queens were backed by the young and talented Echoes of Africa jazz band and the more experienced Afromix. According to Mosia, the formation of the Jazz Queens revived the local jazz scene remarkably.

In August the same year, as part of his endeavour to promote local female musicians, Stan Mosia decided to celebrate South Africa's tenth year of freedom by honouring the work of ten Port Elizabeth's long-time female vocalists.

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[34] See the performance programme outline for the National Women's Day Celebration in Appendix 1.

I looked at the tenth year of the country that was in 2004; I decided to grab the bull by the horns and say no this is an opportune moment for this area, this city, to recognise the achievements of these ladies. So...I felt ok let me try and bring in some synergy into this whole thing here and not make it an outright sort of township-related thing. Let me look at the other ladies from the other residential areas but focusing on Port Elizabeth (Interview, 13/11/2009).

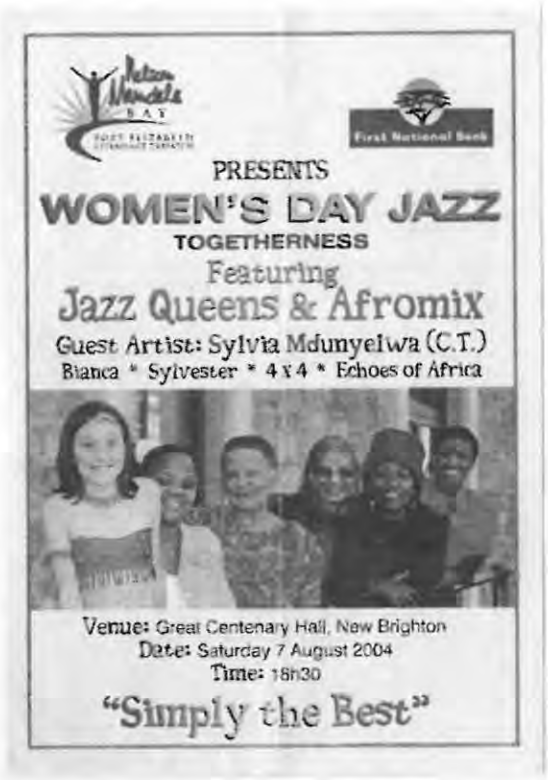

Fig. 5.14 From left to right: Bianca, Welekazi Mosia, Nomzamo Jeannette Mkuzo, Shirley Lineo Lebakeng, Leo Nomalungelo Mwanda and Vuyelwa Luzipo in the poster for Women's Day Jazz Celebration (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

Mosia deliberately chose ten vocalists from Port Elizabeth (some black and some white), one for each of the ten years since the Democracy. He scheduled the function on the National Women's Day Celebrations where the Jazz Divas were to perform. Dudley Tito, Patrick Pasha, Musa Mavundla, Richard Hatana, Connie Banton and the late Errol Cuddumbey helped Mosia to choose the following ten vocalists who were to be honoured: Mabel Ntshinga Magada, Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng, Vuyelwa Luzipo, Bessie Ngemuntu, Kholeka Mali, Nomathemba Ntungwana, Stella Davies, Eleanor Kramer and Mandy Gurr. Sylvia Mdunyelwa, a Cape Town jazz vocalist was invited as a guest artist for the National Women's Day

Celebrations and Bianca, a young white girl who sang Xhosa songs, was also featured in the show.

Dudley Tito, Musa Mavundla and the late Errol Cuddumbey were the musical directors for the function. The ten veteran vocalists received certificates from First National Bank.

Fig. 5.15 Shirley Lebakeng receiving a certificate of recognition from a First National Bank representative at the Women's Day Celebration at the Centenary Hall, New Brighton on 4 August 2004 (ILAM/RLMHP Collection).

Stan Mosia had hoped that he could get some money to accompany the certificates but most of the sponsors withdrew their offers at the last minute. As a result, they ended up paying only the musicians who performed at this function. Fortunately, Tourism South Africa and First National Bank supported them throughout the Women's Day event. After these celebrations, the Jazz Queens received a lot of publicity through the print media.[35] Mosia says:

> Print media, I had no problem. I still remember when they were invited by the editor of the *La Femme*...It was a big sort of like full page preview of the event. Unfortunately we don't have luxury of publication *mos* around here...We also got recognition through radio coverage at SABC. It was only once. They had restrictions but the community radio stations it was an on-going thing. Remember the community radio stations it's all about [the people] but the other one you have to pay (Interview, 13/11/2009).

[35] Stan Mosia did not have the newspapers reviews which he spoke about. My attempts to search the media houses' archives were fruitless as they all claimed not to have such information.

After the Women's Day celebrations the Jazz Queens continued to perform as a group. Mosia facilitated many performances for the Jazz Queens who later, by audience demand, changed their name to the Jazz Divas. "They are the divas, our divas. That is now our heritage, our own people" (Luzipo Interview, 26/05/2009). Mosia provided them with transport to and from the performance venues and was not paid for the work he did for the group.

The Jazz Divas held a number of shows in Port Elizabeth in the subsequent three years. In 2005 they performed in the Splash Festival at the Harbour, at King's Beach hotel in Port Elizabeth. In 2006, they performed at the Cancer Association of South Africa (CANSA) celebrations and the Post Office's end of year party at King Edward Hotel in the city.

Between 2007 and 2009 the Jazz Divas did not function as a group. According to Mosia, the group could not be sustained due to lack of sponsorship. All the prospective sponsors abandoned them before they had gone anywhere with their performances. Although group members agreed that they could still perform as soloists, upon disbandment there were allegations of individualism and a lot of in-house fighting among the vocalists although none of them would speak to me openly about the causes of these tiffs. Stan Mosia believes that lack of funding brought the group to its knees.

> Unfortunately they had to go separate ways...Leo had to go to Cape Town. We couldn't sustain the project because there was no funding (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

Welekazi has a different view and said that

> After that we didn't have much time now to rehearse and all that because we are busy women, we are married and all that. So I decided to go solo...taking my time...doing it on my own pace...there was no rush even when I did that CD...I wasn't under pressure as such. I just did it because I just love music that's all (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Also, Leo Mwanda went to work in Cape Town and Vuyelwa Luzipo got more involved in the activities in her church and her work at the Correctional Services.

Echoing what the younger vocalists said, Mosia commented that the older vocalists had a tendency to be "bossy", which caused tiffs mostly during rehearsals, and this may have contributed to the vocalists going their separate ways. But he believes that the group has a lot of potential and says, "They still have it. You can pounce on them at any given hour" and they will deliver (Interview, 13/11/2009).

Events held in 2010 have given the Jazz Divas the opportunity to perform together again. On the 26th of February 2010, three of the five Jazz Divas (vocalists Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng and Vuyelwa Luzipo), Dudley Tito and the late Lulu Gontsana were honoured as outstanding long-time musicians of the community at a "Jazz Tribute" organized by the Red Location Museum and music promoter Mike Pantsi and held at the Red Location Museum. The other vocalists in the group, Leo Mwanda and Welakazi Mosia, were invited guests at the function and Leo was awarded a token of recognition for her hard work and resilience in music.

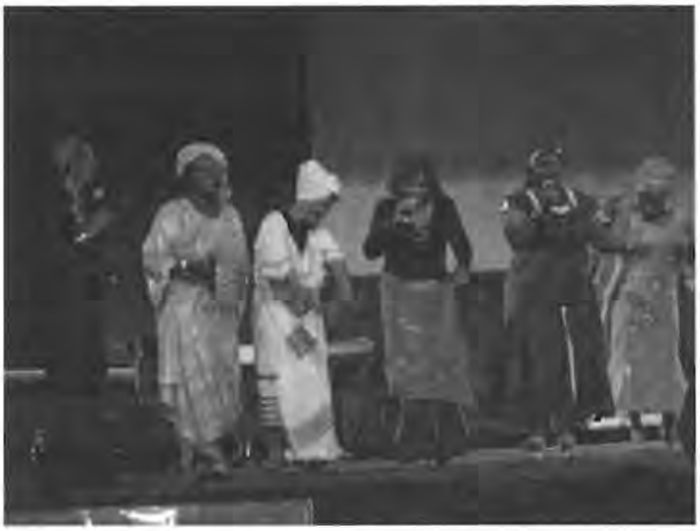

Fig. 5.16 From left to right: Shirley Lineo Lebakeng, Leo Nomalungelo Mwanda, Nomzamo Jeannette Mkuzo, Welekazi Mosia and Vuyelwa Luzipo performing with Linda Tsaone kaMhlaba at the Jazz Heritage Concert, Centenary Hall, in New Brighton, on 27 March 2010 (Photo, N. Butete).

As a community outreach event, the ILAM/RLMHP produced a Jazz Heritage Concert featuring all the jazz musicians who participated in the project at Centenary Hall, New Brighton on 27 March 2010. All of the Jazz Divas vocalists were featured in this concert, as were Linda Tsaone and Titi Luzipo.

Three of the original Jazz Divas, Shirley Lebakeng, Vuyelwa Luzipo and Leo Mwanda performed during the 2010 FIFA World Cup by singing at fan parks and in clubs all over the city. They also participated in the June 16th FIFA opening celebrations.

> I commissioned a number of bands and working with musicians and somebody coordinating amongst themselves, the bands were placed to perform in different venues and of course we did this as part of June 16 celebration. We celebrated June 16th in music and of course a combination of young artists and up-and-coming, we mounted some stages in streets as part of those celebration like people will come from

> different streets and there is a big stage in Mbizwene Square...And then in the evening there will be a formal concert where the Divas will appear and sing. The most propelling view to me was to say here are the voices we have (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

Welekazi Mosia is not currently working with the other four vocalists due to some misunderstanding, but they all hope to resolve the issue amicably so that the five of them can continue working together. On 17 August 2010, the Jazz Divas performed at a birthday party held at the Vanguard Jazz Club in the city where they teamed up with Titi Luzipo and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University music students. Promoter Thobile Mhlahlo has plans for the Jazz Divas and Port Elizabeth jazz musicians in general irrespective of gender, race or class. He aims to start sustainable projects that the musicians themselves will manage and coordinate under his team's mentorship.

> After Nomzamo and another one...below you have nice young boys and girls...so it's a combination of generations together in one big band. That's what was nice and of course one of the most important element was the fact that this is a township product in compositions of course with some elements from the university because we had some girls there on trombones and some boys from the university here...It was...[a]very nice composition, young boys led by their old voices...So the main idea then was to display this capacity (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

In September 2010, the Divas performed at the Opera Barn, a small hall at the Opera House, and at Centenary Hall in New Brighton. On 3 December 2010 the Jazz Divas performed at the International Day of the Disabled celebrations in Flagstaff near Mthatha in the Transkei. The Jazz Divas also performed at Mamela Arts Festival hosted by the Red Location Museum on 10 December 2010, backed by the Jazz Ensemble, a band led by Patrick Pasha.

The Jazz Divas have new hope since finding a prospective sponsor who has offered to assist them to record their music and make a music video. They plan to use the recorded music to audition for music festivals held in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town and elsewhere around the country. The Jazz Divas are grateful to the ILAM/Red Location Music History Project for bringing them back together and hope to continue performing as a group for the foreseeable future.

Conclusion

The biographies presented in this chapter give a cross-section of the lives and careers of six New Brighton vocalists who have been actively involved in performing jazz from their teenage years through their adulthood. Their narratives reflect the realities of their environment – the lack of

recording opportunities, the scarcity of gigs, and the highlights of their careers and how they have survived and enjoyed performing jazz in spite of the limitations of the music scene in Port Elizabeth.

The vocalists' biographies depict similarities and differences in terms of their experiences although they are products of the same environment. All six vocalists started singing in their teenage years after having learnt how to sing by listening to American jazz and pop music in their homes. The vocalists were inspired by both local and international musicians. Except for Welekazi, the rest of the vocalists have shared the stage with renowned international artists, an experience they all cherish. All their lives, the vocalists have performed for the love of music seeing that they have not earned a living from their music performances.

Whereas Linda, Vuyelwa and Nomzamo were also inspired to sing by close family members who were musicians in their own right, Shirley and Leo were influenced by outsiders who were close family friends. Unlike Leo's parents, who were initially unhappy with her choice of career as a singer, Shirley's parents told her right from the beginning that they wanted her to sing jazz, and facilitated her development as a singer by sending her for piano lessons. Shirley's parents also provided performance opportunities for her by making her to sing for their guests whenever they had parties at home. In the same manner, Vuyelwa's father allowed her to rehearse and sing in his choir when she was eight years of age.

Marriage dynamics impacted the vocalists' careers differently. Welekazi feels that marriage interfered with her musical career despite her admission that she considered singing a hobby. Vuyelwa had less time for music after her marriage due to multiple responsibilities but her husband was, and still is, very supportive of her musical career and that of their children who have inherited their mother's musical heritage. In addition, Vuyelwa and Welekazi's day jobs leave them with little time for singing as evidenced by the fact that I only managed to interview each of them once and that they failed to attend the rehearsals for the ILAM/Red Location Music History Project (ILAM/RLMHP).

On the other hand, Leo's marriage interfered with her musical career because though at first her husband sang duets with her, he later stopped her from singing for the remainder of their married life. She only resumed her singing career after she broke up with him. Nomzamo married a

musician, a guitarist with whom she performed in and around Port Elizabeth and he supported her until he died.

All six vocalists wish to commercialise their music and earn a decent living out of it. In a bid to achieve this goal, Leo, Vuyelwa and Welekazi proposed to compose own songs and create their own identities. Unfortunately lack of resources and financial acumen impede such endeavours and as a result their dreams may not be realised, given that Linda, Shirley and Nomzamo who have been composing have not yet managed to record their music. Although the vocalists are content that they have performed music all their lives, they all feel that they have not been able to rise to national and international levels. Vuyelwa has fewer regrets than the rest of the vocalists as she is happy that her children are actively involved in music.

In the following chapter I examine their realities in terms of the social theory grounding this thesis.

Chapter Six

Apartheid and Post-Apartheid Era Performance Politics

Introduction

This chapter analyses the vocalists' musical performance experiences in Port Elizabeth during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. I draw on the theoretical framework found in Pierre Bourdieu's notions of habitus, capital and field. In addition, I use oral history and biographical research methods to interpret and analyse the vocalists' lived experience.[36] Following Bourdieu, the vocalists' habitus and/or worldview was chiefly influenced by their everyday experiences in the context of performing in the New Brighton/Port Elizabeth music industry (the field). Their position in this field determined their worth (capital) culturally, socially and economically.

I adopt Bourdieu's notion of habitus for me to understand and make sense of what influenced their thoughts as well as how each of them looked at their life and interpreted it. The notion of field denotes the vocalists' context wherein their habitus is created and exercised and their capital is determined. Memory and experience are central in oral history and biographical methods of research. They are both primary concepts in the construction of one's worldview, hence important in the analysis of the vocalists' experiences.

Through this analysis I argue that even though the vocalists have found someone interested in promoting them, the lack of a thriving recording industry in Port Elizabeth limits any major changes in their careers. The vocalists might get a chance to record their original compositions, but there is little chance of their music making an impact beyond Port Elizabeth. Their music will not bring them notable financial gains because the local music industry is not vibrant enough to promote their recordings nationally, much less internationally. The vocalists' relative anonymity in the larger South African music industry hampers the desire of promoters to market them beyond Port Elizabeth. Locally, they do not have a stable fan base to buy their music.

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[36] See Chapter Three, page 27, for detailed discussion of the theoretical framework of analysis used in this chapter.

The subsequent analysis of the vocalists' experiences will demonstrate that the Port Elizabeth music industry is not substantial enough to nurture successful music careers. The fact that many local musicians' dreams have not been realised due to the lack of a vibrant local music industry is testimony to this. This status quo has not changed from the apartheid era to the post-apartheid era. It remains impossible for musicians to have a breakthrough in their careers locally. Going to Johannesburg, as has been the norm for musicians who have had successful careers, is their only option.

Dynamics of the Port Elizabeth Music Industry

Muller argues that for the music industry to survive economically, it must fit in with the state ideology which determines the rules and regulations which govern its daily operations (2004: 10). Yet each music industry has its own modus operandi as a field of cultural production although it draws on state ideology. In this context power defines all social relationships and dominant agents exploit it for self-benefit. Positional relationships are manipulated to establish superiority and positions of dominance in the process projecting exclusion and ensuring symbolic violence (Bourdieu in Eber and Neal 2001: 129). Symbolic violence is viewed by Bourdieu (*ibid.*) as a psychological violation that acts upon the mind which, when legitimised, presents a convenient way for the dominant to justify their domination, while those excluded blame themselves for their inadequacy or incompetency. Symbolic violence is crucial in the reproduction and naturalising of the social hierarchy to the extent that those in disadvantaged positions accept the status quo as the natural order of things (Webb et al. 2002).

Symbolic violence characterized the objective relations and structures in the Port Elizabeth music industry and the larger South African music industry during the apartheid era and continues to do so now. The running of the Port Elizabeth music industry is heavily dependent on the state of affairs in the larger South African music industry and those in powerful positions from local sponsors and local musicians; band leaders/managers and the band members and male musicians assert their authority over those in less powerful positions. Consequently, their subordinates have had to contend with what is offered them due to limited choices and opportunities.

The relationships which exist between the Port Elizabeth music industry stakeholders and local musicians contribute towards the musicians' failure to succeed to national level in their careers. The main structures comprising the Port Elizabeth music industry are the Department of Arts and Culture, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Musicians Association (NEMMMA) and South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) and promoters. This analysis reveals the challenges local musicians have to overcome first if they are to make a success of their careers.

As an arm of the government, the Port Elizabeth Department of Arts and Culture presides over and sponsors cultural activities, including music. According to the vocalists, its practices are still exclusionary as they were in the apartheid era when the cultural activities of black musicians were not provided for. Discussing the experiences of black musicians during the apartheid era, Vuyelwa Luzipo claims that they "were not taken care of" because "nobody cared" as the government did not allocate resources for them or have them mentored or represented by organisations such as SAMRO (Interview, 26/09/2009). That is, black musicians did not know their rights and this implies that the music industry stakeholders did not take cognisance of these rights, thereby disadvantaging the musicians who were by default victims of racial discrimination. The implication is that black musicians' work was abused without compensation or redress.

For example, Vuyelwa and Shirley were asked by SABC radio to record Christmas carols and Soul Jazzmen and Nomzamo recorded songs for SABC Bantu Radio broadcasting but other than the once-off peanuts they were paid, these vocalists and their male musicians have received no royalties to date (Lebakeng Interview, 24/09/2009; Mkuzo Interview, 10/10/2009 and Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009). Male veteran saxophonist Dudley Tito confirmed the vocalists' sentiments, adding that what made matters worse was that SABC owned the recorded music and not the musicians (Interview, 12/11/2009). As such black musicians incurred financial, social and symbolic capital loss.[37]

[37] See Chapter Two, page 22 for more information on the underpayment of musicians by recording companies.

Notably, Vuyelwa's assessment of her past and current knowledge of the music business shows that she is better informed now than she was during the apartheid era.

> In those days [apartheid era] we were very much blank. We didn't know whether it [music] was for sale or what? It's now that as I grow that I could see that we were exploited because...[we] were ignorant...in those days [apartheid era]...we were not that clear about things that were happening...We weren't very much exposed to things like that...They wouldn't give it [information] to us... (Luzipo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Vuyelwa's view shows that black musicians failed to make money out of their music due to lack of knowledge since many of them did not know that they could trade their music for money. Her sad realisation that musicians can earn a living out of their music made her conclude that they were exploited at the time much as they were made to feel that they were doing it for the good of their community. Paradoxically, their contributions towards the good of the community/nation were not recognised by the music industry stakeholders. This is in spite of Fuller and Tian's (2006: 291) argument that socially responsible acts may create symbolic capital and/or are symbolic capital in themselves and can symbolically signal prestige. Vuyelwa's interpretation of the above experience shows that her habitus has changed because back then she did not realise that they were being exploited.[38]

While Vuyelwa is cognisant of the exploitation and accepts that there was no way for her to learn what she needed to know about the music industry during the apartheid era, she blames it on her own ignorance and not on the authorities who were responsible for educating local black musicians on how to manoeuvre the music industry. That Vuyelwa and the other vocalists maintain that although they could not make money from their music, they performed for the love music and entertainment (Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009) and accept the status quo despite the manipulation and exploitation, exemplifies the concept of symbolic violence. I argue that they console themselves because they realise their powerlessness to change the situation since even to date, they do not have control over their circumstances. They view themselves as victims of situations they found themselves in which explains their relative complacency to exercise their agency which would improve their careers, and they blame the music industry stakeholders for their ignorance about the music industry business and their lack of recognition.

[38] See Chapter Three for more information on how habitus operates.

It is apparent that the fear that ruled their lives during the apartheid era when as black musicians they had no platform to voice their concerns has been transposed to fear of the very people who are supposed to promote them in the music industry. This is in the sense that the vocalists are aware of the corruption, fraud and manipulation by promoters, band leaders/managers and male musicians but they cannot openly voice their concerns for fear of being excluded from shows. The vocalists' agency is weak to say the least because they cannot represent themselves where it matters most as they are exploited in broad daylight. Irked by the rampant manipulation, Shirley Lebakeng commented that it hurts more when it is her own people (black) perpetrating this violence towards them (Interview, 24/09/2009). Her assumption was that since black male musicians who now hold important positions in the industry suffered the same discrimination that the vocalists endured during the apartheid era, they would know how to treat each other better. Unfortunately, this is not the case with the vocalists because the perpetrators learnt and inherited the ropes of manipulation from the apartheid era authorities.

Judging from the above, I argue that the vocalists' predicament has little to do with race as purported by the goings-on during the apartheid era. Rather the real issue is their relative lack of popularity beyond Port Elizabeth because to date they are not being taken seriously even locally. Much as they are seasoned performers, current local promoters continue to sideline them in preference to guest female artists from outside Port Elizabeth. As such the vocalists realised that they need to commercialise their own music for them to be recognised and respected as performers because being good performers of cover versions did not earn them the recognition they deserved (L. Mwanda Interview, 24/03/2010).

According to the vocalists, SAMRO did not offer black musicians membership during the apartheid era, neither did it educate them about their rights. To date, the vocalists claim that SAMRO has not yet reached out to them in any significant way because there is no close relationship between them and the organisation. Hence, in essence they remain as excluded as they were during the apartheid era because they have not realised tangible benefits from the organisation.

Linda Tsaone attributed the local musicians' failure to succeed in their careers to lack of access to relevant and up–to-date information about the music business. This lack of education stifles their growth and dampens their spirits:

> We don't know where to get these things, where to go to register, where to go to get...workshops so that people can teach us about [how to] deal [with music]...you suppose to do this and you supposed to do that...We don't have workshops here that teach the artists their rights...in the business...address us about everything that is in this business...the new implementations that are coming...If they can come and assist us because some of us...even those things of getting the form[s] for SAMRO...you don't know the way! Where to start all these things because you are not familiar with [these things]...You have got the talent of doing all these things...but you do not have the way of approaching these people, like where to contact when I want to go to SAMRO, what must I do? (Tsoane Interview, 21/09/2009).

However SAMRO only represents musicians' performing rights and does not promote musicians by providing performances opportunities for them. This is a fact Port Elizabeth musicians are yet to learn and come to terms with. At the same time the situation on the ground is that the vocalists, including their contemporary male musicians, do not even understand their performance rights as evidenced by their narratives. This is evidenced in that, unlike the Solomon Linde case, they have not sought redress for the music they recorded at SABC Bantu Radio for broadcasting purposes for which they neither received royalties nor own. Besides, SAMRO offers more than just the management of artists' performing rights; there are benefits such as pension and funeral cover and loans for musicians. These are services which the vocalists and their fellow male musicians have not received to date.

Reacting to the lack of representation by SAMRO, Port Elizabeth musicians formed NEMMMA intending to educate local musicians about music industry business and to offer them extra benefits such as those SAMRO offers artists at national level. However, up to the time of the interviews NEMMMA had failed to promote the vocalists/local musicians to the point of success. NEMMMA has not furnished the vocalists/local musicians with necessary education concerning the music business; rather it has been embroiled in leadership quarrels and mismanagement of funds ever since its inception contributing to its failure to deliver. I therefore argue that greed and lack of professionalism are chief causes of the local musicians' problems because they cannot be responsible for themselves even when the chance arises.

Local drummer Richard Hatana, who was a committee member of NEMMMA at its inception, claimed that he always fought with the other members regarding misappropriation of funds and lack of transparency in running the association which did not serve the interests of its members. As a result of his stance he became unpopular with some committee members and severed his working relationships with the majority of the local male musicians who no longer invite him for performances (Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009). Hatana is on good terms with all the vocalists because he never cheated them and they attest that his transparency is the reason why he is not liked by fraudulent male musicians.

Due to the endless problems within the association's leadership, a new intervention committee was put in place in September 2009 to remedy the situation. According to Lloyd Coutts, a member in the intervention committee:

> We have only recently taken over the board. NEMMMA was first conceptualised in 1990 historically. However, it was formalised in 2007 as Section 21 Company which is not for Profit Company. Now unfortunately due to circumstances we don't really need to go into here, the company never really instituted programmes. We have since taken over the board; we are an intervention committee that was appointed to get NEMMMA back on its feet. We became the new board in September this year... Talent is identified through us, then that talent is nurtured, and then that talent is grown, while at the same time keeping that economic development within our own area even if that artist progresses to the rest of the world. The artists are signed up by a manager here so we have got a tight loop in which...an artist is developed economically here. But now come to old age there is small pension that NEMMMA can provide (Interview, 3/12/2009).

According to Dumile Manxoyi, the chairperson of the new NEMMMA, the association aims to foster the growth of the local music industry:

> Our aims and objectives are underpinned by three categories: Professionalism, Education and Transformation. Just to elaborate on those, on professionalism there are certain challenges that as a country we are all faced with in different sectors with regards to honesty, transparency and accountability. And artists, musicians' structures are not immune from that. So we as a board are committed to professionalism, to efficiency, to accountability and that is informed by our professional stance. Second, it has to do with education. We realise that one of the problems that is faced by musicians on a national scale is lack of understanding of the music business...the business behind music. We have seen it with legendary musicians dying with nothing at all, in terms of money...So as NEMMMA we are committed to ensuring that...we organise educational workshops, activities, programmes that go beyond this performing but understanding how the music industry works. And then the other thing that is within education as well is that we do realise that when it comes to the music industry there are still some challenges that we are facing as musicians locally; which have to do with the billing of the music industry. The reality is that Johannesburg remains the hub of entertainment. And musicians from the Eastern Cape generally tend to go to Joburg to achieve their dreams. So within the whole scope of education we seek as well to empower musicians so that at the end of the day we can build a thriving, vibrant music industry, so that we stop this whole exodus of musicians going to Joburg (Interview, 3/12/2009).

To justify what Manxoyi said above, contemporary male musicians were also not conversant with the role of the local Department of Arts and Culture in their lives as musicians. This shows that the Department had not educated the musicians about its role in their careers. Jury Ntshinga did not understand the nature of his relationship with the Department of Arts and Culture despite having received an accolade from them for his contribution towards the local music industry:

> Its role perhaps I have got the wrong impression. I thought Arts and Culture is for musicians, for actors...I don't know whether you have to go to them...I don't know how it goes (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

On the other hand, former post-apartheid Minister of Safety and Security and jazz lover and promoter, and owner of the Village Vanguard Jazz Club in the city, Thobile Mhlahlo, felt that the local jazz scene faced a bigger challenge than the Department of Arts and Culture could handle:

> Arts and Culture in my observation is a very small section of this bigger challenge we face...I have discovered that there are more than thirty bands and Arts and Culture is responsible for a bigger definition of arts and culture; and jazz is...a very small element of that. So they will not have capacity to necessarily address the needs of jazz community in totality (Interview, 30/09/2010).

Mhlahlo's perception came from the vantage point of an informed person unlike the musicians who had a narrow understanding of the responsibilities of the Department of Arts and Culture, and hence misconstrued its operations. The onus is on the musicians to take the initiative to engage the Department of Arts and Culture such that it informs them about its functions. Xolani Faku supported Mhlahlo's perception that Port Elizabeth's financial resources are limited in comparison to Johannesburg:

> You can't compare Port Elizabeth with places like Gauteng in terms of resources. Lesser resources in PE exert a lot of pressure on the musicians who are forced to compete [for] the meagre resources (Interview, 2/02/2010).

The above argument by Faku shows that local musicians by default are disadvantaged by the geographical location of Port Elizabeth music industry in the Eastern Cape Province, far removed from the central locations of South Africa music business. Chairman of NEMMMA Dumile Manxoyi observed earlier that Johannesburg has remained the heart of South African music industry from the apartheid era to date.

Despite the limited resources at its disposal, the Department of Arts and Culture is reputed for turning down pleas for assistance by local musicians. For instance, Stan Mosia approached the Department of Arts and Culture in his efforts to promote the Jazz Divas.[39]

> [The Arts and Culture Department] was in place. We did approach them – [but]... they told us that their budget was more towards a national thing...immediately you start your national thing then it's centralised it becomes a Joburg thing. Then they told me, no there is a huge event. Pallo Jordan was the Minister of Arts and Culture – there is a huge event – x number of millions headed by Caiphas and Jonas Ngwangwa and the Hughs and what have you. So they don't have any other surplus money (Interview, 13/11/2009).

The above words prove that Port Elizabeth and its musicians had been left out of the larger picture of South African music industry activities. Port Elizabeth musicians have not been considered during national cultural activities budget formulations. Rather the above-mentioned nationally and internationally renowned Johannesburg-based musicians participated in such events. The lack of representation of Port Elizabeth musicians in such high status proceedings implies lack of recognition of their music industry which translates into scarce resources and stifles the growth of local musicians' careers and the local music industry itself. This scenario does not attract music business investors to Port Elizabeth resulting in the perpetual undergrowth and isolation of the local music industry.

Jury Ntshinga and the majority of male musicians I interviewed concurred that there is more happening in the Johannesburg music industry scene than their local one (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009). Ntshinga is of the opinion that lack of skilled human resources in the Port Elizabeth music industry contributed to the musicians' failure to succeed.

> We don't have producers here. We don't have writers here. We don't have studios...It would be different if we had a studio here whereby you get all those things (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009).

Part time vocalist, Welekazi Mosia confirmed that she was not conversant with the politics of the music industry, so she did not know her rights as a performer (Interview, 6/02/2010). She believed that lack of understanding of music industry business affected most musicians in Port Elizabeth as evidenced by their inability to make a success of their musical careers. She

[39] See Xolani Faku's views on Chapter Four, page 61 and 67.

maintained that Port Elizabeth musicians still lack exposure, implying that they still have a lot to learn about the music industry – an indication that their situation has not improved in any significant way.

Phillip Mbambaza, a veteran pianist, agreed with Welekazi that Port Elizabeth musicians are ignorant about music industry business saying that they "were fast asleep" (Interview, 22/05/2009). He pointed out that the late Victor Miza, trumpeter with the Soul Jazzmen, who worked in Johannesburg, used to share his knowledge of the music industry with his fellow musicians whenever he returned to Port Elizabeth.

It is from this background that I argue that unless and until the vocalists and/or Port Elizabeth musicians migrate to Johannesburg with its vibrant music industry, they stand no chance of succeeding to the level they desire. Only musicians who moved to Johannesburg or abroad have made names for themselves in the music industry. However, this does not mean that local musicians are not talented, but that the local music industry lacks the capacity to offer local musicians successful music careers. The system demands that local musicians prove themselves and establish networks with key figures in the music industry beyond Port Elizabeth to ensure their success. Yet due to fear of the unknown and lack of connections the vocalists and their contemporary Port Elizabeth musicians remained in Port Elizabeth because they doubted their chances at success elsewhere (Big T Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009; L. Mwanda Interview, 24/03/2010).[40]

The vocalists only benefited from the Department of Arts and Culture when its officials or some high profile people were involved in their musical activities (Lebakeng Interview, 26/09/2009; W. Mosia Interview, 6/02/2010). The involvement of the Department of Arts and Culture officials shows efforts by jazz lovers to promote it in the face of the Department's tight budget. This demonstrates positional power at work in that the officials' involvement facilitated performances for the musicians showing that they are in control of the activities in the local music industry. Thus the vocalists benefit in a very small way from their connections with the

[40] See Chapter Four for more information on Soul Jazzmen Band and Ntsele's experiences in Johannesburg.

Department of Arts and Culture officials because it is not the Department's prerogative to promote musicians but to cater for various sectors of arts and cultural activities.

The Department of Arts and Culture is also popularly known for showing preference for musicians from outside of Port Elizabeth over local musicians. Female musicians from outside Port Elizabeth are invited to perform at local functions and festivals and the local vocalists felt left out – quite a blow to their pride. The officials' actions show that they had no regard for local musicians whom they neither recognised nor valued as seasoned artists in comparison with their Johannesburg counterparts. Yet they manipulated local musicians by making them perform either for free or for insignificant amounts of money.

Although the Department of Arts and Culture contributed to the vocalists' plight, one male musician's account confirmed that band leaders/managers tarnished the Department's name even further through misrepresentation of information:

> Ok, the promoter (Department of Arts and Culture official) comes to the band leader and say, 'Look I want you to perform at such and such a place and this is what I need for that show and this is how much I'm gonna give you'. Now right at that point the band leader would say, 'Deal with nobody else but me'. So...it only comes out later when somebody (Department of Arts and Culture official) a couple of months down the line stands on the podium and says, 'We as Arts and Culture...have worked with musicians and...we have tried to pay musicians reasonable amounts of money. I don't remember having paid musicians less than five thousand a show'. Then some of these things come out there now. 'The show that was happening at such and such place we paid so much'. That's how the trouble starts now. That's how some of these things come out (Anonymous).[41]

This confirms that even though the Department of Arts and Culture did not pay local musicians as much as they paid guest artists from outside of Port Elizabeth, the Department paid local musicians substantial amounts of money. By misrepresenting facts, band leaders/managers used their positions to manipulate both the Department of Arts and Culture and their fellow musicians. As such the vocalists found themselves on the receiving end because they depended on male patronage for their performances. The vocalists confirmed that male musicians were not transparent in their dealings, however they did not take any action to redress the situation for fear of reprisal (Tsaone Interview, 21/09/2009).

[41] The musician's identity is kept anonymous for confidentiality reasons.

From the above quote some bands disbanded when the other band members discovered that they had been cheated. Yet mostly the majority of the musicians continued working with untrustworthy leaders due to lack of performance opportunities because quitting would mean unemployment. Moreover, deceitful band managers/leaders always obtained many gigs and musicians risked being cheated rather than being out of employment.

The above revelation by the male musician shows two possibilities. First, that the government might set aside funds to develop musicians but those entrusted with distributing those funds misappropriate them. Two, the promoters, band managers/leaders and male musicians are dishonest hence they defraud fellow male musicians and female musicians alike. They do so by misappropriating the funds the Department of Arts and Culture pay them during performances. Those musicians who were on the receiving end blamed the Department of Arts and Culture when their fellow musicians were the culprits. Conducting business in this manner might actually have caused the Department of Arts and Culture to mistrust musicians which affected their work relationships disadvantaging all the musicians in the local music industry. I argue that the fraudulent behaviour of local musicians could be the reason why the major stakeholders in the local music industry did not involve them in the planning of events involving huge sums of money.

Vuyelwa's current perceptions reflect maturity and hindsight and are influenced by what she witnesses in her present context.

> It's only now that we starting you know to open our eyes because we can see that the industry is such a big one and people, most people are living out of music...We look at people like Sibongile Khumalo, we look at people alike Hugh Masekela...it wasn't easy, for them to be, but today...you can see that they are really living in luxury because of music skills (Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009).

It took seeing other black musicians earning a living through performance for Vuyelwa to realise that Port Elizabeth musicians have been taken advantage of and deprived of a chance to live on their music. It is clear that she realises that resilience and hard work ensured that Sibongile Khumalo and Hugh Masekela succeed in their careers. I argue that the vocalists and their contemporary male musicians forfeited their chances at successful musical careers when they chose to remain in an under-resourced environment. I say this because their above-mentioned counterparts experienced the same apartheid era conditions as them but went wherever and did

whatever necessary to promote their careers. In fact, unlike Sibongile Khumalo, Hugh Masekela and Dorothy Masuka who stuck to their musical careers against all odds as Vuyelwa attested above, once the vocalists realised that music was not paying they looked for alternative means of earning a living and obtained day jobs which had nothing to do with developing their music careers.

On the other hand, given the vocalists' circumstances, their choice is commendable but by obtaining day jobs, the vocalists by default put their music careers in second place. This then compromised their chances of succeeding as artists because they only rehearsed when they were hired to perform, other than that, they focused on their day jobs. Out of the six vocalists, only Welekazi Mosia confirmed that music was a hobby she indulged in on a part-time basis and did not mind that she had not made a success of it although she voiced the same concerns as the other vocalists (Interview, 6/02/2010). As a result, the vocalists' attitude towards their musical careers might have prompted the promoters to regard them as second rate performers and explains the treatment promoters accorded them.

Therefore, the likelihood is that the vocalists' divided attention on their careers drove away prospective promoters who might have wanted to invest in them. Considering that Port Elizabeth had and still has a limited number of promoters as well as resources, the chances are that the vocalists found themselves with no one else to promote them other than the male bands who from time to time required their services to vary their performances. Thus, the male bands underpaid the vocalists capitalising on their lack of performance opportunities. It is from this background that the vocalists did not make money out of their performances; hence their lives remained on the breadline with nothing to show for their lifetime participation in their local music industry.

Since the apartheid era Port Elizabeth promoters and sponsors have always sidelined and underrated local musicians. Popular musicians from big cities such as Johannesburg are hired and paid huge amounts of money that promoters would not pay local artists on the pretext that they were not recording artists, and hence were not known (Pasha Interview, 13/11/2009 and Mkuzo Interview, 5/02/2010). The vocalists claimed that they are as competent performers as the guest artists, if not better than some of the so-called famous artists, a perception shared by local

jazz promoter Thobile Mhlahlo (Lebakeng Interview, 24/09/2009; Tsaone Interview, 23/09/2009; Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010). Vuyelwa and Leo concur:

> I don't know what is going on really and when you think about it, it baffles you...that guy will grab a big slice of forty five thousand and go back to Johannesburg and the local musicians here they will be getting five thousand each...and also the sponsors, the people that are organizers...discriminate us so much...Sponsors themselves, I think they are the most people that are exploiting us because they would hire Hugh Masekela from Johannesburg...will be paid a sum of seventy thousand or forty thousand for a performance (Luzipo Interview, 22/05/2009).

> They [promoters] will get a Joburg female to come and sing here while there is us...That's how it is...people here will take a Joburg guy who [does not] sing...even better...than [us] here... [but] because those people have recorded, that's why...But they won't take us here to come and open our own town house. It's definitely somebody, a big name from outside. They don't recognise us here (L. Mwanda Interview, 25/02/2009).

Leo's words emphasise Pasha and Nomzamo's above view that promoters underpay local musicians on the pretext that they are not recording artists. Yet it does not mean that local musicians are not talented, it is just that they have not recorded due to financial constraints. But the bottom line is, it takes extensive promotion and a lot of hard work for any artist to succeed, be they in Johannesburg or in Port Elizabeth because even the Johannesburg-based musicians work hard before they can secure recordings contracts and obtain national or international exposure.[42] Hence, resources permitting, if the vocalists had been promoted early, the chances are that they would have achieved commercial success like their big-city counterparts.

Jazz club owner and jazz promoter Thobile Mhlahlo, who has hosted the Jazz Divas on numerous occasions, shared their sentiments. He confirmed that most local promoters idolise guest artists at the expense of local talent:

> In fact there is a concert that took place here...These Sibongile Khumalos and the Johannesburg-based divas were driven, chauffeured, come to the venue, the body guards to the stage, towels and water there...Nobody must talk to them...And I said to somebody...'This thing, it's the culture of showbiz. This act is just telling you the desperation of showbiz...But one day...I hope that [day]...come[s]...sooner where they can listen as well to what we have here. There is a great potential in their midst as well (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

In 2008, Shirley Lebakeng and Nomzamo Mkuzo were present at the function Mhlahlo described above. They were hired to collaborate as curtain raisers for Johannesburg artists, Sibongile Khumalo, Gloria Bosman and other Johannesburg-based male artists billed to perform at the

[42] See Chapter Two for more information about the struggles and experiences of musicians in big cities.

Harbour. Whereas all the musicians from Johannesburg had each a change room to themselves, fully supplied with a variety of refreshments, Shirley and Nomzamo had to use the toilets as change rooms and their refreshments were put in a corridor (Lebakeng Interview, 11/11/2009). While the Johannesburg-based artists were given a first class reception, Stan Mosia, who was master of ceremonies at the event, received the same second class treatment as the vocalists and had to use the toilet as a change room (S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

Mhlahlo, who aims at facilitating the promotion and development of jazz in Port Elizabeth, viewed this kind of behaviour as typical of 'showbiz':

> It is true that...these are individuals...who want to make money. I mean showbiz is so brutal in the sense that when a musician from Joburg, I mean a crowd puller, is brought around here...Sibongile Khumalo will come here and then Lineo [Shirley Lebakeng] and many others whom I believe actually they can present beautiful voices even more than some of these people, they will be disregarded and the contractual agreement which binds government in many cases with those artists, it favours those Johannesburg-based...These guys will be just curtain raisers in a small space (Mhlahlo Interview, 30/09/2010).

Sharing the same opinion, bass player Big T. Ntsele observed that promoters and sponsors do not accept the fact that local musicians make a living out of performances:

> We never had anything out of music even today. It's very hard, people want to make us some gramophones...his master's voice...They want us to play for nothing... Things are not cheap now, even food...I thought things will be easy but it is worse...There is a lot of corruption amongst ourselves...They think of themselves (Ntsele Interview, 29/05/2009).

Ntsele's words show that the local music industry has not improved significantly since the apartheid era. To date local musicians live from hand to mouth and their performance opportunities have not in any way increased.

Bourdieu (1986) in Fuller and Tian (2006: 290) state that symbolic capital relates to the value an individual is accorded by others such as honour and prestige. Bourdieu (*ibid.*) argues that in the same manner that history is accumulated over time so is the accumulation of capital, be it in an objectified or internalised form. Bourdieu goes further to say that

> When one knows that symbolic capital is credit, but in the broadest sense, a kind of advantage, a credence, that only the group's belief can grant to those who give it the best symbolic and material guarantees, it can be seen that the exhibition of symbolic capital (which is always expensive in material terms) makes capital go to capital (1993: 120).

This is true of the local music industry in that the promoters/sponsors preferred famous musicians from outside Port Elizabeth whose popularity generates a lot of money for them. Hence Port Elizabeth promoters, like promoters elsewhere, are more concerned about profit-making than promoting unknown musicians such that they focus on artists whose performances bring in large sums of money. For this reason promoting the vocalists at this stage would not make much difference to their careers because it takes changing the mindset of the local promoters/sponsors, band leaders/managers and musicians alike to build a thriving local music industry which nurtures local talent.

Promoters are so cunning that given a chance they can exploit and corrupt musicians, though susceptibility to bribery largely depends on the personality of the musician concerned. Nomzamo Mkuzo was once hired by a sponsor who wanted to exploit her using the "Are you from Johannesburg?" recording artist tactic (Interview, 5/02/2010). She stood her ground and demanded fair treatment such that when he realised that his tactic had failed, the sponsor offered to secretly pay her more than he would pay the instrumentalists who had backed her. Nomzamo refused to be bribed and the sponsor paid the whole group equally.

This particular sponsor took his chance with Nomzamo, an indication that he might have bribed musicians before. The sponsor wanted to capitalise on Nomzamo's vulnerable position as a female musician whom he knew was exploited by band leaders/managers and male musicians alike and thought that she would concede but she demonstrated her integrity by standing up to him.[43]

Linda Tsaone went through a more or less similar experience in the hands of a particular band leader (Interview, 21/09/2009). She discovered that when they negotiate deals on behalf of their bands, band managers/leaders accept bribes from promoters, such that once promoters identify band managers/leaders who accept bribes, they hire the same bands at the expense of those who do not accept bribes. This leads to a monopoly – certain bands always getting gigs and performing at local festivals while others are not hired, presumably on the grounds that they are

[43] Concern for others, dignity and integrity are themes that run in Nomzamo's life; see her songs in Chapter Seven.

not registered with the Department of Arts and Culture. Linda concluded that be they white, coloured or black, promoters are all the same (Interview, 21/09/2009).

While promoters have their favourites, some band managers/leaders connive with particular individuals to cheat the rest of the band members. They have their favourites within the band whom they always pay more than the rest. Linda Tsaone once worked with a band leader who made each band member think that they were his right hand man by secretly bribing them in turn. Unaware that this was happening when the band leader approached her, Linda confided in a close male fellow band member. Her confidant confirmed that that was how their band manager handled business and advised her to accept the bribe and keep her mouth shut which she did with a guilty conscience (Interview, 23/09/2009). This scenario reflects how the vocalists find themselves in difficult situations which force them to compromise their values and keep unpleasant secrets in order for them to earn a living. Their position as female creative performers in the field of cultural production limits their choices and makes them settle for whatever comes their way.

Given such severed relationships between musicians and the major music industry stakeholders, at the end of the day very little is done towards improving and nurturing musical talent. It is apparent therefore from the above analysis that dishonesty, disunity, greed and manipulation are so rife that it would take an overhaul of the whole system to bring about positive change to ensure the development of local musical talent. Hence, Jury Ntshinga and NEMMMA Chairperson Dumile Manxoyi stressed that lack of seriousness and professionalism as well as what Stan Mosia called the "PHD – Pull Him Down" syndrome contribute towards the downfall of local musicians (Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009; Manxoyi Interview, 3/12/2009; S. Mosia Interview, 13/11/2009).

Gender Dynamics and the Culture of Silence

Some male musicians I interviewed misconstrued the female vocalists' silence and unquestioning attitude for understanding, thinking that they were not being "fussy" and did not demand "special treatment".[44] They were under the impression that the vocalists were ignorant

[44] The sources are kept anonymous for confidentiality reasons.

about their dishonest actions. On the contrary, the vocalists' narratives show that they were aware such things were happening. The vocalists concurred that in the post-apartheid era, as in the apartheid era, male band managers/leaders/members negotiate deals in their absence. They attested to their lack of transparency and accountability in dealing with subordinate band members. The vocalists were convinced that band managers/leaders did not disclose the exact amounts of money their bands were paid for performances. The following quotations are testimony to this:

> We are going to fight over *imali*, nothing else...In the first place those days they never paid us. You sing free...If he gave you something, maybe you will get two pound...Sometimes you don't get money even today, they still doing the same bloody thing! ...very few of them...gave you money when you finish singing. It's because you are women but at the same time even to the men, sometimes you end up seeing them fighting outside over the money. If we are going to the show and sing what you know Nomzamo, you know that this man is going to choose what to give to you...we don't discuss...He wants to give me a little bit of money instead of giving me the exact, the right money (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009).

> Not really transparent because we wouldn't know what happened to the rest of the money. Sometimes...they will tell a lie. Maybe...they can charge...for example five thousand, maybe they will come to us and say...it was only two thousand. Then we had to share the two thousand among say eight people or nine people. No, there was no transparency...In those days...money was not the real issue. We loved music, we did it for the love of our country...Sometimes they make a deal...in my absence. I wouldn't know...they will just come and say, 'Viva there is this show man, come and do rehearsals, we are performing on such and such a date.' Already the deal was done and weren't told that we are getting so much. Sometimes without me asking who is the producer? Who is the person hiring us and so on? I will just be quiet...to be honest I wasn't that much interested, I just loved to sing (Luzipo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Except for Nomzamo Mkuzo who is naturally outspoken and Leo Mwanda whose band leader consulted their whole band during negotiations, the rest of the vocalists did not communicate their grievances/concerns to their male contemporary musicians. Shirley Lebakeng once tried questioning one particular band leader but she was told that if she was not interested the band could always hire another vocalist to front their band (Interviews, 24/09/2009, 11/11/2009). After that experience, she resolved never to ask any questions although she knew that she was being exploited financially. To authenticate Shirley's experience, two male musicians commented that there was stiff competition for the vocalists because they were too many of them in one place such that a vocalist had to be very competent in order to stand a chance of being hired by male bands. These male musicians emphasised that due to lack of performance

opportunities the vocalists were forced to accept any amount of money they were offered.[45] Shirley Lebakeng observed that the male bands now prefer younger female vocalists to these older ones (Interview, 24/09/2009).

Vuyelwa Luzipo never used to ask questions because all she cared about was singing and not necessarily the payment (Interview, 26/09/2009). Welekazi Mosia assumed that low payments were caused by the large numbers of performers in the bands such that she did not bother asking how the male musicians calculated their payments. Rather, she was only grateful for the chance to perform and did not want to jeopardise it by being inquisitive:

> I am saying here in PE we are not exposed...We don't even have places to rehearse, so when a person calls you and says, 'There is a show that is going to be at such and such a place, so I just want you to perform there, I will give you so much'. I just do it, that's all. I am not fussy at all. Because you know it's because of the way it is here in PE...it is dead here...So when you get that chance you grab it, that's all! (Interview, 6/02/2010).

Linda Tsaone pointed out that although she did not negotiate deals with sponsors, judging from the length of time they performed she could tell that the band managers/leaders were paid more money than they revealed to the rest of the band members.

> It's something that you can read out of the work that you are doing that whatever you are doing... even if you don't deserve that but sometimes you take because you don't know where to get it from after" (Tsaone Interview, 21/09/2009).

Nomzamo Mkuzo and Linda Tsaone were breadwinners in their families. Thus, social problems complicated and compromised their choices, causing them to settle for any payment offered for them to be able to put food on the table.

One male musician commented that they never felt that there was need for them to engage female musicians in payment negotiations or even give them feedback from their sponsors. According to him, the vocalists were paid any amount of money male musicians would have agreed on, which was always less than what the male musicians paid themselves. Moreover, the decision was not necessarily based on the amount the band would have made per performance.[46] The male musicians used the pretext that singing was less demanding than playing instruments

[45] Names withheld for confidentiality reasons.

[46] The identity of this particular musician and the interview date are kept anonymous for confidentiality reasons.

(Anonymous).[47] Ballantine's (2005: 185) observation that female musicians' payment depended on the men who could either be mean or generous suffices to explain the vocalists' payment experiences.[48] I therefore argue that the vocalists' victim mentality is influenced by societal and music industry culture/values which put the women folk at the mercy of male patronage.

Without showing any signs of remorse, one male musician described how they treated female musicians. His statement confirms the vocalists' views regarding male musicians' lack of transparency which he attributes to the absence of unions responsible for the stipulation of musicians' payments:

> Well, the calculation of the female vocalists went this way, that the band members are always there playing and at some stages the female vocalists are being called to sing probably four or five songs and then they get off the stage. Now they could not get equal pay because the musicians are always there...That's how the calculation went...You must remember also now we had no unions, so payment was not payment that would have been recommended by unions...To be quite honest with you, in most cases women were never told the amount...Women were never told that, 'I have got a job and I'm paid so much, so out of this I'm gonna pay you so much'. The figure, if it says R5000, the figure is always R3000. 'We are getting R3000 for this job and this is all that we can afford.' This is what has been happening.. It depends on the promoter. Or that contact, even today, it depends on that person. (Anonymous).[49]

Paradoxically, the above cited male musician at some point argued that he did not understand why women always wanted to be invited for gigs and did not take any initiative to market themselves. His negative criticism of the vocalists' passive behaviour overlooked his observation that women were culturally socialised not to stand up to men, especially in the era in which the vocalists grew up.

Vuyelwa, Welekazi and Leo perceived Port Elizabeth as "dead" musically (Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009; W.Mosia Interview 06/02/2010; L. Mwanda Interview 25/02/2010). Accordingly, the vocalists intended to market and manage themselves, a move largely motivated by stagnation because male patronage has become very minimal or non-existent. The implication therefore is that suppose the vocalists were getting the invitations from the male musicians, they would have been content to wait for these. Also, since not much is going on in the local music scene in their

[47] This sentiment echoes the issue of female musicians' place on the performance scene as singers, Chapter Two page 19.

[48] Faku and Mosia testify to the exploitation of the vocalists at the hands of male musicians, Chapter Four, page 61.

[49] Name is not supplied for confidentiality reasons.

bid to stand alone the vocalists have to compete for jobs with seasoned male musicians who already have well-established connections and business acumen because they have been involved in the music industry politics much longer.

Explaining their attitude towards female vocalists, one male musician argued that culturally male musicians were socialised that women did not belong on the stage:

> Now with the female vocalists' if one were to assess the situation, it was more of a cultural issue here. A cultural issue in this sense that black females were always kept in the background because of culture...So females have always held a back seat. I think to be frank like I said I am speaking for myself, maybe we were also caught up in this cultural thing that a woman's place is in the kitchen (Anonymous).

The vocalists were not only exploited on monetary grounds but also sexually in their attempts to exercise their agency and negotiate performances. Two vocalists' narratives portray sexual harassment experiences by some members both of the Department of Arts and Culture and of male bands. Linda Tsaone declined sexual advances by one Department of Arts and Culture official and in the process forfeited the chance of registering in the Department's data base so that she could be considered for the festivals held locally. The official in question had promised to pay Linda's registration fee of R50 so that she could be in the Department's data base but he later refused to assist her when she turned down his sexual advances (Tsaone Interview, 23/09/2009).

Nomzamo Mkuzo also declined sexual advances by a fellow male musician who used to invite her to perform with his band whenever they had gigs (Mkuzo Interview, 10/10/2009). Since she turned him down, the male musician stopped inviting her for gigs. These two vocalists are seen exercising their agency in a very small way but with a very huge impact on their careers; and this explains why in the majority of cases they chose not to speak out. Below is another example of the detrimental effects of one vocalist's upfront approach with the male musicians.

Nomzamo's outspokenness contributed to her fall-out with most male musicians because she did not allow them to dictate to her or control her actions or her choice of songs.

> It's very hard I don't want to tell lies but you must be strict here and say I want to play this or I want to sing this *uyabo'*. Don't beat about the bushes and go straight if you want to sing that. I was that type of woman if I want that song to sing on the show I am going to sing that song. If I don't want to go there, I don't want go there (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Nomzamo has become unpopular with most male musicians who reportedly used her advanced age as an excuse for not wanting to perform with her on the pretext that she forgets lyrics during performances. Such male musicians could not stomach the fact that she refuses to play by their rules because during those of her performances I witnessed, Nomzamo received standing ovations from the audience - an indication that she still is a good performer.

The late pianist and Nomzamo's close friend, Errol Cuddumbey, described Nomzamo as "stubborn" and "difficult" when it comes to choosing songs but admitted that it was always worth letting her choose her own song because she did justice to it when she performed (Cuddumbey Interview, 3/02/2010). Nomzamo's expertise as a performer prompted Cuddumbey to respect her song choices in the same manner he respected Shirley's competence as a performer. This shows how their expertise earned them honour, prestige and respect in their local community which did not go beyond Port Elizabeth due to lack of promotion and exposure.

Stan Mosia's involvement with the vocalists as manager and promoter of the Jazz Divas marked one of the happy moments in all of the five older vocalists' musical careers. According to Leo Mwanda,

> Today you have got to know somebody up there to be where you want to be. You have got to brush shoulders with [them] to get this and that...Hence I always give my head to Stan, to say, Stan made us big...He would make shows during the week too. In a small Centenary Hall, we used to...pack it... He would get big jobs for us. He would make us feel as if we were not from PE (Interview, 25/02/2010).

That the vocalists felt as if they were not from Port Elizabeth confirms that they were treated with respect and dignity; and were paid substantial amounts of money for the performances. Fair payment was foreign to them because they associated such treatment with the guest artists from outside their locale. Hence, Vuyelwa referred to Johannesburg-based vocalists as "professional women" who were paid up front (Interview, 26/09/2009). This shows that the vocalists measured their worth as performers against guest artists. The vocalists were proud to have associated with famous national and international artists (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009; Tsaone Interview, 21/09/2009; Lebakeng Interview, 24/09/2009; Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009; L. Mwanda Interview, 24/03/2010). Given Port Elizabeth's peripheral position on the South African music industry, the vocalists viewed their association with such counterparts as significant.

Jazz promoter Thobile Mhlahlo further proves that male intervention assists female musicians to obtain performance opportunities:

> I am doing that not because I want profit but I'm intervening because I think I have got energy to pull the argument across...For sure, I mean I am talking to relevant people already we have advanced our plans (Interview, 30/09/2010).

Given his background as a politician and government official, Mhlahlo has connections to facilitate getting what he wants for the vocalists. The vocalists lacked this ability because of their position and counted on those in more powerful positions to manipulate things for them. This scenario depicts female vocalists as helpless and dependent on men and perpetuates the general notion of female dependence on males as providers.

The Vocalists' Passion for Music

It is apparent through the vocalists' narratives that their dedication towards music performance permeated their whole lives to the extent that even to this day money is not their primary concern because they believe that their performances are a service to people. The realisation that they stood no chance of making significant amounts of money through music performance made them lower their expectations to enjoy performance for what it is instead. For this reason, the vocalists are content to have participated in community activities such charity functions, schools fundraising concerts and funerals of fellow musicians and members of the community.[50] The vocalists are happy that they have managed to continue entertaining their fans even though they did not make money. However, the value of their performance role is not diminished by performing for no significant returns because when featured as vocalists, they 'front' the bands they have been hired to sing with and their role is significant. The situation on the ground is that it is not realistic for the vocalists to expect to be recognised beyond Port Elizabeth as long as they remain locally based. Port Elizabeth is not capable of fulfilling their dreams because of its limited venues, resources and the absence of a recording industry. This status quo is the sad truth the vocalists have to live with because their dreams are beyond what their local music industry can offer them.

[50] For more information, see the vocalists' biographies in Chapter Five.

The vocalists are aware of their worth as cultural capital of South African jazz performance and the symbolic capital that they possess at local level is testimony to their achievements. Of late some local music stakeholders have been recognising the vocalists' contribution in their community and rewarding them for it.[51] Although the analysis of the vocalists' narratives reveals that they have been heavily dependent on male musicians, they presently vowed to learn how to be actively involved in the day-to-day running of the Jazz Divas as a music business. They believe that their involvement in the politics of their music industry will afford them the platform to voice their concerns and give them leverage.

As was the case during the apartheid era when the vocalists were grateful for the opportunity to sing – the vocalists still accept gigs that do not pay much. They continue to hold free gigs to afford themselves a chance to perform and entertain their fans who have rallied behind them right through all their careers (Lebakeng Interview, 24/09/2009; Luzipo Interview, 26/09/2009; L. Mwanda Interviews, 25/02/2010). The vocalists' resilience reflects a natural love for music and their preparedness to forgo money is testimony to an intrinsic desire to perform. Their passion for music defines their worth in terms of their selflessness and sense of duty to their community.

The vocalists pride themselves on having associated and shared the stage with internationally renowned musicians; they have won competitions and festivals inside and outside Port Elizabeth; they have performed at charity events and raised money for the cause of the disadvantaged in their society; they have performed for local and invited dignitaries in the government; they have performed at church and school functions. The vocalists have also participated in the struggle for democracy by performing at political functions such as the popular Save the Children shows held by ANC politicians.

[51] For more information see "The Jazz Divas" in Chapter Five.

The Vocalists' Apartheid Experiences

During apartheid the struggle was a common experience which exposed the vocalists to certain shared experiences. The vocalists experienced and reacted to apartheid in different ways despite being from one community but these experiences psychologically impacted their lives. From an early age and on numerous occasions Nomzamo clashed with the police but had her father to thank for always intervening on her behalf. Learning from this experience, as a grown up, she and her husband would go home soon after a performance ended to avoid clashing with the police. She once found herself having to stop rehearsals in her home (Mkuzo Interview, 10/10/2009). Leo and Vuyelwa had this to say about their own experiences:

> I remember then we were singing...then we heard...the police...throwing tear gas. We couldn't sing, we were so suffocated...people were trampling each other. There was [a] stampede and the show had to end...It was just them...wanting to be felt...Police! They didn't want African gatherings...many Africans in one place made them...throw tear gas...Otherwise we never used to sing any political songs...Now the show had to end. People had to be...hospitalised. Some instruments were broken because people trampl[ed them] (L. Mwanda Interview, 25/02/2010).

> It (apartheid) did affect us because we would really at times perform...in a mixed race audience, you would feel that there was no appreciation for songs that we sang...You could feel the attitude that they displayed was not the right one...but we did it because we were struggling...They wouldn't listen to our music. They were not interested but it was amazing because we will get some of the white people who loved jazz...People who were not interested in the colour of the people that are playing the music...but...who just appreciated our music...They are not the same. Some people they love music. They love jazz. They love people (Luzipo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Shirley Lebakeng's apartheid experiences are exclusive and put her in a class of her own. She survived a traumatic experience at the hands of the special branch police. Unlike the rest of the vocalists, she was detained and paraded before a court for performing at a Save the Children show staged by the ANC.

After two years performing with Black Slave, Shirley experienced one of the most difficult moments in her musical journey. The 1976 Soweto Uprising marked a significant transition not only in South African politics but in music performance as well. In Port Elizabeth, particularly New Brighton, musicians promoted the interests of Africans by performing at political functions such as the Save the Children fundraising shows organised by ANC politicians. It was after one such performance that Shirley found herself involved in a terrible predicament. Here is her exclusive story told in her voice.

Shirley and Black Slave

Following is Shirley Lebekeng's account of her experience as a vocalist with Black Slave, transcribed from an interview with her at her house in New Brighton.

I joined Black Slave as a permanent vocalist in 1974. Within two years, the black musicians' performance space was shrinking rapidly as events in the political arena heated up. Black Slave like many black bands in New Brighton performed at the ANC's "Save the Children" fundraising shows which were hosted in the halls in the township, especially the popular Rio Cinema.

To begin with, the apartheid government thought that the name Black Slave was political. So when they saw the posters there, "Black Slave is going to perform at the City Hall or at the stadium," they thought we were going to perform a political play. They didn't know that it was a band. So we were surprised to see many white people in the audience; males. We thought that we were so popular even white people came to listen to us play. We didn't know that it was special branch. It was the police who wanted to see what the play was all about or what we were going to say but there would be just see people dancing, jiving and singing. Then at break they would come to the back stage, "Hey guys, when are you starting the play?" We say, "Ooh which play?" "Are you not here for a political play?" We said, "No, we are a musical band." And then they would tell us that they are police with the special branch. And we found that they had tapes, such that if it was a play they would arrest us and use those recordings as evidence to convict us. It was tough!

I was arrested here in Port Elizabeth in 1976. There was a show at the Rio Cinema although it is now a church. It's no longer a cinema. There was going to be a Save the Children show by the ANC. ANC never hired us. Instead they took advantage of us. They forced us to go and play. Even if there was a rally at the stadium, they would go to Jury, "Guys, we want you to play." We knew that we were not going to get a cent except to say thank you. The ANC called their shows Save the Children but it was just a political thing because the children did not gain anything. They did not give the children anything in cash or kind because there were no door charges. The shows were free. I think ANC hired bands as a camouflage for the policemen to think that it was a musical event. Rather they delivered political speeches on the stage from time to time. I suspect that the police outside knew that it was not just a musical show. They must have known what was going on inside.

So Jury came and told us, "Hey guys, we are going to perform at the Rio Cinema on Sunday for ANC." My son was only ten days old and I said to Jury, "Hey I am scared. I'm very scared to go there because I don't know what is going to happen? My baby is only ten days old." At the same time Jury was also scared that if we don't go, again, the ANC people would give us trouble. They would do something. We might have had our houses burnt. Although I had just delivered I had to go. I left my baby at home with my mother. It was difficult for me to be a mother and a performer at the same time such that at some stage, I had to take my baby to school functions. It was not dangerous because there was no police harassment at school functions. I had a lot of fans who offered to babysit for me backstage. They would say, "Aunt Shirley, I'm going to look after your baby."

The other band members came to fetch me. We went and performed. There were police vans, hippos in that street because they knew that there was going to be a function. It was so tense! The Tulips, the Afroteens and the Soul Jazzmen were also there. The tense atmosphere affected our performance because as I was singing, holding my microphone there were people throwing stones at the vans outside. The children threw the stones because they didn't want to see policemen here in New Brighton. They hated policemen. So I was frightened that I could be shot, die and leave my child. It was not nice. I remember one time I was holding my microphone singing and this guy from the ANC came and took it from me trying to calm the audience, "Don't panic, nothing is

going to happen" during the middle of a song such that the instrumentalists would stop playing to allow him to talk. They were arrogant. They would return the microphone and we would start the song afresh.

Eventually the show ended but before we stopped one of the leaders came on stage and said, "Guys we are now going out. Please be peaceful. Don't do anything outside even if you see those vans, those hippos, don't throw anything at them. Just go out quietly." Everybody behaved and we were also taken home by Jury. Hippos were very big vans with very small windows you could not see what was inside. There were so many of them driven by soldiers. They were used to carry people who would have misbehaved and have been apprehended by the police. There was a lot of shooting those days, especially people who misbehaved.

Early Monday morning I was busy washing nappies at the backyard when I heard a knock on the front door. We were not staying in this house then. When I opened the door I saw a black man. After greeting each other, he asked, "Are you Shirley?" I said, "Yes I'm Shirley." "I belong to the special branch." Oh my God! "We just want to ask you a few questions. It's not going to be long." "Where are you going to ask me the questions?" He said, "At the Police Station." My mother was at work because she was still working then. I had a young girl who was helping me with the baby because sometimes we rehearsed during the day. I said, "What about the other guys, the rest of the band?" He said, "No they are also going there." When I peeped through the window there was a white car out there. It was just a private car and there were two white policemen in the car. I said to the young girl, "Tell my mother if I'm not back by the time she comes back that I'm going to the police station. Look after the baby; feed him when it's his feeding time. But in case I'm not back I want them to know that I've gone to the police station."

Then I was taken in the white car. When we arrived at the Police Station I saw the brown kombi and I was relieved. I said, "There are the guys." So Jury and the other band members had followed us to the Police Station. We were put in a room where we were asked questions about what had happened the day before. We said, "Nothing happened. We were just playing music." "Were there no speeches?" "No, there were no speeches." There were speeches but we were scared to say there were speeches because if we were to be discovered by the ANC politicians, they would have accused us of being sell-outs. I was scared of the police. I was scared of the politicians. The interrogation took us the whole day. I went back home at eight o'clock in the evening. We were not given food or water to drink. Just questions, questions and threats that, "If you don't tell the truth we are going to keep you here. You won't go home until you tell the truth. Tell us what happened." I told them that there was just music, no politics and no speeches. They left the guys in the other room and took me to another room. They knew that being a woman I was going to get scared and tell the whole truth. I said the only thing that one guy did was telling the audience that "It's now time to go home. You must go home peacefully. You mustn't throw stones at the vans, the hippos; you must just go quietly." But they didn't want to believe that.

And you know what, the police were very cunning! They promised us everything saying, "We're sure that your instruments are old. You don't have good instruments. We can even buy you new instruments for information. We buy you a new kombi then you tell us who said what." I thought, "Yeah, this is how they get people!" And when they saw that I wasn't falling into their trap, this policeman who was speaking Xhosa got angry. His name was Nel. He said, "*Ntomba'm ndizakubeta,*" which means I will beat you. "I beat people who are like you, who are clever. I can see that you are clever, so the only thing that I am going to do to you is to beat you up." They were taking advantage of me since I was a woman. I said, "No I don't mind you can beat me up. I'm telling the truth because nothing really happened there." So they let us go.

The next morning, they came and picked me up. They didn't pick up the guys. I was there the whole week. It made me feel very bad because I asked them, "I was not the only one singing there. Why are you not picking the guys up?" And this man said, "I can see that you are clever. You are full of nonsense. You know exactly what happened there you are just being cheeky." I ended up in

court, just me and one guy from the Afroteens. One girl Nokuzola Gqamlana was detained for three months because she got so scared that she changed her statement. That's what they wanted me to do; change my statement but I stuck to my first one. So she was there for three months. They locked her up. I told myself that "I'm going to stick to one statement. I don't care if they beat me up." I didn't care because I was fed up!

Finally I went to give evidence at the Algoa Police Station. There were lawyers, magistrates and all that, trying to frighten me up. They did not give me a lawyer to represent me. I was defending these eight politicians who all attended the show in question. Among them was Thozamile Botha who had taken the microphone from me to address the audience. He was a politician then and he still is a politician even now. I could see that they were pleased. They were happy when I gave my statement defending them and stuck to it. So they said, "OK, tomorrow it will be the last day. We want you to come tomorrow." I said, "I won't be here tomorrow. We are going for a tour." I was lying although I was scared. They dismissed me. One white policeman said, "I will take you home." And those days, people were just disappearing. Your family will never hear from you again. Maybe he was going to kill me. I was praying inside, "Oh my God, let Jury be there to fetch me." The policeman led the way. Luckily when we got outside, Jury [Nsthinga] and the guys were there waiting for me outside in the kombi. I said, "Thank you, there is my kombi. There are the guys." He turned red. I could see that he was up to something. He was not going to take me home. He could not say anything because the guys came outside, "Shirley, come here. We came to fetch you!" That was the last time I heard from them.

After that those eight guys [the ANC politicians] skipped the country because we read in the newspaper that they had gone into exile. When they returned not even one of them thanked me for saving their lives. They are in top positions now. They only think of themselves. They don't care for other people because if they really appreciated what I did for them, they would have done something. Even if it meant saying a mere thank you. They never did that. Though I cannot remember the others, I still know Thozamile Botha. If I were to see him and ask if he still remembers me; definitely he would ask, "Who are you?"

After this experience it was not easy for us to rehearse at Jury's place because the soldiers sat on top of their hippos watching us. It gave a bad impression to the community because in their mind they thought that the soldiers were protecting us from the community. It was bad and the soldiers did that purposely. Some members of the community didn't like us because they thought that we were sell-outs; especially when we appeared on TV for the first time after playing at George Pemba's birthday celebration at Feathermarket Hall. There were remarks in the community that white people liked us. It was like you were a sell-out if you appear on TV. We tried to hold shows after that but the turnout was very low. So we decided to disband before something happened to any of us (Interview, 24/09/2009).

A Commentary on Shirley's Story

The above story demonstrates that New Brighton residents were politically actively involved in the struggle for democracy. Their political involvement explains why the apartheid government had the place under surveillance long before the pass laws and curfew regulations were introduced.[52] In Port Elizabeth, political involvement was a risky undertaking, especially for women as illustrated by Shirley's vulnerability to the apartheid law enforcement agencies. This

[52] See Chapter Four, page 41 and 44, for more information on curfew regulations and restrictive measures against black people.

was worsened by her association with Black Slave, one of the 1970's most popular and active bands in New Brighton. Moreover, the incident took place in 1976, a turbulent historic year in the history of South Africa when the apartheid forces killed the protesting school children in Soweto and courted international condemnation.

Shirley's story illustrates that female musicians played a pivotal role in the struggle for democracy by remaining steadfast during the interrogation. Shirley could have easily changed her statement although it would have had her convicted like Nokuzola. Or she could have told the truth and find favour in the eyes of her interrogators yet she turned down the bribe and endured threats demonstrating that she was prepared to suffer for the freedom of her people. Her experience at the hands of the police demonstrates how men find it easier to intimidate and manipulate women than men. This feeds into the prevailing theme of manipulation and exploitation in the vocalists' narratives.

The dynamics of Shirley's story demonstrate how the field/context in which she performed impacted the disadvantaged position she occupied. Due to her position as a female vocalist, Shirley was taken advantage of by both the apartheid law enforcement agents and the politicians who arranged the shows which exposed her to police harassment. The policemen who interrogated her, took advantage of her because she was more vulnerable than the male musicians, hence an easier target for them to obtain the information they wanted. Furthermore, Shirley was a victim caught between serving the interests of the politicians and the apartheid government police. If she had chosen to please the police, in the end, she would have been answerable to the ANC politicians.

Jury Ntshinga observed that the police thought that because Shirley was a woman, she "would break" under their cross-examination, succumb to the pressure and tell them the truth as Nokuzola Gqamlana did (Interview, 10/11/2009). Through this experience Shirley earned prestige, resilience and appreciation for her bravery in that she withstood police interrogation and was not found guilty as charged.

Shirley earned symbolic capital in the significance of her musical performance to the apartheid struggle within Port Elizabeth. For this reason she wanted the politicians to recognise the part she played in the struggle since this recognition would give her inner satisfaction and fulfilment. This feeds on the theme of how Port Elizabeth and its musicians are left out of matters of national interest despite their positive contributions towards the struggle for democracy.

As an extension of her musical experience, Shirley's story shows the diversity of challenges that female musicians encounter in their musical lives.[53] Her attitude towards freedom and politics as well as music performance is revealed through her resilience when she faced and triumphed over police interrogation, demonstrating bravery. Her story is exclusive to her, hence fulfils the thrust of biographical narratives which aim at depicting the diversity of experience.

To her, telling her story is a form of recognition in that she has communicated her experiences for its record in South African history. Her story was worth telling as it is, because it further reflects how female musicians held their own in the face of challenges despite the fact they are often portrayed as fragile and vulnerable and in need of male protection.

Shirley's story is told here in her own voice because it feeds into the theme of the manipulation of the vocalists by people in powerful positions, which runs through this study. The vocalists' narratives show that women are exploited in all spheres of their lives be it social, economic or political.

Post-Apartheid Conditions

My interview data indicates that the vocalists felt more disadvantaged in the pursuit of their careers during the apartheid era than the young vocalists who are in the prime of their careers in the current politically stable environment with improved resources. Vuyelwa observed that payment issues have improved:

> At least we are treated in a better manner these days...you sign a contract with whoever wants you to sing...deposit must be put down...But at times even before the show finishes off, you must have received your balance. In most cases these professional women they will perform with their

[53] See Chapter Two for more information on the experiences of female musicians from different cultures. See Koskoff (1987) for cross-cultural perspectives on female musicians' experiences.

> money in their pockets...I mean things have changed, unlike with us in those days (Interview, 26/09/2009).

During the apartheid era, musicians performed long hours for less money. In the post-apartheid era, Dudley Tito, Jury Ntshinga and Richard Hatana report that they have been paid as much as R5,000 for performing for five minutes (Tito Interview, 12/11/2009; Ntshinga Interview, 10/11/2009; Hatana Interview, 13/11/2009).[54] However, music business education, though available, is still inadequate and inaccessible to the majority of the musicians who do not know how to access and use the internet; hence they are not familiar with professional business practices.

Conclusion

The themes of vulnerability, manipulation and helplessness run through the vocalists' experiences. The above analysis shows that the vocalists' habitus has not changed much from the apartheid era to the present. Noteworthy is how perceptions change with time and experience. At first, the vocalists did not view the male musicians as manipulative because they trusted them and thought that they had their best interests at heart. Learning more about the music industry changed the way the vocalists perceived the male musicians. The vocalists are thus depicted under helpless, vulnerable and desperate circumstances where they could not exercise their choice. Their total dependence on male patronage is the major reason for their vulnerability and susceptibility to exploitation. Hence their position as female creative performers limited their agency and affected the decisions they made and perpetrated their marginalisation and lack of voice.

Hence, the vocalists occupied a non-consequential position in the local music industry as evidenced by their failure to make names for themselves beyond their locale or to accrue substantial capital. The position they occupied as female creative performers limited their agency because they depended on male patronage.[55] This was due to the fact that the major music industry stakeholders in their locale were manipulative and the limited available resources were

[54] See Chapter Four, pages 55 "New Brighton Musicians' Experiences" for more information on music promoters, band leaders and managers and payment during the apartheid era and post apartheid era.

[55] See Chapter Two for more information on how female musicians are generally marginalised and discriminated against.

unfairly distributed. As such the stakeholders and guest musicians reaped the best financial rewards. These were followed by male musicians who were conversant with the music industry politics and hence exercised their agency to their own personal advantage.

While during the apartheid era, the then government oppressed them as people of colour, today their own people who have assumed the offices once occupied by apartheid officials are discriminating against them although there has been a general improvement in the music industry. According to Shirley Lebakeng what hurt the vocalists most is being exploited by their own people (Interview, 11/11/2009). As such the vocalists have been oriented to view the world as oppressive and unfair to the extent that exercising their agency becomes a risk they cannot undertake because they are afraid of losing the second class job opportunities the stakeholders accord them from time to time. Despite the intrinsic joy performance brought in the vocalists' lives and the recognition they received lately at local level, being vocalists during both the apartheid and post-apartheid eras did not bring substantial returns for them because there has not been much improvement in their lives overall.

There is a lack of trust, transparency, honesty, unity and focus amongst local promoters, band leaders/managers and musicians. Given this scenario, the Port Elizabeth music industry cannot foster the development of musicians to commercial success. I therefore concluded that local musicians, the vocalists included, cannot achieve success as long as they remain in Port Elizabeth with its sporadic and limited, lowly paid performance opportunities.

The Port Elizabeth music industry has not changed significantly from what it was during the apartheid era and continues to hamper the development of local talent despite visible improvements in the larger South African music industry. It is under-developed, under-funded and under-resourced and still remains on the periphery of the larger South African music industry.

Chapter Seven

An Analysis of Original Compositions of

Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng and Linda Tsaone

Introduction

In this chapter I analyze the song lyrics of compositions by the two oldest vocalists in the Jazz Divas group, Nomzamo Mkuzo and Shirley Lebakeng, and of Linda Tsaone, the youngest of the six vocalists. I provide an overview analysis of what the lyrics of the vocalists' compositions are about before I focus on individual songs in order to avoid repetition, because the compositions share basic common characteristics. They each tell a story based on the composer's personal experience and each carries an improvised single theme unique to each individual vocalist.

Music as Part of the Community

In Africa music is closely linked to its community setting and cultural context because it establishes a framework of communal integrity and fosters understanding of community members' attitudes towards each other and moulds their relationships (Chernoff 1979: 36). In so mediating the life of a community, African music focuses on values and ethics. As Agawu (2003: 206) notes, the site of performance and the content of song texts are two areas that are rich in information about ethics. I consider both individual and communal expression because the vocalists' compositions were motivated and informed by both personal and community experience. When Nomzamo Mkuzo says her songs are about "you and me", she implies that she is writing about herself as well as what is happening in the wider community in which she inserts her stories and draws her themes from (Interview, 10/10/2009).

Chernoff (1979: 37) argues that Africans use music to articulate and objectify their philosophical and moral systems which are built into the music-making situation itself. Jazz performance calls for orderliness, coordination and cooperation where the call and response format is used in the context of composition and vocal and instrumental improvisation represent a fundamental social, conversational, and dialogic way of organizing musical performance (Monson 1996: 89). Monson further says that jazz theories and practice are built on the assumption that

simultaneously and consciously each musician adapts to the whole, supports the other players, and influences the outcome (*ibid.*). In this sense jazz is a communal musical activity because the vocalists and the instrumentalists' interdependence completes the performance which is the sum total of each performer's contribution. A popular Xhosa proverb, "*Umntu ngumntu ngabantu* – "a person is human through other people" depicts the interdependence of the communal nature of Xhosa life which extends to their music making (Dargie 1988: 67). With the above in mind, I note the role of the backing bands in the vocalists' compositions. The themes of the vocalists' compositions address issues of good and bad, right and wrong, as well as defining the place and space that music occupies in their personal lives and in the community at large.

Overview of the Vocalists' Jazz Compositions

One of the few means of self-expression available to the vocalists during the apartheid era was song. The aesthetic principles of African music to some extent depend on the music's social relevance (Chernoff 1979: 35). Hence African systems of thought are profoundly anthropocentric or humanist because they are centred on contemporary concerns of human beings (Appiah cited in Agawu 2003: 205). By composing songs drawing from their personal experiences, the vocalists create themselves by depicting their traditions, beliefs, social life, personalities, hopes and aspirations. Eber and Neal contend that

> Artists make and remake themselves locally with every true work they create...In other words, a true work of art is any piece in which the artist has put an authentic part of him or herself into, a work that is in some way expressive (2001: 178).

Through composing songs, the vocalists find self-expression and hence create personal identities demonstrating their creativity and originality as well as representing their thoughts and feelings. In the same vein, Vansina (1985:11) argues that all verbal art is a metaphor/symbol which expresses the experiences of contemporary situations or events, morals to be drawn from such occurrences or situations and intense emotions associated with them. He identifies song as one of the verbal art forms. As such, the vocalists' compositions focus on current issues/events of immediate interest to them and their communities which I analyze drawing meanings, morals and implications from them.

The vocalists' compositions are informed by their cultural background and they articulate the values upheld in the context of living in a South African township during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras. The songs show the vocalists as first and foremost Africans influenced by African cultural values upholding communal life, norms and values and by jazz and the African-Americans' experience of discrimination they identified with. Veteran musician and saxophonist Patrick Pasha highlighted that their music drew on American jazz because, like their African-American counterparts, they were an oppressed community seeking autonomy (Interview, 13/11/2009). Echoing Pasha's sentiments, vocalist Linda Tsaone pointed out that American jazz has African influences in it because it originated among the blacks (African-American) whose music was influenced by their African cultural background (Interview, 23/09/2009).

Underlining the importance of cultural music Linda pointed out that she assimilated traditional Xhosa music into her jazz compositions in the same manner that African-Americans assimilated African music traditions into jazz. Nomzamo, Shirley and Linda's compositions depict and identify them as women of Xhosa origin (*ibid.*). The influence of South African indigenous music differentiates the aesthetics of African jazz from those of their American counterparts although their concerns on contemporary issues affecting people are more or less the same. Consequently, Linda Tsaone argues that functionality is a hallmark of music in African traditional society (Interview, 23/09/2009).

Speaking from a performer's perspective rather than as a composer, a young musician interviewed by Buckner and Weiland says that jazz musicians play themselves – telling you about their day-to-day experiences, their life history and nothing else (1991: 13).[56] This notion relates to the way the vocalists and their backing bands express themselves and improvise when they perform for an audience, evoking the emotions contained in the song texts the vocalists composed depicting their life experience. Thus the aesthetic principles of African music to some extent depend on the music's social relevance (Chernoff 1979: 35; Finnegan 1970). The musical processes act as a stimulus to contemplation through which many singers retrieve from memory both happy and tragic events affecting them more personally (Agawu 2003: 102).

[56] New Brighton male musicians express the same sentiments about their compositions: see Chapter Four, page 58.

The vocalists enter a world of their own during performances which increases their emotional expression. The vocalists' experiences conform to Frith's observation that

> song makers choose to express their longing by transposing the world on to an imaginative plane, not trying to escape from it, but colouring it with fantasy, turning bitter even brutal facts of life into something beautiful, tragic, honourable, so that when singer and listeners return to reality at the end of the song, the environment is not changed but they are better fitted to grapple with it (1988: 112).

The vocalists' self-expression during performance moves the audience and prompts its response because it identifies with the themes addressed in the songs. In so doing, as Brown and Volgsten (2006: 5) observe, music can act as a force of compliance, resistance, conformity and non-conformity at the level of contexts and contents.

The vocalists' compositions retain basic texts whose words they play around with according to their mood during the performances due to flexibility in textual construction. Although the theme of the song is retained, textual construction in this case becomes part and parcel of improvisation, making the music exciting and unpredictable. Flexibility also allows the vocalists to project current feelings (determined by the mood they are in during a particular performance) and create the mood of the song; because, as a form, jazz is designed to be spontaneous, innovative and constantly novel. Jazz is considered a social form of interaction because it is performed by players (the vocalists and the instrumentalists) who take turns to and/or simultaneously improvise.[57] Jazz is thus self-consciously spontaneous, creative, and expressive (Bastien and Hostager 1991: 148). Ewens contends that jazz gives room for improvisation whereby all musical instincts find expression such that primal screams and artfully scored compositions can be juxtaposed while retaining the African sound in the middle ground (1991: 31).

Thus jazz is a highly self-expressive and liberal music form which allows performers the freedom to express themselves without restrictions because it is rooted in the African music tradition of improvisation. The vocalists' improvisation is deeply rooted in Xhosa traditional

[57] See Chapter Five, page 73, Linda Tsaone's biography for how she improvises during performance.

music and culture and its connection with community life and ancestors is of paramount importance.[58]

Later in this chapter, Shirley Lebakeng refers to one of her compositions "MaRadebe" as a Xhosa ballad because of its story-telling nature (Interview, 2/09/2010). She confirms that she fuses jazz with Xhosa traditional music (Interview, 24/09/2009). Further evidence of the vocalists' use of their Xhosa heritage in their music exists in Richard Hatana's (drummer and Nomzamo Mkuzo's long time friend) observation that Nomzamo's compositions are heavily influenced by Xhosa traditional music (Interview, 13/11/2009).

According to Vansina, "all messages are part of culture". It follows that culture shapes the messages of the vocalists' compositions because they are "expressed in the language [Xhosa] of culture and are conceived and understood, in the cognitive terms of [this] culture," (1985: 125). Obviously, culture determines and affects who the vocalists are; who they identify themselves as and identify and associate with; how they interpret their experiences and the world around them. Their songs signify the vocalists' culture. Thus culture in this sense refers to race, social environment and artistic products. Jazz is a multifaceted and heterogeneous genre that cannot be separated from the culture and music surrounding it (Monson 1996: 133-4). Considering all of the above, in what follows I will show how the vocalists compose and perform jazz drawing significantly on Xhosa traditional songs, *mbaqanga* and American jazz standards with which the songs are fused.

The Role of Song Texts

This section discusses the role played by song texts in a performance realm. A. L. Lloyd in Frith (1988: 112) contends that song text is the most characteristic lyrical form through which common people express their fantasies, codes, and aspirations. The words of songs are symbols of the voice, a performance which is spoken out and heard in the performer's accent (Frith 1988: 120), in this case, the vocalists. According to Nketia (1974: 189) and Mooney in Frith (1988: 106) song is an avenue of verbal communication; a medium for creative verbal expressions reflecting personal and social experiences. Nketia (*ibid.*) and Finnegan (1970) concur that themes

[58] See Dargie (1988) for more information on elements of Xhosa traditional music.

of songs in the African context encompass everyday life, traditions, beliefs, values and customs of the society. Themes cover events and matters of common interest and concern to community members or social groups within it. Frith goes further and says that songs address problems caused by social change.

Through their compositions, the vocalists communicate personal and social experiences. Their overall performance context is a transitional period in which black South Africans are adapting to industrial development and urbanization which created a bona fide urban African culture. The themes of the vocalists' compositions relate to this process as they juxtapose the traditional and contemporary status quo.

Vansina (1985: 13) argues that the meaning of words is inherent in concepts and ideas they refer to just as much as the meaning of pictures is determined by their reference to physical reality. While performance directions are used for self-expression on stage, words bear meaning semantically and

> as structures of sound that are direct signs of emotions and marks of character. Singers use non-verbal as well as verbal devices to make their points – emphases, sighs, hesitations, changes of tone; lyrics involve pleas, sneers and commands as well as statements and messages and stories (which is why some singers...can have profound significance for listeners who do not understand a word they are saying) (Frith 1988: 120).

Thus the manner in which the vocalists perform contributes towards the overall meaning and impact the songs have on the listeners. The analysis of these compositions explains the significance of the vocalists' musical activities in the context of living in Port Elizabeth during the apartheid and post-apartheid eras.

Rationale for Song Choice

The CD attached to this thesis contains the songs I analysed in this chapter. One of the most difficult choices I had to make was which songs to analyse from the repertoires of Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng and Linda Tsaone. I chose two songs by Nomzamo Mkuzo: *"Uyazihlazisa"* and "Mama Believe Me" which were both recorded at the SABC studio, with instrumental accompaniment. I chose one of Shirley Lebakeng's SABC recordings, *"MaRadebe"*, and *"IDiva Zibuyile"*, her most recent unrecorded composition. I chose two

unrecorded songs from Linda Tsaone's repertoire, *"Soze"* and "Ceduma".[59] These songs present a confluence of the vocalists' personal lives and musical careers and emphasise the inseparability of the two.

Nomzamo Mkuzo's Original Compositions

Nomzamo started composing in her mid twenties when she moved from McNamee Village to Red Location. She made a conscious decision to compose (Interview, 10/10/2009). Nomzamo recorded three of her personal compositions *"Masenz' Amasiko"*, *"Uyazihlazisa"* and "Mama Believe Me" in 1985 at the SABC studio in Port Elizabeth for broadcasting purposes with a band called Joe Daku/Jay Jay Duet. This band comprised her late husband, Jamani Skweyiya (guitar, band leader) and the late veteran musician, Joe Daku (vocals), Mzwandile Matabata (lead guitar and vocals), Totosi Ncapai (rhythm guitar and vocals), Elvis Madikane (bass guitar), Ndumiso Gqomo (bongos and vocals), Welile Nibe (flute and vocals) and Mthetheleli Nkozwana (drums). There are other songs such as *"Malume"* she composed for her maternal uncle and *"Umona"* (literally translated 'jealousy') she composed after experiencing fellow musicians' jealousy on one occasion. However Nomzamo has not managed to record these songs due to financial constraints.

Nomzamo believes that God gave her the talent to sing through the ancestral spirits whom she claims she gets the songs from (Interview, 10/10/2009). Her belief in water spirits is deeply rooted in her Xhosa culture and is shared by Miriam Makeba, a Xhosa jazz vocalist who asserts that death does not separate them from their ancestors whose spirits are ever present; therefore, the past lives.[60] Makeba adds that spirit worship is an active thing in Xhosa culture because the ancestral spirits are actively involved in the world of the living who seek guidance from them (Makeba and Hall 1988: 2). Dargie (1988: 6) discusses the importance of ancestors in Xhosa culture where they are viewed as Xhosa people's link to God *(uQamata)* and are involved in most of their rituals and ceremonies.

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[59] For the purposes of my study I recorded a vocal version of the song "*Soze*" which is on the CD attached to this thesis. The other song on the CD was a live recording of her song "Ceduma" which she performed at the Jazz Heritage Concert at the Centenary Hall in New Brighton on 27/03/2010.

[60] To avoid unnecessary repetition, I use the term "spirits" in reference to "ancestral spirits/water spirits" as Nomzamo calls them.

Nomzamo maintains that she hears the spirits when they talk to her and that though she is not educated their influence "puts it right" when she writes her songs (Interview, 10/10/2009). She claims that she consciously interacts with the spirits even in the presence of other people and that she is the only one who can hear them; though she prefers to be alone to avoid interruptions.

> They [spirits]... give me the melody. Even these songs I got from them. I was sitting on my bed at twelve midnight, all of these songs I write them, I have got them at twelve midnight...I do not want anybody to come and talk to me because the songs are here (pointing to her head) and I'm talking. You won't know whom I'm talking to...but I know I'm talking to my ancestors so I don't want anybody who is going to disturb me here. I lock that door (Mkuzo Interview, 5/02/2010).

Nomzamo rehearses the songs she composes alone before she decides on instrumental accompaniment. Claiming that she does not need a live band to practice her songs because she knows how she wants the band to play, Nomzamo says:

> Nobody plays the instruments. I have got the instruments here (pointing to her head)...point is I know the band how does it play to me. Even the song I sing I can hear hey man he is playing a wrong chord, I could hear now this is right and I get the whole band playing here (points to her head, meaning in her mind) you see (Mkuzo Interview, 10/10/2009).

Nomzamo's song "Uyazihlazisa" (Disgracing yourself) (Track # 1 on the CD)

The lyrics:

Umfazi sipi isidima sakho?	Woman where is your self-respect?
Kutheni uziphetheka kubi? (x2)	Why do you behave irresponsibly? (x2)
Ndoda sipi isidima sakho?	Man where is your self-respect?
Kutheni uziphetheka kubi? (x2)	Why do you behave irresponsibly? (x2)
Kutheni lendlu uyiphetheka kubi? (x2)	Why are you neglecting the home?
Bapina bantwana kwelo khaya linawe-e-e?	Where are your children?
Chorus	**Chorus**
Njalo	That way
Uyazihlazisa (x2)	You are disgracing yourself (x2)
Njalo (x2)	That way

Uyazihlazisa (x2)	You are disgracing yourself (x2)
Bapina batwana kwelo khaya linawe	Where are your children?
Njaloooooo	That way...

The song *"Uyazihlazisa"* is Nomzamo's first composition. The song addresses life's ups and downs *'mahlandenyuka'* in isiXhosa, which affect people in everyday life. *"Uyazihlazisa"* talks about Nomzamo's experiences in the Red Location where her neighbour was an irresponsible wife/mother who could not take good care of her family as she was an alcoholic. The song also interrogates the husband, who as the head of the family, does not own up to his responsibility to ensure that the children are well taken care of.

> This home was exactly what I sing and what I saw and their children used to come and eat here, (indicating the palm of her hand, meaning that she fed the children) coming from school. Yes at my place. *Umama* is in the joy in the tavern, *Utata* has gone to work. But *Utata* when he comes from there, from work he won't get anything right. There is no food, no nothing but the man bought the food but the food stays there and gets rotten (Mkuzo Interview, 22/05/2009).

Nomzamo asks, "What is the future of these children?" (Interview, 22/09/2009). She is concerned with the welfare of the children because they are the future of any family, community, nation and the world at large. As a result, if they are not properly brought up to be responsible citizens with a good education, both the family and the nation suffer because education paves the way for personal and national development. Nomzamo combines the theme of education, which is characteristic of modernity and socio-cultural responsibilities of parents to nurture their children for the common good of society.

It is an African cultural belief that a woman who does not carry out her responsibilities brings shame on the women folk because wives are considered homemakers. If a woman fails to live up to this societal expectation she brings shame not only on herself but on the womenfolk, her husband, her immediate family and her community. As heads of families, it is men's prerogative in society to solve problems and ensure that families run smoothly but in this song, the man is depicted as negligent because he does not redress the situation at his home where his children are suffering. The husband and wife in this story are depicted as bad role models for the generation of young men and woman in their society.

Nomzamo's own upbringing feeds into the theme of this song because she had a close relationship with both her parents who provided their best for her. She was socialised to believe that parents must look out and provide for their children rather than abuse them through neglect. Nomzamo had only herself to blame for not paying heed to her father's advice to complete her studies first; instead, she opted to drop out of school in pursuit of a career in music. Through composing this song Nomzamo is reflecting on her own childhood that she could have laid a solid foundation for her future had she listened to her father. Hence, it pains her to see parents neglecting their children and she questions why these parents do not care about the future of their children. She has learnt the hard way that only a stable childhood prepares children for a bright future which she lost out on through her disobedience.

Although Nomzamo composed this song in the early sixties, its message applies to today's society where children bear the brunt of broken families due to divorces, HIV/AIDS, physical/psychological and sexual abuse. While the extended family has survived in adumbrated form in urban African culture where, very often, grandparents still raise grandchildren whose parents are working or have died, orphans and neglected/abused children head families in the absence of grandparents or other caring extended family members.

On the other hand, the song, *"Uyazihlazisa"* also represents the consequences of social change, brought about by industrial development and urbanization. Through this song Nomzamo is trying to come to terms with the changes in family orientation where in the rural life set-up, the wife is confined to the home and is bound by cultural expectations which define what she can and cannot do. In the context of city life these values are not observed with the same strictness as in the rural areas. Nomzamo recounted that even when the grandfather visited, he could not do anything about the state of affairs at his son's house. This shows the transformation of the traditional way of life into urban culture where extended family members do not interfere with the affairs of nuclear families.

This song is in a storytelling form whereby the introduction starts with a question. This technique raises suspense as one wonders what the husband and the wife have done to lose self-respect. As Nomzamo questions why the house and children are neglected, it becomes clear that the theme of

the song is parental irresponsibility. The song is a jazz ballad in which its backbone is held by the bass and the pianist who improvises at different stages in the song.

Nomzamo's song "Mama Believe Me" (Track # 2 on the CD)

The song "Mama Believe Me" is based on a letter Nomzamo wrote to her mother asking permission to move out of the family house to live on her own. Nomzamo was under immense pressure from her siblings such that she needed to go and clear her mind in her own space away from home. Through this song Nomzamo expresses feelings of discomfort at having to continue to stay at her parents' home. The song is a response to a family situation in which she is manipulated by her siblings who did not respect her as the oldest daughter in the family. They used her personal belongings such as T-shirts and caps (with insignia from music promotions and talent shows) as they pleased, disregarding what she bought them. By opting to move out of the family home Nomzamo avoids causing her parents unnecessary trouble by fighting with her siblings. The lyrics:

Mama believe me

For what I told you

I want to leave home

To cool myself off (x2)

I will ring a phone for you mama

While you are over there

Just to keep the worries out of you mama

Ooh mama-a-a-a-a-a

Ooh mamaaaa (x2)

Ooh mamaaaaaa (x4).

According to Frith (1988: 107), Nomzamo's song expresses general social attitudes whereby grown up children, be they boys or girls, want to move out of the parental homes and assume responsibility for their own lives so as to gain social and economic independence. "Content codes" are techniques used by some composers to refer to what the words describe in given situations and states of mind (*ibid.*). Evidently when Nomzamo refers to what she has "told" her mother as the reason why she wanted to leave home, she does not explicitly describe the situation in the song such that only people who are conversant with the background information can understand what she is saying and why.

In this song Nomzamo portrays the gender dynamics of being a girl child. The song depicts the difficulties a girl child experiences when she chooses to move out of the family home. Generally, male children are believed to be better at taking care of or defending themselves and/or their siblings than girls, hence parents are more readily inclined to allow them to go and live on their own. On the other hand, girls are believed to be vulnerable because they cannot protect themselves from physical harm, therefore need their families (especially male members) to look out for them. This is reminiscent of the manner in which men as heads of families protect, take care of and fend for their families and the women folk. Under this protectiveness girls do not enjoy the same independence as boys. Contrary to the first song in which the mother displays a detached attitude towards her own child, Nomzamo's mother is depicted worrying about her daughter, an instinct naturally expected of a mother.

Technology is depicted as a necessary means of communication transcending the spatial distance thereby facilitating communication with her mother. From the vantage point of technology Nomzamo does not have to travel home or face her siblings when she does not want to. By so doing, she adapts to urban African culture by communicating via the telephone.

Generally people tend to repeat themselves when pleading with someone for something. Hence as Nomzamo pleads with her mother, she repeats the last phrase of the song '*Ooh mama*' over and over again. This shows the extra mile society expects women to go to prove themselves in many spheres of life.

The song "Mama Believe Me" starts with an up tempo rhythm that has a jazzy feel to it. The instruments are in the background of the musical mix which puts the singer in the spotlight and

provides the platform to tell her story, which according to the (now late) pianist Errol Cuddumbey, is a sign of good musicianship in jazz performance (Interview, 3/02/2010).

The wailing tone in the respondent male voice in the chorus denotes the expression of the pain and sadness the vocalist has had to endure at the hands of her siblings. Then the song ends with the jazz feel of improvisation where Nomzamo imitates the instruments with her vocal delivery.

Nomzamo uses rhythm, repetition and polyphony to increase the meaning and memorability of the message in both songs. As she takes turns to improvise with the instrumentalists, she uses call and response, repeating the phrases: "You are embarrassing us" and "Ooh mama" for emphasis.

In both songs, Nomzamo is reacting creatively to unfortunate situations using music as an important device for emotional expression (Brown and Volgsten 2006: 5). These songs emotively reinforce group values, virtues, and normative behaviours in her community.

Shirley Lebakeng's Original Compositions

I analyse two of Shirley's compositions: first, "MaRadebe", a song which she recorded at the SABC studio in Port Elizabeth in 1994 with the Soul Jazzmen, and second, "IDiva Zibuyile" an unrecorded tribute song she composed for the Jazz Divas group.

Shirley's song "MaRadebe" (Track # 3 on the CD)

There was a blind woman in Shirley's neighbourhood whose family took her to the Transkei where her sight was restored by a female healer *(isangoma/igqirha)* called MaRadebe. When Shirley heard the story, she wished she could meet MaRadebe in person. As luck would have it, when she joined the Soul Jazzmen in 1994, they used to perform in the Transkei once or twice a month.

On one such trip, Shirley and the Soul Jazzmen were in the Transkei, scheduled to perform at a festival that evening, when as they waited for the show to start, they observed many buses travelling past carrying a lot of people. Curious to find out what was happening, they asked an old lady caretaker at the lodge where they were to perform who told them that the people were

going to a female healer in the Transkei called MaRadebe, who lived in Chankcele near Umtata. The Soul Jazzmen could not go and see for themselves because their schedule did not permit it.

Shirley said that upon hearing the story about MaRadebe, the following story-like words just came out:

> One day when we were in the Transkei, something happened. There was this woman called MaRadebe doing wonders for the people, healing people, including epileptics. Mantuntu Bus Company was carrying the people: MaRadebe, you must have a long life and may God bless you. You have helped the black people with your work (Lebakeng Interviews, 23/09/2009, 11/11/2009).

Upon hearing her sing, Dudley Tito and the other Soul Jazzmen members present liked the idea and asked her to write the words down so they would rehearse the song when they returned to New Brighton.

Black and White people from all walks of life consulted MaRadebe and they paid for the services rendered. It was said MaRadebe had visions and could relate one's life story before one said anything about oneself. She was inspired by her "ancestral spirits" and she was thought to have supernatural powers because it was rumoured that she could raise people from the dead but Shirley does not know whether it was true or not. MaRadebe's experiences reinforce the role of ancestral spirits in the lives of Xhosa people as in the cases of Miriam Makeba and Nomzamo. Most people went to MaRadebe out of curiosity because they wanted to see for themselves the miracles she performed. The majority of the people received holy water to drink and cleansed themselves of bad luck. Only those who were critically ill were allowed to see her in person because that was treated as an emergency. The lyrics:

Ngenyemini kwelo lase Transkei	One day in the Transkei
Kwenzeka isimanga kwavela mfazothile	A miracle happened there was a woman
Ebizwa ngoMaHadebe	Called MaRadebe
Ephilisa abantu	Who healed people
Wayenemibono, enyanga abantu	She had visions, a healer of the people
Evusa nabo, bafileyo	She could raise the dead

I-Bhasi zoMantuntu	Mantuntu buses
Zazinyuka zisehla "Bo'	Drove up and down
Zisingise – Chankcele	Going to Chankcele
(Solo by piano or saxophone)	(Piano solo or saxophone)
Ma Hadebe, zuhlalu-bomobude	MaRadebe have a long life
U-Thix' azabe nawe	The Lord be with you
Uluncediwe uhlangoluntsudu,	You helped black people
Ngemisebenzi yakho	With your works
Hala-ho—ho—ho—ho—	Hala-ho—ho—ho—ho—
(Vocal improvisation)	(Vocal improvisation)

MaRadebe is a slow Xhosa traditional song fused with jazz and slow *mbaqanga* ending with an African rhythm and scatting. Shirley introduces the song in the manner folktales are told: "One day in the Transkei" and she intensifies the suspense by using the word 'miracle' before she describes how MaRadebe healed people. She lets the instruments play for a while before she sings about the mode of the transport to Chankcele in the second verse. The improvisation Shirley does at the end of the vocal version of the song is reminiscent of Xhosa traditional singing, hence she calls "MaRadebe" "a Xhosa ballad". After composing the song Shirley and the Soul Jazzmen performed the song at a festival in the Transkei and the fans wished MaRadebe was there to hear for herself, but she was busy with her clients.

"MaRadebe" depicts how some Africans held on to traditional beliefs in the context of urban African culture.[61] In this case they preferred traditional methods of healing to the clinics and hospitals in their community. The song is a story told in the same manner as Nomzamo's songs. The instruments provide the launching pad for the song and create an atmosphere such as that found in folktales before it picks up tempo. The wind instruments dominate the background and

[61] This is reminiscent of the 'red' people discussed in Chapter Four, page 36.

the keyboard augments the rolling of the drums in signalling the change in the movement of the song as it picks up tempo.

The role of ancestral spirits in MaRadebe's healing rituals is reminiscent of Nomzamo's belief in the role ancestral spirits play in the lives of Xhosa people, particularly hers as they influence her compositions. This depicts the vocalists' Xhosa cultural upbringing which influences the way they view and portray their reality. Thus, in line with Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus, the vocalists view their world through a Xhosa cultural lense despite their adaptation to African urban culture as depicted by their songs through music which is modelled on American jazz.[62]

Shirley's song *"IDiva Zibuyile"* (The Divas are Back) (Track # 4 on the CD)

"IDiva Zibuyile" is one of Shirley's latest compositions she intends to record with the group in the near future, funds permitting. She wrote the song *"IDiva Zibuyile"* in 2010 as a 'come back' tribute to their all female group, the Jazz Divas, which stopped performing in 2007. Shirley appreciates their fans and promises them more performances. Currently, the Jazz Divas comprise Nomzamo Mkuzo, Shirley Lebakeng, Vuyelwa Qwesha and Leo Mwanda; and they are usually backed by Vulyewa's son, Balo Luzipo, and Patrick Pasha's band.

The Jazz Divas's revival in early 2009 inspired Shirley to celebrate the fact that they are back performing as a group. They were brought back together upon being invited to participate in the ILAM/ Red Location Museum Music History Project. The Music History Project motivated them because from time to time they were required to perform as a group. Taking this opportunity to leave a legacy behind, the Jazz Divas teamed up with the young generation of up-and-coming musicians such as Vuyelwa Luzipo's daughter, Titi, and her group, the Jazz Dylax, and music students from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University Music Department. Their audience loved and appreciated the mentorship the young musicians are receiving from them. The lyrics:

Sibuyile – I-Diva zibuyile	We are back, the Divas are back
Siyagiya- u Thix'uyasithanda	We rejoice God loves us

[62] See Chapter Three for more information on how the habitus constructs one's world view and determines thought processes.

Wamthumelu' nyana wakhe	He sent his son
Was'hlangule ntlungwini	To heal our sorrows
Sithaba, Sisonke, siphelele.	Here we are, all of us we are here
Chorus	**Chorus**
Oh! Siyavuya ixhala liphelile	Oh we are glad, our problem is over
Sonwabile, xa-simi phambi kwenu	We are happy to sing in front of you
Wamthumeli' unyana wakhe	He sent his son
Was'hlanguli 'ntlungwini	To heal our sorrows
Yeha, inene sibuyile	Really, we are back
(Bridge)	**(Bridge)**
Besingahoyekanga	We were being ignored
Sibekelwe 'Caleni	We were sidelined
Noba kukawi "gigs"	Even if there were gigs
Asisabizwa- nokubizwa	We weren't invited

(Vocal Improvisation—up to the end of the song.)

Although she has not recorded this song, according to her, it is a fusion of jazz and Xhosa traditional music from which it derives its slow rhythmic beat. She describes it as a "Xhosa ballad". Shirley wrote the song as an emotional outlet because male bands were getting jobs while the Jazz Divas were sidelined. Her song confirms that their careers as female musicians depended on the patronage of male groups, a theme which feeds into the exploitation the vocalists claim to have suffered at the hands of these male musicians.

The Jazz Divas were hurt because they used to invite male bands to back them but these bands did not return the favour by asking the vocalists to front their bands when they were hired to

perform. Rather they preferred young, up-and-coming female vocalists (Lebakeng Interview, 5/02/2010). This means that as the vocalists grow older their usefulness to the male groups tended towards zero. Shirley says,

> When things are a bit quiet for us, they do not do the same. They ignore us...And it was sad for us because it was very quiet for us, we did not do anything. Yet we would hear that they were performing somewhere (Interview, 2/09/2010).

The Jazz Divas have now made a comeback. According to Shirley, this song signifies their re-entry into the music scene. Thus, the song "IDiva Zibuyile" is ironic in that as much as it signals a situation of pain and distress it goes beyond that because they are on the comeback trail.

Like "MaRadebe", *"IDiva Zibuyile"* is sung in a story-telling manner, with Shirley announcing their return as a group, "We are back! The Divas are back!" She goes on to thank God for enabling them to return to the stage. This song depicts the vocalists' passion for music. Trust is a theme that comes out in this song as the Divas are prepared to once again work with men through the man who has offered to help them. Shirley depicts the gender dynamics which shape female musical performances which mainly depend on male musicians for instrumental backing during their performances.

This song is therapeutic to the vocalists because it comes as a solution to their problems. The Jazz Divas are all Christians who have faith in God, and to them the sponsor represents an answer to their prayers, a saviour, who will make their dream to record and commercialise their own music come true for the first time. However this is questionable because previous attempts at carving out musical careers have failed. Thus despite the vocalists' cultural capital, their careers are as uncelebrated as Port Elizabeth's contribution towards South African jazz.

At the end of the song Shirley scats in the manner which is generally used to express happiness.

Linda Tsaone's Original Compositions

Linda Tsaone started writing songs around the age of twenty-six, a year before she joined the Soul Jazzmen in 2001. She performs her compositions, which include both jazz and gospel songs, at every opportune moment. However she has not yet had a chance to record any of them due to financial constraints.

Linda personifies herself in most of her songs – a technique she uses in order to give character to the songs, painting a vivid picture of what she wishes to portray. Linda uses personification to intimately associate and identify herself with her songs which gives them a high level of emotional intensity. Through personification Linda expresses her longing for the type of life she wishes she could have as she literally sings about herself.

Linda writes about social issues taking place in her community who suffer physically, emotionally, and spiritually. She derives most of her inspiration from her own experiences. Singing to her is thus an emotional outlet through which she expresses her feelings.

Linda's song "*Soze!*" (Never) (Track # 5 on the CD)

Inspired by the stories she read in the newspapers concerning people who commit suicide because of disappointment in relationships, Linda composed the song *"Soze!"* literally translated "Never!"

The song depicts the following themes: lack of trust, dishonesty, self-pity, irresponsibility and manipulation. A married man neglected his family and sends a mistress to university planning on having a future with her, but upon completing her studies she dumped him for a better educated man. In other words, the university graduate used this man as a source of income for her studies. Unfortunately, the man caused his own betrayal. The lyrics:

Ukuba bendidlal'wa nguwe	You were two timing me
Ndikunike konk'oluse l'uthandwen'ilam	Having given you all my love
Ndathatha zonk' imali zam'	Took all my monies
Ndakus'eskolweni wabona abafana nawe!	Sent you to school, but you fell for other men
Kodwa yini mntwan'omuntu?	Why, that who has been born of a woman?
Ndiqal'ekuqaleni, ndilungis'impilo	I started afresh, setting up my way of living
Akusenal'usizi na?	Don't you have sympathy?

Ndikunqwenel'okuhle,mntano' mntu	I wish you all the best, that who has been born of a woman
Ndikungwenel'okuhle	I wish you all the best
Ndikungwenel'okuhle	I wish you all the best

Chorus

Soze ndiluphile uthando ulunje	I will never have such love
Soze ndiluphile uthando ulunje	I will never have such love
Oh ntliziyo yam'	Oh my heart
Ixesha lam'	My time
Nothando lwam	And, my love
Soze ndiluphile uthando ulunje	I will never have such love

The song advises men not to engage in extramarital affairs because families dysfunction when men neglect their responsibilities. Trust and honesty are important virtues and so is responsibility towards one's duties such that the same lesson holds true for any other person. In the same vein, dishonesty leads to self-pity, regret and loss of self-respect, confidence and economic resources as depicted in this song.

The man finds himself in an irrevocable situation as his family undeservedly suffers the consequences of his wayward behaviour which caused him to lose a lot of money. This song emphasises the importance of reflecting on the choices one makes: their possible outcomes and impact on one's loved ones. Furthermore, hasty, uninformed decisions lead to regret, loss of self-respect and shame to oneself, their family and their community.

The song has a fast tempo which reflects how an angry person speaks. The man asks rhetorical questions in a commanding manner, demanding answers in order to understand what he had done wrong to deserve this unkindness from his mistress. As she sings, Linda's tone sounds desperate and full of self-pity as the man mourns his loss and she seems to be on the point of breakdown in

a manner reminiscent of a sobbing person. When she performs the song, Linda uses an agitated voice tone, depicting a person who is in a holpless situation.

Linda's song "Ceduma" (Track # 6 on the CD)

Linda composed the song "Ceduma", imagining herself as the girl in the story. This song talks about a girl (Ceduma) whose father loves her very much. He has high aspirations for his daughter whom he would like to see get married and have a life of her own. The father wants his daughter to have self-respect and be respectful towards other people. He expects her to dress up nicely. The father's concern is not only that they are a happy family but to jealously guard their image as role models in their community whom everyone admires and copies the good things they do. The lyrics:

Zigqume ntombi yam'	Be respectful my daughter
Sizothetha nalibunga	We need to discuss the matter
Zigqume sana lwam'	Cover yourself up my daughter
Sizothetha nalibunga	We need to discuss the matter
Ewe mani	Yes man
Masibunge	Let's talk
Ceduma	Ceduma

Chorus	**Chorus**
Ceduma (x4)	Ceduma (x4)
Masibunge (x3)	Let's talk (x3)
Ceduma, Ceduma-a-a	Ceduma, Ceduma-a-a
Masibunge (x2) Ceduma	Let's talk (x2) Ceduma
Zigqume sana lwam	Cover yourself up my daughter

The theme of the song speaks to the daughter's behaviour generally with the father giving advice to his daughter. Whereas in African tradition it is the duty of aunties, grandmothers, uncles and grandfathers to advise their nieces and nephews, in urban African culture, parents personally advise their children concerning life issues. In this song Linda projects the type of love and relationship she aspired to have with her father had she grown up living with him. Since she grew up without her biological parents she uses fantasy to escape the painful reality of her situation. Expressing herself in this manner enables her to come to terms with her past and to cope with her own situations in life. Linda's song depicts cordial relations between parents and their children.

This song can also apply to the orphans and children from single parent homes who long for and are missing out on parental love and guidance. Parents and guardians alike are charged to pay attention to their children's behaviour and accordingly advise them in a loving manner. Linda brings out the importance of dialogue in dealing with children in a family set-up. This is a call to parents, guardians and significant others and every other person to use verbal communication when correcting children's behaviour, especially in the face of widespread child abuse. Linda is thus telling society that dialogue works as a means of communicating with minors because explaining things to them ensures that they understand better. Linda seems to think that modesty removes the temptation from would-be molesters, yet such acts are assertions of power not lust because research suggests that dress has little bearing on preventing rape and other acts of violence against women and children.

Linda starts the song with a directive, "Be respectful my daughter", a firm instruction from a caring father. The tone of the song is uncompromising which generally illustrates the way parents and guardians speak when they discuss serious issues with their children. Self-respect is a hallmark of integrity and the father wants it upheld as a family status symbol. Linda sings the name of the girl in a way that makes it sound like a warning. It conjures up the moment when a parent/guardian reprimands a child by simply calling out their name, as if to say, "Watch out" or "Be careful what you are doing!" The song ends with a reiteration of the phrase "Let's talk" and "Ceduma".

Conclusion

There are similarities between the compositions of female musicians in Allen (2000, 2003), Chari (2008), Hassinger (1987), Koskoff (1987), Muller (2001), and Robertson (1987) and the vocalists in this study. The themes of their compositions, though unique to specific cultures and contexts, stem from similar concerns which are inspired by personal experience. These experiences include social, political and economic issues and portray women as mothers, wives, sisters, workers and their relationships with other women and men (Allen 2000; Makore n.d.; Muller 2001). I follow Allen (2000) and argue that the vocalists' music expresses locally-rooted identities reflective of their everyday lives. Zimbabwean female musicians compose songs which address social issues affecting women such as men who neglect their family responsibilities, squandering money on alcohol and engaging in extramarital affairs, and parents who abuse and/or abandon their children (Makore n.d.: 49). The vocalists' songs depict the same themes, thus female musicians' experiences can be said to be common but not universal.

The vocalists' compositions address the social changes brought about by urban African culture. They are caught between representing the traditional Xhosa way of life and adapting to the musical idioms of urban African culture and American jazz. As such their compositions depict a personal view of a multi-cultural context. Thus the vocalists stand in the middle ground between the traditional way of life, urban African culture and American jazz as reflected by the use of characteristics of Xhosa traditional music, popular music and jazz in their music.

Although younger than both Nomzamo and Shirley, Linda's compositions echo the themes depicted in the older vocalists' compositions. Her concern for community welfare resembles that

found in Nomzamo's songs "*Uyazihlazisa*" and "Mama Believe Me". Linda and Nomzamo share the same sentiments regarding the plight of children in today's world where children suffer the neglect of parents, adults and guardians. Furthermore, both their songs emphasize that irresponsible behaviour brings shame and embarrassment upon one's whole family and the community at large. The two songs follow a typical pattern in Xhosa songs (for example, beer songs like *"Nontente"* or HIV/AIDS songs like *"Ugawulayo"* which address the problems the youth face (Bleibinger 2008). Such songs aim at admonishing people and putting pressure on them as well as helping to re-socialise them. The African communal way of life equates self-respect to responsible behaviour which defines how a person behaves and fits into society.

Shirley Lebakeng's compositions, on the other hand, are celebratory in nature. Both "MaRadebe" and "*IDiva Zibuyile*", herald good news to the society. Yet, like the songs of the other two vocalists, the song "MaRadebe" is rooted in Xhosa cultural beliefs where ancestral spirits play an important role in the lives of the living. Nomzamo's songs advocate a return to the cultural way of life which incorporates what Shirley depicts in "MaRadebe". But a return to the cultural way of life is unlikely because even though the songs are suffused with memory and commonly speak of return, history has moved on in the face of urban African culture. Given this scenario, conservation becomes an acknowledgement of change (Shelemay-Kauffman 1996). The vocalists' songs show the effects of transformation on the social fabric of the African population. Through the lyrics of their songs the vocalists successfully combine their Xhosa tradition and modernity, demonstrating a profound understanding of and giving a new meaning to their Xhosa identity.

These three vocalists' compositions reflect their worldview which mirrors their life orientation. The documentation of their compositions serves as a record of their history and fulfils the main objective of my thesis to preserve the musical journeys and personal histories of the six vocalists of New Brighton.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

Conclusions

This chapter draws conclusions in relation to the research questions and findings of the research for this thesis and ends with recommendations for further research. The conclusions that follow, drawn from data obtained through extensive interviewing of contemporary New Brighton female jazz vocalists and their male counterparts, who are primarily jazz instrumentalists, highlight the socio-economic constraints the vocalists encounter daily in their musical careers.

My analysis of the vocalists' experiences was grounded in Bourdieu's notions of habitus, capital and field. The vocalists' context/field oriented them to view their world from a disadvantaged position in which they are left without much choice and control over what happens to them. As a result, their narratives revealed that the vocalists have felt that they had to be content with whatever payment they were offered from the bands they worked for although they were aware of being exploited. The vocalists gained more social/cultural capital than economic capital because they have not earned a living from their performances, but through the respect they have gained in their community as competent jazz vocalists, they have experienced a degree of self-respect and satisfaction. Their intrinsic desire to perform and the pleasure derived from performing and the accolades awarded them, such as the certificates of recognition and trophies, testify to the social/cultural capital they have gained; only in their community which recognised them as professional jazz artists of note. However this appreciation was long in coming because the vocalists received this recognition in their old age yet they started performing in their teenage years.

Hence, my research data revealed that passion for music is the major motivating factor driving the vocalists and their male counterparts to continue performing even though they have not made a decent living from their music. Because there are still not enough performance opportunities for musicians, male or female, the female vocalists in my study seek to perform individually. Port Elizabeth musicians are as neglected as they were before the transition to democracy and there are fewer chances to tour than there were from the 1960s through to the 1980s. My research

findings show that musicians felt used and manipulated by politicians during the struggle and still feel that way now, 16 years after the transition to democracy. The SABC – not the musicians – owns the music that the New Brighton musicians recorded for Radio Bantu for broadcasting purposes during the apartheid era. The musicians were never paid royalties for the airplay of their music during the apartheid era and receive no royalties now because the music is no longer played.

It was interesting to discover that the vocalists' habitus and context predisposed them to accept their circumstances and that satisfaction in what they have managed to achieve under their difficult conditions is possible for them. However, Bourdieu's notion of symbolic violence is displayed in the vocalists' acceptance of their status quo as the natural order of things and how they blamed their exploitation and failure to commercialise their music on their own ignorance about how the music industry operates. The vocalists' mentality has historical underpinnings in that New Brighton – the vocalists' field/context – was a "highly regulated social space" where musicians' freedom of movement and expression were curtailed.[63]

My research revealed that during the apartheid era black musicians lacked understanding of the music business. Restricted movement limited the vocalists' chances of learning about operations of the music industry because of the following: first, they had no freedom of movement because passes were difficult to obtain. This meant that the New Brighton musicians were mostly confined to their under-resourced township where they were only exposed to choral music education. Second, after completing school, there were no opportunities for training in the music business for black people. The lack of resources and the absence of recording studios still hamper the personal growth of individual musicians and their local music industry even though the Department of Arts and Culture is making efforts to promote local musicians.

Third, due to the Separate Amenities Act, black musicians could not mix with and learn about the music business from their white counterparts who had resources at their disposal. Fourth, most promoters of the apartheid era provided more jobs for white musicians than black. As such the vocalists struggled to obtain opportunities to perform in their individual capacities, ending up

[63] See Chapter Four, page 35 onwards, "Historical Contextualisation of New Brighton" for the discussion of the conditions which prevailed in the vocalists' performance context which gave rise to the issues discussed here.

dependent on being featured by male bands which made them susceptible to exploitation by male musicians who capitalised on their vulnerability. Interestingly, it took experience and exposure to the music industry business for the vocalists to realise that the male musicians whom they trusted to have had their best interests at heart actually defrauded them.

However, my research findings further highlight that even though female musicians are aware of male exploitation, they do not want to risk losing opportunities to perform by speaking out against the men who dominate the music industry. Therefore, the female vocalists are still as discriminated against in terms of pay as they were during the apartheid era. It is apparent from the data that these men also discriminate in how they pay other male musicians, causing dissension among group members and among musicians in general. Consequently, greed, in-house fighting and jealousy have curtailed the growth of New Brighton musicians since the apartheid era because their interests are self-serving. These circumstances make it difficult for the vocalists to succeed in their careers because they have to compete against male musicians who have gained greater knowledge of the music industry than the vocalists who are only now learning the ropes. It is difficult for female musicians to penetrate the local music industry on their own because the male musicians have already created networks based on exploitative tendencies. Thus personality, politics and lack of professionalism work against the New Brighton musicians' success.

Port Elizabeth music promoters and sponsors do not respect local musicians because they are not commercial recording artists and they discriminate against them by giving first preference to guest artists from outside Port Elizabeth. To date the New Brighton musicians have no opportunities to make commercial recordings unless they move to Johannesburg where they can become popular and achieve nation-wide exposure. Those musicians who prefer being in Port Elizabeth seldom achieve recognition of their talent beyond their local area.

In addition, the data revealed the fact that most of the musicians who are presently resident in New Brighton have chosen not to migrate to Johannesburg because they want to make their careers a success from home and in the process put the Port Elizabeth music scene on the map. The Port Elizabeth musicians want to break the norm that Johannesburg is the only place where

musicians can realise success, but this is very difficult and highly unlikely given the lack of commercial recording studios in Port Elizabeth.

Although there is no chance for a successful national career because there is not a substantial enough music industry, many of the PE musicians actually are quite successful locally. They are known, they get gigs but – they cannot survive on the money they make locally because one needs a career that is national and international in order to have what might be termed a 'successful career'.

Despite the referendum in 1994, the New Brighton musicians still struggle to make ends meet because Johannesburg has remained the hub of the South African music industry where migrant musicians still struggle to establish themselves. The New Brighton musicians continue to play music for the love of it as they did during the apartheid era because they have accepted that they cannot make a comfortable living from their music careers.

Finally, my research reveals that the themes of the vocalists' compositions depict a bona fide urban African culture which reflects the emotional needs of their society by bridging the gap between African tradition and contemporary societal norms that have developed since the colonial encounter. I discovered that though female musicians' experience is not universal, it is common because the concerns which informed the vocalists' compositions were similar to those of other female composers documented in other research I reviewed (Allen 2000, 2003; Chari 2008; Hassinger 1987; Koskoff 1987; Muller 2001; and Robertson 1987). The themes of their compositions stemmed from their personal, socio-economic and political experiences of their multiple roles as mothers, wives, sisters, workers and their relationships with other women and men.[64] Thus, the documentation of the experiences of the New Brighton vocalists provide a lens into the diversity of female experience as determined by each vocalist's habitus and how they negotiated their context.

[64] See conclusion to Chapter Seven, page 168, where I summarise the themes of the vocalists' compositions and Chapter Two, page 19, "Gender Studies" where I discussed female musicians' music industry experiences.

Recommendations

My thesis is but a drop in the ocean in its contribution towards the documentation of the music heritage of New Brighton, not to mention the greater Eastern Cape Province. Hence I recommend that there is urgent need for further research on the music history of New Brighton itself, given the rate at which the veteran musicians are disappearing from the scene through death. In addition, other townships in Port Elizabeth such as Walmer and Motherwell warrant research to capture the music heritage from New Brighton veteran musicians' contemporary counterparts who are also dying with their stories untold. Finally, the literature reviewed showed that not only has Port Elizabeth's contribution towards South African jazz not been sufficiently documented, but there are many musicians in towns outside Port Elizabeth whose stories have never been told or heard but who are fast disappearing from the scene with their wealth of information. There is also need for recording, publishing and preserving the music of the veteran musicians which is at risk of disappearing because the few recordings made for Radio Bantu during the apartheid era are no longer played.

The documentation of the vocalists' musical careers and compositions found in this thesis serves as a record of their personal career histories as well as a depository of information on New Brighton music history for future generations. This fulfils the main objective of my thesis: to preserve the music history of the vocalists of New Brighton through documentation. There is no doubt that further research of this kind is warranted and urgently required to preserve the history of South African jazz in the Eastern Cape.

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List of Musicians Interviewed

1. Cuddumbey, Errol (the late): piano.

2. Faku, Xolani: trumpet.

3. Hatana, Richard: drums.

4. Jacobs, Lumkile: saxophone.

5. Lebakeng, Shirley Lineo: composer and vocalist.

6. Luzipo, Vuyelwa: vocalist.

7. Madlingozi, Nceba F: vocalist.

8. Mbambaza, Phillip: piano.

9. Miza, Victor (now late): trumpet.

10. Mkuzo, Nomzamo Jeannette: composer and vocalist.

11. Mwanda, Leo Nomalungelo: vocalist.

12. Mosia, Welekazi: vocalist.

13. Neff, Melvin Robert: guitarist.

14. Ngwcangu, Thami: vocals.

15. Ntsele, Big T. Psyche: bass, vocals.

16. Ntshinga, Jury: piano, vocals.

17. Pasha, Patrick: saxophone.

18. Tito, Dudley: saxophone.

19. Tsaone, Linda: composer and vocalist.

20. Zokufa, Lami: piano.

21. Zwane, Luvuyo Moses Tinky: saxophone.

Appendix 1

Women's Day Celebrations Performance Programme Outline

Programme for Women's Day

TITLE	PERFORMER	COMPOSER
Emkhukhwini	Afromix	M Mavundla & M Maqosha
Woza sigiye	Afromix	M Mavundla
Just for you	Afromix	Mavundla, Maqosha, Spence & Mbengane
A song for	Afromix	M Mavundla
Baz'buyisa	Afromix	M Mavundla
Kwela-kwela	Bianca	
Patha-patha	Bianca	
Street life	Jazz Queens	J. Sample
Medley: What good is a song / Count on me	Jazz Queens	
Jol'inkomo	Vuyelwa	
Mona Lisa	Nomzamo	
Fever	Leo	
Never never never	Webro	
Long to be close to you	Lineo	
Woza	Vuyelwa	
Tenderly	Webro	
These foolish things	Lineo	
Ntyilo ntyilo	Nomzamo	Silinga
Ilanga litshonile	Leo	
More today than yesterday	Sylvia	
	Sylvia	
	Sylvia & Jazz	
Jikel'emaweni	Sylvia & Jazz	

Appendix 2

Notes to Accompanying CD

Track 1: Joe Daku/Jay Jay Duet; "Uyazihlazisa" (Degrading yourself) (Nomzamo Mkuzo)

Studio Recording by SABC Radio: Port Elizabeth Studio; 1985

Joe Daku - Vocals

Jamani G Skweyiya – Leader

Mzwandile Matabata - Lead guitar and vocal

Totosi Ncapai - Rhythm guitar and vocals

Elvis Madikane - Bass guitar

Ndumiso Gqomo - Bongos and vocals

Welile Nibe - Flute and vocals

Mthetheleli Nkozwana – Drums

Track 2: Joe Daku/Jay Jay Duet; "Mama Believe Me" (Nomzamo Mkuzo)

Studio Recording by SABC Radio: Port Elizabeth Studio; 1985

Jamani G Skweyiya – Leader Vocals

Mzwandile Matabata - Lead guitar and vocal

Totosi Ncapai - Rhythm guitar and vocals

Elvis Madikane - Bass guitar

Ndumiso Gqomo - Bongos and vocals

Welile Nibe - Flute and vocals

Mthetheleli Nkozwana – Drums

Track 3: Soul Jazzmen "MaRadebe" (Shirley Lebakeng)

Studio Recording by SABC Radio: Port Elizabeth Studio; 1994

Victor Miza - Trumpet

Dudley Tito - Tenor saxophone

Big T Psyche Ntsele – Bass

Monwabisi Dlamini: Paino

Track 4: "IDiva Zibuyile" (The Divas are Back!); Shirley Lebakeng

Live vocal recording at interview by Netsayi Butete: Red Location Museum; 2 September 2010

Track 5: "Soze" (Never); Linda Tsaone

Live vocal recording at interview by Netsayi Butete:Red Location Museum; 3 September 2010.

Track 6: "Ceduma"; Linda Tsaone

Live recording by ILAM/RLMHP Jazz Heritage Concert Centenary Hall; 27 March 2010

Kenke Hatana - Drums

Dudley Tito - Saxophone

Patrick Pasha - Saxophone

Big T Psyche Ntsele - Bass guitar

Wella Mathomela - Piano