

**Beyond "Mzansi Golden Economy":
Inequality, wellbeing, and the political economy of
music as youth development in South Africa**

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In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Music

Royal Holloway, University of London

2014

Declaration of Authorship

I, Laryssa Whittaker, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: 18 August 2014

To my littles ~

*Cade & Lawson
Langelihle & Siyanda
Kennedy, Ellie & Brier
Lindokuhle & Elihle*

and most especially

Maisie June

~ with love and abiding hope for your futures

Acknowledgements

I am deeply grateful to so many who have supported and assisted me in this work at every stage. Thank you to my supervisor, Tina K. Ramnarine, for her unfailing wisdom, guidance, and encouragement, Anna Morcom for valuable conversations and input on shared interests, and Julie Brown for supportive and helpful comments. I am very glad I chose to study at Royal Holloway.

My profound thanks go to all those in the Field Band Foundation who embraced the potential of this research and opened your doors unreservedly to me, sharing your time and knowledge, especially Nicky du Plessis, Marit Bakken, Ellen Neverdal, and all the KZN region tutors—Mumsy Mchunu, Mxolisi Sibiya, Sbu Ndlovu, and Ndabo Zulu in particular. Many, many thanks to everyone who volunteered their time and assistance with so many practical and logistical matters, and who shared their deep reflection and experience with me. I hope this work honours the memory of the FBF's former CEO, Retha Cilliers.

I also acknowledge the financial support I have received over the past four years from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council doctoral fellowship, and Royal Holloway, University of London's Reid Scholarship. I also received various grants from the Music Department research fund and the *Music & Letters* research grant to attend conferences where my ideas could be presented and developed, and for fieldwork I had the additional support of Royal Holloway's Helen Shackleton Travel Fund Award.

There are so many others who have offered friendship, insight, moral support, practical assistance, debate, critique, and diversion over the last four years. Your input has helped me complete this work. Particular thanks go to Melaena Allen-Trottier, Joe Browning, James Butterworth, Fiona Daniels, Niyati Dhokai, Mthoko Dlamini, the Ducases, Cari Friesen, Thom Hewitt, George Kendall, Pollyanna MacLachlan, Ntsiko Mhlongo, Beth Oosthuysen, Marlayne Penner, Silas Price, Eleanor Rastall, David Smith, Becky Taylor, Stephanie Vos, Tom Wagner, Chloe Zadeh, Thulile Zama, and Smangele Zama.

Finally, thank you to my family, Don and Linda Whittaker, Gord and Lindsay, and the extended family. Your support has been felt at every step and across every ocean.

Abstract

This thesis investigates music education provided by non-profit organisations in South Africa as a means of countering socioeconomic inequality. I focus on the case study of the national organisation known as the Field Band Foundation (FBF), with whom I undertook an intensive period of research in 2012. The FBF is a non-governmental organisation that has been working nationwide since 1997 to create opportunities for the development of “life skills” in youth in predominantly socioeconomically underprivileged communities through music education. I examine the origins of their work in the politics and economics of post-apartheid South Africa, and the rationale behind the choice of music as the medium through which they accomplish their goals. I examine their educational programme, in connection with literature on education and skills development in global, neoliberal economies. Engaging with the “capabilities approach” developed by Amartya Sen, and connecting these thoughts with the political significance of notions of “the good life” discussed in economic and philosophical terms, I apply theoretical frameworks to the work of the FBF, analysing the ability of the organisation’s programme to increase the capabilities and thus the wellbeing of participants. I provide an ethnographic account of participants’ assessments of the impact of their participation in the programme upon multiple dimensions of wellbeing—physical, social, psychological, spiritual, and financial. I discuss the ways in which this evaluation may indicate the success of the FBF’s programme and indicate areas for future development. I conclude by pointing toward a broader theory of music for positive social change grounded in political economic analysis of global economies and societies.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Most guys we used to go to high school with, they saw Field Band as, “Oh, you guys are going to make noise now.” But when [I] come now, seeing me now, ‘cause I’ve gained a bit of weight, [they say,] “I think you’re fat now.” [I say,] “Ah thanks man, it’s all thanks to the Field Band.” ‘Cause when you go to them, they’re either skinny or they look wack. Like they’re lifeless. ‘Cause when we ask, “What are you doing during the whole day?” [they say,] “I just sleep, go smoke, sleep, go smoke, sleep, go smoke.” That’s all they do. I say, “Oh! I sleep, wake up, go to Field Band and teach come afternoon, chill with my friends, sleep, come tomorrow and teach.” So it’s a beautiful adventure. It’s a beautiful thing to join.

It’s a loss for me, if I were to leave Field Band. If I have to leave Field Band, then it would mean I’ve got a job in an office somewhere, then I’m tight, I can’t afford to come here. But other than that, if I have a job somewhere else, and I can still squeeze in Field Band, definitely, sure.

—Daniel Mate, KZN Region FBF Tutor
Personal interview, 7 June 2012

What does music do as the medium for achieving improved wellbeing?

One approach that people involved as practitioners and researchers in community arts programmes have frequently taken is to examine its effect on emotional, psychological, physical, spiritual and social life. These approaches frequently draw on philosophical understandings of music, as well as observation. They are frequently informed by sociological and psychological understandings of both music and health. Sometimes they invoke politics in terms of issues of recognition, rights, participation, voice, or inclusion. These are all extremely important considerations. This thesis, however, focuses on these issues through the lens of political economy. Where I explore wellbeing, I connect it with the experience and perception of material reality. Where I explore politics, I connect with the ethics, ideologies, and logics that inform economic policy, which in turn emerge from and affect society. This thesis is concerned with what music “does” to bodies, minds, and spirits, but explores this via the ways that individuals and groups use music. Music “does” none of these things autonomously, but acts through a complex social web formed by people (in this case study, youth, parents, tutors, leaders, officials) and organisations (communities, NGOs, governments, religious and educational institutions, and academia). Thus, I aim in this thesis always to foreground the social and the

material, the political and the economic, in the use of music to raise levels of wellbeing.

My interest in this research project is to explore NGO work that attempts to broadly address socioeconomic inequality as a means of improving the overall health and wellbeing of South Africa's socioeconomically deprived population; from the start I was specifically interested in learning about the types of NGOs that employed music or music education in pursuit of this goal. It had become clear to me through my prior research of the role of music in South African HIV and AIDS outreach and education initiatives that social and economic inequality were root contributors to the epidemic and to the generally low levels of physical, psychological, and social wellbeing often experienced by members of South Africa's historically oppressed population groups. As well, I had become increasingly aware of the proliferation of music outreach programmes in a number of communities around the nation. This sort of NGO might be considered in urgent demand, as socioeconomic inequality has increased under South Africa's democratic, post-apartheid government, despite the election platforms of three presidents since 1994 that have proclaimed their commitment to policies that would reduce the barriers to employment, education, business, and health care that historically disadvantaged populations have faced. Thus, I aimed to research the role that music was playing in addressing the detrimental effects of socioeconomic inequality or, potentially, in working directly to reduce inequality itself. I envisioned a study that would investigate the intersection of music, wellbeing, political economy, and socioeconomic development. While this thesis considers a number of specifically musical concerns, such as pedagogical techniques, transmission, rehearsal processes, competition, instrumentation, and assessment, all of these are examined in service of understanding the role of music to increase wellbeing and counter socioeconomic inequality.

Introducing the Field Band Foundation

I embarked on my first term of fieldwork in South Africa in early March 2012, returning to Durban where I had established contacts during my MA research. Near the end of April, I heard for the first time about an organisation called the Field Band Foundation (FBF). I conducted some online research and

made initial contact with the CEO of the organisation, Retha Cilliers, who connected me with Marit Bakken, a Norwegian musicologist and the head of music at the Foundation's academy just outside Durban. Marit invited me to the academy to find out more about the work of the FBF, and after several visits I had become impressed by the Foundation's longevity and the testimonies I was hearing about their impact. After further conversations that confirmed the organisation's welcoming attitude toward my research, I realised that I had the opportunity to engage deeply with an NGO that had outlived many other similar initiatives and seemed to have developed a formula for music outreach that was widely perceived as successful. As a result, I decided to focus on the FBF as my case study, to learn what role music played in their work to improve the lives and futures of South African youth. I conducted research with the FBF until late November 2012, and returned for one month of follow-up research in March-April 2014.

The FBF is a national organization with the goal of improving the lives and futures of youth in underprivileged communities through music. It was spearheaded in 1996 by Plate Glass and Shatterprufe Industries (today known as PG Group), a large plate glass manufacturing company that has since gained a sizable global market share. By 1997, five bands were established. Currently the FBF has bands in twenty-seven communities, primarily townships and rural areas, known internally to the organisation as regions. Its members represent all of South Africa's language groups and many of its ethnic groups; however, there is heavy representation from groups who live in communities where poverty and disadvantage remains fixed along the old "racial" lines that have become the contemporary class lines. Children and youth between the ages of seven and twenty-one are allowed to join their local field band. Each province has at least one region, though some have several, and each region has one or ideally two bands in neighbouring locations, each accommodating up to 125 members. As at 2014, there are 48 bands currently in operation. The instruments travel by truck to each location, at minimum twice a week, so that each band rehearses two to three times per week and the instruments are in use as much as possible. Often these bands are sponsored by local businesses, or by global enterprises with interests in the community; the mining houses in particular have embraced the

opportunity to sponsor bands. The FBF now has more than four thousand members nationally at any given time.

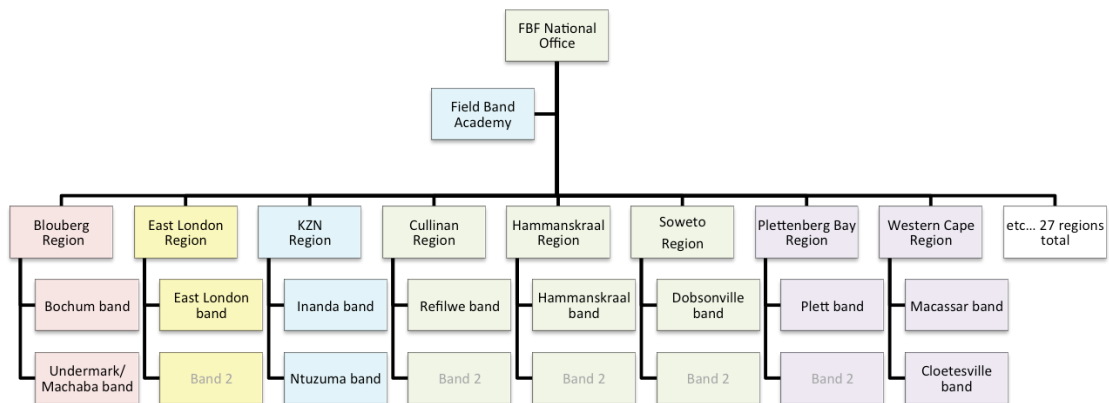


Figure 1. Field Band Foundation organisation 2012/2014 (in black text - bands I visited)

The above organisational chart shows the bands I had opportunity to visit during the course of fieldwork in 2012 and 2014, and shows the organisational structure of the FBF. In orange are bands located in the province of Limpopo, yellow in Eastern Cape, blue in KwaZulu-Natal, green in Gauteng, and purple in Western Cape. Each region will have one or two people in some combination of roles as band coordinator, project officer, or regional director, who may also teach, as well as a social officer. The balance of teaching is conducted by three or more tutors, assigned sections according to their specialities (though skilled enough in other sections to lead in the event of a staff shortage). At the Field Band Academy (FBA), staff numbers are flexible: there are presently a principal, kitchen and maintenance staff, contracted teaching staff, facilitators in training, and twenty-five to thirty students at any given time. At the national office, there are approximately twelve staff members, including the CEO, the national marketing and communications manager, the national operations manager, and financial, operations, marketing, events, social development, and administrative staff members.

Rehearsals are generally held outdoors in school grounds or sports grounds, a key feature—and benefit—of brass bands globally (Reily and Brucher 2013, 17). Regions with access to indoor facilities have an advantage, as they do not have to cancel practices in the event of inclement weather, although the acoustics and space of the indoor facilities are seldom conducive to full-volume,

full-ensemble rehearsals. In some regions, if one of the bands is newer and another more established, the newer band is conceptualised as a “baby band,” grooming students for participation in the performance opportunities in which the “senior band” takes part. These include local events, such as funerals, weddings, business openings, sporting events, and civic holiday celebrations, as well as regional competitions with other FBF bands in the region, and the FBF national championships, which take place in Johannesburg each October. In 2010, an FBF band performed in both the opening and closing ceremonies of the FIFA World Cup in Durban, their performance televised nationally and around the world.



**Figure 2. FBF rehearsal in Bochum-Senwabaranwa, Limpopo, 6 November 2012
(all photographs by the author)**

The bands draw on the global brass band tradition. Most bands have a brass section, including trumpets, mellophones, baritones, and tubas (all G instruments for ease of arranging and instruction); a pit percussion section, comprising steel drums and marimbas; a marching percussion section, including cymbals, tri-tom, snare, and bass drums; and a colour guard, which performs flag drills and choreographed routines to the music. The pit percussion section is sometimes a later addition to a new band, which may begin its operations with just the brass and marching percussion instruments. The marimbas, steel drums, uniforms, and choreography are all positioned as particularly South African

innovations to the format, in addition to the repertoire choices that frequently include popular South African songs that many South Africans know. In her MA musicology thesis, Marit Bakken links the current choice of format at the centre of the field band—that of the American show band model—to the historical popularity of brass bands in South Africa since their introduction by the Salvation Army in the 1800s (2009, 6). As Reily and Brucher (2013, 1) note in their introduction to a study of brass bands around the world, the thriving global presence of brass bands based on the European military band tradition has been driven by colonialism and militarisation, as well as the flexibility of the instrumentation and the adaptability of the format to local institutions, genres and practices. Brass bands are a familiar institution across South Africa, although in many of the communities in which the FBF works, there is no recent history of brass bands. As will be discussed below, the genre and format of the brass band has been given a particular interpretation by the FBF, but the broader histories to which it belongs certainly also contribute to its reception and efficacy.

Music therapist Ellen Neverdal notes that many of the communities in which the FBF has established bands evidence high levels of unemployment, poverty, crime, teenage pregnancy, and drug and alcohol abuse (2010, 5). The FBF aims to address these social ills. Its mission is “To create opportunities for the development of life skills in the youth through the medium of music and dance” (Field Band Foundation 2012a, 8). In the regions, the bands are led by tutors that have primarily been groomed from within the bands themselves, providing instruction not only on musical aspects—brass, percussion (including marimbas and steel drums), and dance—but also focusing on the development of life skills. In 2009, the FBF established the Field Band Academy (FBA), currently located in a former priory located amidst the sugar cane fields between Verulam and the Mdloti River, north of Durban. The academy presently runs a thirty-six week training programme over one year, sending students to complete practical terms in the regional bands between academic terms, to assist with training and development of tutors from the regions (Marit Bakken, personal communication, 2 May 2012).

Since 2001, the Norwegian Band Federation has partnered with the South African Field Band Foundation, through the Norwegian programme called Bands

Crossing Borders (BCB). This project was funded by Fredskorpset (FK), Norway's development arm. Through this partnership, ninety-eight music teachers have participated in annual exchanges (Marit Bakken, personal communication, 2 May 2012)—bringing young South Africans to Norway, and young Norwegians to South Africa—to teach, train, and perform with each other's bands. Many of the Norwegian participants have had bachelors or advanced degrees in performance, musicology, composition, or music therapy, and in the beginning they worked alongside tutors in the regions—this is how Marit and Ellen both began their involvement with the FBF. Since the establishment of the academy, the Norwegian participants have worked as facilitators; however, this role is being phased out, and a project is underway to develop promising South African regional tutors and other South African music professionals to take over as facilitators at the academy. Beginning in September 2013, the exchange between Norway and South Africa has been redefined through a project called PULSE, which specifically focuses on the agenda of health promotion and inclusion in bands. I did not have the opportunity to work directly with the PULSE project, as it was established after my major fieldwork was complete; however, PULSE draws upon goals and practices that were already inherent in the FBF's approach, working to give them a more intentional and strategic position in the organisation.



Figure 3. FBA students perform a noon-hour concert at a local school, 9 April 2014

Research questions

As I have analysed the work of the FBF over the past two and a half years, I have arrived at one overarching question: what potential does music development work have to address socioeconomic inequality? I arrived at this question via a number of subsidiary questions concerning the role of music in social development work in South Africa amongst socioeconomically disadvantaged people. With a plan to establish relationships with individuals and groups involved in this work at a grassroots level (work initiated by South Africans in and among their own communities, regardless of levels of government involvement), I proposed the following questions for my initial fieldwork:

- How do South African activists perceive music, and how is this perception related to its use in their work?
- What support mechanisms exist for this work, and what is the relationship between funding bodies and activists?
- To what degree and how is music a part of the rationale for the support and execution of these activities?
- What role does Christianity play in the conception of need and formulation of a response, given its prominent position in South African society?
- Taking into account South African history, what economic, political, and social challenges to this work exist, and what impact do they have?
- Is activism and advocacy professionalised, and does that have any impact on the work undertaken? How does music intersect with such professionalisation?
- How is the contribution of music toward the achievement of progress perceived and measured?
- To what extent do the philosophies of the international development community intermingle with those of local activists? What implications does such intermingling have for music, and does music have an effect on the interpretation or application of these philosophies?

These questions are all connected, but this thesis addresses them by putting focus on the question of music's potential, as the medium around which

youth development is organised, to address socioeconomic inequality and its effects. This draws upon a critique of the conception of music as autonomous, a site of inherent resistance or social cohesion, understanding it rather as a complex site of encounter, loaded with at times conflicting meanings (Bergh and Sloboda 2010; Krims 2007, 31–5). At the same time, it heeds the call of applied ethnomusicologists for both critical study and engaged methods of research to seize the opportunities that musical performance may present for therapeutic use, conflict resolution, and representation of marginalised peoples (Harrison, Mackinley, and Pettan 2010, 4). Questions of longevity, impact, and success revolve around this central notion of the efficacy of music as development, invoked in the work of people trying to make positive changes in South African society. These research questions framed my initial approach to my research. Ultimately I have chosen in this thesis to focus on the question of how music development work that aims to address social problems that are underpinned by political and economic inequality may be understood, with political-economic analysis offering insights that may help illuminate and refine the premises, methodologies, and goals of such work. My fieldwork yielded much additional information, which will allow for the development of a number of different areas of exploration in future.

In addition to secondary literature research on the issues and knowledge areas related to my research questions, my research methodology included conducting fieldwork in South Africa that was informed by this scholarship, both methodologically and topically. The remainder of this chapter introduces this literature, discusses its influence on my research methodologies and my analysis, and presents the structure of this thesis.

Literature review

This thesis is situated within the field of ethnomusicology, and employs typical ethnomusicological approaches to research, with particular attention to scholarship in applied and medical ethnomusicology and anthropology. However, this project also draws from the broad knowledge of a number of intersecting areas of scholarship, including community music therapy, sociology, development studies, and political studies. These different disciplines or

subfields are often informed by common theories, such as postcolonial theory, political theory, philosophy, and economics. In addition, the orientation of these subjects is frequently toward human potential for positive change and transformation, which often results in a distinct focus on public outreach, intervention, and praxis, as well as shared methodologies, such as ethnographic research, participatory action research, and community based research.

While the different disciplines often have their own terminology and core literature, useful concepts for this research project emerge from multiple perspectives across disciplines. Terms such as empowerment, agency, human rights, biopolitics, affect, marginality, integration, capacity, capability, social justice, advocacy, individuality, community, and subjectivity are often embedded within such scholarship, requiring critical consideration. As Chakrabarty argues, many such concepts ultimately derive from and “bear the burden of European thought and society,” existing as a “cliché and shorthand” (2008, 4). Even postcolonial scholarship, ironically, relies upon Enlightenment-derived universals that undermine the effort to decolonise scholarship itself. Chakrabarty observes, “The struggle ensues because there is no easy way of dispensing with these universals in the condition of political modernity. Without them there would be no social science that addresses issues of modern social justice” (5). In order to discuss such concepts in a postcolonial setting such as South Africa, it is important to understand what assumptions lurk beneath their surfaces, how they are understood by advocates or activists themselves, and any influences that continue to manifest even in the efforts to bring about equality. The imperative is dual: it illuminates causalities and perspectives that might not otherwise be revealed, and it guards against the reproduction of colonial hegemonies in the analysis.

Socioeconomic characteristics of South Africa

I will address many of these concepts in the context of the ethnography and other scholarship, but it is important to establish at the outset of this thesis the extent of South Africa’s socioeconomic challenges, as it points to the problematic history of “race” in the country. Paul Farmer applies the label “structural violence” to the conditions that render some societies vulnerable to

HIV and AIDS, noting that this term describes situations where human suffering is geographically broad and historically deep (1996, 274). He also identifies a crucial distinction that must be made in the context of structural violence, and one that is particularly salient in South Africa—the conflation of race with class (276). Of course, this assertion must be understood in the context of an acknowledgement that race is not a biological reality, but rather a socially constructed phenomenon. In fact, it is poverty and lack of access to resources that sustain conditions of violence and ill health, rather than membership of any so-called race. However, given the “social currency” (275) that conceptions of race have had in South Africa over the past century and more, poverty and lack of access to resources have been reinforced within the fabric of the South African economy, which was built upon “a paranoid labour market—built on fear, and based on fear,” rigidly inscribing who could perform what work, where, when, and at what wage, within defined racial categories (Standing, Sender, and Weeks 1996, 12–13).

The conflation of race with class is problematic, as it glosses over the multiple locations and identities that most people have, and the agency they may exercise by emphasising one or other aspects of their social belonging. For example, class may be emphasised over race as a strategic tactic, as demonstrated by a member of a community organisation in the Durban suburb of Chatsworth who now-famously declared, “We are not Indians, we are the poors” (Desai 2002, 41). Care must be taken to examine constructions of race and ethnicity alongside markers and constructions of class, noting their overlap and conflation as manifestations of shifting power asymmetries. Thus, while this thesis focuses less on “racial” or ethnic identities and more on class formation, it also attends to what statistics confirm: that class has broadly developed in terms of the historical categories of race. Even though class categories are beginning to become more ethnically diverse, the general alignment of class and race categories still shapes the discourse about poverty inequality. Large classes of resource-poor people, often unemployed, have formed, comprising those who fell into the lowest-valued racial categories inscribed during the development of South Africa’s contemporary economy.

Whether structural violence is read as reduced life expectancy or limited potential, it renders visible the old racial lines along which the new class lines have largely derived. Although these lines are by no means impermeable, the sheer numbers indicate that the post-apartheid government continues to be faced with the enormous task of rectifying gross inequality. Moreover, these are the factors that underpin the social problems that the FBF aims to address through its work.

Music and resistance in South Africa

Research of music in Africa has shown that many people credit music with having certain powers and abilities that are valuable for the representation of their positions and the achievement of their goals. Lara Allen writes that popular music in Africa is a particularly fruitful medium for political engagement, partly due to its special status as “the most widely appreciated art form on the continent.” Moreover, she argues, it has a political function because people expect it to have a political function, and African¹ musicians are thus expected to fulfil a role of political engagement (Allen 2004a, 2–3). Studies that examine the role of music in South African political engagement, protest, or resistance are therefore relevant to this thesis, as I aim to locate my analysis of music in the role of youth development in the context of studies of other music that aims to advocate for the social interests of particular groups or individuals.

In South Africa, this explicit consciousness of the potential utility of music in resistance is seen with the anti-apartheid movement, where freedom songs were prominent at demonstrations and political events. Shirli Gilbert notes that “cultural activities” such as music, art, literature, dance, and handcrafts had a central place in the strategy of the African National Congress (ANC) as “weapons of struggle” (2007, 421), though Albie Sachs, one of the ANC’s prominent leaders, ultimately called this position into question as the end of apartheid approached. Sachs characterised ANC art as simplistic and representative of violence, and

¹ “African” is the term currently applied to the population group identified with the ethnic groups that were indigenous to the continent, as distinct from those population groups that originated in colonialism, which brought European people to the region, and its associated practices of slavery and indentured service, which introduced large numbers of people from India and southeast Asia.

called instead for art that focused on “not only the formulae of struggle, but also the richness and diversity of the newly emergent South African nation” (422).

The use of music as a mode of resistance has an even longer history, however. Veit Erlmann writes that the concept of ethnic identity came to play an important role in colonial society in the strategies of “the colonial state, the Zulu monarchy and its allies of wealthy black landowners and merchants, and the mass of labouring poor;” and likewise certain musical styles came to be imagined as belonging to particular discrete (albeit constructed) “ethnically based, coherent musical cultures” (1991, 15). He criticises ethnomusicology’s tendency to reinforce these conceptions of musical styles in ethnic or cultural terms, and asserts that “in fact, for centuries different ethnic traditions have fecundated each other” creating a “deep structural homogeneity of the music in South African Bantu-speaking cultures” (17). However, that these ethnicities and the so-called musical traditions they possessed were perceived of in such terms had obvious political currency, which Erlmann acknowledges. He prefaces his portrayal of the lives and music of several composers and performers in the late nineteenth-century to mid twentieth-century by writing, “The recourse to tradition and a constant engagement with the past constitutes one of the most crucial mechanisms through which black South Africans reflected and acted upon their fractured worlds” (10).

Louise Meintjes, in an analysis of *isigqi*, the kick/stamp of the Zulu *ngoma* dance, investigates how the “sense of power represented in artistic expression and valued as an artistic principle is harnessed into a process of obtaining forms of political power” (2004, 175). She notes that her study takes place within a community that identifies itself as “wholly Zulu” and that the sense of power experienced is Zulu power (177), invoking notions of historicity and tradition with which such experiences are imbued for the people who claim them as their own. These connect with notions of “Zulu manhood,” now undermined by unemployment, and complicated by the prevalence of AIDS and rising levels of violence (190). In a society where the positive aspects of “manhood” seem unattainable, she argues that “a dance about power can become a source of power,” whether that be institutional, material, military, financial, or seductive (193). Moreover, such a phenomenological understanding of the affective and

political potential of embodiment moves analysis “in the direction of a rights-based and advocacy-based ethnomusicology” (176).

Liz Gunner (2007) discusses the role of the genre of *isicathamiya* in a Zulu context as a medium by which youth claim authority to influence the moral discourse about HIV and AIDS. This sort of appropriation of a music that has the authority of tradition is also relevant in another of Gunner’s studies, where she examines the Zulu song *Umshini wami*, a song that originated in the army camps of the anti-apartheid forces, and in 2007 became synonymous with Jacob Zuma during his rise to power in the governing party of the African National Congress (ANC). In this contemporary performance, she argues, “the icon of the heroic guerrilla fighter was melded with that of the beleaguered senior politician, of impeccable freedom credentials” (Gunner 2009, 43). Pointing to other apartheid-era music, Charles Hamm (1991) examines the role that the apartheid government gave radio in upholding ethnic constructions and emplacements, and Albert Grundlingh (2004) discusses the use of Afrikaans *voëlvry* music in the anti-apartheid protest, partially in connection with emphasising the non-uniformity of the “white” position on apartheid. Christopher Ballantine (2004) explores the role of music in the reconstruction of both “white” and “South African” (the latter intended as non-racial) identities after the end of apartheid.

Ethnomusicological literature frequently frames music as constitutive (at least to some degree) or reflective of social change. Music is sometimes portrayed as a tool consciously wielded by those with a desire to effect change, whereas at other times, a much more implicit or subconscious process. Thus, one may think of music *and* social change or music *for* social change, and several nuanced studies recognise that music and change have multiple relations. A notable example of music *for* social change includes Kathleen Noss Van Buren’s (2007) study of musicians in Kenya who collaborate with a wide variety of organisations focused on some aspect of international, national, and local development. She highlights the responsibility that performers feel to serve their community, citing their belief in the ability of music to communicate dry or difficult messages in a way that wins the attention and openness of audiences (319). However, she also reports the limitations to the musical facilitation of social change. These include incorrect messaging being passed on by musicians;

poverty, gender, and age inequalities restricting the ability of the audience to make change based upon the messages they have heard through the music; lack of institutional support for change; and class-based musical preferences of audiences, which influence their decisions to attend advocacy events or their desire to listen (320-1).

Ingrid Byerly's (1998) study of "music *indaba*" in South Africa provides another relevant perspective on the role of music in social change. Grounding her discussion in Frantz Fanon's model of the process of decolonisation reflected in and enacted through the creative arts, she observes the way music was used in late apartheid and the early transition period² to attempt to address the nation's social fractures. She observes that revivals of traditional genres demonstrate aspirations for a "new, inclusive South African nationalism" (18), while later fusion and collaboration facilitated intercultural communication. She argues that in its ultimate manifestation, music enacted the desired social change on two levels: on a lyrical level, it provided subtle but pointed commentary and proposed resolutions to the conflict; and on the musical level, the integration of the rival national anthems in popular music and the creation of a new national anthem that fused formerly contentious "underground" anthem with the "official" anthem evidenced "collaborative effort towards a new order" (35).

Significantly, Byerly notes the failure of certain efforts to effect change by musical means, particularly the attempt of the apartheid government to release a peace song, which rang false in the ears of the public majority as an attempt to "camouflage" the crisis (1998, 29). This highlights the discretion of listeners and the potential for resistance in the choice not to listen. Considered together with van Buren's observation of the failures of music to effect change in Kenyan advocacy work, it is evident that there are many points at which the utility of music may fall short of expectations. The use of music to effect change, therefore, should include consideration of the mechanisms by which music effects change: how does it capture attention, win trust, appear honest, impart belonging, shift perception, incite, inspire, motivate, or sustain?

² In scholarship on South Africa, the word "transition" indicates the post-apartheid era and the political processes that have characterised it. See the glossary in appendix F for more detail.

Bergh and Sloboda's (2010) article reviewing the literature on linkages between music and programmes of conflict transformation provides an excellent starting place for explorations of the role of music in effecting social change. In fact, they note that the use of music in conflict transformation is actually relatively rare, and that unless practitioners are aware of how music must be connected to and supported by other activities, it is an ineffective tool (7). They critique several oversights in many analyses of music's efficacy and in the assumptions of the programmes themselves: that both are often overly optimistic about the degree of change that can be achieved; that they rarely consider the views of participants but focus instead on musicians and organisers; that the role of music is often exaggerated or decontextualised; that they include untested assumptions about the strength of relationships built during music-making activities; that they fail to consider the heterogeneity of cultures and may in fact reinforce essentialised ideas about cultures; that they disregard issues of power in the organisation of such activities, and often have a vested interest in claiming success; and that their approach to music is often passive (focused on listening over the short term) rather than active (focused on performing and developing musical skills over the long term) (8-11).

In an effort to overcome these gaps, several scholars have focused on the notion of music's "affordance," a term described by Tia de Nora, who argues that this concept "highlights music's potential as an organising medium, as something that helps to structure such things as styles of consciousness, ideas, or modes of embodiment" (2003, 46-7). She argues that lyrics are only one realm of music's affordance. Rather:

Music comes to afford things when it is perceived as incorporating into itself and/or its performance some property of the extra-musical, so as to be perceived as "doing" the thing to which it points. Music is active, in other words, as and when its perception is acted upon, and this circularity is precisely the topic for socio-musical research into music's power. Thus, music is more than a structural "reflection" of the social. Music is constitutive of the social in so far as it may be seen to enter action and/or conception when things take shape in relation to music. (57)

Thus, these perceptions, points of contact between music and social "realities," are where the lens of analysis should be pointed. The affordances of music are both individual and communal, and what music offers one person or

group will likely differ from what it offers another person or group. In terms of effecting social change, the gains of the particular perception formed versus the process of perception formation may be different. To gain a clear picture of the affordance of music, it is necessary to triangulate perceptions and trace processes. Subjectivity is a critical dimension of bringing about material and structural change, and the relationship of the individual to the communal is also of critical importance: both of these are examined in depth in this thesis.

Music and health

Health and wellbeing are dimensions upon which the affordances of music have received a rising degree of interest and attention in recent years. As this thesis examines the ability of the FBF to affect the present and future wellbeing of youth, literature on music and health, wellbeing, or healing offers useful perspectives. Ethnomusicologists have recognised the Cartesian underpinnings of much so-called “Western” medicine, which focuses on the body at the expense of understanding emotional and social experiences of health and illness. They frequently point out that not all societies experience health this way (and in fact, not even people in societies espousing primarily biomedical perspectives experience health and illness in purely physical ways), agreeing with medical anthropologists that states of health and illness are socially informed, unstable categories. They insist that the perceptions of individuals and their communities interact with the physical experience of illness to create assessments of wellbeing (Barz 2006; Kleinman 1988; Koen 2006; Roseman 2008; Young 1982). For example, Friedson’s study of *vimbuza* spirits emphasises a concept of unity between body and soul, “a world that is neither given nor experienced in Cartesian duality” (1996, 5); Koen’s study of the therapeutic performance of *falak* in Tajikistan highlights a local conception of illness rooted in the physical, mental, emotional, or spiritual, and emphasises the tandem reliance on biomedical and folk practices (Koen 2005, 289); and Roseman highlights the mediation that music provides between the Malaysian Temiar people and the spirit world, thus returning them to a state of health (1991; 2008). The *Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology* (Koen 2008) is not the

first book to gather a variety of studies of music and health into one collection,³ but its significance for music and health studies is derived from the intent of its contributors to propose a theoretical framework for the study of music and health, established within a subfield they dub “medical ethnomusicology.” Its editors advocate further study of the therapeutic efficacy of music in broader contexts, and along more measurable and quantitative lines, in collaboration with medical researchers (Koen, Barz, and Brummel-Smith 2008, 15).

Music therapists also view music as having the ability to improve the wellbeing of people who are ill or disabled. Community music therapy, sometimes known as culture-centered music therapy (Stige 2002), places an emphasis upon the social dimension of music and the therapeutic potential of “musicking,” as described in the edited volume, *Where Music Helps* (Stige et al. 2010). The co-authors of this book assert a political ethic behind community music therapy, arguing that music therapy itself has historically challenged restricted ideas about who can participate in music and what music is (13). Such a focus has the potential to democratise music, which may, they imply, increase senses of belonging, participation, social activism, mutual care, and intergroup processes (14).

My research on music and HIV revealed that relatively few studies exist in South Africa that consider the role that Christianity plays in people’s experience of the disease, their concepts of healing, and their means of coping. This is surprising, since approximately eighty per cent of South African citizens identify as Christian (Statistics South Africa 2004, 28). Indeed, upon my first fieldwork trip to South Africa in 2009, I was caught off-guard by the public prominence of Christianity that I experienced; nothing in my secondary research had prepared me for the visibility of Christianity’s role in South African culture. Many scholars have sought the answers to South Africa’s enormous HIV prevalence rates in the traditional beliefs and practices of black South Africans (for example, da Cruz 2004; Delius and Glaser 2002; Green et al. 2009; Hunter 2005; Kauffman and Lindauer 2004; Scorgie 2002). Notable exceptions that do consider the role of

³ Other important collections of studies on the role of music in healing include Gouk (2000), Horden (2000), and Laderman and Roseman (1996).

Christianity include Becker and Geissler (2009), Garner (2000), and Okigbo (2011). This gap alerted me to the need to include religion or notions of spirituality in connection with development work in South Africa, and influenced my conceptualisation of notions of wellbeing in particular; for this reason, I intentionally included spiritual wellbeing as a dimension that I aimed to explore. While there are several studies that consider the role that music plays in the religious practice of various communities (for example, Muller 1999; Jorritsma 2011), and studies of the influence of music in Christian contexts on social development programmes in other parts of Africa (Barz 2006; Van Buren 2007), it would seem to be important to consider the ways that spirituality, religion, and development work come together in the aim to increase levels of wellbeing. Although I anticipated before my fieldwork that the groups and programmes I encountered might have connections to Christian organisations, or be founded upon premises framed as Christian, in fact I found that the FBF was explicitly and intentionally secular, the significance of which I will explore in terms of the FBF's goals and influence.

Music and political economy

Music is often written about as a commodified object, or examined from its position within a global, often capitalist political economy. Such studies frequently examine how class and social structure connect with musical creation, performance, recording, dissemination, and listening. Many draw upon (and indeed locate themselves within) Marxist theory. The field is too vast to summarise here, but of overall relevance to this study is the notion that the political and economic aspects of inequality create the conditions in which the music used by the FBF is made, as well as the inequalities they aim to counter. Thus my study is at its foundation already rooted in a political-economic reading of the social situation, while offsetting potentially deterministic understandings by focusing on and maintaining an understanding of human agency within the context of a prevailing political or economic environment.

These concerns are embedded in existing South African scholarship. Erlmann's (1991; 1996; 1999) analysis of the use of music to advance the concerns of social classes implements an inherently Gramscian perspective of

class hegemony and the role of intellectuals (Gramsci 2006). As discussed above, McNeill and James's (2008) work on the use of music in HIV and AIDS education in Venda considers both the political and economic underpinnings of the epidemic and the musical responses to it, following up on James's (2002) article that describes how the funding of HIV programmes and the demand for their sustainability have spawned the peer educator movement, with all its complex advantages and disadvantages. Louise Meintjes also considers the role that globalisation and capitalist forces play in the music industry in South Africa (1990; 2003). The anthropological scholarship of Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff in South Africa also elucidates the political and economic utility and context of ethnicity (2009) and ritual (1993), within a perspective of how millennial capitalism manifests in South Africa (2000).

Inequality in South Africa can also be read in terms of place, with displacement occurring historically when power was exercised to control the movement of people, their claim to valuable lands and resources, and their availability for the labour market. However, it is vitally important to consider the implications of place and displacement as they are connected with narratives about race and ethnicity, particularly significant in apartheid-era philosophies about which parts of the land belonged to which people, and where those people, consequently, should live. These narratives and philosophies have had an enormous influence on the shape and experience of inequality today, as forced relocations and the establishment of "homelands" during apartheid has resulted in the geographical concentration of poverty, unemployment, and poor access to public services in particular communities. High rates of labour migration long established due to the discovery of gold and other natural resources and the development of new urban centres in the wake of industrialisation continue to affect the geographical demography of inequality in new ways, particularly as people move toward urban centres in search of work in the formal or informal sectors. Nonetheless, discussions of displacement must not deemphasise the scope for agency that people had even within forced relocation, let alone within labour migration and urbanisation trends. Despite these cautions, there is a great deal of value in viewing the connections between music and place in the context of socioeconomically marginalised people.

Angela Impey's study of music in the western Maputaland borderlands of KwaZulu-Natal (2002; 2006; 2007) considers the connection of music and memory in mapping the histories and experiences of displaced people. She also considers the potential agency that such documentation projects may offer, as people reflect through memory on their contemporary circumstances. This approach embraces the facilitation that music offers to come to terms with the fractures of time and place. Impey's (2013a; 2013b) more recent research in South Sudan also explores the role of music in the peace and reconciliation processes in a post-conflict context, invoking its potential to articulate belonging, identity, and authority. As well, much so-called "traditional" music originates in displacement, migration, and reemplacement—the *isicathamiya* of the men's hostels, the *ngoma* dance used to settle territorial disputes, and the *makwaya* of the mission station, uniting European hymnody with African call and response styles of singing. That these were often part of the anti-apartheid movement endows them with an additional layer of significance as resistant. Scholarship on music and displacement offers helpful perspectives on the potential active role of music to perform, critique, or resist the geographical dimensions of the experience of inequality.

Applied scholarship

Applied research is significant for this study, for two reasons: first, the topic deals with people within an organisation who have an intentionally instrumental view of music and aim to use it to change society; and second, with this research, I hope to provide helpful observations and analysis that may assist the FBF in evaluating and refining its approaches. In fact, the ethnomusicological predilection for scholarship that has practical impact has a long history. Hugh Tracey's book *Ngoma: An Introduction to Music for Southern Africans* (1948) had an interventionist goal, albeit one expressed in somewhat veiled terms. He classifies himself a southern African and aligns himself with the black southern Africans of whose music he writes: "As soon as we have found a way of writing and analyzing our music... Europeans will cease to teach us only foreign music in the schools" (1948, 2). Authors such as Erlmann have since gone on to point out the overly simplistic picture created by Tracey's binary between African and

European music; indeed Kofi Agawu (1992, 254) expresses some discomfort with the alignment between some of Tracey's language and that of the apartheid movement. However, Tracey (1954, 34–5) appears to have been motivated by a preservationist mindset that viewed syncretic musical forms as erosion rather than innovation, and his rationale for this seems to arise out of high regard for the important role that music plays in many African cultures.

Other scholars of South African music have had similar intent for the application of their scholarship, whether this be philosophical or practical. John Blacking's writing tends to emphasise the philosophical bases for evaluating Venda (and other non-European) musics on a par with European music. Indeed, the pith of his argument in *How Musical is Man?* is that musical ability is equally vital and present across humanity, to the point that he speculates that it is a biological inheritance specific to the human species (1974, 7). At a practical level, his views led him to use his position at the university for subversive anti-apartheid lectures and to support racial diversity among its faculty members, which actions contributed to his arrest and virtual expulsion from South Africa (Campbell 2000, 342). At the level of the discipline, his research conclusions caused him to insist that the divisions between studies that focused on "Western art music" and those that focused on "ethnic music" were arbitrary and ethnocentric. In fact, he viewed such distinctions as having the potential to position music negatively as either "a diversion for elites" or "a weapon of class exploitation" (Blacking 1974, 3–4). Additionally, Reily notes that he viewed the Venda people whose music and culture he studied as having "messianic" potential in terms of the priorities of their society (2006, 6). In the context of high apartheid, his observations of Venda society evidence an aspiration for his scholarship to identify social structures and values that would improve upon the current situation. He writes:

The Venda are by no means a thoroughly democratic society, but in many respects they are nearer this ideal than most Western societies. They appreciate the dependence of the individual on his society, and they have directed their energy towards the perpetuation of harmonious social relations by the cultural technique of ritualizing them in a way that is acceptable to, and easily acquired by, almost every member of their society. (Blacking 1964, 57)

This view of Venda culture as balancing the concerns of the individual and the community is significant to discussions about improving governance in post-apartheid South Africa, as well as to approaches to address inequality amongst South Africa's present population.

Similar philosophical orientations toward music have informed a burgeoning of interest in applied ethnomusicology, evidenced by the recent publication of *Applied Ethnomusicology: Historical and Contemporary Approaches* (Harrison, Mackinley, and Pettan 2010). Harrison and Pettan take their definition of applied ethnomusicology from the ICTM study group on applied ethnomusicology, articulating it as “the approach guided by principles of social responsibility, which extends the usual academic goal of broadening and deepening knowledge and understanding toward solving concrete problems and toward working both inside and beyond typical academic contexts” (1). This definition indicates applied ethnomusicology's move beyond documentation projects, which have often been considered to be in the public interest, and were common to the ethnomusicological method of many pioneers in the field (Sheehy 1992, 325). A large proportion of applied ethnomusicology, in fact, does concern itself with documentation, dissemination, repatriation, and the ethical concerns of ownership and copyright associated with this kind of work (Seeger 1992). It is the orientation of these concerns with issues of fairness and the wellbeing of research participants that generates their predisposition toward action.

The ICTM study group's concept of applied ethnomusicology points toward scholarship that is conscious of the implications of its research processes and concerned with greater practical or material outcomes for the research community. These are often connected with advocacy for or intervention in research communities themselves, frequently extending beyond non-musical realms. Two researchers who employ approaches particularly relevant to this thesis are Angela Impey and Kathleen van Buren, both introduced above. Their studies employ participatory approaches to research that connect music and advocacy in the areas of displacement, post-conflict nation-building, or health. The work of Greg Barz (2006) on HIV and AIDS in Uganda, as well as that documented in *The Culture of AIDS in Africa* (Barz and Cohen 2011), has strong applied dimensions, as music disseminates prevention messaging, conveys hope,

facilitates coping and mourning, and advocates for people living with HIV and AIDS. My own prior research (Whittaker 2014) has corroborated the utility of music in these concerns, although I made a conscious decision not to become personally involved in applied work at that time, feeling that such initiatives were best initiated, led, and supported by the people affected by these issues, who understood them much better than I could hope to at that point.

Samuel Araújo's (2006) participatory action research in the Maré district of Rio de Janeiro embraces not only the applied goal of social inclusion through musical activity as an alternative to violence, but also implements a collaborative research methodology, empowering the research community to develop the skills and capacity to assess and redefine their own society. The edited volume, *Music and Conflict* (O'Connell and Castelo-Branco 2010), connects with issues addressed above on this topic, and includes several chapters on applied ethnomusicology in situations of displacement, war, and conflict. Muriel Swijghuisen Reigersberg (2010) connects ethnomusicology and the practice of culture-centered music therapy as described by Brynjulf Stige (2002), bringing these disciplines together in her research with an Australian aboriginal community coping with the widespread ill effects of displacement and forcible removal. There are many resonances between these applied studies and this thesis, and between their goals and my own goal of contributing not only to academic knowledge about the role of music in South African social development work, but also to the practical concerns and strategies involved in this work.

Musical contexts—community music and brass band histories

FBF members bring their musical understandings and milieus with them to rehearsals, and an understanding of these may help determine whether the FBF makes effective use of these resources. In the case of the FBF, an understanding of the general musical context of South Africa as well as the history of brass bands in the country is needed. However, enumerating the musics with which the South African young people involved in the FBF are familiar is a challenging prospect for several reasons. First, the FBF operates bands in every province, and there are any number of local traditions in these communities, which may or may not be shared by members of bands in other

provinces. Second, South African young people are as attuned to global popular music through radio and the internet as young people elsewhere, and I found that many of the Top 40 songs on South African radio stations were also playing in Canada and in the UK. Third, high levels of musical change and social disruption have continued since the end of apartheid, with continued high levels of migration, mortality, and unrest in underprivileged communities. Thus, it would not be possible to generalise the sorts of musical practices that exist in various regions without extensive local research.

This matter of musical change is foundational to an ethnomusicological understanding of the musical context of South African communities. As the norms within the discipline of ethnomusicology have shifted from synchronic studies of musical practices perceived as “traditional” toward diachronic studies that explore the exchanges and flows that result in fluid and changing musical practices, so too more recent studies of South African music have explored rapid changes in musical practices over the past century. Early work in southern Africa focused on collection and documentation of musical cultures that were valued because they were thought to have existed before contact with Europeans. Song, dance, and “traditional” instruments such as musical bows, drums, and reed-flutes featured in these analyses, such as those by Kirby (1934) and Tracey (as mentioned above), who sought to catalogue and document these so-called “native” practices. Blacking sought reflections of social structure in his study of Venda *tshikona* and children’s songs, but departed from the premise of documentation purely for the sake of preservation, viewing all musical practices as rooted in a morally neutral social change (1995, 157), arguing that they must be viewed as having a socially adaptive function, whether at individual or group levels (171).

Several new genres have emerged directly as a result of profound levels of population mobility. The arrival of European missionaries in South Africa from the seventeenth century profoundly changed the social and musical lives of local people. Jorritsma (2008, 69) notes that in the eastern Cape, many of the Dutch colonists required their Khoisan workers to attend family prayer services, and so psalms and revivalist tunes became part of their repertoire. As Coplan (2008) discusses, violin, guitar and concertina all became popular in local communities

and quickly became conceptualised as “traditional instruments,” adapted to local song forms and resulting in new genres of dance, song, and oral poetry. For example, he notes, these new instruments now accompanied Xhosa praise poetry and Zulu men’s walking-and-courting songs (2008, 335–6). Vocal music also changed, influenced by European Christian hymnody. This resulted in the genre of *makwaya*, with close harmonies often polyphonically embellishing a bass ostinato (337), as well as newly-composed hymns such as Ntsikana’s “*Ulo Tixo Mkulu*,” later republished by mission choirmaster John Knox Bokwe, which Coplan characterises as “Protestant hymnody with the stateliness of Xhosa harmony, melody and rhythm” (337). Important *makwaya* compositions such as “*iLand Act*” and “*Nkosi Sikelel’ iAfrika*,” the latter of which today constitutes the first segment of post-apartheid South Africa’s national anthem, spoke to emerging issues at the time in a new choral idiom that Erlmann (1999) identifies as being particularly emblematic of the aspiring mission-school educated black middle class. Maskanda, Muller writes, was the direct result of association with the Afrikaans-speaking farm owners where Zulu men worked, with the idioms of musical bow performance translated to the guitar (2004, 133–4).

Additionally, travelling American minstrel and choral troupes, arriving from the 1860s with spirituals, close-harmony quartet singing, what were then known as “coon” songs, and later, ragtime, inspired new musical traditions, from Orpheus McAdoo’s Virginia Jubilee Singers of the late nineteenth century (Erlmann 1991) to the *klopse* carnival troupes of Western Cape (Bruinders 2009). With the discovery of gold in Johannesburg and diamonds in Kimberly, these adapted traditions and new genres eventually merged in the hostels of mining compounds and the shebeens of surrounding urban townships, where European and American prospectors also imported their own musical styles. Sotho *sefela*, long, musical, poetic narratives, were written on the long walks to the mines at Kimberley (Coplan 1994). James (1999) explores the Sotho and Pedi genre of *kiba*, which emerged in the apartheid-era “homeland” of Lebowa, and came to represent in the mining camps a rural tradition embedded with particular kind of dignity and resistance to perceived urban immoralities. Muller (2004, 119) notes two particular performance cultures that emerged from the Zulu migrants to the mines: *isicathamiya* and gumboot. *Isicathamiya*, the soft-

stepping, predominantly male vocal genre made most famous by Ladysmith Black Mambazo, emerged in the male hostels as a means of entertainment and diversion for the mine labourers, later developing into the exuberant and athletic gumboot dance style. Mining companies often encouraged and sponsored competitions between *isicathamiya* or gumboot troupes, as they saw these as a socially productive diversion from alcohol and card games.

The mines and shebeens were also the place where South African jazz and popular music developed from the genres of marabi, *mbaqanga* and *simanjemanje*. Ballantine (1991) identifies brass bands as central to the development of these traditions. Indeed, for the purposes of this thesis, the place of brass bands in South Africa's musical and social history is particularly relevant. British missionaries introduced brass bands in mission stations, and German missionaries, who frequently ventured into more rural areas, introduced brass bands to their congregations, both groups thinking that bands would "encourage 'civilisation' and social discipline as well as attract new converts" (Coplan 1985, 82). By the close of the nineteenth century, brass bands were established at mission stations in every province of South Africa, with particular interest in regions where Khoi reed-flutes had become important parts of musical culture. Coplan writes that Pedi and Tswana people in particular viewed the European brass instruments as "attractive and superior modern replacements of their reeds and drums" (82).

Ranger (1975, 12) observes that in Victorian Britain, brass bands were seen as particularly effective ways of organising and disciplining youth in the slums, leading to the development of musical "armies" and "brigades" for youth; certainly these ideas accompanied the missionaries to South Africa. His description of missionaries in Zanzibar plausibly applies equally to the South African context: "The rhythm of hymns and of European band music was thought to be an excellent way of introducing the freed slave children to the necessities of industrial time. For the missionaries, European music represented a world of order in contrast to the inexplicable monotonies and sudden passions of African drumming; musical ability was taken as a sign, a promise of potential for civilization" (13). As well, in Victorian England brass bands were frequently sponsored by companies who feared that the rise of unstructured "leisure" time

would encourage social unrest amongst the working class, and so subsidised loans for instruments so that their workers would have “constructive” diversions (Herbert and Sarkissian 1997, 167). Capitalising on the lack of standardised tuning, brass band manufacturers marketed complete sets of tuned instruments to English bands; in this way, the brass instruments that had been replaced frequently ended up in overseas bands (167), where they might be employed “as a gentle palliative for working-class people immersed in an equally ‘primitive’ culture” (175).

The British military also introduced brass bands to South Africa, with the brass and fife-and-drum bands arriving during the second Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902). A Native Military Corps comprising African players was soon set up (Coplan 2008, 342), and a South African police band was established by 1897 (Herbert and Sarkissian 1997, 170). In the 1880s, uniform-wearing bands in the Transvaal were sponsored by traditional chiefs (Ballantine 1991, 138). The Salvation Army was also another important influence, accompanying British troops with practical and spiritual assistance as early as the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879 and the Anglo-Boer War in 1880. By the second Anglo-Boer War in 1899, they had access to all military camps in South Africa (Garipey 2009, 138). They were soon playing at the mines for Sunday services in Transvaal, and provided instruments and basic training for South Africans, who soon formed their own bands (Coplan 1979, 137).

Modikwe’s Brass Band marked a new model. Its leader had training in the Salvation Army Native Band in Johannesburg and, “after three years of annoying church restrictions on drinking and smoking, he took advantage of the new market for his musical skills” and returned home to Rustenberg in 1911 to set up his own band (Coplan 1985, 84). Recruiting Tswana and Northern Sotho players, they performed European and African songs from notational charts and by ear, incorporating African polyphonic harmonies and syncopated rhythms (84). Ballantine (1991, 139) notes that the assimilation of these different styles also indicated the appropriation of the idiom for different ideological ends, which included marching bands that raised funds for local *stokvels* (savings associations) or earned a living performing in shebeens. In shebeens and mining compounds, brass band adaptations ultimately provided the basis for marabi,

which formed the basis of a South African jazz idiom that is predominant today.

Ballantine writes:

Surrounded by myriad other musics—styles forged by migrant workers; traditional styles transplanted from the countryside to the mines; petty bourgeois choral song; music of the church and of western-classical provenance—jazz and vaudeville quickly established themselves as the music which represented and articulated the hopes and aspirations of the most deeply urbanised sectors of the African working class. (1991, 121)

Brass band traditions in the Cape Flats have also come to stand for values and aspirations of particular population groups. Sylvia Bruinders (2009; 2013) writes of the Christmas Band Movement, originating with Christmas Choirs in the 1850s. The movement today comprises approximately eighty Christian wind and string bands. These are voluntary organisations with strong community and family associations, linked in practice to military, Salvation Army, and church bands, incorporating pseudo-military style uniforms and emphasising strict deportment. Bruinders argues persuasively that through the activities of Christmas Bands, the politically, economically, socially, and culturally marginalised class of Coloured people “constitute themselves as respectable members of society through disciplinary routines, uniform dress, and military gestures” (2009, 70). She identifies the bands as emerging also out of the Temperance movement in the late nineteenth century, where the middle classes saw the plentifully-available wine and brandy as the demise of the working classes, who had few recreational opportunities and thus turned to pubs for entertainment and respite from harsh living and working conditions (76). Members of the Christmas bands are usually from these lower or working classes, but aspire to upward mobility. Bruinders demonstrates that membership in the bands is a way of achieving and displaying respectability. Youth brought up within the bands also learn certain businesslike skills, such as how to chair meetings, perform treasurer or secretarial duties, speak publicly, and write up and deliver reports (78). They show respect by wearing their blazers and by shaking hands with other band members when they meet. The bands demonstrate the value they place on young people by assigning them the responsibility of taking care of the band’s instruments, as well as by allowing the youngest “voorlopers,” the young drum majors who usually walk third in line

behind the senior and junior voorlopers, to lead the band in the visits to their own homes (80).

These are but a few of the musical contexts amidst which the FBF works in local communities, to say nothing of R&B, gospel, and hip-hop music, nor music and dance offshoots such as kwaito and pantsula. I have not discussed the influences of southeast Asia on the music of the western Cape that accompanied the Indonesian and Malay slaves brought by the Dutch colonists. Nor have I discussed any of the musics of the large South Asian community in KwaZulu-Natal, the descendants of indentured sugar plantation workers, mainly from India, who subsequently formed a middle class of tradespeople and merchants, and who both participate in some of the above-mentioned musical traditions (in Durban, particularly jazz), as well as having their own thriving, syncretic musical traditions and diasporic connections with Indian music. In fact, experimentation with the instruments and melodic and rhythmic characteristics of other South African cultures has been a characteristic of the late- and post-apartheid South Africa “crossover” genre (Allen 2004b).

Finally, in terms of brass bands, while these do not exist in some communities, in others, such as Rustenberg and Bochum, where Coplan and Ballantine note their early prominence, they do—even offering competition to the FBF. The tutors I spoke with in Bochum-Senwabaranwa mentioned local bands that are paid to perform for community events. Occasionally, they remarked, the FBF would lose band members to these alternative bands, but they would frequently return because the performance standard was higher and the sense of community stronger in the FBF, even though any funds raised through FBF performances are generally deposited to with national office rather than paid out to individuals (field notes, 4 November 2012). The moralities and “upstandingness” associated within musical traditions, such in *kiba*, as discussed by James, *makwaya*, as discussed by Erlmann, and Christmas bands, as discussed by Bruinders, are invoked in FBF adoption of the brass band format. Additionally, the global tradition of linking brass bands with social initiatives and voluntary associations, performing a community-building role, and providing personal skill development opportunities (Herbert 2013; Sakakeeny 2013;

Bruinders 2013), is continued and expanded with the FBF's practice, as will be shown in this thesis.

Music is prolific in South African communities, and while it would not be possible to generalise about the sorts of sounds and aesthetics that youth in different regions draw upon in their FBF practice without substantial local ethnographic work, it would be fair to say that a wealth of melodies, rhythms, timbres, dances, and lyrics inhabit their consciousnesses, drawn from genres that are built upon centuries of musical encounter between cultural traditions—predominantly African, European, and American.

Methodology

Fieldwork

This research adopted the main methodology of the discipline of ethnomusicology, fieldwork. I anticipated at the outset of research that the core participants in this research project would be groups and individuals using music as a tool in activism that seeks to improve health and wellbeing within their local communities. I spent approximately the first eight weeks of fieldwork making contacts, meeting potential research participants, and negotiating the research project with them. I discussed my research goals and approaches with a number of such groups, keeping in mind the priorities of participatory action research, although my relatively open-ended but already-established research questions pre-defined somewhat the scope of participation and research. Several of my pre-established contacts in South Africa proved useful resources in identifying participants and providing perspectives on the groups I encountered.

Through this process, I determined a number of potential projects or participants, identifying those with a geographic location, focus, and scope of activity in line with my research questions. I considered the benefits of comparative or multi-sited research versus the disadvantages of divided time, focus, and perhaps perceived divided loyalties. I also considered the intensity of various programmes' activities. Ultimately, by mid-June, it was evident that the eagerness of the Field Band Foundation to participate in my research, the strength and scope of their programme, and the alignment of their work with my research interests, made them a compelling research partner. This selection

process enabled me to examine the FBF's work in depth, while being aware of the context of music outreach programmes in South Africa.

Fieldwork was also a time of immersing myself in the daily life and culture of South Africa. Although I had spent six weeks in Durban for my MA research, I had left feeling somewhat like a better-acquainted stranger. The nine months I spent in 2012 allowed me to strengthen old friendships, establish new ones, follow current events around the country closely, understand the joys and challenges of my friends and colleagues, and, importantly, bask in the vibrant music scene. A selection of these diverse events included: the regular Wednesday evening jazz concerts at UKZN's Centre for Jazz and Popular music; concerts by the KZN Philharmonic Orchestra at the Durban Playhouse, City Hall and Mariannahill Monastery; jazz and popular music concerts at the BAT Centre and Durban's Botanic Gardens; performances at Durban's Jazzy Rainbow club and Pinetown's more famous Rainbow Lounge; an all-day *ngoma* competition in neighbouring Lamontville; an all-night *isicathamiya* festival at the Durban Playhouse; the Cape Town International Jazz Festival and the Ugu Jazz Festival; the Grahamstown Arts Festival and the Hilton Arts Festival; musical theatre at the Barnyard Theatre in Durban; the Jomba Dance Festival in Durban; and UKZN student concerts of African "traditional" music, jazz, and classical music. Additionally, I experienced music in the context of religious and civic celebrations, including the Diakonia Good Friday march in Durban, the worship services and celebrations of a variety of primarily Lutheran church congregations, and Freedom Day celebrations in Stanger. I had the opportunity to hear internationally known South African artists, such as Hugh Masekela, Sibongile Khumalo, and Johnny Clegg, and others that are celebrated at the national level but perhaps known less well abroad, such as Lira and Zamajobe. I also heard scores of South African jazz musicians in performance, recommended or introduced to me by my friend Thulile Zama, whose all-female contemporary jazz group Heels Over Head I heard in concert many times: a small sampling of other jazz musicians I had the opportunity to hear included Lex Futshane, Herbie Tsoela, Nduduzo Makhathini, the Brubeck brothers, Neil Gonsalves, Melvin Peters, Afrika Mkhize, and Melanie Scholtz.

I also had the opportunity to volunteer at the South Africa Jazz Education society's conference at the University of Cape Town in March. This afforded me the opportunity to meet and converse with several scholars and musicians, as well as a serendipitous opportunity to spend several hours with Sathima Bea Benjamin, former wife of one of South Africa's most internationally famous jazz musicians, Abdullah Ibrahim (formerly Dollar Brand). I had been asked to provide Sathima transport from home to conference and back, and she spent several hours recounting her life experiences to me, which included the couple's long association with Duke Ellington and their time in the jazz scene in New York City. It was particularly poignant when I heard in August 2013 that she had just passed away. I felt lucky to have the opportunity to meet her and hear firsthand some of her stories, which have been captured in depth by Carol Muller (2011). Becoming acquainted with the breadth and depth of South Africa's music scene, as well as its global connections, has helped me to understand the work of the Field Band Foundation in musical context.

Language study

South Africa has eleven official languages, and many more unofficial dialects. A great many people speak more than one language fluently, and many have competency in several languages. English is predominant as a *lingua franca*, and most of the people I met during my time in South Africa were able to converse quite fluently in English. In Durban, Zulu is also very prominent, and my time there during my first visit in 2009 provided me with some very basic greetings and expressions of courtesy, as well as an idea of the phonetics of Zulu language. Ethnomusicologists often work with interpreters to compensate for the shortcomings of learning language at a later time in life, often "on the fly." Interpreters may also assist as liaisons and experts in local customs and practicalities (Beaudry 2008, 232). However, it is also standard practice to learn the language of one's research participants. Language acquisition assists in understanding the nuances of lyrics and words for relevant musical or social concepts.

I took a beginner's course in Zulu and, upon being unable to find a second level course, took another beginner's level course from another teacher to

reinforce what I had learned and expand my vocabulary. I acquired a basic level of fluency and understanding of the structure of the language and essential vocabulary over the course of the year. Learning Zulu allowed me to communicate to some extent with Zulu speakers in their own language, provided opportunities to seek out Zulu speakers for practice and advice in speaking, but moreover, demonstrated my commitment to fully understanding Zulu culture to those amongst whom I lived. Most importantly, it allowed me to more fully understand the interpenetration of cultural values and epistemologies with language. This level of understanding of Zulu also provided a linguistic bridge to the closely-related language of Xhosa. Spending a week in Grahamstown at the National Arts Festival, I was pleased to find I could communicate in Zulu with some Xhosa speaking workers and performers, particularly children who spoke little English. Ultimately, I would like to be much more fluent in Zulu, but this basic competency gained me a great deal of goodwill, indicated by delighted grins and occasional expressions of surprise and praise for my attempts. As well, it alerted me to some very interesting cultural observations, several of which form important key concepts in this thesis. Where I have relied upon an in-depth understanding of particular Zulu words or lyrics, I have consulted Zulu speakers; and with the song "*Ubuhle bendoda*" that provides two important framing metaphors in this thesis, I have verified my interpretation with Zulu-speaking friends Ntsiko Mhlongo and Thulile Zama, as well as my Zulu teacher, Noleen Turner. I have thus aimed to guard against misinterpretations, but any misrepresentations of these lyrics are consequently my own.

Participant observation

Participant observation is a hallmark of ethnographic research, and a significant aspect of my fieldwork methodology. In fact, ethnomusicology often depends upon "truly participatory participant-observation," since musical learning is frequently gained through firsthand performance and practice of the music being studied (Shelemay 2006, 143). Learning music alongside FBF band members, which I detail in chapter four, was an important part of learning about the FBF's pedagogical processes and repertoire, as well as the experiences of the members from their perspective. Across the country, I observed many

rehearsals, visiting eleven different bands in five provinces. It was necessary to consider the effects of my participation on activities as I determined where to act along the continuum between participant and observer. My presence did not pass unnoticed, though at times it was not acknowledged, and sometimes I felt it distracted from the regular work of the FBF, particularly in regions I visited only once. With tutors and members noting the video camera I had with me, rehearsals sometimes became a special occasion or a performance to showcase the band's accomplishments. Thus, the regular participation in the KZN region band afforded me the opportunity to understand the usual flow of rehearsals.

I attended the Field Band Foundation national championships in Johannesburg in the glaring October sun, and watched the performances from the grandstand or the sidelines, filming many of the performances. I also attended a breakfast where the FBF board and senior leadership welcomed the VIPs in attendance, who included donors and other friends of the FBF, and I observed two of the head office staff running voluntary HIV testing and counselling throughout the day, in white tents set up to one side of the performance field.

I spent a significant amount of time at the Field Band Academy (FBA), observing lessons, activities, rehearsals, and performances. As well, I participated alongside FBA facilitators and directors as a member of the assessment committee for end of term examinations, which allowed me an inside view of what examiners prioritised and the ways the FBA students aimed to meet these expectations and articulated their achievement. I was asked in 2012 and again in 2014 to conduct a lesson with the facilitators-in-training (FiTs) about learning from observation, as observation of practical and theoretical lessons taught by senior staff was one of the learning methods employed in developing the FiTs.

Ultimately the goal of participant observation is not simply to collect information, but rather to forge relationships and experience music firsthand (Titon 2008, 25–6). I realised on the second day of my return visit in 2014 that this had indeed happened: driving through Soweto to the Dobsonville rehearsal, pulling into a dusty schoolyard, watching the members unload the instruments from the van, chatting with the tutors, and hearing the sections rehearse, I felt a

sense of familiarity, regularity, and “homecoming” that surprised me with its strength; and the warmth I received in reunions with former interviewees suggested the mutuality of the experience.

Although my fieldwork in regional bands was extremely instructive, there were limitations to the participant observation I undertook there. Detailed ethnographic research in each of these regions would be extremely valuable for understanding the full impact of the work of the FBF in local communities. Musical traditions vary between communities, as mentioned above, and local politics, economies, ecologies, and histories result in unique community profiles with unique challenges. Because I had based myself in Durban, and had rented a flat there for the duration of my major fieldwork in 2012, my budget was constrained in terms of spending lengthy periods of time in numerous communities. The visits to regional bands allowed me some insights into local issues, challenges, goals, and successes, but much more in-depth work would be needed at local levels to fully understand the impact of the FBF in local communities. Because I had exceptional access to leaders based in Durban and at the Field Band Academy, I chose to focus my study on the perspectives of leaders and long-term members who were ascendant in the organisation.

I also attended rehearsals at the KZN region on a fairly regular basis; however, the timing of my discovery of the FBF coincided with a number of school holidays, during which rehearsals were suspended. My mastery of Zulu, which was the primary language in use during rehearsals, increased over the course of my time there, but was not sufficient for a truly immersive experience, particularly early in my research. A comprehensive analysis of the FBF, which would facilitate a thorough assessment of their success, would require much more local research and mastery of local languages.

Additionally, my own interests and background drove my research in the direction of the business and organisational processes of the FBF. Before returning to postgraduate studies in ethnomusicology, I worked full-time for thirteen years in business settings, where I was frequently involved in organisational planning and project coordination. I had undertaken work-sponsored studies in organisational behaviour and human resource development, and when I discovered the FBF, with its very businesslike model

and established track record, I was keen to understand the way this model influenced the organisation's work and what outcomes were achieved. I therefore chose to invest my resources primarily in the study of the FBF's leadership and organisation, with the primary goal of developing a political-economic interpretation of its work. It is important to clarify, however, that many of these leaders—presently tutors or band coordinators—are previously FBF members, and their perspectives also represent member viewpoints; indeed, there are several tensions between tutor perspectives and the perspectives of board members or national office staff members. Thus, while necessarily partial, I trust this analysis will provide depth that may contextualise valuable ethnographic study at local levels, should I, other researchers, or the FBF itself have the opportunity to undertake future research.

I recorded my observations about these activities in field notes. These facilitated my memory and provided a means of intentional reflection about events and my role in them. This allowed me to take a step back from my direct observations and consider how my own prior experiences, beliefs, and biases may be affecting my experiences and perceptions (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 16). It was important, but also unexpectedly difficult, to build adequate time for field notes into my schedule, as these, along with interview transcriptions and audiovisual records, provided the data for analysis upon which this thesis is based. The conception of field notes as inhabiting “a position straddling the ranges of both field research action and ethnographic production” (Barz 2008, 210) also rings true. My experience has been that field notes are not merely benign records of data, but rather that the process of writing them was formative of ways of perceiving and theorising research.

Writing and reviewing field notes allowed me some opportunity to refine my research questions over the course of my fieldwork and to reflect upon what I was choosing (intentionally or unintentionally) to overlook or put aside, but in fact, what proved most helpful in this regard was keeping a private online journal, which I shared with half a dozen trusted close friends and colleagues. While at times they commented, in fact the exercise of writing out some of my thoughts, questions, and challenges, knowing that someone else was going to read my reflections, provided me with a great deal of clarity and direction in my

work. Ultimately, as I immersed myself deeply in analysis of my fieldwork materials afterward, during the course of writing this thesis, I recognised many potentially fruitful additional aspects that could be valuably researched, but my initial and follow-up fieldwork with the FBF has provided a deep knowledge of the organisation and its work that will allow me to pursue these research questions in future.

Semi-structured interviews

Following another standard technique of ethnomusicological research, I completed thirty-eight semi-structured interviews with forty-four people affiliated with the FBF, and several with other willing people who had insights that related to my research. These included the FBF's CEO and the deputy chairman of the board of governors; band coordinators, tutors, and social officers at individual bands around South Africa; individual band members, particularly in Durban region bands where I was able to attend regularly; the heads of social development and regional programme officers at the FBF's national office in Johannesburg; directors, facilitators, consultants at the FBA, and five students of the 2012 graduating class. A detailed list of interviewees and dates can be found in appendix C.

The strategy behind semi-structured interviews was to approach a topic with some questions prepared, but to allow the conversation to develop as the interviewee expressed particular interesting points of view. Interviews were simultaneously opportunities for building relationships and collecting data, and for the purposes of the latter, were recorded and transcribed. I hoped to follow Myers's suggestion (1992, 37) to transcribe interviews early on in order to be alert to weaknesses in my interview methods to improve my interview skills over the course of the research period, and thus gather deeper and more interesting information. However, although I would occasionally listen to pieces of interviews to verify what I thought someone had told me, I had neither the time nor the psychological distance to transcribe while in South Africa. As Kvale and Brinkmann observe, the "process of knowing" gained from interviews is an intersubjective one, and knowledge is co-constructed between interviewee and interviewer (2008, 18). My field notes and online journal allowed me to

reflexively engage with interview material and be able to monitor the point of origin of emerging themes, and help me to ensure that the concerns of research participants were adequately directing the research.

Kvale's phenomenologically based understanding of the interview process also demonstrates that a power asymmetry exists by default in interviews, where the researcher's academic training and research agenda determines the grounds for a uni-directional discussion. The researcher may use strategic interview techniques or indirection as a means of understanding the interviewee's precise meaning, and the researcher also has a monopoly on interpretation (33). Transparency was thus essential to establishing trust between my main research participants and myself, particularly in interview settings. Moreover, returning to research participants whenever possible to verify my understandings with them also proved enormously useful, not only to ensuring I have understood and represented their positions well, but also to counterbalancing the power asymmetries of research. It was for this reason, along with my desire to feed the results of my research back to leaders of the FBF to aid them in their future planning, that my return trip in 2014 was a priority.

Analysing discourse

At a certain point it became clear to me that what people perceived and said about the role of music in the FBF and about the work of the FBF itself revealed a great deal about the ways that rationales and assessments are culturally and politically situated. Thus, an important focus of this thesis is the discourse within the FBF about success, music, and inequality: in fact, due to my focus on leadership perspectives, in many ways the analysis of discourse about the work of the FBF is prioritised in this thesis. This is triangulated with the observations I drew from participant observation and analysis of the FBF's official literature where possible. I view this discourse as the foundation of the FBF's own theory about its work, and thus, in my analysis, I employ it as a sort of grounded theory in counterpoint with other theoretical perspectives from secondary literature. Grounded theory is a method of theory generation that aims to correct often positivist, external impositions of theory upon the field of study by a systematic analysis of qualitatively generated information (Glaser and

Strauss 1999; Thomas and James 2006; Charmaz and Mitchell 2001), and its use in ethnomusicology has generally been in adapted rather than strict form (Stone 2008, 7).

Similarly, narrative analysis foregrounds the views of research participants by analysing the narratives that they tell about themselves and their society, highlighting the perceptions and strategies that individuals and groups employ in relating to broader social contexts. In South Africa, storytelling itself has a long history and a prominent place within all of the cultures within its political borders (Chapman 1998, 94), and the issues of whose story is told, and which become the official versions, are paramount to the creation of the New South Africa, as demonstrated particularly through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearings on apartheid-era violence (85). Although originally intended as an analysis of written narrative text, one may extend narrative analysis to anything that might be deemed a text that tells a story: the words of an individual; the development of a paradigm that is represented in these words; the development and changes within the structure of a culture or society itself; a musical work (both with and without lyrics); and the place and meaning of a musical work in a social context. This thesis prioritises the analysis of narrative in all these scenarios; this includes a sort of narrative analysis of one particular song, "*Ubuhle bendoda*," which is a favourite within the FBF's repertoire, and which indicates important ways of thinking about the relationship of social and material life in South Africa.

Narrative is embedded within the methodology of ethnomusicological research. Titon writes, "The new fieldwork leads us to ask what it is like for a person (ourselves included) to make and to know music as a lived experience" (2008, 25). The episteme of music is bounded by this lived experience, which may be perceived of and related as a narrative. This phenomenological approach and narrative may therefore be united, as Deborah Wong self-consciously demonstrates in her reflection upon performative ethnography. She demonstrates that some of the benefits of a narrative ethnography of performance include its ability to "enact the ways that performance itself is a social change agent" and to attend "to the subjectivities engaged and probably transformed through performance" (Wong 2008, 77–8).

Another rich source of data that contributes to the discourse within the FBF about its work is organisational documentation. I collected manuals, surveys, survey data, board reports, strategic plans, impact assessments, press releases, and website data from the organisation, all willingly offered by FBF leadership. Additionally, I collected several reports and references to literature consulted by those involved in strategic planning activities of the FBF. These lend critical insight to the rationale, goals, and theories about success within the organisation. Thus, narrative analysis and grounded theory come together to play an important role in my exploration of discourses of wellbeing and success.

Audiovisual recordings and documentary film

Recordings have been a mainstay of ethnomusicological research since its inception, collected for the purpose of analysis, comparison, and archiving dying traditions (Cooley and Barz 2008, 8). My still camera, video camera, and Zoom recorder were constant companions during this research, as with most ethnomusicologists. The purposes of collecting audiovisual recordings are manifold. They are a means of documentation, to which I have frequently returned for more detailed analysis after the event, and as such constitute primarily research footage (Barbash and Taylor 1997, 77). However, they also allowed me access to events, as some research participants welcomed the documentation of their activities, for which they may not always have the resources themselves. It allowed me on several particular occasions to provide a valued service by recording and editing footage, providing research participants with copies to be used for their own purposes.

Finally, I was pleased to receive funding that allowed me to upgrade my entry-level consumer video camera to an HD SLR camera, as well as to hire ad hoc assistants, with the intention of collecting footage for the eventual production of a short documentary film. The purpose of this film will be to represent the music of my research more richly in academic presentations and teaching contexts: musical performance, after all, is a multisensory experience. Audiovisual recordings also provided additional context to the written word and often convey things that the written word cannot. I have already had the opportunity to pass video footage and photographs on to the FBF, as well as to make some

short promotional clips for them. I hope to devote time to producing a film in postdoctoral work, and this will also be given to the Field Band Foundation for any use they may make of it for their own purposes.

Longitudinal research, surveys, and focus groups

It is ultimately desirable that there be a longitudinal aspect to research into the efficacy of music in initiatives promoting positive social change. Although I spent seven months in 2012 working with the FBF, in addition to a month of follow-up in 2014, this is in fact a short term within which to gauge any assessments of success or effect on societal change. I aimed to access some of this information by probing people's own perceptions and memories, and made an effort to speak with long-term organisers and participants in the programme. There was also some comparative information available via institutional surveys (not only censuses, but also statistics gathered by the FBF), which provide some data against which to compare the social conditions of the constituency with whom my research participants work, as compared with South African society more broadly.

It is true, however, that the social inequalities that my research participants are trying to address will likely take generations to shift, supported as they are by long histories of institutional entrenchment and current trajectories of growing economic disparity. What I can hope to assess are perceptions of progress or regress, or perhaps levels of hope, optimism, or other aspects of subjective wellbeing. I will engage more deeply with the literature on music and wellbeing, including some of the measurement and assessment methodologies, in chapters five and six, but will note here that I adapted certain survey methodologies for my purposes (Clift et al. 2010; Moore 2006), to add a comparative element to my analysis which may appear quantitative; however, this methodology was primarily conceived of as an additional dimension or lens through which to focus on the information I had gathered qualitatively through participant observation and semi-structured interviews. I developed a very simple survey tool for use with a series of focus groups comprising fifteen volunteers from the Field Band Academy that aimed to explore the longitudinal impact of the FBF on wellbeing, as well as to allow me to view trends from a

comparative angle—all this will be discussed in detail in chapter six. Ultimately I chose to employ such comparative methods only where I felt they could open doors to different perspectives that I would then explore ethnographically. In my view, qualitative research allows the greatest potential for comprehending and representing the complexities of musical activism and advocacy in South Africa; quantitative methods, divorced from qualitative methods, only oversimplify or objectify such efforts.

Thesis structure

This thesis is structured in two parts, connected by a single flow of logic: analysis of South Africa's neoliberal economy begs important questions about the path to freedom and equality; these are analysed in terms of the goals of the development organisations to build the capacities needed within South Africa's citizens to bring about freedom and equality; and analysis of the ways in which a development organisation conceptualises and assesses its success may then be queried in terms of whether they result in increased wellbeing and gains toward freedom and equality. This thesis examines the FBF as a case study at each of these logical steps. The analytical framework is thus not primarily focused on musical function, but it provides the basis for understanding the role of music in a development context. It seeks to provide a political economic understanding of music development work in order to comprehend the goals and success of a music outreach programme.

My primary attention is to political economic analysis because this is work that has not yet been undertaken in such depth within the body of scholarship on music development programmes, and because, as noted above, I intend that this theorisation will lay the foundation for future ethnographic work by myself and others. As the FBF is large in terms of geographical reach and number of participants, I have chosen to focus on the perspectives of FBA students, who are long-term FBF participants, and leaders at all levels. Research over a longer timeframe, at local levels, and with participants of varying degrees of commitment to the organisation would be required in order to offer a comprehensive assessment of the FBF's success. I will offer some preliminary observations, but rather intend to focus on developing a way to position such

future evaluation, with political-economic analysis of South African society as the centre from which analysis of goals, impact, and methodologies radiates.

The two parts of the thesis are each structured as one chapter that introduces a particular theoretical framework followed by two chapters that ethnographically explore the work of the FBF within this framework. Part one specifically examines the intersection of political economy and music development work. Chapter two discusses political histories in South Africa to explain the factors that have led to profound socioeconomic inequality. It also explores South Africa's civil society in this context, locating the FBF as a particular type of NGO that engages in work both necessitated by and facilitated by the current political context, both national and global. Chapter three explores the operations of the FBF as an organisation, identifying the ways in which its funding, governance, and management intersect with political ideologies and norms, as well as certain significant divergences. Chapter four details the educational programme of the FBF, attending to both practical skills and "soft skills" or "life skills" that it aims to foster through musical practice and formal instruction.

Part two of the thesis brings notions of wellbeing and capabilities into the context of the FBF's work, as part of its current or potential impact on South Africa's political economy. Chapter five introduces economic and development theory into the discussion, exploring competing definitions of wellbeing and the negative impact of inequality on wellbeing. It analyses the approaches of arts and health organisations generally, and sets out the framework I have developed to analyse the FBF's contribution to the wellbeing of its participants. Chapter six explores the life experiences of five FBF tutors in order to present possible trajectories of youth involved in the organisation. This is followed by an analysis of information gathered through the focus groups I conducted with FBA students, examining five dimensions of wellbeing along the longitudinal timeline of their involvement in the FBF. Chapter seven examines notions of success from the perspectives of various FBF stakeholders, analysing success as a discourse linked to political economy. I conclude by summarising the overall argument of the thesis, pointing toward possible future applications of this research both within and outside the FBF, and identifying additional research imperatives.

**PART ONE:
POLITICAL ECONOMY AND MUSIC DEVELOPMENT**

Chapter Two

Neoliberalism, inequality, and NGOs in South Africa

Rising numbers of students writing anthropology dissertations, it seems, are heading out to “the field” in search of not an intriguing culture or a promising village but of an interesting NGO. But if such anthropological engagements are to be fruitful, it will be necessary to devote some critical scrutiny to the common-sense mapping of political and social space that the state-civil society opposition takes for granted.

—(Ferguson 2006, 90)

This chapter sets out the theoretical framework within which the work of the Field Band Foundation, and its status as a nongovernmental, non-profit organisation, will be analysed, particularly with regards to its political economic context. James Ferguson’s writing on Africa’s relationship to neoliberalism provided a starting framework for much of my thinking as I began to analyse the FBF’s work, along with insights from Aihwa Ong about neoliberalism and citizenship, and from Nicholas Carah about analytical positions toward music and neoliberalism. Several scholars inform my understanding of the South African transformation, the period since the first democratic, non-racial elections in 1994, and the political shifts that have occurred during this time. Primary among these is Adam Habib, whose analysis of political and economic ideology, policy, and outcomes is grounded within a framework that recognises both structure and agency, locating the particular social positions that enable and constrain political actors (Habib 2013, 27). Habib’s mapping of this political space, per Ferguson’s observation above, has been critical in helping me situate the work of the Field Band Foundation in South Africa, and the fact that his analysis is current, inclusive of developments into 2013, has also been indispensable in moving beyond work on neoliberalism that was written prior to global shifts in economic policy and practice in the wake of the global recession in 2008.

As I discuss the position of the NGO in its political and economic environment, I wish to note the challenge in the above passage, attending to the spatialisation of civil society and government. I will observe that the work of the Field Band Foundation (FBF) is best understood not as occupying a space within a vertical conceptualisation of the relation between the state and the people, but

that the “topographies of power” in play are best conceptualised as pragmatic and transnational. The social space of civic society, in which it is located, is strategically linked to both state and business; this both shapes and limits the type of work it does. I go on to apply observations from primarily anthropological writing on neoliberalism, investigating its relation to NGOs in particular, and attending to the ways neoliberalism has unfolded in South Africa. Although I recognise that there has been a policy shift to the left since Jacob Zuma wrested leadership of the ANC from Thabo Mbeki at the party’s leadership conference in Polokwane in 2007, it is vital to note that any neo-Keynesian impetus is still embedded within a global capitalism that has not simply vaporised since the 2008 recession, and the impact of neoliberal policy, which drove South Africa’s political economy from 1994 to 2008, is still profoundly experienced today. Moreover, there are a number of barriers within government to the implementation of progressive policy in South Africa, such as rampant corruption and the commitment of a substantial number of bureaucrats and technocrats to neoliberal approaches (Habib 2013, 104). I will argue that there is an immense synergy between this political economic environment and the emergence of the FBF, found in both the neoliberal logics of its formative years and in its progressive mandate to counteract the poverty and social disruption that were created under apartheid and exacerbated under neoliberalism. In the process, I identify the anxieties about moralities that are invoked by such discussions, and the challenges these present to a representative ethnographic account of humanitarian work.

Although I will discuss these in greater depth below, I provide here a working definition for Keynesian and neoliberal policy. The former has generally been articulated in opposition to the latter, as Keynesian approaches (after British economist John Maynard Keynes) advocate for state intervention in markets and society, whereas neoliberal approaches (beginning with von Hayek and Friedman) assert the primary importance of private property and a competitive market free from state intervention (Harvey 2007, 20–1). Echoing the relevance of Keynes’s perspectives to the environment in which they achieved prominence, the Great Depression of the 1930s, his ideas have received renewed attention in the wake of the 2008 global recession, when governments

around the world employed interventionist policies of bailouts and economic stimulus. This has also provided the environment in which calls from high-profile economists such as Joseph Stiglitz (2007; 2012) and Amartya Sen (1999) might be heard, as they critiqued the inequality that proceeds from unmitigated neoliberal policy. Nonetheless, the relationship between the approaches remains agonistic and plural, with neo-Keynesian interventionist policy frequently met by critique and calls for economic austerity from neoliberal camps (Peck, Theodore, and Brenner 2010).

The post-apartheid political economy in South Africa

To understand the factors that are responsible for inequality and poverty in South Africa, it is essential to examine the current political and economic policy in South Africa and their history—both within the nation and situated within broader regional and global contexts. In 1910, following the two Anglo-Boer Wars, the British provinces and self-declared Boer republics in the geographic area comprising the contemporary Republic of South Africa were brought together as the Union of South Africa. By this time, mining was already transforming the economy from a largely agricultural one into an industrial one; and as the racial policies of the colonial regime were solidified into apartheid policy, institutionalised after the election of the National Party in 1948, the effects of liberalisation combined with those of discrimination “not only ensured high inequality in terms of who got what in the short-term, but also shaped the growth path of the economy such that high inequality continued over time” (Natrass and Seekings 2010, 2). The changes in the structure of the economy also “destroyed the African peasantry, organised the labour market for the benefit of a small number of privileged ‘insiders’, and undermined employment growth” (2). Thus, when apartheid officially ended with the first non-racial, democratic elections in 1994, the Government of National Unity, led by the African National Congress (ANC), inherited a dire scenario: the most unequal society in the world in terms of income equality (Habib and Padayachee 2000, 247); a shrinking economy that had only ever served the interests of a small minority and a number of international corporations; a shortage of skills suitable for an industrial economy amongst the vast majority due to Bantu education

policies; a stunted domestic market due to the low disposable income of this majority; and an overreliance on the mining and resource sector, which left the country both vulnerable to mining companies' demands and uncompetitive in other sectors (Habib 2013, 76). To say nothing of the challenges of righting a political system that had severely restricted the rights of the majority of its population for generations, the economic challenges were enormous.

Faced with these challenges, many expected that the new governing party would pursue the broadly redistributive economic agenda that it had campaigned on. Indeed, the proposals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) set out an important role for the state in intervening in markets to meet economic goals. However, almost immediately the ANC-led government implemented policy that pursued a market economy (Habib and Padayachee 2000, 247–51). This was particularly surprising as the leaders of the African National Congress (ANC) were a politically diverse group, but many had come from union movements or spent time in the then Soviet Union or in communist camps in Zimbabwe studying principles of socialism and communism. These principles, however conflicted, had underpinned the RDP platform upon which the ANC, formally allied with COSATU (the Council of South African Trade Unions) and the SACP (South African Communist Party), ran and won the election.

Ferguson locates the shift to neoliberalism in the democratisation of the African continent concurrent with South Africa's democratisation. The success of the antiapartheid movement, he demonstrates, became rhetorically linked by the notion of democracy itself to restructured political and economic regimes and the logics of structural adjustment that accompanied democratisation elsewhere in Africa. He notes that this required the "creative suppression of some significant contradictions—how else could the ANC's often radically socialist liberation struggle serve as a banner for IMF-style market liberalization?" (Ferguson 2006, 91). The advent of neoliberalism was marked by the introduction of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy in 1996, by Thabo Mbeki, Nelson Mandela's deputy president and later the president of South Africa. Examining the discursive modes of a series of public speeches Mbeki delivered from 1997-98, Ferguson suggests that Mbeki

combined the celebration of the achievement of democracy with advocacy of neoliberal “free market” economic policy. He argues that this shift was not merely about availing a newly freed people of economic freedom, but observes that in the context of democratisation throughout Africa and the former Soviet Union, democracy had come to equal civil society and the withdrawal of the state from the social sphere (90).

Neoliberal policy did not emerge from a vacuum. The balance of power in the final years of apartheid had leaned toward neoliberalism, as the National Party struggled to cope with the economic repercussions of global boycotts. The negotiated political settlement between the National Party and anti-apartheid movement thus also looked toward market solutions, and as such the ANC-led government’s earliest economic policy already had a neoliberal character, which reached its peak in GEAR (Habib and Padayachee 2000, 253–4). The balance of power between the ANC-led government and both private and domestic investors weighed heavily toward the investors. The integration of production processes around the world, following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent legitimisation of market approaches, had led to unprecedented globalisation and the need for South Africa to enter global markets in order to sustain current investments and develop new economic sectors (Habib 2013, 27). The “rise to hegemony of market ideology” is one of the primary factors that Habib and Padayachee (2000, 253) identify as contributing to the shift. With new markets emerging for capital investment, the threat of capital flight from South Africa was very real, and the levels of domestic investment envisaged by the GEAR strategy were very high. Corporate investors, therefore, had a great deal of direct and indirect influence on policy choices.

This radically changed the discourse and trajectory of socioeconomic restructuring, the conflation of freedom and free markets was most responsible for this. The effects of this were far-reaching. As Makhulu writes:

These new values left little room for discussion of substantive citizenship and socioeconomic rights, matters more directly connected to a sense of historical entitlement that decolonization rather than democratization might have encompassed.... [E]mancipation had been emptied of content, and without control over basic material resources ordinary citizens, recently enfranchised, could only imagine the full scope of freedom’s possibilities. (Makhulu 2010, 132)

South Africa's greatest challenge since the end of apartheid has consequently been inequality, as poverty and inequality actually increased during Nelson Mandela's term in government (Habib 2013, 81). Ferguson suggests that the neoliberal discourse of free markets and individual freedom merged with ANC discourse on social justice and government accountability, and that Mbeki linked inequality with human rights in his discussion of economics (Ferguson 2006, 136). Thus emerged Mbeki's "African renaissance" discourse, which "retained the dream of reviving Africa from a legacy of servitude, colonialism and dependency but reversed the strategy. It was one of open engagement with world markets and it fit within the metanarrative of a globalising world. This had resonance with the African leadership because it could be marketed in the post-Cold War world (Griggs 2003, 75). By these logics, neoliberalism "imposed itself as a technology of governance over and above ideology, as the most efficient, rational and pragmatic means of finding solutions to problems" (Hilgers 2012, 85).

In this context, notable gaps in social service developed. As HIV and AIDS ravaged the nation, health care became a pressing issue, embroiled not only in questions of economies of scale and the monopoly of American companies on antiretroviral drugs, but also in ideologically-based dabbling in the theory of AIDS-dissenters. Meanwhile, the health care gap widened as millions of South Africans died of AIDS-related illnesses (Nattrass 2007; Susser 2009; Thornton 2008). Gaps in the provision of basic education, already highly unequal due to the history of apartheid-era Bantu Education policies, also grew, which I will explore in depth in chapter three as context for the educational component of the FBF's work. GEAR advocated privatisation, deregulation, fiscal restraint, and the elimination or scaling down of social services, all of which worked against levels of social expenditure that had been high in comparison to other countries (Habib and Padayachee 2000, 253). One of the few programmes actually introduced to address the basic issue of homelessness and inadequate housing, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was outsourced to private stakeholders and completely dissolved by 1999 (Makhulu 2010, 133).

More recent signs indicate a shift to the left, away from the neoliberal agenda. Habib argues that the support that Zuma received from the Congress of

South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South African Communist Party (SACP) in his 2007 ascent to the leadership of the ANC, and subsequently the nation, has enhanced the voice and role of the political left in South Africa's economic policy. This shift began, however, during Thabo Mbeki's second term as president (2004-2009), when the number of service delivery protests began to rise sharply, elevating the risk of social and labour instability and causing a reassessment of the balance of power between votes and capital (Habib 2013, 84). Consequently, in Mbeki's second term, social expenditure increased significantly. The state began to intervene more in matters of black economic empowerment (BEE), infrastructure development, and the correction of market failures (88-9). Mbeki's revised stance came too late to prevent the disillusionment of left-leaning supporters, and Jacob Zuma subsequently facilitated a coup of the ANC leadership as the SACP, COSATU, the ANC Youth League, and a number of BEE entrepreneurs, nationalists and socialists threw their support behind him (95).

Twenty years past democracy, disillusionment has set in, compounded now by the attitude of entitlement discerned in the actions of political leadership at the highest levels, a topic which was rife during my return visit to South Africa in the weeks leading up to the 2014 re-election of Jacob Zuma. The election highlighted popular discontent with such attitude, with many supportive of Public Prosecutor Thulisile Madonsela's investigation of Zuma's expenditure of R246 million⁴ of public funds on his personal residence in rural Nkandla. However, as I chatted with taxi drivers, friends, and acquaintances, I also heard over and over the popular perception that there is no viable political alternative to the ANC. Consequently, many people I have encountered in South Africa wonder how it is possible more progress has not been made and wonder how progress is even possible. Certainly the role of NGOs is worthy of exploration in this regard, for while the government has been unable or unwilling to invest in strategies and programmes that address inequality, they have relied on business and NGOs—funded both by businesses' corporate social responsibility funding

⁴ Over GBP £14 million or CAD \$26 million.

and international funders, rather than national coffers—to step into the humanitarian gaps. I will return to this below.

The political economy of arts and culture policy

It is also worth noting the relationship of the broader political economy with arts and culture policy. Not only is South Africa's arts and culture policy relevant to the work of music outreach, education, or development work, it also reflects the shifts in broader political values and priorities. In the years directly following the 1994 elections, the new government saw arts and culture as an important priority. Soon after taking office, they created a Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, with a threefold mission to “realize the full potential of arts, culture, science and technology in social and economic development, nurture creativity and innovation, and promote the diverse heritage of our nation” (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996). In 1996, the department published the White Paper on Arts, Culture, and Heritage.

This document sets out arts and culture as an arena in which equality of expression must be guaranteed, mandating change for the nation's institutions in order to accommodate this new vision. Framed as a “fledgling cultural policy” for a nation on the verge of a “cultural renaissance,” the White Paper presents “access to, participation in, and enjoyment of the arts, cultural expression, and the preservation of one's heritage” as “basic human rights, rather than luxuries” (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996, n.p.). It is worth observing that “cultural renaissance” was a notion championed by Thabo Mbeki, who promoted an “African renaissance” through the reassertion of African cultural values. Many have argued that this vision was fraught with inconsistencies and lack of clarity, particularly about the degree to which it was inclusive, and seemed to be as much about asserting a South African leadership or influence over the continent as about reshaping the structure of South African society (Bond 2000; Bongmba 2004; Carmody 2012). It emphasised cultural expression as a sign of the reassertion of cultural values, which had implications for the potential role of South African music (Byerly 1998; Coplan 2001; Ramanna 2005, 251–2).

In this context, chapter three of the White Paper sets out several key operational principles to guide arts and culture planning, funding, and monitoring: arts and culture organisations should be arms' length, not directly under government influence, and should promote human rights, freedom of expression, access, equity, redress, nation building, multilingualism, diversity, autonomy, participation, accountability, transparency, conservation, achievement, innovation, co-operation, exchange, security, and sustainability (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology 1996, n.p.). As is evident from this list, although the potential of employment and wealth creation is an important element of the White Paper, and their integration into socioeconomic development suggested through notions of equity, redress, and sustainability, a greater emphasis is placed on the potential of arts to contribute to processes of reconciliation and nation-building.

In March 2012, I began to see a new slogan at cultural events sponsored by the national Department of Arts and Culture: "Mzansi⁵ Golden Economy." Digging further, I discovered that this was the name of the department's new strategy, which draws upon the ethos of the 1996 White Paper by opening with the words, "Our culture and heritage are key to nation building and social cohesion, and these are the ingredients for creating a climate of social stability and economic growth" (Department of Arts and Culture 2012a). A press release for a strategy launch event read, "[T]he department believes that the South African arts, culture and heritage sector is our 'new gold'. We believe that the sector had the potential to lead economic growth and job creation. Thus we referred to the sector (and the new strategic approach thereof) as 'Mzansi Golden Economy'" (Department of Arts and Culture 2012b). Intriguingly, this invokes parallels with the wealth of natural resources (especially gold) and the history of resource extraction in South Africa, implying that arts and culture are similarly resources to be discovered, developed, exploited, and exported.

The new strategy is based upon a review of the White Paper, which began in 2005, but steers arts and culture in a new, explicitly economised direction. The

⁵ "Mzansi" is a Zulu or Xhosa word, literally meaning "the south," which has been broadly adopted across South Africa's population groups as an affectionate sobriquet for their nation.



Figure 4. Signage for Mzansi Golden Economy at the Cape Town International Jazz Festival, 30 March 2012

strategy also echoes the global shifts from resource-based to knowledge-based economies, and the advancement of notions of cultural industries and the creative economy globally (Florida 2005; Florida, Mellander, and Stolarick 2010; Hesmondhalgh 2007; Levickaitè 2012; McGuigan 2009; Peters 2010). The Department of Arts and Culture defines “Mzansi Golden Economy” on its website as follows: “Mzansi Golden Economy (MGE) is a strategy to reposition the cultural industries in South Africa. The MGE strategy opens up the arts, culture and heritage sector to effectively and comprehensively contribute to economic growth and job creation” (Department of Arts and Culture 2013). Then-minister of the department of arts and culture (DAC), Paul Mashatile, seemed to reflect a particular aspirational orientation when he wrote that cultural and creative industries are “one of the main drivers of economic growth and job creation in our country,” and that they have “the potential to be a leading sector in generating economic growth, employment and trade as is the case in many advanced economies” (Department of Arts and Culture 2012a, 1).

Mzansi Golden Economy was developed to articulate the implementation of South Africa’s New Growth Path, the economic development plan set out in 2012. Habib sees evidence of a leftward policy shift in the New Growth Path, as it focuses on interventions that will increase employment and improve the

livelihoods of the nation's poorest (2013, 98). Certainly, the terms of Mzansi Golden Economy fit precisely into this framework, as the heavy emphasis on the commodification of arts and culture is evident in the outcomes that are sought, and the increased supply of arts and culture practitioners envisioned in the creation of jobs within the arts and culture industry seems to depend upon a high and ever-increasing demand for arts and culture consumption. Additionally, emphasis on economic value as a justification for investment in arts and culture is noteworthy. The work of the FBF, and other arts and culture NGOs that proliferate throughout South Africa, must therefore be seen in the policy context that could be characterised as a forthright, unapologetic bid to harness the economic potential of arts and culture—a sort of “neoliberalism with a human face” (Habib 2013, 88) that aims to draw the marginalised into the domain of markets, supply, and demand.

Anthropological debates about neoliberalism

Heretofore I have considered the largely economic dimension of neoliberalism as an economic policy, along with some of its economic outcomes in South Africa. In this section, I examine predominantly anthropological literature on neoliberalism, determining its relevance to society, including issues and notions such as wellbeing, success, equality, and poverty. In addition to debates about the non-specificity of the term's use (Clarke 2008; Ferguson 2010; Jessop 2013; Peck and Theodore 2012), anthropological literature is filled with complaints about the inattention to the scales of neoliberalism, attributing local circumstances to global influences by virtue of their apparent similarity (for example, Gershon 2011, 541; Hilgers 2012, 80). Thus, it is critical to begin this discussion by attending to what is encompassed by the term neoliberalism in a social sense, and by describing its relationship to the work of the FBF.

I take as my basis David Harvey's oft-cited definition of neoliberalism as “a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices” (2007, 2). Thus, the

emphases of governance are frequently distilled to deregulation, privatisation, and withdrawal of the state from areas of social provision. Harvey notes the speed with which post-apartheid South Africa embraced neoliberalism, and also observes that many of neoliberalism's advocates are highly influential people. Subsequently, he perceives the hegemony (in Gramscian terms) of neoliberalism as a mode of discourse, writing, "It has pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (18). As noted above, scholars of South Africa generally agree that this hegemony played a strong role in the implementation of neoliberal policy in the country's early transition period.

As well, a distinction should be observed between theoretical and practical neoliberalism, where the former is a macroeconomic doctrine mostly generated by economists. The latter includes the policy and action that proceed from this literature, including broad application of a mandate of efficiency and competition to all levels and segments of society (Ferguson 2010, 170–1; Harvey 2007, 19; Hilgers 2012, 80–1). Aihwa Ong's contribution to the anthropology of neoliberalism is to explore its application in contexts outside its regions of origination in the first-world centres of power. It is generally held that neoliberalism privileges individualism in the pursuit of economic self-interest, ultimately "making every citizen an agent of his or her own destiny" (Ong 2006, 1–2). The reasoning for adoption of neoliberal modes of governance is advanced both in terms of economic efficiency and ethical self-responsibility (11). Thus, neoliberalism has reconfigured the relations between the governing and the governed, power and knowledge, and sovereignty and territoriality. Most critical to the analytical framework for the work of the FBF is the new relationship between power and knowledge, through which "governing activities are recast as nonpolitical and nonideological problems that need technical solutions." This rationalisation of governance into modes of self-governing is presented as a way of "optimising" the investment of the state (2).

Ong notes that this optimisation is manifested through "technologies of subjectivity" that encourage citizens to govern themselves efficiently by making the best, most efficient, and most competitive choices. Vitaly, these technologies advocate "adherence to health regimes, acquisition of skills, development of

entrepreneurial ventures, and techniques of self-engineering and capital accumulation” (6). Researchers with interest in public health link these logics to the economisation of health and wellbeing, with an incumbent shift of responsibility to the individual for his or her own health, laying blame at the level of individual behaviour and missing the context underpinning individual choices that lead to ill health (Parkinson and White 2013, 180–1). Ong points out that neoliberalisation also invokes notions of exception, where certain political decisions or modes of governance ultimately exclude segments of the population or geographical areas from political and economic participation. It is worthwhile considering that in the case of South Africa, the conditions of socioeconomic inequality are seemingly self-perpetuating, and continue to bar the economically marginalised access to the means of self-development, improved living conditions, and states of wellbeing. It is this particular framing of the challenges of socioeconomic inequality that positions the FBF as an efficient, common-sense social intervention, as I will argue in this thesis.

However, the common-sensical cast of self-perpetuation of poverty in fact obscures continuities in practices of exclusion. While “non-white races” were excluded from full economic participation under colonialism and apartheid, South Africa’s economy today continues to depend on a cheap labour pool, low wages, and levels of social investment that do not make undue demands on the taxpayer. This can be seen in the share of workers’ wages as a proportion of the GDP, which has declined sharply in the post-apartheid period, from 57% in 1985 to 50% in 2010 (Habib 2013, 119). South Africa’s tax burden is borne by a very small demographic, and the ANC-led government’s priority on foreign investment over social spending led to tax incentives for large, often multinational, corporations, thus insulating them from meaningful, broad investment in South Africa. The logic behind this, of course, was that job creation would flow from economic investment, reducing levels of unemployment and raising standards of living; however, the reality was catastrophic in terms of rising inequality, poverty and unemployment (Habib 2013, 108). The metaphor of “international capital flows” itself, Ferguson suggests, is a misnomer, for capital does not “flow” like a river from one location to another, watering the land in its path en route. Rather, capital hops from centres of economic power to

centres of economic opportunity, often bypassing those who lie between (2006, 41). Even as neoliberalism encourages a flow of capital that bypasses the less privileged, it also catalyses with the local. This creates further zones of exception and exclusion, particularly as populations governed by neoliberal technologies rely upon others who are excluded from its opportunities (Ong 2006, 3). This observation is offered in explanation of the variability in the conditions of neoliberalism in different regions of the world.

Finally, it is important to specify what distinguishes neoliberalism from liberalism. Ferguson writes that both aim to balance state and market, public and private, government and business. Neoliberalism, however, “puts governmental mechanisms developed in the private sphere to work within the state itself.” Thus, the state’s functions are contracted out or run on a cost-recovery basis. Meanwhile, “new constructions of ‘active’ and ‘responsible’ citizens and communities are deployed to produce governmental results that do not depend on direct state intervention. The “responsibilized” citizen comes to operate as a miniature firm, responding to incentives, rationally assessing risks, and prudently choosing from among different courses of action” (Ferguson 2010, 172). Ferguson also suggests considering whether “the new ‘arts of government’ developed within First World neoliberalism might take on new life in other contexts, in the process opening up new political possibilities” (173). Thus, as I consider the work of the FBF, an important question to which I will repeatedly return is whether it offers “new political possibilities” in its work, effectively reducing socioeconomic inequalities, or whether its political and economic context constrains such an outcome and limits its work to poverty alleviation. This question will be articulated in terms of the goals it sets and the ways it defines and determines its success.

NGOs and inequality in South Africa

NGOs are at the heart of much social development work in South Africa, proliferating in the interstices of uneven public provision. With respect to the HIV and AIDS epidemic in the country, Susser suggests that the political challenges of setting up a new, democratic government and the remnants of conflict left little political space for the government to focus on the rising

epidemic (2009, 80). In fact, the challenges of rebuilding the political foundation of the country left many other gaps as well, arguably for many reasons and with varying degrees of intentionality. As the early neoliberal policy of the South African government exacerbated many of these gaps, civil society has played an enormous role in addressing them over the last two decades, as in many African countries.

Under colonialism and apartheid, access to wealth, power, and the means of achieving these, was engineered through governance to be restricted to the prevailing colonial power, in the first instance, and the Afrikaans population, in the second. Consequently inequity was racialised in terms set by the “white” population, and the effects on the health and wellbeing of the “non-white” population groups have been notable. World Bank (2013) statistics indicate rising levels of inequality within the nation: although the 2009 statistics demonstrate a slight rolling back of the inequality gap, in 1993 the wealthiest 20% of the population held 64% of national income, increasing to 72% in 2006. Meanwhile, the proportion of national income held by the poorest 20% of the population has declined from 3.6% to 2.7% since the end of apartheid. Consequently, South Africa remained in the company of the ten most unequal nations in the world despite the changes in political regime.

There has been a great deal of research on the significance of income inequality and its relation to population health and general wellbeing. In many disciplines, scholars have tried to move away from purely philosophical notions about inequality, demonstrating its relevance to economic development, since economic decisions have the potential to greatly exacerbate inequality. Tools such as the GINI coefficient, by which South Africa consistently ranks amongst the five most unequal countries in the world,⁶ have been developed to demonstrate statistical correlations between inequality and low levels of wellbeing (see Appendix A). One stream of research focuses on the problems that income inequality presents for both social cohesion and economic growth, as argued by both the former chief economist of the IMF (Rajan 2010) and the

⁶ See the World Bank Databank at <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI>, accessed 9 July 2013.

former U.S. secretary of labour (Reich 2011). Joseph Stiglitz, former chief economist at the World Bank, argues that the effects of inequality are wholly detrimental to a society, leading to social instability as citizens challenge the gross unfairness bred by the current economic system (2012, 104–5), recognising that the gains of the wealthy come at the expense of the less wealthy (8). Another research stream examines links between health and inequality, demonstrating statistically better health outcomes in nations with higher levels of income equality. Wilkinson and Pickett (2006; 2010) argue that health and social problems are linked to high levels of income inequality because “where income differences are bigger, social distances are bigger and social stratification more important” (27). They argue that “the quality of social relations in a society is built on material foundations” (2010, 4).

Arguably, achieving greater levels of equality through economic growth and increased economic opportunity was the outcome that the South African government intended through the economic reforms of the past twenty years. However, it would seem that these policies have aimed to promote a route to equality through individual economic access, and as such, overall levels of equality have not improved, leaving many individuals behind while a new elite emerges (Bond 2011). The effects of this inequality are easily seen in the communities in which field bands have been established. Most of these communities were selected because of evidence of high levels of poverty, crime, teenage pregnancy, and drug and alcohol abuse (Neverdal 2010, 5), and 61% of the parents or carers of FBF members are unemployed (Field Band Foundation 2012b).

In Amartya Sen’s (1999) highly influential work on global economic development, he demonstrates that market freedom alone is insufficient for economic growth. Rather, he argues, there are five necessary interlinked “instrumental” freedoms that must be facilitated by governments: political freedoms, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantees, and protective security (1999, 38). These are complementary, he argues, and when one of these freedoms is compromised, the whole is negatively affected. He sifts through utilitarian and libertarian perspectives on social investment (58-74), arguing that neither the former’s emphasis on “wellbeing” (as measured by

levels of happiness), nor the latter's emphasis on the distribution of primary goods, are appropriate measures of the freedoms that people experience. He proposes instead that "the people's capability to choose the lives they have reason to value" (63) is the true measure of a successful political economy. Thus, unemployment deprives people of their capabilities (94), a more serious disadvantage than straightforward low income (131).

Therefore, NGOs that focus on strengthening the instrumental freedoms of those who least enjoy them may have very real impact on their wellbeing. While it is difficult to gauge how great the contribution of NGOs has been to reducing inequity in terms of how long-term or widespread their work is, certainly the impact on the particular groups of people or particular communities with whom they have worked has been significant. As such, their impact has been less than widespread compared with the enormous levels of need. In the area of education, great levels of inequality still exist regionally despite reform of basic education in South Africa. There is widespread social unrest about these inequalities, as evidenced by the public outcry in 2012 regarding the lack of textbooks at schools in the largely rural province of Mpumalanga, which became a great scandal for the Department of Education as evidence of the patchy and inadequate education for many learners in such regions. Additionally, access to the social welfare programmes provided by the state is uneven. In many communities, people lack the proper birth certificate or identity documents that are required to access social welfare funding. Thus, NGOs such as the FBF step into the gaps created by inadequacies of state provision, facilitating access to education and social assistance.

NGOs, civil society, and development

NGOs are thus an element of "civil society," in this case seen to function as a sort of surrogate "democracy" acting in the interest of "the people" who supposedly elected the government that now removes itself from basic areas of social provision (Ferguson 2006, 13). NGOs are often seen as more responsive to the local needs, and as such, more ideally positioned to act as agents of "development" than the state. As Habib observes, large elements of civil society

in South Africa were actually reborn with the unbanning of the ANC, having previously been repressed, banned, and marginalised (2013, 144).

Habib's mapping of civil society is central to my interpretation of the work of the FBF as a non-profit organisation. He identifies three blocs of civil society that emerged during the transition. The first is that in which the FBF is located, the formal NGO sector. The Non-Profit Organisations Act of 1997 officially recognised and set out governance for the sector, indicating state willingness to partner with NGOs in certain areas, such as policy development and service delivery, and providing state sanction through a set of benefits and allowances subject to business-like self-administration (148). The state was concerned about enabling the sustainability of these organisations, establishing national development organisations and reforming tax regulations to facilitate this (149). A second bloc of civil society emerged comprising "informal, survivalist community-based organisations, networks and associations," which responded to state failures, caring for people with HIV and AIDS, orphans, the aged, and those without enough to eat. The third category is social movements, who work specifically through networking to mobilise people around particular issues—the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) is the most well known and successful of these (151-3). Thus, Habib notes, there is plurality in South Africa's civil society, and each of these blocs has a distinct relationship with the state.

Contrasted with the community-based structures that are engaged adversarially with the state, and the survivalist structures that have no relation to the state (158), the formal NGO sector has a very powerful partnership with the state; or, alternatively, Habib observes, NGOs may take advantage of the legislative environment created by the state to partner with other stakeholders, such as the corporate sector, international private foundations, and the development arms of foreign governments (158). As I will discuss in more detail in chapter three, this is precisely the segment of civil society in which the FBF is located. I will explore its ambivalent stance toward the government, which suggests that the FBF cannot be perceived of as a grassroots organisation that opposes state policy. Indeed, the FBF invests a great deal of effort in relationships with the state at all levels.

Ferguson observes the danger of assuming that NGOs and other agents of civil society resist the “state above from below,” or that they are “grassroots” or “grounded” (2006, 93). He notes that NGOs often originate as much from “the putative ‘above’” as “the supposed ‘below’” (102), and that they work across and beyond the levels of governments in the countries in which they operate (103). This observation is key to understanding the efficacy and rationale of the FBF, which draws leaders, personnel, funding, and ideas from diverse socioeconomic classes, disciplines, vocations, and nationalities, as I will describe further on. Likewise, when considering civil society in Africa, Obadare cautions against the tendency to romanticise “Africa’s deeply embedded associational culture,” observing the ethical ambivalence of both “civil society” and the associations that comprise it. In particular, he notes, civil society can be particularly uncivil, particularly given the potential of government to capitalise on the moral utility of notions of civil society (Obadare 2005). This caution resonates with the South African state’s enthusiasm for encouraging the NGO sector.

Thus, rather than framing the work of the FBF as a story of resistance to former or current regimes of power that have bred inequity, it is important to observe the strategic ways in which the FBF accesses, deploys, and generates power. These must be seen not only within the current structures of power, fashioned under largely neoliberal policy over the previous two decades, within the civil society spaces that have emerged, but also in continuity with historical events, cultural practices, and discourses. Therefore, following this discussion of my theoretical framework, subsequent chapters will attempt to ethnographically explore the everyday practices that elicit the verticality or encompassment (Ferguson 2006, 112) both within and between civil society and the state that facilitates the FBF’s agenda—a very useful framework for understanding the extent of its achievements in bringing individuals from socioeconomic margins into active participation in a broader economic (and possibly political) sphere. While Ferguson proposes this perspective relative to the ways in which the state legitimises itself and its apparent position of authority over the population, I would argue it is equally important to see the ways that NGOs such as the FBF not only collaborate with the state in this pursuit, but also assert an alternative

(though perhaps not incompatible) encompassment, observing the politics and actualisation of spheres of “inclusion.”

I will note, as I conclude this section, Carol Greenhouse’s (2010) observation that individuals do not merely refuse the terms they are offered, but that they “withdraw” to another sphere (8). Considering the application of these ideas to the work of NGOs, I suggest that there are also actions in which they engage that could be characterised other than refusal or withdrawal, but rather as pragmatism. However, Greenhouse’s assertion that ethnographic inquiry provides the access point to forms of social life that constitute the limits of neoliberalism (or, arguably, any political system) is apt. To attend to the discrepancies between these “discursive templates” and everyday practice is to note the flexibility with which neoliberalism is instantiated in diverse settings (Ong 2006, 9).

A proliferation of NGOs involved in so-called “development” work has occurred in a variety of states around the globe during the large scale reengineering of political economies since the 1980s. As projects of “development” have unfolded in Africa, they have in fact been characterised by remarkable continuities in discourse, accompanied by notions of modernity and advancement. Ferguson explores the tropes of “modernity” embedded within development discourse, and suggests that it is not an analytical term “but a ‘native category’ shared by an enormously heterogeneous population of natives, at the center of a powerful discourse of identity” (2006, 177). He demonstrates that modernity, achieved through development, was characterised by nineteenth century liberals as an industrial economy, scientific technology, liberal democratic politics, nuclear families, and secular world views, with the assumption that poor countries would advance to prosperity through the adoption of these practices, once their “pre-modern” deficiencies were addressed. According to this narrative of development, through the passage of time, given the right conditions, poor people are bound to rise in economic status, and are thus on a trajectory of social evolution (178).

South Africa’s racialised inequalities have in recent years been rhetorically transformed into “development” problems, viewing the reasons for and solutions to this inequality as no longer underpinned by race but by lack of

skills and opportunities that permit full economic participation, thus depoliticising economic marginalisation. The authors of the 2003 *State of the Nation* warned that the government's economic policy would lead to a deracialisation of the privileged class, while leaving the marginalised class, predominantly comprised of African members, in stasis, or worse; unfortunately, this is exactly what has happened (Daniel, Habib, and Southall 2003, 20). Thus, members of a government now comprised of the formerly excluded class might turn the lens of self-critique upon the economically marginalised (Ferguson 2006, 116), urging them to take on the responsibility of equipping themselves for economic participation. Those in power can emphasise this without threatening their own position, having already risen to a place of power; rather, they become epitomes of middle class success.

Arguably, the presence of NGOs involved in this work allows the government to talk about the ideals and goals of education and to set progressive policies and curricula, but not require itself to follow through—as Patrick Bond (2004) memorably put it, to “talk left, walk right.” After all, why should the state pay for services that could be funded and delivered by non-state entities? In this way, NGOs may allow the government to sidestep both social investment and the creation of policy that facilitates greater equality, even as it sets the terms by which economic participation may be enabled or blocked. Government leaders can emphasise technical solutions for “uplifting” the poor without investing in them, introducing pro-poor policy, or lending NGOs financial support. Rather, NGOs within civil society are rendered legitimate by official endorsement—in some sense, akin to parastatal organisations.

Ong and Ferguson also note that in fact NGOs are less *nongovernmental* than their label would suggest, though they gain perceived legitimacy from assumptions that they have moved funding away from “mistrusted state bureaucracies and into... more ‘direct’ or ‘grassroots’ channels of implementation” (Ferguson 2006, 38). NGOs are actually better viewed as offering modes of alternate governance, engaging with the state at various levels and in various degrees of cooperation, and drawing upon international resources (both human and financial) that are often connected to powerful economic centres (101). More expediently yet, they can facilitate the development of a

citizenry that governs itself. Ong argues that NGOs operate within moral economies, “a web of unequal relationships of exchange” that are governed by notions of morality, or by the “ethics governing a particular vision of the good life” (Ong 2006, 198).

These concerns may be fruitfully considered within Ferguson’s line of questioning about naturalised associations of “grassroots” organisations, conceived of as working “from the ground,” aspiring to a hierarchical increase of status, working against the powers “from above” that keep people down. The challenge is to reconceptualise development work not in terms of hierarchy, so as to recognise other dimensions and trajectories of interaction—indeed of potential strategic agency—and to consider both state and non-state governmentality without making assumptions about “spatial reach, vertical height, or relation to ‘the local’” (Ferguson 2006, 111). This suggests an analysis that treats the interrelations of NGOs with governments, markets, individuals, and communities as contact zones and potential avenues of agency. He argues that the African aspiration toward “modernity” recognises the fact that that markets, prices, and wages are always human products, with human repercussions (81); and he provocatively suggests, “Africans may yet find ways to do what neither socialist nor capitalist states have managed: to create an economic order genuinely responsive to popular moral sensibilities” (82). Thus, moralities are brought to the foreground as demanding analytical exploration.

Moral premises and positions of neoliberalism

A discussion of the political economy of the work of the FBF, therefore, quickly moves into a territory where notions of values and morality abound, but it is evident that precise alignment between motivations, tactics, and ideologies is neither always clear nor predictable. This is a sensitive issue, and several times I have felt pressure in academic circles to take a position on the morality of the FBF enterprise. Nonetheless, the temptation to draw moral conclusions is something I have sincerely endeavoured to resist. This is not just an ethical imperative but also a pragmatic and intellectual one. Ferguson provocatively observes:

In my own disciplines of anthropology and African Studies, for instance, studies of state and development tend, with depressing predictability, to

conclude (in tones of righteous indignation) that the rich are benefiting and the poor are getting screwed.... This is not a surprising finding, of course... Yet this sort of work styles itself as “critique,” and imagines itself to be very political. But what if politics is really not about expressing indignation or denouncing the powerful? What if it is, instead, about getting what you want? Then we progressives must ask: what do we want? This is a quite different question (and a far more difficult question) than: what are we against? *What do we want?* (2010, 166–7, italics original)

Thus, I endeavour to uncover the best of what ethnographic knowledge has to offer—an understanding of the range of contested meanings within which the FBF works. These include the diversity and complexity of the resources (ideological, economic, and human) upon which it draws; and the past, current, and aspirant future social locations of its participants. I believe there is much more to be learned by trying to understand the multiplicity of angles from which the FBF approaches its goals than by trying to pigeonhole them into one particular ideology or paradigm.

I draw on critical theory, often formulated by scholars who identify with the political left, throughout this thesis. However, when critical theory is applied to a specific case, other kinds of values that may not align with the political left begin to emerge in dialogical relationship with critical discourse. I have found it difficult to navigate between these discourses, as I do not wish to tie my analysis to either political stream, but rather wish to be alert to the ways these discourses come into contact, even if the meeting place is only within my own project. I assume this politically agnostic position strategically, in order to identify a broader range of analytical tools that may help to understand the work of the FBF. I have also adopted an ethnographic ethical imperative to engage with FBF stakeholders collegially, noting where conflicts arise between words and observations, between stakeholders, and within stakeholder groups; but ultimately I aim to come alongside the organisation to hopefully reveal something new and helpful to stakeholders about the connections between its work and the political environment. After dozens of interviews and hundreds of hours spent with FBF stakeholders, I have no doubt that the goodwill within the organisation is bred of honest intentions to help make South Africa a better place for South Africans. Hopefully my work can assist with this.

The word neoliberalism is thus largely limited to the vocabulary of those who critique—social activists, leftist politicians, and academics. However, I agree with Collier’s (2012) assertion that a predetermined critical stance against neoliberalism ignores what is at stake in its articulations. He suggests that scholars take neoliberalism seriously by exploring the possibility that it is embraced because its conditions provide an “attractive political alternative” (2012, 195). Taking neoliberalism as a current political fact, it is important to observe the ways individuals and groups interact with the “actually existing” technologies of governance, how they articulate their position in society, and how they envision their future. Moreover, I am intrigued by Ferguson’s provocative suggestion that neoliberal modes of governance may not, in fact, be necessarily and inherently conservative, but that they might be put to progressive uses, rather than stimulating social inequality by default (Ferguson 2010, 173). It is important to consider, he argues, that while certain modes of governance may “borrow from the neoliberal bag of tricks” (174), there must be no *de facto* equation of “the hegemonic ‘neoliberal’ political-economic project... and specific ‘neoliberal’ techniques” (182). Thus, while I hope in the conclusion of this thesis to create a space in which to begin to envision ideal modes of activist engagement with the political economy, I do not begin with a premise that either the neoliberal or the social state is ideal, or conversely, fundamentally flawed; for in fact, the engagements of my research participants with both neoliberal and communitarian aspects of society demonstrate their remarkable capacity to make use of the breadth of its tenets and conditions.

One of anthropology’s original texts concerning political economy, Marcel Mauss’s *The Gift*, elucidates some of the background of the field’s reading of the intersection of economics and society. A gift, Mauss observes, contains within it an obligation both to give and to receive. Social contracts are established through exchange, and gifts, therefore, cannot be understood purely as capital. Economic exchange, he demonstrates through his comparative method, is at its base moral in all its current forms (Mauss 1954, 73). An economy, he argues, is not about money. It is about exchange and social contract (76). Applying these ideas to governance, Mauss draws the conclusion that the government is obliged to care for its citizens by virtue of the fact that they offer their time and labour to the

government throughout their productive years (67). As individuals enter into an economically productive relationship with broader society, they also render the state responsible to care for them in the event that they cease to be economically productive. There must be more care for the individual and the family, Mauss argues, but the individual must work (69). Thus the emphasis on increased levels of employment might be seen as rooted in human history, where governance and economy are predicated on notions of social contract.

Mauss's arguments concur in many ways with the common contemporary anthropological critique of neoliberalism, which states that the neoliberal stance reverses the logic of Mauss's arguments by asserting that individuals in an economically productive relationship with broader society render themselves self-sufficient. These individuals are not "citizen(s) with claims on the state," as Ong observes, but "self-enterprising citizen-subject(s)" (2006, 14). Prioritising the freedom of self-determination that this offers, the neoliberal viewpoint would assert that the individual then takes personal responsibility for him- or herself, limiting the state's ability to impose or assume a parental function. Social obligations also become discretionary, subject to the values of the individual.

At a time when "pure" neoliberalism is undergoing both theoretical and practical revisions, within a political and economic system that remains largely market-oriented, it is important to understand how these various debates, theories, and ideologies have been imbued with inherent moralities in the lived experience and the work of such organisations as the FBF. I aim to resist any interpretive step that suggests that any form of economic policy or governance has a sort of internal agency with which to "present itself" with a particular moral authority.

Researching neoliberalism

As an ethnographer, I struggle with my own political subjectivities when it comes to representing the work of my research participants. While I accept the academic responsibility to arrive at an interpretive moment, which requires making explicit the theoretical framework within which I make such interpretation, I struggle with the bald incongruities that sometimes arise between the interpretive frameworks and the ideologies of my research

participants. If I were to assume a position of critique towards the existing political economy, I risk misrecognising several things about my research participants: the current social conditions within which they operate; the beliefs that motivate their actions; the complex and conflicting views that any one person, or any self-identified “group” of people, hold. Thus, in using the word “neoliberal,” I refer to the political economic principles as set out by von Hayek and to the practical application and consequences of such policy reforms; but I hope to avoid any *a priori* moral assumptions that cling to the word.

In his insightful book on the role of experiential branding in music festivals in Australia, Nicholas Carah identifies the tension between two possible analytical perspectives in his case study—strategic and critical—an observation that bears enormous relevance to my interpretive stance. From the strategic perspective, he argues, he would consider the effectiveness of marketing and identify the ways in which it creates brand value. The critical perspective, on the other hand, would allow him to consider the commodification and commercialisation of social life (Carah 2010, xii). Ultimately he writes from both perspectives, but the outcome is that the observations he makes about the strategic serve to underscore his critique. He concludes, “From the moment the cultural and creative industries were identified by corporations and government policy makers as a source of economic growth and capital value, a new politics emerged centered around identity and culture” (Carah 2010, 174–5).

My analysis of the Field Band Foundation embraces Ferguson’s suggestion to critically examine the connection of the “neoliberal project” with actual or potentially increased levels of inequality, with the hops of capital to sites of power, and it also aims to imagine how the FBF strategically capitalises on both “neoliberal strategies” and the expansion of political possibilities for civil society in the pursuit of its goals. I aim to examine the work of the FBF keeping in mind both critique and advocacy in order to broaden the scope for understanding of the work of the FBF and of the role of music in social development work. I would like to consider “what we want” rather than simply “what we are against.” I endeavour to keep in mind the theoretical and political potential that may be gained, as Ferguson argues, by conceiving “grassroots” NGOs not as “local, communal, and authentic, but worldly, well connected, and

opportunistic.” He suggests that civil society may not resist “from below” but work “across,” resisting not the state per se, but transnational imbalances of power manifested in government, markets, and international agencies (2006, 107).

Thus, I am interested in interpreting the analytical space between the so-called left and right, at the site where political economy meets humanitarian work, staying attuned to the dangers and potentials of this contact zone. I intend to use the inspiring and profound work of critique to explore the inconsistencies between apparent pro-social language and outcomes, and I also intend to explore why the idea of freedom, as extended to personal and individual freedom within the marketplace, has particular salience for South Africans, and perhaps others engaged in work similar to that of the FBF. After all, it is not so much neoliberalism that matters, but the agency of the idea of neoliberalism. What do the tenets and logics of the neoliberal policies instantiated in South Africa throughout most of its transition period to date mean to those who live under its effects? My intention is to portray the “messy neoliberalism” of the FBF’s work, a portrayal that frames neoliberalism’s instantiations as local permutations within an international network and within shifting global political priorities for economic policy. Following Collier’s recommendation to neither denounce nor advocate for neoliberalism, but rather understand what is at stake in its articulation in South Africa (2012, 195) and within the work of the FBF, I believe this analysis will yield considerations that extend beyond this local organisation, the nation of South Africa, or the field of social development.

Finally, it is imperative to note that while I attempt to negotiate an analysis that is both strategic and critical, the object of my critique is not the FBF itself, nor its members, leaders, investors, or stakeholders. Rather, any critical observations are about the depoliticisation of poverty, the inability of certain policies to improve levels of equality, the seepage of notions into individual psyches that suggest that they are somehow entirely responsible for the predicament in which they find themselves due to their own lacks and shortcomings, that overcoming these requires merely strength of character, determination, an entrepreneurial spirit, and development of the skills and attitudes that the market wants. The partiality of purely technical and economic

portrayals creates a dangerously false hope. Hope is perhaps the FBF's most precious commodity, and the one that it can least afford to squander.

In summary, this chapter has explored political and economic developments in South Africa in order to set the scene for further inquiry into the FBF's goals, methodologies, and values. I have outlined the move towards neoliberalism that occurred in the late apartheid period, and discussed in depth the reasons that the ANC-led Government of National Unity adopted neoliberal policy. I have traced the effects of neoliberalism on South Africa's economy, ushered in by the implementation of GEAR in 1996, pointing to the rising inequalities that manifested through these policies. I noted that these policies resulted in skyrocketing unemployment levels, the rapid growth of a new (albeit now racially diverse) elite class, and the sharp reduction of unskilled labour positions. Combined with the epidemic of HIV and AIDS which was raging unchecked in many of the nation's poorest communities at that time, large-scale social and economic devastation resulted in growing numbers of low-income and impoverished people.

I have also discussed the formation of the social space that the FBF inhabits. Drawing on Habib, I have located the organisation in the NGO sector of civil society, and particularly the subset of the NGO sector that partners with organisations other than the government but takes advantage of the favourable governance environment that the South African government created for NGOs in post-apartheid South Africa. I have identified the concerns that arise about the moral premises of market versus planned economic approaches both in academic discussion about ideal governance and in popular discourse, and I have noted the way in which this is frequently expressed as anxiety over the tension between the interests of the individual and the community. Finally, I have examined the perspectives of music scholarship on neoliberalism, and articulated my analytical position as encompassing both strategic and critical positions. This mapping of the political and social space that the FBF inhabits will facilitate an understanding of the significance and efficacy of its work in the chapters to follow.

Chapter Three

Letha imali yami: The FBF and sound business practice

Our culture and heritage are key to nation building and social cohesion, and these are the ingredients for creating a climate of social stability and economic growth.... The creative economy in South Africa has the potential to be a leading sector in generating economic growth, employment and trade as is the case in many advanced economies.

—Report from the National Consultative Summit on the role of the arts, culture and heritage sector in the economy, held in Johannesburg, April 2011 (quoted in Department of Arts and Culture 2012a)

*Ubuhle bendoda izinkomo 'zayo / Uzungalibali ntombazana / Leth' imali yami
Uzuziphathe kakuhle / Emzini wakho ntombazana / Leth' imali yami*

—Traditional Xhosa/Zulu wedding song

In chapter two, I explored a theoretical and historical understanding of South Africa's political economy in order to situate the work of the FBF. I now turn to ethnography to demonstrate some of these linkages in terms of the funding and business practices of the FBF. I begin with a metaphor that reveals some of the socially situated notions about social contracts and the linkages between the material and the social in South African society.

Along with other favourites, such as “Bring Back Nelson Mandela” and “*Amavolovolo* [Revolvers],” (discussed in chapter four), the song “*Ubuhle bendoda*” seemed to follow me to nearly every Field Band rehearsal in every region and into public performances by former Field Band members. “*Ubuhle bendoda*” is a Zulu song about *ilobola*, the practice of bridewealth. The lyrics of the first phrase (above) translate literally as, “How beautiful is the man coming with his cows” or, more aphoristically, “The beauty of a man is in his wealth.” The second phrase exhorts the wise young woman to remember this, and the third phrase, punctuating the verse in the bass line throughout, translates, “Bring me my money” (see appendix D for a complete transcription). The song is a staple of the Field Band repertoire, and it reflects the linkages between material and social life, echoing a history of ways of thinking about desirable social structures that are still present, albeit articulated somewhat differently, in contemporary times.

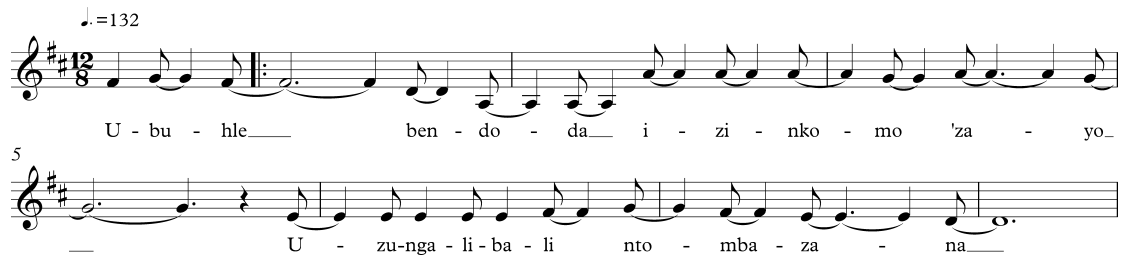


Figure 5. Melody line excerpt from “U**uhle bendoda**”

In this chapter, I wish to focus on the sentiment behind the third phrase, “*Leth’ imali yami*,” or “Bring me my money.” It is a request for the bridewealth, and as such indicates a social contract rather than a transaction. In his analysis of *amakwaya* music in the *amakholwa* (black Christian) communities established on mission stations in the nineteenth century, Detterbeck writes that many missionaries originally disapproved of *lobola* practices, perceiving the exchange of cattle for bride as a purchase. However, in traditional Nguni cultures, Detterbeck notes, *lobolo* exchange creates bonds of mutual obligation and trust between families, and eventually missionaries had to relax their views on the practice out of practicality, because of its embeddedness in the culture of the *amakholwa* community (Detterbeck 2002, 74). The meaning of cattle, he observes, changed significantly as cattle began to be kept for saleable surplus rather than barter, with the introduction of commercial farming and capitalism (76).

Certainly a myriad shifting values have complicated and problematised the meanings of *lobola*.⁷ However, the practice of *lobola* persists as a central element of culture in many communities in South Africa, a palimpsest of all the cultural meanings it has borne over the years: during my return visit in 2014, an educated, cosmopolitan, politically astute Zulu friend became officially engaged to her Congolese boyfriend in a public ceremony and celebration, during which he paid *lobolo* to her family. Thus, while “*Uuhle bendoda*” speaks to social practices, gender roles, and the shifting social meanings that accompany these, arguably its relevance is perpetuated by the relationships forged through the exchange of wealth. It is this capacity to which I would like to draw attention.

⁷ South African author Bloke Modisane portrays these issues insightfully in his short story, “All Sons of Gaika” (Modisane 2010).

The meaning of *lobola* is not that the bride is purchased from her family, but that she fulfils her filial duty in bringing income to her parents through her marriage (Impey 2006, 70), and that the groom indicates his ability and intent to support his bride. The two families are bonded through the ceremony, entering into a mutual social contract.

This chapter will explore the relationships that are forged between the FBF and its funding partners. Through an examination of the social contract that the FBF has entered with the government, the business sector, and the international development community, I will consider the financial and operational aspects of the FBF's work—leadership, funding, compensation, and international collaborations—in their efforts to improve the opportunities of the youth in their programme. Just as the advent of capitalism has reshaped meanings of cattle and *lobola*, I will argue that an understanding of the presence of neoliberal thought in South Africa is critical to understanding the FBF's business-like approach to its humanitarian venture. However, during the process I will explore the social and material interdependencies that suggest discrepancies between the work of the FBF and the neoliberal order that has been dominant most of its organisational history, as well as the opportunities it has seized by virtue of its position in a segment of civil society privileged in particular ways by the government. The goal is to consider what these relationships might mean for the kind of liberatory work in which the FBF is engaged.

Leading and funding the work of the FBF

In the previous chapter, I discussed the increasing positioning of arts and culture as economically productive, as summarised in the above statement from the National Consultative Summit on the role of the arts, culture and heritage sector in the economy. With these shifts in mind, I turn now to a closer examination of the work of the FBF, alert to its potential symbiosis or disjuncture with the policy environment. The FBF's guiding mission statement is:

...[To] improve the quality of life of disadvantaged young people and give them an opportunity to build a better future. Through the medium of music and movement, members participate in positive, joyful and affirming activities that teach them life skills and develop their

imagination, team spirit and self-discipline. (Field Band Foundation 2012b)

While the FBF does not feature the economic potential of the arts explicitly in this mission statement, economics and employment appear in the first two of the strategic objectives currently in place, listed in its 2012 annual report:

- Grow a values-driven youth movement big enough to have a positive influence on the participating socio economic strata in South African society;
- Ensure the sustainability of the Field Band Academy to enable the FBF to raise the education levels of participating youth to a level where formal employment becomes possible (Field Band Foundation 2012b)

I will discuss in detail the impact of the FBF's work in relation to both of these strategic objectives in the forthcoming chapters, examining the FBF's goals and methodologies for education as well as the way that success is defined and evaluated. In this chapter, however, I will concentrate on the way that neoliberalism in South Africa connects with the Field Band Foundation's approach to reducing inequality as reflected in the above strategic objectives, and the rationales and mechanisms it has put in place to fund and govern its activities.

Many NGOs and "development agents" that focus on education, health and culture in sub-Saharan Africa are modelled on enterprise (Hilgers 2012, 86). Certainly, the FBF is no exception. It is led primarily by business experts and successful entrepreneurs at the board level, who apply sound business practices to their strategic development and operations; arts and business consultants play a key role in building and implementing the FBF's strategy; and work is conducted by a flexible workforce comprising people of a variety of skill sets, all on contracts of varying duration.

The Field Band Foundation was spearheaded in 1996 by Plate Glass and Shatterprufe Industries (today known as PG Group), a large plate glass manufacturing company. The FBF continues to be funded largely by business through corporate social responsibility funding, for which corporations receive tax incentives. Each region is generally sponsored by a corporation, often a mining company or business with operations or interests in the community, and sponsorship packages are structured to cover the cost of a truck and equipment for one region. In fact, the uptake from the business community has been so high

that the FBF has received sponsorships for bands that do not yet exist due to the shortage of tutors, which they are trying to address through their academy training programme. Several mining companies, notably Anglo-American and DeBeers, sponsor bands in the communities in which their mines operate.



Figure 6. Sponsor signage borders the performance field at the FBF national championships in Johannesburg, 8 October 2012

As discussed in chapter one, the sponsorship of brass bands by mining companies originated in Victorian Britain and spread rapidly to colonies in southern Africa and elsewhere in which European countries had mining interests (Herbert 2013; Herbert and Sarkissian 1997). The history of broad local investment is not new under neoliberalism, although the tax structures surrounding such investment may be. Ferguson notes that across Africa, most infusions of capital are due to mineral resource extraction, and as such, the business of mining encompassed a long-term social project (Ferguson 2006, 35). Although Bond argues passionately that some of these same companies made their wealth through the odious system of apartheid and should have been made to pay reparations (2004, 40), one might argue that corporate investment in society can have positive effects, that such corporations are sometimes led by people who originate from or continue to live in South Africa, and that corporate investment must not *by default* be read as lubricating capitalist machinery. Perhaps Harvey would argue that this more generous interpretation indicates

the hegemony (in the consensual Gramscian sense) of neoliberalism as a mode of discourse, “incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world” (2007, 3). Certainly the economic benefits to such investments can be quantified, and these can be seen as then giving “good business sense” to humanitarian considerations; and certainly investments under the ethic of corporate social responsibility will always calculate the return on investment.

However, it is possible that if it is presupposed that economic and humanitarian concerns are necessarily in opposition, and that the former will always exploit the latter, we may miss potentially significant moments of agency and rearticulations of commercial ethics. The Field Band Foundation would not exist without Plate Glass and Shatterprufe Industries, whose leaders sought to develop a transformative programme that would contribute to the development of the newly democratic nation and bring long-term positive effects to disadvantaged communities. PG Group conceptualised this as a post-apartheid gift to the nation that had contributed to its own success, a living legacy (personal interview, Brian Gibson, 1 November 2011). This language of reinvestment and social contract is enshrined in the organisation’s use of the Nguni term, *ubuntu*. The newly revised FBF manual emphasises its governance framework as a non-profit organisation when it states:

NPO’s are, by nature, committed to a number of values and principles that are different from those which apply in the commercial sector. The primary difference of purpose is that an NPO exists solely to serve the common good, and promote a public benefit, rather than to achieve individual profit or to advance self-interest.

NPO’s represent a practical manifestation of the principle known as ‘Ubuntu’—which implies a relationship of mutual and reciprocal responsibility between individuals and communities. (Field Band Foundation 2012a, 5, italics original)

This frames the investments made by corporations as being drawn into a zone where different logics and ethics prevail, perhaps reflecting a view that capital is ethically “transformed” through this transfer.

In addition to mining companies, successful businesses established and led by black South Africans also fund the FBF. Herman Mashaba’s company, Black Like Me, renowned for manufacturing hair products targeted toward African women, funds two regional bands. Recently awarded an honorary

doctorate in business administration by the Free State Central University of Technology, the Vice Chancellor and Principal described Mashaba as an entrepreneurial role model who believes in community investment (Ujuh 2013). Mashaba is held up as the epitome of a successful black entrepreneur, and he describes his altruism and his involvement in the Field Band as a moral imperative, an exchange or a duty towards the people of the country in which he has achieved financial success (Mathe 2013). Mashaba's investment of funds, expertise, and time, as he serves as a very active chair of the FBF's board of governors, is thus articulated in terms of the opportunities he himself seized, which have led to his widely acknowledged business success.



Figure 7. Members of sponsored bands watching other teams compete at the FBF national championships in Johannesburg, 6 October 2012

Such formulations of social investment recall Mauss's observation that historically, exchanges are seen to have benefits that are broader than the individual, even if they accrue back to the individual in terms of an improved society in which the individual undertakes his or her apparently self-promoting activities. Mauss has also deconstructed almsgiving and generosity, demonstrating its historical ties to ancient moralities that demand that the wealthy rid themselves of their wealth, and that the rich consider themselves the financial guardians of citizens even while protecting their own interests (Mauss 1990, 18). Of course, a certain element of this rationale is present in notions of *noblesse oblige* and has certainly played a role in historical upper- and middle-

class initiatives amongst the lower classes, thus bearing troubling notions of class chauvinism and neo-imperialism. If such notions are present at all in the attitudes of the FBF's donors, they are nowhere evident in any of the rhetoric about their rationale for participation.

The FBF also receives state funding, for the most part via lottery revenues and similar programmes. The National Lottery has so far funded the FBF's national championships in Johannesburg each year. However, leaders view the diversity of their funding sources—and arguably, the corporate basis of local investments—as a means of diversifying risk and opportunity. In fact, state funds, while essential to their operations, are viewed with some ambivalence, as leaders prefer to set the agenda of the organisation without interference or expectations from the government, aligning themselves more closely with funding bodies who more explicitly share their values and goals. The conditions of funding are a matter of key consideration, and the FBF prioritises the development of their own priorities over funding that comes with “strings attached.” Brian Gibson, the FBF's deputy CEO, explained that they carefully balance their relationship with the government:

There was a time when government wanted to partner with the FBF and we were very fearful that that would be something more, that we would be taken over as it were, and fall into that bureaucratic black hole, and so we resisted that; and managing our relationship with government is still a challenge, because government has been quite supportive in recent years, very ambitious for the Field Band, but we've got to just keep that slight distance between us, we believe. (Personal interview, 1 November 2012)

The rising perception of corruption, nepotism, and crony capitalism within the government's ranks has the potential to discredit its partners by association. Thus, any closer relationships with the government, despite the potential advantages, not only risk additional bureaucracy, which would perhaps hamper the nimbleness and flexibility with which they operate, but also risk negative impact to the FBF's “clean and accountable” reputation. From this perspective, the FBF's strategy to keep the government at arm's length seems extremely astute.

Charitable foundations also contribute funds to the FBF. These foundations exist in part because of the tax incentives available for charitable donations, and likewise businesses take advantage of tax incentives through

corporate social responsibility investments. Government policy is responsible for accommodating and encouraging such organisations, establishing modes of regulation and promoting good business practices. Thus, in the end, the FBF ultimately relies for long-term funding on a variety of businesses and organisations that operate more or less as businesses, including the state. Their marketing and sponsorship campaigns frame their needs and return on investment in terms of the value they offer to these donors' brands and strategies.

This makes public recognition of their successes and sound business practices extremely valuable. The FBF transitioned from South African Generally Accepted Accounting Practice (GAAP) to compliance with the International Financial Reporting Standards for Small and Medium-sized Entities and South Africa's new Companies Act in 2010 (Field Band Foundation 2012b), which offers investors and stakeholders the assurance of the baseline levels of transparency and accountability such standards require. Retha Cilliers, CEO of the FBF from 1999-2013, spoke with pride of the diligence and absolute attention to detail of the financial officer in the FBF's head office, whom she characterised as a "bulldog" in her insistence on adherence to procedure. She also emphasised the organisational priority on absolute transparency and avoidance of corruption. All of these things have resulted in "spotless" finances and clean audit reports. She articulated this in not only moral but also strategic terms:

As my name is on all the money—because I raise the money—my face is on all that money, it's my bloody reputation, never mind the Field Band. I don't want any part of [corruption]. And the thing is, it gives you tremendous freedom, 'cause nobody can threaten me with anything. People don't understand that if you actually just act honourably and above board... you can do what you want. (Personal interview, 12 September 2012)

In early 2013, the FBF received two awards from the National Lotteries Board: one for compliance with the conditions of the grant agreement, and the other for governance, having evidenced gender equality, racial diversity and representation of the disabled within the organisation and board structure, as well as "clean audit reports and the compliant presentation of annual financial statements" (National Lotteries Board 2013). These awards build up the

organisation's reputation as fiscally responsible, and it is not insignificant that the Lotteries Board, a government department, has established these awards to promote sound business practice amongst non-profit organisations. As the withdrawal of government from public investment under neoliberal policy redirects social investments through NGOs, it becomes increasingly important for the rhetoric of efficiency and accountability to be reinforced through monitoring of "sound business practice."

In fact, this rerouting of social investment has particular significance in the politics of South Africa, which recent statements by Herman Mashaba demonstrate. He is an outspoken, self-proclaimed "born capitalist," and currently leads a right-wing pressure group, Free Market Foundation, whose present lobby is to remove business-licensing restrictions and eschew minimum wage policy. His rationale for this, however, is not straightforward profit logic: there is a pragmatic element. An article in an online South African business magazine reports Mashaba's response to questions about Free Market Foundation's position:

Mashaba replied, "Go into townships and go out and ask them about a decent wage... A decent wage to seven million [unemployed] South Africans right now is zero." He could not estimate how many jobs would be created if the Free Market Foundation wins its court case, but he hopes it's above one million. "It's the dignity. If we look at how we are destroying human souls, it's evil," he added, citing abuse, drug and alcohol problems in society. (Nicolson 2013)

This statement echoes Mauss's theorisation of the lack of dignity that arises through a lack of employment, and his observations that lack of employment and income relegates people to a position where they are unable to reciprocate in the social contracts of the economy. It echoes his very words about the resultant loss of prestige: "to lose prestige is to lose one's soul" (Mauss 1990, 39).

Further, Mashaba's statement might be seen as a pragmatic response to the historic and current conditions of South Africa. It conceives the economically marginalised as still dwelling in a zone of indignity, robbed of the power to support themselves, relying upon others for the means to get by. Such notions are reminiscent of Mauss's observations that receiving without being able to give in return is a breach of social contract, a sort of state of abjection. As such, social welfare is not the means to restoring dignity, employment is. This logic,

Ferguson notes, is in line with the pragmatic political shifts in South Africa in which economic development and social justice were redefined in liberal economic terms (2006, 136). The logic is not hard to follow, since Mashaba resists business licenses, for example, on the basis of their historical precedence in the apartheid era laws that blocked the African population from the business world. The conflation of “human freedom” with “economic freedom” is, in this case, a morally strategic manoeuvre.

The FBF’s board of governors frequently agonises about questions of allocation of resources. Brian Gibson, deputy CEO and long-time board member, spoke of the constant debate faced by the board regarding resource constraints, with discussions ensuing about the trade-offs of small investments in many people versus larger investments in a few. While the impetus for the greatest possible impact to as many people as possible is strong, the organisation’s leaders also view their relationship with members, tutors, and other stakeholders in a serious light, compelling them to a responsibility not to abandon those in whom it has made an initial investment, but to support them in reaching a point of self-actualisation (personal interview, 1 November 2012). Brian shared with me a schematic of a pyramid that conceptualises the FBF’s development priorities, pointing out that the constant debate faced by the board was the width of the base of the pyramid given constraints on human and financial resources (see Figure 8, below).

Similarly, I had a long conversation one afternoon with Nicolette (Nicky) du Plessis, an arts consultant who worked with PG Group on the FBF project from its conceptual genesis, continued in a contractual capacity to focus on strategic programme development, and became CEO of the FBF in 2014. We mused about the ethics of presenting what are ultimately false choices to youth, by making them aware of career trajectories and material possibilities without somehow also addressing the conditions that constrain their actual range of choice (personal interview, 9 October 2012). There is, as is illustrated by these observations, a great deal of consideration given within the organisation to the ethics of developing particular subjectivities and the degree of investment for responsible intervention, ensuring that the choices are real and the advantages are mutual—I will discuss this further in chapter four. Both of these perspectives

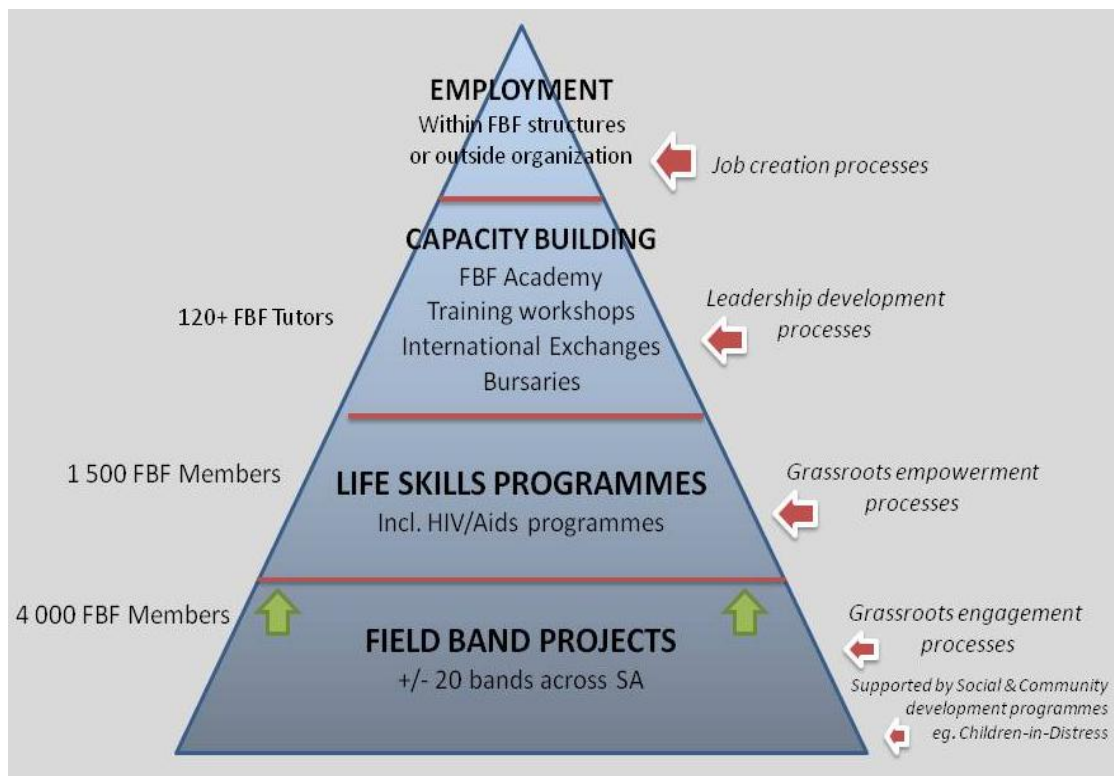


Figure 8. FBF development strategy (Source: Brian Gibson, FBF Deputy CEO)

speak to the FBF’s aim to enable South African youth to have full membership rights in the broader “first class” society, escaping the abjection created by the awareness of their disconnection from it (Ferguson 2006, 166).

In a reflection that morally situates economic investment, Retha Cilliers commented on a shift that the FBF aims to effect in the perceived value of a child. She observed thoughtfully that unemployed people in poor communities where there are few economic opportunities view their children as precious, but also as possessions, and linked this to the FBF’s mandate of giving individuals a voice:

I will listen to them. It is giving them space to be who they can be—I think that is very important—and to allow them to have an opinion, even if you think the opinion’s shit. It doesn’t matter. It’s to allow them to express themselves, because nobody else does. Nobody else does—parents don’t listen. There’s a very strange cultural thing—I would imagine in poor communities, I don’t think this is cultural-specific, it’s maybe more social-specific than it is cultural-specific. They are highly treasured, highly treasured, but treasured as a possession rather than as an individual, is my sense, when you are at the bottom social strata, because you are a valuable possession, and of course you’re loved. But loved with—because the parents are so stretched for resources—and I would imagine that is not only financial and physical resources but also emotional resources—imagine if you think you have to feed people every day and you don’t know where the fuck the food’s gonna come now, that must be

emotionally completely and utterly, utterly exhausting. So... the kids must just do as they're told, they mustn't come and talk because there isn't room in the mind for the emotional support, so they've got no emotional support. (Personal interview, 12 September 2012)

Retha describes a vision of a world of deprivation in which individuals, even family members, compete for resources and view each other as resources. Her vision of empowerment connects with the inherent value of an individual, invested with the moral value of "bare life," to invoke Agamben, treating them with dignity, and viewing them as worthy of investment and emotional support. The notion of "bare life" will play an important role in framing music and wellbeing in chapter five, but for now I will note that Retha's comment also speaks to a notion of wellbeing that is influenced negatively by lack, and positively by adequate levels of material resources, where people have "room in the mind" to attend to emotional wellbeing.

Compensation in the FBF

Ferguson suggests that many African people regard the state with ambivalence at best, and "seek to find expressions of collective solidarity, social order, and moral beneficence outside the state altogether," such as in kin-based social systems, ethnic separatism, religious cults, and "various other movements aimed at cleansing the world of its only too evident corruption and evil" (2006, 85-7). As South Africans have become increasingly disillusioned with the "beneficence" of post-apartheid governments in the wake of increasing levels of inequality and what is perceived as self-interest versus concern for the public good, the FBF is arguably precisely one of these alternative expressions of collective solidarity, social order, and moral beneficence. While it is modeled upon enterprise and that it may promote business-like values, this does not lessen the perception that the FBF offers an improvement upon actually-existing society; indeed, its stakeholders, from leadership through to band members, speak of the organisation in idealistic terms. This creates some interesting incongruities: such organisations, Ferguson warns, are often naturalised as a good thing, but must be considered in connection with the very real inequalities that they leave unaddressed, or worse, perpetuate. The goodwill and beneficent

moralties surrounding some organisations, including the FBF, can mask unintended or undesired consequences.

One example of conceptual conflict arises in the context of compensation of the FBF's tutors. Students at the Field Band Academy are in residence for thirty-six weeks in total, during which they are paid a small stipend while studying. After the completion of their training programme, which has lasted between twelve and twenty-four months, depending on the model the Academy was following at the time, the new graduates are expected to give back two years of service to the FBF by taking a two-year contract in some capacity within the organisation. These roles, and the communities in which they are located, are assigned to the graduates, depending upon their skills and strengths, and also taking their family circumstances and personal preferences into account. During this time, the FBF views them as "volunteers" and offers them a "stipend" to offset their living expenses, which include sometimes considerable transport time and cost to and from rehearsal venues.

On several occasions, however, tutors spoke to me of these positions as a job, and a sort of guarantee of "employment," and expressed concern about the inordinately low "salary" in relation to the expenses of time and money that they incurred fulfilling their duties. These clashes between volunteer/employee and stipend/salary are evidence of some of the mistrust of market reasoning, but arguably also connect with a long history of employment relations in South Africa. Because the FBF is established in communities of socioeconomic need, its members, and thus its tutors and FBA students, are members of populations whose work relations were racialised under colonisation and apartheid. South African industry was founded upon a history of "cheap, black labour;" arguably, an organisation, albeit non-profit, that continues practices of perceived low remuneration, even in defense of its aims to extend the reach of its funding to as many communities and bands as possible, will be viewed with potential mistrust. The discursive space is saturated with notions of morality—tutors' moral duties to the organisation, to themselves, and to their families, who rely upon their income, and the organisation's moral duties to its mandate and all of its constituents, of whom the tutors are only one (albeit critically important) segment.

Furthermore, there are disconnections between students' and leaders' ideas of how the position as a tutor relates to the ideal career trajectory of an FBA graduate. Retha Cilliers stated that tutors' commitments to the FBF require eight hours per week of their time, leaving plenty of other time for further employment, or, at the least, self-development such as reading, coursework, or musical practice, which may lead to further advancement. She evaluated the FBF's "best" tutors as eventually developing to a point where they are capable of and hungry for more than the FBF can offer them, at which point the FBF offers these students its blessing in their new endeavours and adds them to the ranks of its success stories. Furthermore, the FBF has made any number of investments in individual tutors, apart from their education at the academy. Sometimes these investments have been related to the FBF's mission, such as paying for driver's licence exams so that tutors can drive the FBF's equipment trucks, or sponsoring tuition for a social work diploma, so that tutors can work as FBF social officers. However, these investments are not always in directly related areas, and the FBF's leaders acknowledge, with regret for the organisation but no regret for the students, that the investments may ultimately lead these individuals to other workplaces.

The viewpoint from some tutors, however, is slightly different. Tutors in the Durban region explained that their FBF work is actually a full-time commitment, which leaves them little time for other work. Including transport time to and from rehearsals,⁸ rehearsals actually consume up to eight hours of their day, although they are only paid for rehearsal time. Leaving their homes at noon to arrive at rehearsal venues by 2:00 or 2:30 pm, conducting rehearsals until 4:30 or 5:00 pm, followed by clean-up and storage of instruments and return of the van to its storage unit, many of them would arrive home again no earlier than 8:00 pm. Tutors, while on one hand very grateful for the income and opportunity the FBF offers, at times view their commitment as a constraint to additional pursuits. At times they view their work at the FBF as a stepping-stone to better-paying work, even if such work only pays more because they are

⁸ Arguably public transportation is yet another area of social provision that the government has yet to address adequately, placing very real limits on the opportunities available to people who cannot afford a car.

compensated for more hours of work. Retha and other leaders were certainly very aware of the transport challenges, in particular, faced by tutors, and certainly there are tutors who have incorporated further education or employment into their rehearsal schedule, whom leaders often hold up as good examples.

An important principle that is echoed throughout the organisation is the notion of “ploughing back.” This is an agricultural metaphor that refers to the practice of returning nutrients to the earth in which a crop has grown by ploughing chaff or stalks into the soil, thus ensuring future bountiful harvests. The metaphor is apt. Academy students spoke frequently about the importance of “ploughing back” into the organisation what had been invested in them—in other words, even if they go on in time to work elsewhere, they have accepted the social contract of investing two years of their time in the organisation after their graduation. This metaphor extends beyond FBA graduates and their two-year contracts. For example, Neville Arnolds, a dedicated, long-time tutor in the Western Cape region explained:

Some of my previous students, they have jobs now. I asked one of my old students when are they gonna come and visit the band because they have a job now, they have a career, and then they say maybe they gonna come next week. I say to them, I’m still with the Field Band but I don’t see you come and visit us, just pop in and say hello. And I told them also, don’t forget your roots. (Personal interview, 27 July 2012)

What is significant in these various viewpoints is the articulation of opportunity and duty, in addition to the perceived exchange value of time and labour. The risk is noteworthy: even the beneficent FBF is not immune, despite its discourse of investment in people, to having its goals tainted by association with market value and labour practices.

Transnational funding and the FBF

One of the hallmarks of NGOs and other non-state organisations is their reach beyond the borders of nation to connect with international ideologies, groups, individuals, funds, and locuses of power. Considering the spatialisation of relations between government and civil society, Ferguson argues that it is critical to understand such transnational connections because they move beyond class and beyond national governance (2006, 105). This is why it is important to

see the work of NGOs not just within the context of national policy and their relations with the national state, but to understand the importance of both strategic transnational connections and a strong community base (105 International connections are critical precisely because of the influence of global capital investment, which constrains the government's scope for action, as international companies value low taxes and a low labour wage (Ferguson 2006, 104). Thus, while the South African government's investment in social programmes is to some degree constrained by its participation in global markets, NGOs are able to tap into international funds for humanitarian purposes. This rerouting of funds gives NGOs increased leverage, effectively making NGOs subcontractors for the state while they work with international market interests, perhaps making them more responsive and effective than government in addressing grassroots concerns (Ong 2006, 216). Certainly they are perceived that way.

The characterisation of an organisation that is worldly, well connected, and opportunistic (Ferguson 2006, 107) applies to the FBF. For example, while their FBA curriculum is tied to the state's education goals, it has also been tied to the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDG)—partially in pursuit of UN MDG grants, but also ideologically, identifying with the relevance of these goals to the needs of South Africa (Carol Harington, personal interview, 3 May 2012). Apart from these UN finances, and in addition to the corporate and national state funding which the organisation accesses, significant international investments have been sought and received over the years. The most significant of these relationships, for reasons that supersede funding, has been with Fredskorpset (FK), the Peace Corps of Norway. Since 2001, the FBF has benefited from FK funding that has been critical to their core operations. Connecting with FK's mandates of cultural diplomacy as part of Norway's national development strategy has been not only an opportunity to be seized, the relationships between the organisations are perceived of as mutually beneficial. I had the opportunity to meet with Tutu Jacobsen, the Head of Team Health, Education and Human Rights and a Senior Adviser of FK Norway. She observed that the FBF could have asked for more money over the years, but that what has been valuable for both organisations was the exchange of expertise (personal

interview, 9 August 2013). This suggests that, at least in recent years, the relationship between the FBF and its Norwegian partners has been characterised by exchange, rather than adhering to an “international development model that draws on ‘experts’ from the affluent global North entering a local arena and imparting expertise” (Pavlicevic and Impey 2013, 241) common in so many development projects.

Thus, the human resources and development opportunities that the FBF has had through FK are equally important to the funding. Most of these have come via Bands Crossing Borders (affiliated with FK), which facilitates exchanges between the two countries. As at 2012, fifty-six Norwegians had travelled to South Africa, primarily to teach in the regions and at the academy after its establishment; and nearly fifty South Africans had travelled to Norway, to teach in local bands and continue musical studies. Marit Bakken, contracted to the FBA as the director of its music programme through the Bands Crossing Borders (BCB) programme, observed that in many ways, the FBF’s programme has been received as cutting edge in Norway. She explained that the FBF’s focus has inspired the Norwegian organisation to broaden their focus beyond simple musical value of music education to its potential improvements to wellbeing (personal interview, 17 July 2012). Most recently, this has taken the form of a new Norwegian/South African project called PULSE, focusing on health promotion, which I will discuss in chapter seven. Of course, it must be observed that increased interest in examining the improvements to wellbeing may also be linked to neoliberal ideas about individual responsibility for wellbeing, and notions of the economic returns on investment in the arts frequently justify applications for arts funding in many countries around the world (Parkinson and White 2013).

Beyond the “mere” funds that operationalise their plans, the FBF values the intellectual resources from overseas. Carol Harington, who was the contracted director of the academic programmes of the FBF at the time of my 2012 fieldwork, expressed the opinion that the international collaboration provides important broad insights and is, in fact, “part of why this is actually cutting edge” (personal interview, 17 July 2012). Steve Kruger, also contracted



Figure 9. A facilitator from the Bands Crossing Borders exchange leads a rehearsal at the FBA in Oakford, 23 October 2012

from Carol's company to conduct life skills courses, articulated the need for international collaboration in terms of South Africa's apartheid history:

Because of our country's history, the way of dealing with people, learning with people, it needs an unbiased input in order to drive it forward... It doesn't matter how free-thinking or liberal you are, it's part of your fabric. So without having international exposure almost as a kind of benchmark for the whole thing, then I think it wouldn't have grown the way it has, and it wouldn't have been as appealing as it has. (Personal interview, 17 July 2012)

The transnational connections of NGOs also point to a sort of potential transnational solidarity between the struggling classes, as Ferguson suggests (2006, 105-6). Retha Cilliers reflected on the gaps in education of youth in socioeconomically underprivileged communities, stating, "We are not here to fix what the government doesn't do. Because it is also true that in all countries the poor communities get the worst education, end of story. That's just the way it is" (personal interview, 12 September 2013). Her comment suggests that the FBF does not accept any abdication of responsibility by the government to provide education, and it also acknowledges the inequities of class at a global level. Interestingly, it hints at the circular logic of neoliberalism, that the way out of poverty is education, and the way to improve education is to improve the economy. Critically, however, it suggests a recognition of the powers at work

around the world that constrain the economic opportunities of the most socioeconomically deprived.

The FBF has also forged a connection with the U.S. and Belgium, sending several members each year to participate for several weeks in intensive band programmes during the northern summer. The opportunity that these partnerships provide young people to travel between South Africa and Norway, the U.S., or Belgium to live, study, and work strengthens transnational links. The experience offers them a perspective on ways of life that are, in many ways, far removed from that of their homeland. Students who have participated in exchanges have indicated a high degree of value for the opportunity. As I drove to rehearsals in the townships surrounding Durban, I often had the company of tutors, who were very happy to avoid the cost and hassle of public transit on these days. I frequently took the opportunity to query them about their experiences, and on this day, I asked Hlanganani, recently returned, about his time in Norway, which I summarised as follows:

I got to hear this morning about what Hlanganani's 10-month exchange in Norway meant to him. Most mindboggling was how it was just nice to be in a place where life was easy and non-stressful—no taking 2 hours to travel 30 km to work, no worrying about having enough money for the essentials of life, no parents or siblings asking for money; just long, 18-hour summer days, white, bright winters, taking lessons, practising, sleeping, eating, and exercising. He painted such a restful, blissful picture, and I thought how incredible it was for a South African person to experience this alternative lifestyle that he could likely otherwise never have even conceived of, and what possibilities (and potential frustrations) an experience like that can yield. (Field notes, 13 June 2012)

While exposure to the cultures and norms of other countries could conceivably exacerbate the sense of abjection after the return to some of the material limitations in South Africa, exchange alumni in fact spoke of their experiences abroad in inspirational terms. The exposure to other cultures creates a more cosmopolitan awareness, which exchange participants bring back to their home countries. Many of them sustain friendships and solidarities, facilitated by social media, with people they meet during their exchange. My discussion with Hlanganani and others indicated that this opportunity yields new kinds of consciousness about places that are plagued to a far lower degree by socioeconomic inequality, and about the way of life in such a society.

It would be interesting to compare the experiences of Norwegian and American exchange alumni, which I have not had the opportunity to do; but it is worth considering the materialities that underpin Hlanganani's experience. Norway is a welfare state, and while questions are raised about the cost of living and whether the state is economically sustainable (Kautto 2010), the nation is among the world's most equal countries, according to the World Bank statistics cited in chapter two. While Norway participates in global trade and implements certain neoliberal modes of governance, its high level of equality has been nurtured by its social welfare policy and its national natural resource wealth. Thus, Hlanganani's time in Norway was an experience of a society that was not only wealthier, but also that was underwritten by what is in many ways a radically different form of government. Thus, perhaps the transnational connections that the FBF has forged with Norway in particular offer more than human and financial resources, but through their contact may also serve to inspire imagination of a radically different way of life and the modes of governance that may underpin it.

Interpreting business practices within a neoliberal context

One may read the failure of the post-apartheid promise, evidenced by the growing socioeconomic inequality and popular disillusionment, in the shifts from the socialist agenda to a neoliberal one: in an era where idealism has failed, people take refuge in pragmatism. However true that may be, it is worth recognising that alongside these shifts, and any subsequent shifts to the left, is a desire to sustain the social contracts of exchange in which both parties can sustain their duties to give and receive. Even if the policy that the Zuma government has begun to favour has a neo-Keynesian flavour, it is still within a context of a free market economy, and an even more prominent role would have to be given to social welfare before it could compare to a welfare state such as Norway's. However, the notions of individualism by which such choices and shifts are underpinned are not necessarily tied to capitalism, but may be read as articulations of alternate ethics of individual freedom and moralities of social contract that have longer histories in South Africa. The historical family and community relationships in many parts of South Africa have a strong emphasis

on mutuality: this is demonstrated in Hlanganani's tale above, in which he mentioned the draw that family duty makes on his financial and emotional resources. These ties and reciprocities remain strong in many cases, and are reiterated in contemporary circumstances. Such social realities have an important bearing on the experience of FBF members, as I will discuss in detail in chapters six and seven.

This is the "messy neoliberalism" within which the FBF works. It is an instance of Ferguson's thought-provoking proposal that the neoliberalism of Africa often offers a fascinating alternative viewpoint on economism: "that economic facts are moral and human facts may also provide a resource for a much deeper critique" (2006, 82). This critique, I argue, is not against Wacquant's (2012) supposed Leviathan neoliberalism, but against the ethics that presumably accompany the policy shift. The FBF demonstrates that while it embraces sound business practice, its ethics do not necessarily comply with the view of ethics posed by critics of neoliberalism. Behind this economic mode of governance are individuals and communities with a diversity of motivations and moral arguments. The case of the FBF in South Africa demonstrates that a variety of values exist in the context of neoliberal logics and that these may be employed from a variety of ethical stances.

The funding and transnational relationships that the FBF has built emphasise Ferguson's assertion that it is essential to denaturalise any supposed vertical relationship between government and people where NGOs are concerned. The FBF's relationships with business and private investors, with multiple levels of government, and with international organisations are pragmatic and strategic. This is an NGO that forges web-like and savvy relationships, sidestepping hierarchical relationships with government while exploiting the legitimacy and potential "brand strength" that government and business endorsements may offer. The social space of civil society that it occupies, to reiterate Habib's perspective, is "the organized expression of various interests and values operating in the triangular space between the family, state and the market" (2013, 141). Moreover, the specific segment of civil society it occupies is that of NGOs that take advantage of the policy environment that the government has created predominantly to facilitate the outsourcing of its

functions, but it acts as a “free agent” of sorts, choosing from a range of partners. These partnerships are strategic and based on shared values, and it is through this sharing of values that social contracts are established. To what degree this nonetheless suits the government agenda since Zuma’s 2008 election is up for debate, and while it might be argued that the market dictates the terms of these social contracts, it is also possible to see them as an intervention of civil society that balances the concerns of the marginalised with those of the government and those of the market. It is a complicated interaction, but the goal of equipping youth with the skills they need to fulfil their own social contracts—within their families, communities, and the FBF—is animated by an ethic of reinvestment, “ploughing back,” and of working for the greater good.

In this chapter, my goal has been to identify the dominant actors in the FBF’s funding and to begin to draw some connections between the socioeconomic context and the funding and operational relationships. I have discussed how the FBF’s strategic engagement with South Africa’s corporate sector and with international development agencies, predominantly Norway’s Fredskorpset, brings it into contact with the value systems of different sectors and different approaches to governance. I have identified ways in which the organisation’s governance and management frequently rely on neoliberal logics held by corporate sponsors and board members. However, I have also explored the ethic of social investment that these constituents also claim and the ways this ethic extends to the organisation’s discourse of giving back, or “ploughing back.” In connection with the businesslike model of the FBF’s work, I have aimed to describe some of the ways in which the tutors conceptualise their work and compensation, connecting it with the history of business practices in South Africa.

I have also explained the ways in which collaboration with Norway in particular has fostered international connections that have provided international intellectual and human resources for the South African project, as well as opportunities for travel and education for FBF members. I have noted that the FBF takes advantage of government funding and endorsement, but steers clear of any associations that would tie it too closely to government agendas and bureaucracy. Thus, I have shown that the FBF is a nimble

organisation that is not “local, communal, and authentic, but worldly, well connected, and opportunistic,” as Ferguson (2006, 107) has suggested. As such, it disrupts conventional notions about the social space within which NGOs work and the hierarchies that characterise them, and demonstrates an alternate governance of South African society via the NGO sector of civil society in line with the neoliberalisation that occurred early in the nation’s transition.

I close this chapter by noting that the lyrics of “*Ubuhle bendoda*” are invoked regularly in FBF rehearsals, even if only at the subconscious level since most of the FBF’s music is instrumental. While on the surface, the song is a simple, enjoyable, well-known, traditional piece about dowry drawn from Zulu culture, I have shown that beneath the surface, it invokes notions of social contract. Thus, it is not only a metaphor, it also demonstrates and reinforces some of the continuities in thinking about the relationships that are forged through the exchange of capital. This perspective allows the exchange to be transformed from a transaction into a social contract. It seems likely that the hope for South Africa’s future lies in the forging of relationships between diverse constituencies, and thus it seems rather appropriate that one of the FBF’s repertoire staples is a song that joyfully demands, “Bring me my money!”

Chapter Four

Refining the nation's "new gold": The FBF's educational programme

The department believes that the South African arts, culture and heritage sector is our "new gold." We believe that the sector [has] the potential to lead economic growth and job creation. Thus we referred to the sector (and the new strategic approach thereof) as "Mzansi Golden Economy."

—Press release, "Department of Arts and Culture kicks off Mzansi Golden Economy Programme," (Department of Arts and Culture 2012b)

This chapter explores the educational work of the Field Band Foundation in South Africa, attempting to understand their work in the context of new government policy that shifts focus on the value of arts and culture from the social to the economic. It examines the ideology that underpins a vision of music and dance education as vehicles to address the historically entrenched social inequalities that plague South Africa. This ideology positions music education as a route out of poverty, through the development of particular skills and values and the creation of a particular subjectivity that may expand career options. For this examination, I turn to ethnographic description of the FBF's pedagogy of both "life skills" and musical skills. The latter will investigate issues around music transmission, rehearsal processes and timetables, music pedagogical goals, notions of musical excellence, musical competition, instrumentation, and assessment practices. As I will show, these are not discrete processes: life skills are frequently integrated with or taught via musical instruction.

The ethnography is framed by two particular theoretical perspectives. Bonnie Urciuoli (2010) has described the ways in which increasingly neoliberal political economy interacts with the educational system, and higher education in particular. She points out that in these environments, education becomes structured around skills and self-marketing, and targeted toward providing the types of labourers that are in demand in the economy. She and others note in particular the development of particular kinds of subjectivities emerging from the implementation of these new educational strategies. The second theoretical perspective that frames this chapter is Paulo Freire's (2000; 1985; 1994; 1998) "critical pedagogy" approach. Freire's main focus is also on the development of subjectivity through literacy education amongst marginalised people. He

emphasises dialogic learning between “teachers” and “students,” with the pedagogical goal of creating awareness of the self as a subject that has knowledge of the effect of the power relations within which the individual dwells. This, he argues, is the basis of critical consciousness and the development of agency. Thus, with these two frameworks as a reference point, I will analyse the work of the Field Band Foundation in terms of the practical skills and the development of subjectivities that are the results of its messaging, methodologies and assessment criteria, with a particular focus on the in the Field Band Academy. Based on this ethnographic evidence, I will suggest the negotiations between sometimes-competing and sometimes-coexisting value systems in this work.

Seen as a straightforward programme of social development, there are many success stories emanating from within the FBF that support the observation that it is meeting its goals, not only creating new employment through its ever expanding operations in South Africa, but also by developing in its members the skills and attitudes that allow them to secure better futures for themselves and their families. As such, one might argue that the organisation has unleashed a socioeconomic potential for music and dance that supersedes the vision of the South African government, since the scope of Mzansi Golden Economy is narrowed by its reliance on the commodification of arts and culture. However, both the work of the FBF and the development of the new arts and culture policy must be seen within the political and economic context of South Africa since the end of apartheid, an examination which suggests somewhat different challenges for socioeconomic development. It suggests the “new politics” that Carah observes arising “from the moment the cultural and creative industries were identified by corporations and government policy makers as a source of economic growth and capital value” (Carah 2010, 174–5). Thus, it is critical to understand to what extent the presence of market logics within South Africa’s governance and policy environment drives or necessitates the work of the FBF.

Contexts of training: Rehearsals in the regions

To understand the linkages between political economy, inequality, and education as they apply in this context, I will begin by introducing the diverse contexts of the FBF's work. Even within a single region, the FBF can work in communities that have distinctly different socioeconomic contexts, and although some of the methodologies and messages shift depending upon the community, the goals of the organisation promote consistent emphases and outcomes. I now describe the two such communities with which I became most familiar during my time in South Africa.

In 2012, the KwaZulu-Natal region of the FBF was meeting at the Inanda Seminary, a private girls' school, on Mondays and Wednesdays, and at the elementary school in Ntuzuma on Tuesdays and Thursdays. Both communities are north of Durban, near the sprawling township of KwaMashu, notorious for its history of political and gang violence. I spoke with Bryan Clarke, the regional director, about attending rehearsals regularly with the tutors. They would be delighted to have me attend, he informed me, especially if I could give some of them a lift from Durban to rehearsals in my car and save them transport money. This served the dual purpose of giving me both navigators and companions on the journey over rough and sometimes poorly signed roads not indicated on my GPS, through neighbourhoods that some contacts had suggested could be dangerous to drive through alone.

We bounced along in my tiny Hyundai, crammed full of as many tutors as there were seat belts (a restriction I insisted upon that chafed with them, as the remaining tutors had to pay upwards of R30 for the return trip to the township and back by crowded and unreliable public taxis). We travelled down roads sometimes strewn with potholes and debris, dodging transport trucks, pedestrians, goats, and cows. In fact, the pedestrians were the most notable element—along mile after mile of highway, people walked in the dust directly alongside the roadway, often carrying bundles by hand, on their backs, or sometimes on their heads, or pushing makeshift carts and occasionally rolling along stray tires. With no sidewalk and little in the way of pedestrian safety, it was tragic, but somehow not unexpected, when we passed by a car/pedestrian collision on our way one day. The sobering sight of a woman's bare feet, not

covered by the plastic tarpaulin over her body as she lay alone and unattended on the ground, while police and bystanders milled about nearby, cast a pall on the day's practice. The image is burned into my memory.

Arrival at the two venues was starkly contrasting. Turning off the main highway toward Inanda Seminary, we pulled onto another paved road, leading up a treed lane to a guarded gate. With varying degrees of ease depending upon the whims and sobriety of the guard, my companions would declare their Field Band affiliation in Zulu, we would be signed in, and the heavy gates would open. We drove onto a well-tended, green campus, dotted with well-constructed cement block classrooms and dormitories. A picturesque chapel, a fairly simple red brick structure with a high peaked roof, big enough to accommodate approximately 175 students, is a central focus of this campus that was founded by American Congregational missionaries in 1869 (Inanda Seminary 2013). Around the back of some of the classroom buildings, the truck with the instruments was parked, waiting. On more than one occasion I was asked, as the only person with a driving license present, to drive the truck over to the practice field. Bumping over the grass and ditch onto the gravelled drive, I would move the truck to its location. The tutors would open the back doors and get inside to begin to pass instruments down, and the members who gathered nearby would begin to lay them out while the others began to line up a little way down the lawn. The chatter and banter of scores of teenage girls, in mixed English, Zulu, and Xhosa, got louder as their numbers increased. These girls came from families who could afford the seminary fees, mostly from across KwaZulu-Natal, but some from further afield.

To say their families could afford the fees is perhaps to overly generalise their financial situation, however. One particularly aspiring girl, Azola, approached me on my second visit, saying her mother had said she must ask me if I knew of any university scholarships that would let her study in Canada. Chatting with her and getting to know her a little bit, I learned that her mother worked two jobs back home in a rural community in the Eastern Cape province, and that it was a constant struggle to save enough for school fees; however, her mother felt that an excellent education was the only way to ensure her daughter's future. Azola spoke of being one of the few Xhosa-speaking girls at the

seminary, and said she talked to her mother on the phone every night to get through, citing her mother's constant encouragement to persevere and determination to keep her in school regardless of personal sacrifice as the main reason she was able to cope with the pressure and homesickness. Inanda Seminary, the tutors told me, was the school of choice for the daughters of government ministers, and even some of President Jacob Zuma's daughters had attended the school in the past—maybe even in the present, they mused. Though I had no occasion to visit the classrooms, as we were blessed with good weather each time I attended, I did see the tidy and well-maintained cafeteria one day after a Saturday session where I recorded the KZN region's entry to the regional competition for the right to attend the national competition in Johannesburg. Everything about the facility spoke of efficiency and familiar institutionalisation, despite my surprise at the enormous glasses of sugary drinks the children were served and the stacks and stacks of white bread to which they helped themselves liberally, adding to the not terribly nutritious looking sandwiches on their plates.



Figure 10. Rehearsal at the Inanda Seminary, 7 June 2012

The school in Ntuzuma could hardly have been more of a contrast. Turning off the main highway, we drove down a narrow, potholed, sometimes-muddy road, always aware of the children playing and the chickens picking in the grass at its side. On one occasion, the usual driver not being available, the

tutors asked me to drive the equipment truck from the Inanda Seminary to the school in Ntuzuma. Leaving the little Hyundai parked safely behind a secure gate, two tutors and I bounced slowly along the pitted road to Ntuzuma. I began to notice that instead of the normal disregard my little white car garnered, people stopped, turned, and stared at us in the big white truck. Grown men in particular froze in their tracks and followed us with their eyes. Children ran along beside, waving, and began cheering, “Ja, ja, Mlungu! Mlungu!” The tutors began to snicker and then to laugh. “Are they calling me ‘white person’?” I asked, with just a dash of disbelief. With a flash of a broad smile, Sbu explained, “Yes, but they are cheering you. People aren’t used to seeing a white woman driving out here—especially not driving a truck.”

We proceeded up a winding road and negotiated a hairpin turn on the back of a hill to arrive at the school partway up. Walled and gated, the gates were open for us, and I carefully pulled through the narrow gateway, navigating past the crowded buildings and the teachers’ cars parked inside the walls’ remit. As an elementary school, children from the age of five to thirteen streamed out of the classrooms and onto the grounds. No grassy lawns here, the grounds were completely gravelled except for a very steep bank at the back of the school that plummeted down the hill. Around the buildings where the windows had been smashed out, shards of glass mixed in with the gravel on which the children played. They were dusty and dishevelled, wearing often ill-fitting dark blue uniforms with broken zips, missing buttons, and visible tears. One girl, week after week, sported a dirty, unraveling bandage on her leg.

Very few windows remained intact, but I noticed one day several children attempting to clean both the unbroken and broken windows of their classroom, apparently without adult supervision. They dangerously put their arms and sometimes their heads or bodies through the broken panes, having climbed onto desks and balanced precariously on narrow window ledges, to wash the outsides of the windows with wet paper towels. In another building, kids passed backpacks through the broken panes. I wondered if anyone ever gets cut. I wondered if any are HIV-positive.

Inside the classrooms, where we found ourselves on occasion due to poor weather, the walls were dirty and mostly bare. Some attempt at instructional

decoration had been made in one classroom at some point: someone had tacked up a cardboard train hauling the letters of the alphabet in a series of cars, but only about twelve of the twenty-six faded letters remained on the wall. Cement floors were dirty, desks were in various stages of disrepair, stacked along the walls to make room for the rehearsal, and the sound of the brass instruments assaulted us as it ricocheted around the stark cement structure. I could not bear to remain inside and I could scarcely get my audio recorder to capture the sound without clipping, even with greatly reduced recording levels. Outside, in fair weather, the dancers danced on the gravel and broken glass, sometimes barefoot (their feet must be tougher than leather, I mused). Sometimes one or two teachers remained behind, but mostly they were nowhere to be seen. There were no signs of books, none of the usual student art or maps on the walls. I wondered what the children did all day in these unkempt rooms.



Figure 11. Dancers at the Ntuzuma band, 19 October 2012

Tutors and others told me of troubles in rural and township South African schools. Relieved to have secure government jobs, a too-large proportion of teachers exhibited apathy for the work. Amidst the stories I was told of teachers who were passionate and inspirational were the stories of those who ended classes at noon each day and never came to school on a Friday, and of principals who received funding for an additional teacher but hired a fictitious person and

collected the salary themselves. Many of the schools had trouble attracting teachers in the first place, as they are often unwilling to live in or commute to such areas, public transport being notoriously poor. Certainly, by my own evaluation, if the facilities were generally anything like Ntuzuma, the environment was less than hospitable to a positive and inspiring learning or working environment—and, comparatively speaking, Ntuzuma has better facilities than many.

Inequalities and gaps in basic education

The descriptions of these two schools reflect not only the context of the work of the FBF, but also reflect the inequality that the FBF aims to rectify. Certainly, the post-apartheid government has attempted to address inequality through education. The old Model C schools, state schools built for the children the apartheid system designated as “white,” were opened up to students of other “racial” groups. New curricula were put in place, rewriting the nation’s history and removing the trade-based education of so-called “Bantu education,” which under apartheid had prepared “African” children for manual labour or domestic service. Attempts were made to shift funding to poorer schools, but imperatives of fiscal restraint in fact minimised any real improvement in these schools’ resources. School, textbook, and uniform fees were instituted throughout the state education system, not only in private schools. Thus, the equalising gains envisioned have never been realised, as rural communities struggle to retain teachers, obtain textbooks, and maintain infrastructure (McGrath and Akoojee 2007; Motala and Pampallis 2002; Vally 2007). In a continuation of this saga, a grand scandal erupted in 2012 as schools in the mostly rural province of Mpumalanga announced via the media that they had none of the textbooks they had been promised, and in 2013 schools in Limpopo raised this issue again. Meanwhile, those lobbying for textbooks and teachers in rural regions have joined demonstrations and strikes over so-called “service delivery”—delays in electrification and water projects, roads, hospitals, and other infrastructure. The number of service delivery protests skyrocketed in Zuma’s first term as president, evidencing the vastness of inequality and the wrath of the poor (Habib 2013, 61). It was precisely this sort of unrest which culminated in the tragedy of

Marikana on August 16, 2012, when police fired shots at striking miners, and thirty-four people were killed (Tolsi 2013).

Arguably many of the inadequacies in service delivery are in part due to the enormity of the task faced by the government, but in the meantime, the link between poor levels of education and unemployment has become rhetorically and practically solidified: “The message to workers is about a skill crisis rather than a jobs crisis. ‘Get retrained and the jobs will come’” (Vally 2007, 48). Internationally influential organisations such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which advance notions of a knowledge economy, link the failure of basic education in South Africa to provide adequate levels of maths and sciences achievement with the perpetuation of an enormous pool of unskilled labour, for which there is no demand. The OECD recommends market interventions to create demand for unskilled labour in tandem with massive educational reform to improve the prospects of today’s youth regarding further education and employment (Barnard 2009). Many children do not finish school, and even among those who do complete secondary education, there is an enormous variability in the quality of education received and thus the skills and knowledge attained.

Music education within the school system is also very unequally provided. While some private and historical Model C schools offer music, most public schools across the nation offer little. The new Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS), implemented in 2011, includes the music, dance, drama, and visual arts, but practically speaking, it offers little in terms of resources to generalist teachers who are often ill-equipped to provide music instruction. Moreover, schools often have inadequate resources or venues for arts and culture education, and arts education is often less respected within a maths, science, and literacy focused curriculum. Moreover, CAPS has moved away from an approach that integrates arts and culture subjects in other curriculum areas, an approach that music educators endorse, separating them out as electives which are sometimes offered after regular school hours (Nompula 2012). Thus, in many of the communities where the FBF operates, music education in schools is virtually non-existent.

Addressing academic gaps in basic education

Although the leadership of the FBF does not primarily see the organisation as having a mandate to address the gaps in basic education itself, it does have a mandate to support local schools and teachers, and to redress the effects of these gaps within the community. Most of the children in the FBF's regional bands are still in school, and in fact through the Field Band, they are encouraged to stay in school where there is at least some hope of their education. I visited two bands in the northern province of Limpopo, operating in two extremely disadvantaged communities. I interviewed Mr. Mashilo, a teacher and community support officer at the high school in Bochum-Senwabaranwa, about the impact of the FBF. He listed by name several students who, he believed, had been enabled by support from the FBF to complete school despite disadvantaged home situations (personal interview, 6 November 2012). Indeed, this support comes not only as exhortation to persevere, but as practical support.

One facet of such practical support is the "Children-in-Distress" programme, through which the FBF provides the school uniforms that are mandatory for attendance to children whose families are unable to pay for them. In another practical effort, toward the end of 2012, a number of bands around the country had begun setting up homework clubs in conjunction with rehearsals, in which band members could receive help from peers and tutors in their studies. A heavy emphasis on year-end examinations in the school system means that there is a great deal of pressure on students toward the end of the school year, and often parents or teachers insist that children drop all extracurricular activities, including FBF rehearsals, and spend all their evening hours studying. Most bands cease rehearsals in the month of November, after the national championships, either at the insistence of the leadership of the schools with which they are often affiliated or because members simply stop attending. Tutors mentioned the risk to the FBF that if children do poorly in exams, their families will blame the FBF for distracting them from their studies, though leaders in various regions and at head office claimed repeatedly that FBF members do better in school. However, taking inspiration from some students who attended rehearsals but sat on the sidelines to study (thus honouring their

duty to both the FBF and their parents), several regions have begun to work directly with schools to support academic study.



Figure 12. Students help each other with homework after rehearsal in Bochum-Senwabaranwa, 6 November 2012

Even if youth have the incentive, support, vision, and means to enrol in post-secondary education, they may not actually have the academic skills to succeed at university or a trade college, impeded by the low quality of their secondary education attainments. Thus, many of the government's efforts to move a larger proportion of the population from a labour economy to a knowledge economy have been largely incomplete in their implementation. Several South African technical colleges were converted to universities in 2006-2007, giving rise to a "tension in the role of the university system to address social inequity on the one hand and build a knowledge economy on the other" (Bawa 2012). Thus, in the context of such shortcomings in the educational system, the FBF's efforts to raise the standards of basic education in communities as far as they are able to do so in conjunction with local teachers and schools may have a very real impact on members' future prospects.

Additionally, the Field Band Academy (FBA) operates as a stopgap for many students between their inadequate basic education and further education of some kind. I will discuss the programme in further detail below, but at this juncture will note that the observations of the FBA facilitators offer an important insight into the FBA's role in addressing the deficiencies in the education system. Carol Harington was contracted to the FBF to design the FBA's academic programme, which she delivered with her business partner, Steve Kruger,

through the end of the 2013 academic year. She described the kinds of disparity and educational gaps observed in the students who enter training at the academy:

What's challenging is some of them will come already with matric,⁹ others might come—we have a couple that never even finished Grade 7 or whatever at school, so there's quite varied entry levels. So the streaming is quite extreme, to put it politely. But what we're trying to really look at is really maintenance of their education they've had, more than ultimately redoing everything, we're trying to plug gaps and helping—so if someone has very poor literacy skills, we will try and emphasise the literacy more. And most of them that come here, they're pretty proficient on social media but they've never operated a spreadsheet programme or a word processing programme and things like that. So we basically take them back and we teach them to use a computer as a working tool, as opposed to just a social media tool. Especially numeracy skills—we have a whole generation that is not literate in numeracy at all, so what we're teaching is almost like from preschool level right up to high school level of numeracy all over again, but also in a practical and applied way so that they can use it in their day to day job. (Carol Harington, personal interview, 3 May 2012)

In addition to academic knowledge, however, there is a great deal of focus on providing the “life skills” that children are often not acquiring either at school or at home, frequently due to the social upheaval of households and communities, due in large part to labour migration and premature death from disease or violence affecting many families in poor communities, as discussed in the context of the effects of inequality in chapter two. The “life skills” that are meant to be imparted through the work of the Field Band thus deserve close observation, both in the regions and at the academy.

Teaching life skills through music in the regions

Rehearsals in the regions often begin with line-up, in which some introductory attention drills may be conducted, or notices about the day's agenda or upcoming events given. Although I attended rehearsals at many different bands around the country, and noted a great deal of uniformity but also some variation in procedure, I observed the line-up ritual most regularly at Inanda. One of the tutors, Mendy Mchunu (known as Mumsy), had returned in

⁹ The attainment of secondary education qualifications is known in South Africa as “matriculation,” and a young person who has successfully completed secondary education “has matric.”

August 2012 from a rigorous three-month exchange to the US, during which she toured to a different location daily with her Wisconsin-based marching band. She had spent the nights sleeping on exercise mats on the gym floors and practiced for hours each day before the performance and the subsequent re-packing of the bus and travel to the next location. After her return to the KZN Field Band, she most frequently led line-up at Inanda, running it with military precision, and often spoke of discipline and self-control to the girls. As their military-straight lines began to dissolve, she would bring them back with a shouted command—“Attention!”—and the lines would re-form, the children calling “Snap!” as they “snapped” to attention. Occasionally Mumsy would lead them in a shouted call and response formula:

Mumsy:

Feet...

Head...

Back...

Eyes...

Members:

Together!

Erect!

Straight!

With pride!

She would hold them at attention momentarily, and then call, “At ease!” The girls would step their legs shoulder-width apart, hands clasped behind their backs, heads bowed, attentive for the next call.

Some days, particularly hot ones, a lethargy descended upon the group assembled in the shade of a big tree, and the “snaps” were less snappy and the responses less hearty. Invariably this persuaded Mumsy to intensify her earnest appeals to their sense of loyalty and duty, and reiterate that this opportunity to participate in Field Band was not a given: for if attendance, member numbers, and attitude did not improve, the FBF’s leaders were thinking of closing the band. In fact, this was not an empty threat, as at the end of 2012, leadership subsequently decided to close the band at Inanda and set up at another location; however, the band was later reopened as the core music education curriculum element for students in grades eight to ten. The revolutionary nature of a field band in which girls played all the instruments, even the percussion and low brass sections that are often popularly considered the male domain, was a motivating factor in starting a band at the Seminary. However, tutors remarked that there were too many competing activities at the affluent school for the band

to gain the dedication of its members in the long term; many, after they have completed their three mandatory years for school credit in the band, move on to another activity. While they were in the band, however, Mumsy would speak of them during her exhortations of the hard work and self-sacrifice of the tutors, including the hours of preparation and travel just to come to practice to give the girls the opportunity to participate, and the fact that developing loyalty, focus, and a good work ethic was a skill that would be valuable to them in all areas of life.

While there is a distinct flavour of the military about the line-up and call to attention, and indeed with the marching of the field band itself, such associations should not be read too deeply into the activities of the FBF. Brian Gibson recounted the discussions about military associations in the initial planning stages. While members of the steering committee, which included representatives from the sponsoring PG Group, liked the notions of community and discipline seen as inherent in the American marching band model that was proposed as one option, they disliked very much any military interpretation. The organisation thus called the bands “field bands” rather than “marching bands,” to distance their music and activities from any military connotations, which they felt particularly important in those early post-apartheid years (Brian Gibson, personal interview, 1 November 2012). Although it may be partly for financial or sponsorship reasons, FBF uniforms tend to draw more on South African modes of dress than on the military garb of American (and other) marching bands, and the repertoire and performance does not leave an unduly military impression. Thus, although remnants of the military roots of the genre remain, the FBF has adapted the genre for its own purposes. The values behind the military disciplines of “line up” and “attention” drills are consistent with the goals of the organisation, and thus these practices remain. Moreover, the positive, productive, and celebratory associations the genre has generated historically, which Herbert (2013, 53) identifies as one of the global legacies of British military bands, outweigh any potential negative perceptions. As discussed in the introduction, the notions of discipline, dignity, and productivity that have permeated brass band traditions from Victorian times, whether facilitated by military, civil society, or religious organisations, are certainly in play within the

FBF. In this way, the FBF continues the tradition of instilling discipline through brass band rehearsal and performance.

One day during the drive home, Mumsy described how she had compared the Inanda members explicitly with the American band of which she had been part during that day's line-up, telling the members that their lack of discipline was the only thing that set them apart from the American band and prevented them reaching their potential. Intrigued, I asked, "What behaviour did you see today that showed a lack of discipline?"

Mumsy replied, "Whenever a teacher is introducing something, they don't listen. They just want it to be said repeatedly."

"Ah," I remarked, reflecting on that day's events, "so that's when Ndabo has to shout, 'One! One! One!'"

"Yes," Mumsy agreed.

I sat with Ndabo one afternoon before leaving South Africa, and he helped me translate the Zulu in the recordings I had made at various rehearsals. Listening particularly for the exhortations of the tutors in line-up, we noticed several themes. By far the most common were those of discipline, working hard, time management, and being focused. A compilation of Mumsy's exhortations included the following:

You must know what you're here for in the band and know what is your role in the band. Whatever you're doing must come from your heart. If you think it's a waste coming here, it's fine; that's your view. But me coming here is not a waste. I went to the USA and I came back and you can even see that we have [only] nine brass players. That shows lack of commitment. Just before I left, I've never seen [only] nine brass players. If someone doesn't want to be in the band, they're not forced to be in the band. Since I've been here, I've seen that we've done a good job and keep on doing it. When you come to practice, you must come with good positive energy. Every time you should show that you like being here or that you enjoy being here. We've got things to do, but we decide to come here and teach you guys music. We also have a life, but we enjoy being here with you guys.

I want everyone to be here on time, we're supposed to start at 3:00 not arrive at 3:00. This rehearsal time, we should really embrace. We also have things to do at our own time, but we choose being here with you guys. Just because we have a low number [of members today], doesn't mean you have to lower your self-esteem.

You should make sure that you categorise your time in order—when it’s time to joke round, and when it’s time to work. In the band, not everyone’s going to be happy. But if you find it boring, it’s fine. But next time when you come here, make sure you come whole-heartedly. I like this. I came from USA and I came back to the band. Otherwise I wasn’t going to come back, if I didn’t like it.



Figure 13. Mumsy addresses the Inanda members at line-up, 4 September 2012

After line-up, sectionals are held with each instrument group and the colour guard, each generally focusing on the same pieces of music. Though I observed all of the sections, I frequently followed Sbu Ndlovu’s pit percussion section, as steel drums were deemed the easiest instrument to learn, and both the tutors and regional director Bryan Clarke agreed that if I wanted to participate, the steel drum was where I should begin. The first week, Sbu gave me a brief orientation, pointing out the huge four-drum bass drums, the “melody” steel drum with the full range of pitches, the “singer second” steel drum, the “guitar” drum and the “star guitar” drum. He assigned me the easiest, the “guitar,” and explained its layout. Unfortunately, the misshapen form and worn white-painted pitch labelling of many of the drums often hindered me from knowing whether I was playing right or wrong notes by sound or by sight.

As with all music taught in the regions, music is taught entirely by rote. At no point did I see a written score or any kind of notation; if such exists, the tutors know the music so well that they no longer rely on it. Musical transmission

throughout the regions is entirely aural, a skill that several Norwegians mentioned was enormously impressive to the Norwegian bands in which South African FBF students participated on exchanges, and their involvement in Norwegian bands has influenced the Norwegian pedagogical approach, which now incorporates more aural pedagogy. Sbu taught me the basic principles of playing the steel drum as arranged for this group—with the exception of the melody drums, all the other drums played a harmonic accompaniment, striking open fifths or thirds, depending on the drum and the chord, on all but the main beats, which were silent, with occasional pauses or simple rhythmic embellishments at cadences:



Figure 14. Typical rhythmic motif of "guitar" steel drum

Following Sbu's shouted-out counts from the front, I learned over time to feel the main beat and play on the off-beats, the girls around me seemingly effortlessly keeping track of the main beat while I would lose it in the steady stream of regular off-beat strikes. Straining to remember the chord progressions at the same time as the geography of the notes on the drum, I would berate myself in frustration—"It's just a I-vi-IV-V-I harmony, Laryssa, come on, basic harmonic progressions—you're in G major now, transpose!"—and eventually resort to visually following the girl next to me. Until I could learn the pattern kinaesthetically I could not think of chord progressions—there was no time for that, both because of the tempo and because the girls were often already familiar with the piece, and needed little of the repetition that would have helped me. Adding a shuffling sidestep to our playing helped me keep track of the main beat, but it distracted me from getting the chord progressions right.

Sbu would occasionally stop to explain or demonstrate something to a particular instrument group—a melody to the soprano marimba, a new harmony to the supporting marimbas, a bass line to the enormous full-drum bass drums or a harmonic progression to the guitar drums. At these moments, some girls would rehearse their own parts, while others would chat with each other, arms draped around each other's shoulders, check their cell phones for texts, or sit on the ground with their head on their knees. After working on whatever piece was

selected for the day, often Sbu would end sectionals by asking the girls what they wanted to play. More often than not, it was the Black Eyed Peas' "I Gotta Feeling" [sic] in which they would offer an enthusiastic, "Woo hoo!" at the appropriate moment. In the bridge, they dropped to a whispered piano, "Let's do it, let's do it, let's do it, let's do it," crescendoing with each repeated phrase until they were jumping in rhythm and shouting with all their lung capacity as they hammered out the chords, for once on the main beats rather than syncopated, on their instruments. Another favourite, "Nelson Mandela," an arrangement of Hugh Masekela's hit, was embellished at the cadence after the introduction with a shouted "I-nan-da!" punctuated with fists punched into the air—right! left! both! The choreography accompanying the playing emphasised and sharpened the syncopated harmonic accompaniment patterns.

In Ntuzuma, I tended to move around between sections to see the different rehearsal techniques. Ndabenhle Zulu (known as Ndabo), recently returned from Norway and working on a plan to go back to study the trumpet at university, generally ran the brass section, often with Sifiso Biyela's help with low brass. I described one particular rehearsal in my field notes as follows:

I spent a lot of time today with the brass. Ndabo is running the rehearsal, like in Inanda, and Mumsy is playing trumpet alongside the kids. Sifiso and Mxolisi seem to be looking over papers and alternatively texting, and Daniel comes and goes. I glance at their papers at one point: they are making lists of possible kids for Jo'burg. [That seems premature to me since they haven't quite pulled together things for tomorrow's audition tape.] The kids are remarkably quiet, I think, while he rehearses individual sections. Periodically he frowns and/or whistles or raises a hand when things get too noisy. Remarkably, he gets them all to speak their parts—"Khuluma!"—and they can, often quite on pitch, with as much enthusiasm as their playing. A tall but slight boy is playing the tuba and it seems to be a handful. He raises it to his shoulder and it bangs on the bass drum on his right. Ndabo scowls briefly, and the boy glances in an ever so slightly accusatory way at his neighbour. The boy shuffles a little to his right to give him a bit more space, quietly shuffling his own right-hand neighbour over slightly. Ndabo seems to be working with them on the endings of songs and on dynamics. I recognise "Come Back, Nelson Mandela," and later ask the guys the other one—it's called "Temporary Inconvenience"—I can't find it on YouTube at all. The brass section is fairly evenly mixed sex. (Field notes, 7 September 2012)

Sbu's rehearsals of the pit orchestra often run a bit more smoothly in Ntuzuma than Inanda. From my field notes the same day:

Meanwhile next door Sbu is running the pit rehearsal alone. Also a good mix of sexes here. They're playing "Nelson Mandela," "I Can't Help Falling in Love," and another one I recognise but can't place (maybe in part because the steel drums are so out of tune). He's working on perfecting the same songs as the others. Kids are sharing instruments. To my left, two girls are taking turns on the bass marimba; across from me, three boys sit at a table and seem to be playing an imaginary steel drum, perhaps. Those not involved are still dancing, even in their chairs if they are sitting. It's tight. When someone gets something wrong, Sbu just shakes his head and demonstrates. They pick it up right away. Later, in the car, Mxolisi says he likes these kids; they are sharp. Not like the girls in Inanda, who are too close to their own age. Teenagers with other things on their mind? I ask, and he concurs. (Field notes, 7 September 2012)

The last part of the practice found the group all back together, putting together what has been rehearsed in sectionals. Some days this went more smoothly than others. The tutors in the KZN band would take turns conducting the large group, with the remaining tutors supervising the respective sections and often conducting from behind. If the ensemble disintegrated, the conducting tutor would often drop his arms in despair, with a cry of, "*Hawu!*" followed by a stream of harsh-sounding reprimands in Zulu. If a band member was not listening, or made a show-stopping error, sometimes there was punishment. One day, as I was dancing along with the colour guard, Sbu, who was the section director for the day, turned to them and cried sharply, "On your knees!" Very strange, I thought, but nonetheless knelt down on the ground. Horrified, the girl next to me whispered hoarsely, "Not you, just us."

"Why you?" I asked.

"He's punishing us because we were talking and not listening." I clambered awkwardly to my feet, grateful for relief from the hard ground, but I felt a little like a traitor as I considered the gravel upon which the students still knelt. Gradually Sbu allowed particular members to stand, but one remained on her knees for the better part of ten minutes, unrepentant in her rebellion, while the conductor sorted out the other sections around the colour guard.

I was in Ntuzuma the day that, after only about three months of rehearsals, the band assembled "*Ubuhle bendoda*"¹⁰ for the first time, the sections straying and coming together again like the wandering cattle of the song. Starting

¹⁰ See appendix D for a transcription of a version of this song.

with just the brass, marimbas and steel drums, Hlanganani's percussion group joined partway through, tri-toms and snares overtaking the melody briefly; but upon reaching the end of the piece all together, two of the members cheered.

Finally, rehearsals conclude with another line-up, and in many regions the students say the FBF prayer and hear some words from one of the tutors on a particular topic. These final remarks are often the moment when some element of "life skills" is overtly addressed, which can be anything from gender relations, dating practices, study skills, discipline during rehearsal, developing a good work ethic, setting goals, having good personal hygiene, resolving conflict... the list goes on. Many of these topics come up organically, particularly during sectionals as well, but they are often made explicit during line-up at the end. Whenever Bryan Clarke attended a rehearsal, he would close with a few words about hard work and meeting goals, and a reminder to them to express their thanks to the tutors and the people who came twice a week to run the band.

After rehearsal is dismissed, members assist with repacking the van. Repacking the instruments into their cases, the tutors would assist them with repacking the van—a job none of them liked, which they took in turn, but over which they nevertheless competed to see who could do the best job. If at the beginning of rehearsal instruments began to tumble out at the opening of the doors, the tutor who had been responsible for loading the van at the previous rehearsal would be mercilessly mocked.

The bands have a variety of performance goals. They frequently perform at local community events, and are sometimes hired by businesses for business events. However, each band's main focus is the national Field Band Foundation competition, which takes place in September or October each year in Johannesburg. This has been the practice since the FBF was founded in 1997, but as the number of bands has risen, the national championships have gotten bigger each year. As from 2012, a new system was implemented where bands competed regionally to be selected for nationals. This change was implemented in order to address the enormous costs and logistical details of transporting twenty-seven bands to Johannesburg and feeding and accommodating thousands of members overnight. Many tutors and members expressed their disappointment at this turn of events, saying that the potential of being selected to represent your band

at the national championships and travel to Johannesburg every year was a powerful motivator. Most, however, acknowledged the validity of the economic and logistic reasons for moving to a two-tier competition model.

By the time of regional competitions, Daniel Mate had become the designated conductor for the KZN region, and though I never got to learn the process by which he was selected, he was certainly the most self-possessed and charismatic of the group. In the run-up to the video shoot for the band's submission, they brought the best and most regularly-attending members of the Inanda and Ntuzuma bands together. Much deliberation went on amongst the tutors as they made up the personnel list—much huddling over a sheet of paper, pointing, talking in murmurs, and crossing off and adding of names. In the car on the way back to Durban, they explained that although they needed the best-skilled players in order to perform well as a group, they prioritised faithful attendance and good attitude. On the day of recording, which I was asked to do on their behalf, there were audible splats from the brass in each of the takes, and one take ended with the complete dissolution of ensemble. In the end, by which time the members were exhausted from the hot sun, the tutors deemed the third take the best of their efforts, and I burned it on to a DVD and submitted it on their behalf. Ultimately, however, the KZN band did not make it through to the national competition, and members and tutors alike were distraught. Though the tutors maintained the “learn from your mistakes” and “this is an opportunity to learn to be gracious in defeat” lines, and also reassured the members that the competition was tough and that they were a very young band in comparison with the ones who were successful, in private they decried the lack of accuracy and dedication of the members, wondered whether their arrangement had not been good enough, and speculated about the politics of the competition. For the members, however, this defeat was framed as a learning opportunity and a chance to build character.



Figure 15. Daniel gives a thumbs-up to indicate the KZN region band is ready to perform for the camera for the regional competition recording, 8 September 2012

Setting a “tangible transformation” in process

Apart from this regular and ongoing musical and “life skills” instruction generally conducted by tutors, each band also has social officers or band managers who see to the management of the band and to the individual needs of the members. Social officers complete an intake questionnaire for each member joining the FBF in order to identify potential problems or difficulties he or she might be facing at home in terms of basic needs, family support, illness, unemployment, violence, or substance abuse. Social officers then liaise with families and local governments to assist people in accessing social services or grants, in many cases assisting people in obtaining identification and completing paperwork. The FBF’s Children-in-Distress programme provides school uniforms, as mentioned earlier, as well as home visits, mentorship, medical referrals, assistance in obtaining social grants, medical referrals, and referrals to government departments to inform them of children identified as orphans, from child-headed families, or in otherwise vulnerable home situations (Nana Pule, personal communication, 17 September 2012). In many areas, social officers liaise with schoolteachers, parents, and community leaders on local concerns such as gangs, drugs, violence, and education. In most regions, FBF representatives, whether tutors, social officers, or band coordinators, visit

members in their homes on a regular basis, and all FBF tutors and leaders with whom I spoke placed a priority on knowing children by name and understanding their family situation and individual needs.

As is evident in this description, while FBF activity is associated with the activity of music, the organisation's goals in fact exceed music education, and much time is spent on the physical, social, and emotional needs of FBF members. Music was originally conceived of as a "hook" to attract children to the FBF, in order for other social development to take place. Only later has it become evident that the musical activity itself also offers benefits that enhance the wellbeing of its members, in addition to the ongoing aims of reinforcing particular kinds of conduct, notions of agency, and practical skills in participating youth. As with Guilbault's work in Trinidad and Tobago, the focus is on changing the conduct of those involved: "Conduct is thus both a target that the self works on—exerting agency—and also a terrain of so-called external interventions" (2007, 8).

Mr. Mashilo, a teacher at the high school in Bochum-Senwabaranwa, Limpopo, articulated his strong support for the work of the FBF in his community in terms of the transformative effect its programme had on the conduct of its members. This was, in his view, evident in higher class attendance rates, greater degree of self-discipline in studies, and lower rates of teenage pregnancy and criminal behaviour—all effects that school programmes on their own had been unable to accomplish (personal interview, 6 November 2012). Field Band tutors Sanele Mthembu and Ruben de Klerk, both former FBF members, explained that the band becomes a family, offering support and boundaries to members, enabling them to make healthier choices. They assert that it is the combination of the supportive, family-like nature of the band and the musical environment itself that makes talk about the development of life skills more palatable, offering a supportive environment in which members begin to absorb these messages (personal interviews, 6 November 2012).

Many more interviews conducted around the country suggest that this transformation of consciousness and behaviour occurs in bands throughout the regions. However, these transformations are even more clearly observed at the Field Band Academy (FBA), where FBF students are trained to become tutors in

the regions. The FBA is an environment in which the values and mandates of the FBF are intensified and made tangible through the fashioning of self-conscious, reflexive individuals. Understanding the work of the academy provides rich insight into the role of what could be termed “neoliberal logics” within the FBF.

Neoliberal subjectivities and the Field Band Academy

There are two approaches to the analysis of the educational work of the FBF. One would be to view the organisation as one of the multitude of entrepreneurial ventures *cum* NGOs that proliferate throughout South Africa. As such, it could be viewed as both seizing the opportunities created by and responding to the gaps in civil society left behind by a neoliberalising government. It could also be seen as engaging with neoliberalism’s technologies of subjectivity by perpetuating individualistic, market-oriented, business-like values, motivating the pursuit of marketable skills, and employing corporate methods in doing so. However, such an analysis alone would be ungenerous, as it does not account for the ideologies that motivate each of the stakeholders I interviewed and observed, and it would also ignore the particular circumstances of need, governance, and opportunity in which the FBF operates. I propose an interpretation that focuses on pragmatism.

There is a great deal of anthropological writing that focuses on the particular subjectivities fostered under neoliberalism. Ong writes of neoliberalism as a biopolitical mode of governance that employs “technologies of subjectivity,” defined as “an array of knowledge and expert systems to induce self-animation and self-government so citizens optimize choice, efficiency, and competitiveness,” including “adherence to health regimes, acquisition of skills, development of entrepreneurial ventures, techniques of self-engineering and capital accumulation” (Ong 2006, 5). Additionally, Urciuoli points out that in the realm of education, neoliberalism encourages a view of acquired knowledge as being able to be interpreted and assessed as a skill, “an aspect of oneself that can be considered productive by prospective employers,” thus becoming “a form of self-marketing” in which “students come to imagine themselves as bundles of skills” (2010, 162). A neoliberal environment values the production of members of society who contribute to the economy, support their own families, take care

of their own health and basic needs, create safe communities, and form a labour pool to meet the needs of business. These values are consistent with the work of the FBF in the regions, but they are made manifest in the FBA programme of training.

The FBA curriculum comprises two streams—musical and academic. Musical training is conducted by South African and Norwegian professional musicians, the latter sponsored by Norway's Fredskorpset, although a plan to transition to a wholly South African-staffed academy is in place. The music courses include practical instruction in instruments and dance, conducting, choreography, music theory, music history, and teaching skills, intended to allow students to undertake work as tutors in the regions. The academic stream is in fact a functional matric programme, conceptualised under the heading of "life skills." It includes lessons in literacy, numeracy, communications, leadership, teamwork, project planning, entrepreneurship, time management, budgeting, and basic IT skills. Instruction on the academic stream was designed by and contracted to Carol Harington's consulting company, which specialises in education management and support services, as well as curriculum design aligned with South Africa's national qualification framework (NQF), which is itself a manifestation of the sort of "marketable skills" approach to education described by Urciuoli. Carol, who acted as academic director until the end of the 2013 academic year, articulated the FBA's goal as making its students employable, whether they go on to work within the FBF, in the music industry, or as a data capturer or call centre agent. In addition to giving them the skills to compete in the business world, she argued, they are also gaining exposure to the way the business world works (Carol Harington, personal interview, 3 May 2012).

Pedagogical methods, across the different subject areas, include a great deal of collaborative work, setting the FBA up as a microcosm of the "working world" in which people must encounter diversity and conflict. In fact, a high priority is placed on diversity, making the academy a rather unique institution in this regard, even yet in South Africa. Drawing students from all regions who represent South Africa's linguistic and ethnic diversity, inter-ethnic perceptions and prejudices quickly come to the fore at the academy. Many, if not all, of South

Africa's eleven official languages are spoken at the academy. On numerous occasions, students related that they had learned to speak one or more additional languages as a result of living within this diverse community, and moreover, that they had to overcome some of the cultural prejudices about other cultures.

In addition, gender relations and acceptance of non-heterosexual gender identities are key elements of discussion. Although the dance students are mostly female and brass and percussion students mostly male, instructors ensure that



Figure 16. FBA students participate in a teambuilding exercise, 17 July 2012

everyone has basic competence in all areas, and gender equity is a topic that receives much attention. The dance corps in particular seems to be a haven for transgendered individuals, whose status is otherwise publicly often perceived as quite far from normative. During my fieldwork, I became aware of two individuals who had thrived in the regional bands and had been invited for training at the FBA. I observed their interactions with their colleagues and what seemed to be a full integration into the mini-society of the FBA. One individual, known as “Galfriend,” made an emotional and very personal statement after a dance performance at her final examination that could be characterised as highly coded as female. She spoke about the understanding she had developed of her past choices, arising out of a desire to seek the love that she had never felt from her father in a romantic relationship with someone who treated her badly. Her dance, she said, was an expression of the love she shared with her current partner, “Loving that guy for who I can be in front of him, not loving him with the

love that I wanted my dad to give me.” One of the examiners observed, “You were presenting your case very believable, but you were also coming [up] with your eyes, wanting confirmation from your audience, Can you see me?” Galfriend replied, speaking of the connection with the audience that she was gauging and hoping to maintain. However, this notion of recognition seemed more than a simple performative strategy, but one that also bore a high degree of symbolism for a person who had undoubtedly had numerous experiences of marginalisation (transcription, FBA examination, 12 June 2012). Social inclusion is taught at the academy through the values of gender equality, empathy, and tolerance, and another dance that Galfriend choreographed expressed these values. I contemplated the performance in my field notes:

I have so much food for thought, still unprocessed, from a transgendered student who choreographed a piece for herself and two other women to demonstrate that women can dress like boys and still be sexy—talk about disrupting gender norms—the double reversal just about did my head in. Ironically, when I evaluated her presentation, I didn’t think she really said anything of substance about how her education at the academy would help her in promoting gender equity within the regional bands, but reflecting on it later, I realised she’d said more through her choreography and performance than could be said with words. Stunning. (Field notes, 14 June 2012)

Likewise, a variety of religious and non-religious positions are accommodated within the academy, and while the FBF itself is explicitly a secular organisation, lessons in respect and religious tolerance are part of the curriculum and part of the management of everyday issues arising between students. I will discuss this in much more detail in chapter seven, but for now will note that arguably such positions signal a certain style of liberal values, associated with a cosmopolitan, secular worldview of “modernity” (Ferguson 2006, 177). It is possible that the promotion of secular worldviews runs against the grain of historical African worldviews of all life as spiritually saturated and significant. However, it is also possible to view this perspective on spirituality as restoring religious autonomy to individuals and their communities, avoiding the historical hegemony that Christianity has had in “development” work in South Africa and much of the rest of the world. The FBF might even be seen as liberating brass band music from both military and religious establishments, coopting it instead for a purely secular, civil society purposes.



Figure 17. Ntuzuma students pray after rehearsal, 19 October 2012

I had the opportunity to observe the final presentations and performances and the subsequent exit interviews of the graduating class of June 2012. This demonstrated powerfully how the students understood and expressed the goals of their education and their mastery of them. Students took this rite of passage very seriously, and appeared in their best suits and dress clothes, borrowing from their friends when necessary, in order to portray a business-like image. The majority stood in front of a PowerPoint projection, in part as a means of demonstrating their FBA-acquired technical skills, and spoke from cue cards about the goals and values of their education, and how they had achieved them. One student portrayed himself as a product that “contained” each of the key skills and values he discussed. His conclusion slide showed a bar graph with an upward swooping arrow above expressing growth, and outlined his transition in point form underneath:

- From nothing to something
- From unprofessional to professional
- Misbehaving to good behaviour

He summarised: “Truly I say I’m better now than before” (FBA examinations, 14 June 2012).



Figure 18. FBA students give final presentations in their most businesslike manner, 13 June 2012

Alternatives to neoliberal interpretations

It is certainly possible to view the work of the FBA as “reengineering” youth “into self-disciplining professionals who can remanage themselves according to corporate rules and practice” (Ong 2006, 223). Indeed, the themes of individual responsibility, self-engineering, and making oneself marketable to the FBF and the world beyond emerged clearly in the presentations. However, there are several ways in which the FBF’s education programme is also aligned with the emancipatory or empowering ethic that motivates approaches such as critical pedagogy. Some of these strategies may be perhaps considered counter to the individual emphasis of the neoliberal project, in that they reinforce historically important notions of communal responsibility and creativity.

Despite the apparent individualism saturating the FBF’s programme, and the FBA in particular, in fact a strongly pro-social, anti-individual thread runs through its work and its discourse. Throughout the organisation, the ideological focus centres on restoring dignity to those who had been robbed of it under apartheid. Of course, Bond, Ferguson, Ong, and others have noted the co-optation of human rights discourse by neoliberalism, and Becker notes the specific linking

of human rights discourse in South Africa with economics (2010, 136). However, the cooptation of notions of individualism is always contestable and never complete, even when human rights advocacy is conducted under the auspices of neoliberalism. Nicky du Plessis spoke to me of the FBF providing its members with the dignity of earning a living from music (field notes, 11 September 2012). Retha Cilliers echoed this perspective:

That's exactly what we're trying to do, is give them their dignity back. The minute you've got dignity back, your entire life changes. And you know that's the biggest sin of apartheid. Nothing else mattered. Robbed people of their dignity and made them feel second-class citizens. And to this day we still have a lot of that. And that is my aim, is to remove that. Give people dignity. Because the minute you have dignity you live your life differently. (Personal interview, 22 September 2012)

FBF stakeholders conceive of employment as offering the ultimate in dignity via self-sufficiency, and as creating a sense of purpose. Long-time member and current tutor, Joel Stamboel, contrasted the life, career, and sense of purpose he has gained from studying at the FBA with the lives of many young men his age in his home town, who spend their days in idleness: "If it wasn't for the FBA in a way, maybe I'd be sitting there [with them], going with the sun around the house" (personal interview, 16 June 2012). Offering students career choices is seen as particularly important in communities where there is little available employment, or only work as an unskilled labourer (Carol Harington, personal interview, 3 May 2012).

Tied to this notion of the dignity of the individual is respect for the individual's opinion and voice. Retha explained that it was important, in restoring people's dignity, to allow them to express themselves. Elaborating on this theme on another occasion, Steve Kruger suggested that one of their main imperatives was to teach critical thinking and reflexivity. This skill was both in great demand and difficult to teach to the students because, in his words, "They're not used to having intrinsic value in their own thoughts or words" (personal interview, 17 July 2012).

Agamben notes that capitalism, generally speaking, requires the discipline achieved by biopower to create the "docile bodies" that it needs (1998, 3). Ong links this sort of discipline and reflexivity to neoliberal logics, which develop in employees a kind of thinking that can be focused on business problems and fed

back into everyday practice (2006, 222), and she observes initiatives to transform “particularistic cultural beings into self-disciplining professionals who can remanage themselves according to corporate rules and practice” (223). However, the work of the FBF arguably demonstrates that there is a morality that underpins these methodologies that supersedes a sheer capitalistic view of individualism. It is an individualism that recognises the innate moral value of what Agamben terms “bare life,” a non-political “being alive” that has its own moral legitimacy, but which also demonstrates, by its inclusion in the political domain, the extent of sovereignty (De la Durantaye 2009, 205). Ong takes up this notion, observing neoliberalism’s particular shifting and reorganisation of categories of morally deserving humanity (Ong 2006, 23); however, the FBF, in ideology and surprisingly often also in practice, aims to broaden rather than narrow the definition of “morally deserving humanity.”

The FBF’s delicate task of developing subjectivities is perhaps its greatest ethical and ideological challenge. Considering the “subtle, but devastating, effects of education during the colonial period on creativity amongst indigenous Africans” (Mans 2012, 32), attention to reversing the individualistic and prescriptive effects that such forms of education and experience have had on individuals within entire populations has enormous political potential. In many ways, such an approach seeks to restore the emphasis on community expressed in the Zulu proverb, “*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*,” roughly translated as, “A person depends on persons to be a person” (Shutte 2001, 3). Further, Shutte, a South African philosopher and Catholic theologian, suggests that this proverb provides a philosophical basis for development work:

The key idea that persons can only develop as persons in relationships with others in which self-knowledge and self-affirmation are fostered and increased, provides a fundamental standard for the practices, the institutions and the culture that constitute our society. This standard can be made more concrete by spelling out the qualities of character and the kinds of relationships that both express and foster the development of persons. (1993, 11)

Betsy Oerhle, the head of the well-known music education/community arts project, Ukusa, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban, references this philosophy as underpinning the developmental values of her programme (2010).

The nine core values that the Field Band Foundation has identified, around which it organises its work, reflect a similar ideology. These include honesty, empathy, self-belief, diversity, excellence, discipline, respect, equality, and integrity (Field Band Foundation 2012a, 8). Field Band members memorise this list of values, and on several occasions I witnessed tutors quizzing the students about the meaning of these values, or relating them to particular situations. The development of character, based on an understanding of oneself and one's relation to the community, is also spelled out in the FBF's operations manual as an "ethos," or a desired approach, detailed in appendix A. The first three items in particular relate to the development of the subjectivities of young people:

- Create a love of learning in each member
- Develop confidence, self-worth, self-discipline and a sound work ethic
- Instil in the members a strong moral code (Field Band Foundation 2012a, 8)

Paulo Freire's philosophy on the ethics of education provides another perspective on the outcomes of the FBF's work. His key texts of the critical pedagogy approach (2000, originally published in 1970; 1985; 1994, originally published in 1992; and 1998, published posthumously), stress the key notion of developing an awareness of subjectivity in students. This allows them to reflect upon their marginalisation and free themselves from the interiorisation of the values of those who have oppressed them (1985, 53). His process of "conscientization" (from the Portuguese *conscientização*) through literacy education aims to develop self-reflexive, critical thinking process from within the student, allowing them to develop the ability to "perceive social, political and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (2000, 33). These interventions, he argues, change not just the individual, but also society (1985, 39). He denounces "banking education" that positions students as vessels to be filled and teachers as narrators who deposit facts into the students' heads, and notes that under this system of education students become individualised, viewed as "marginals" who need to be "integrated" into a society dominated by the powerful class (2000, 74). The remedy to this situation is a "problem-posing," dialogic mode of education that does not permit arguments based on notions of authority (2000, 79–80).

It is important to clarify that the FBF has not, to this point, engaged with Freire's perspectives. I inquired of several leaders whether they had heard of his work, and they had not. While the principles he has developed may be in place in other organisations in South Africa, the FBF is currently operating in a largely neoliberal development framework. Thus, the organisation negotiates a fine line in developing the subjectivity of its members and participants. While it might be possible to view them as preparing young people for integration into the new hegemonic market economy, which integration may not ultimately eradicate their marginal status, it is also evident that students have gained many of the creative thinking skills and levels of confidence needed to pursue goals that cannot be contained within the framework of market demand.

Does the FBF help members to fully perceive social, political and economic contradictions? Perhaps, without acknowledging the persuasive, individualising pressures of neoliberal economics on the lives of South African youth, these perceptions remain more limited than they might otherwise be. This is where consideration of Freire's principles would be advantageous, perhaps building on the common ground that can be found between the FBF's present methods and Freirean methods. FBF participants experience and begin to exhibit emphases on community, on the possibility of positively influencing the arenas neglected by a neoliberal economy, on the link between community wellbeing and personal wellbeing through the FBF. These impetuses arise from within a neoliberal framework, but also draw on historical social structures, where community members take on responsibility for one another. Arguably, the FBF taps into some of these histories with the brass band genre and its association in diverse regions with voluntary associations, *stokvels*, burial societies, and community events (Ballantine 1991; Bruinders 2013; Coplan 1979).

Finally, it is worthwhile reflecting that the FBF's musical practices may offer some of the counterbalancing political awareness that is needed in this equation. The affective experience of teamwork and values such as personal responsibility to the group emphasised in ensemble playing cannot be entirely subsumed by neoliberal logics. The repertoire itself is rich in its history of political resistance. Not only do songs like "*Ubuhle bendoda*" invoke ways and means of relating in society that translate to capitalist times, as discussed in

chapter three, much of the organisation's repertoire is drawn from anti-apartheid protest songs. For example, "Bring back Nelson Mandela" invokes the memory of the leader imprisoned for his efforts to free the African people. The lyrics of the popular song "*Amavolovolo*" recall the bloodshed and violence in the struggle between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC in KwaMashu during late apartheid and the early transition; its lyrics proclaim, "We won't go to KwaMashu; we're afraid of revolvers." The apartheid anthem, "Meadowlands," invokes the memory of forced removals and the resistance to them. Drawing on the history of protest against oppression and subjection to state powers, the performance of these songs taps into discourses of equality and freedom for all, in which the experiences of many, if not all, South African people have been saturated. However, it is worth noting that the progression of time, the increased numbers of youth who were born after the end of apartheid, and enlarging discourse of individual responsibility may dull the memory and meaning of such expressions of collective values and beliefs. These songs will only invoke freedom for as long as these meanings are sustained and transmitted in society, and it may take overt, conscious effort to transmit notions of resistance from the realm of apartheid-era racial oppression to the contemporary oppressive forces of capitalism and class. It will be necessary to continue to consider the types of socially-embedded messaging in future repertoire choices; as Pavlicevic and Impey (2013) observe, music offers the possibility to articulate and hold in tension local values, conflicts, negotiations, and reconstructions, but priority must be placed upon understanding the cultural, social, and therapeutic possibilities of repertoire and musical processes.

The incorporation of Freirean (or similar) approaches to both musical and non-musical dimensions of its work might enable the FBF to draw more on the resources that youth bring to the bands, further develop local responses to local challenges, and ensure that the subjectivities that are developed in the process are shaped by local perspectives. In some regions, FBF bands incorporate some of the musical preferences of youth into repertoire, and my visit to the Plettenberg Bay band also revealed some links were being forged between the FBF band and a local youth gumboot programme (field notes, 31 July 2012). Musically, the brass band genre globally is led by an authority figure

which may, Herbert offers, be democratically selected, but the performance style is one that is ultimately directed by a single conductor (2013, 53), and so perhaps the incorporation of other musical genres may permit less authoritative, more collaborative performances. In fact, if the FBF is to expand to a more “franchised model,” as certain consultants have suggested and as will be discussed in chapter seven, perhaps they might undertake in-depth local research to understand not only the development needs and desires of the community, but also whether local musical traditions offer alternative valuable musical idioms or practices.

It must be noted, however, that the FBF prioritises and has a history of making local connections: the Field Band Academy was only formed in 2009, but the FBF has required regional tutors throughout its existence. Thus, they have drawn on local musicians who have compatible musical and developmental philosophies to run the bands, and have also engaged respected local leaders with established community connections to join the FBF programme as board members, project officers, or social officers. I had the opportunity to meet with and interview Thoko Mlonyeni, a project officer for East London and Emalahweni in the Eastern Cape, whom Retha characterized as “one of the greatest human beings I’ve ever met” (Retha Cilliers, personal interview, 12 September 2012). Thoko explained that she had been working for the Department of Sport and Recreation and running a youth development programme with football (soccer) as the core activity, when the FBF found sponsors in the region who wanted to start a band there. Nicky du Plessis, in her capacity-building role, met with local government and community leaders, and Thoko was one of the people invited to attend the presentation. Thoko liked the model, but was one of the voices cautioning the FBF against a military model in terms of uniforms and repertoire, and against overemphasis on performance over participation. Thoko praised the FBF and Retha for a consultative approach:

What was special about Retha was that [she] reached out, [she] didn’t stay in Durban, [she] would come to the community. And also [she] had a very good ear to listen. Because we thought that it should not be something imposed. It should be something that people were also given a chance to give input on what they think. And I think that’s what—the band maybe took a long time to really let it go so that communities could sort of own it... but then gradually... I’m not a musician, but Retha used to

invite me to Field Band workshops, and then I used to be given an opportunity to involve participants of the workshop in fun activities, which to me had a meaning. I would try to create an activity that was going to have fun, but at the end they would learn something out of it. So that's when I thought they started to understand... (Thoko Mlonyeni, personal interview, 14 November 2012).

Suggestions about the consideration of alternate genres notwithstanding, the FBF is likely judicious in focusing on one genre in each regional band. Already, students have a mere three to four hours per week to master their musical instrument, and scant weeks in the year, between holidays and exam time, when they can build their musical skills and develop their competition piece for regional competitions. Although they may schedule additional rehearsals before performances and competitions, most band members do not have access to their instruments between rehearsals, which are locked in the truck, travelling to the other regional band on their “off” days. Tutors rely on member focus during rehearsal, on the pedagogical ease of selected instruments, and on clear rehearsal plans in order to accomplish the level of proficiency they are able to achieve. To maximise the use of time and resources, they need to focus on a single genre.

Although the colonial and religious histories of brass bands may be said to connote a certain paternalism and moral hegemony, the tradition has equally been adopted, adapted, and subverted for the expression of the desires and goals of those who claim it. As well, through the catholicity of genres incorporated, including popular, local, religious, secular, global pop, and standard brass band repertoire, the FBF also resists charges of elitism that are sometimes associated with art music and development organisations centred around art music.¹¹ However, if the FBF is to open up its model further, it may wish to explore the possibilities that different, perhaps locally-selected genres may offer—several tutors, as will be discussed in chapter six, have ideas of establishing their own organisations or ensembles, perhaps working alongside, but not within, the FBF, and this may be a launching point.

¹¹ Geoff Baker, for example, devotes a chapter to the critique and resistance of the orchestra as an artistic and pedagogical form in his recently published analysis of the Venezuelan organisation, *El Sistema* (2014, 111–132).

Finally, the fact that the FBF has more demand for bands in communities (both from the citizens in the community and from local companies ready to sponsor bands) than it currently has the human resources to meet suggests that local communities value what the FBF offers. Critical reflection on their operations and format at local levels is needed to fully understand the local impact they are having. This includes consideration of whether the format of brass band is best suited to the needs of the community, whether the organisational structures and relationships in the community foster a truly collaborative programme that is driven by local needs and desires, and whether there are ways in which their programme might more strongly develop the political consciousness of members, by drawing on the strengths and resources within individuals and their communities. As Freire cautions, all of this needs to take place within an accounting of the local histories and power flows in the community, with “a clear understanding of the relationship between tactics and strategy” (Freire 1985, 41). The most productive effort in education, he argues, is the development of self-expression and the creation of a new discourse (27). Radical social transformation only occurs when infrastructures are changed that have an impact on the existing superstructures (31). Thus, Freire’s perspectives reverse the neoliberal logic of promoting the development of skills and subjectivities that the capitalist economy needs; rather, citizens are challenged to understand current structures of power and to demand changes where they feel marginalised. It would be very instructive to conduct assessments of regional FBF programmes with these or similar principles in mind.

In summary, this chapter has shown that the development of subjectivity and identity are as important to the FBF’s work as skills development. As I noted in chapter two, and as reflected in the epigraph at the top of this chapter, the vision of the potential of arts and culture expressed in Mzansi Golden Economy is focused entirely on discovering and developing artistic skills that people can exploit in order to make a living. However, this chapter has shown that this vision also assumes and requires the development of particular subjectivities and “soft skills” that position people to act entrepreneurially, to manage their own careers, to market themselves, and to seek and create opportunities. Moreover, in the FBF’s programme in both the regions and at the academy, these

subjectivities and skills are verbally emphasised and tacitly developed through musical practice.

This chapter has detailed the inequalities and gaps that have arisen in basic education, as evidenced by the highly unequal levels of achievement of students. I have presented the FBF's programmes in the regions as both meeting basic needs and developing marketable "life skills" in members. The detailed ethnographic description of regional FBF rehearsals and FBA assessments has revealed the alignment of certain of these life skills with values that have been identified in anthropological literature as corresponding with the neoliberal order. Notions of self-discipline, respect, hard work, focus, time management, and excellence are reinforced verbally and practically at rehearsals and at the academy. Skills such as entrepreneurship, IT competency, respect for diversity, leadership, project planning, and communications are also developed at the FBA, with the expressed intention that if graduates of the academy do not go on to work for the FBF, they will be able to pursue further education or find employment outside the academy in order to provide for themselves.

The chapter has thus described the ways in which the FBF, and the academy in particular, is specifically oriented to equipping students to participate in the outside world, beyond the FBF, as the conduct of the students during their final presentations and exit interviews created a distinct impression that they equated becoming professional with becoming business-like, both in terms of behaviour and self-management; yet I have closed the chapter by problematising a straightforward interpretation of these aspirations as subject to neoliberal logics. The FBF leaders' concern for restoring the dignity of the individual by helping them attain employability in South Africa's current job market, I have argued, links to Agamben's notion of "bare life." The FBF's goal is to broaden the definition of "morally deserving humanity" rather than allow its restriction by the antisocial forces of the market. I have argued that the FBF's consistent attention to the values that underpin its work suggest that the organisation may ward off the danger that students' future personal and career development is restricted to the role that the market would dictate.

**PART TWO:
WELLBEING AND CAPABILITIES**

Chapter Five

Conceptualising “the good life”: Theoretical frameworks for music education as a route to increased wellbeing

This chapter will explore the links between music development work, political economy, and wellbeing. If, as Sen argues, successful socioeconomic development is evidenced by the ability of people “to choose the lives they have reason to value” (1999, 63), developing the capability to make such choices should be the focus of development work; this would make the greatest contribution to the wellbeing of individuals and communities. Thus, this chapter applies Sen’s theoretical framework to the FBF, and will be followed by an ethnographic chapter that explores FBF participants’ perceptions of their wellbeing and the ways in which their wellbeing has been affected through involvement in the FBF. These chapters will demonstrate that there may be potential within ethnomusicology to develop a theory for music development projects.

This discussion will be grounded primarily on Sen’s notion of “capabilities,” defined as the personal capacity of people “to lead the kind of lives they value—and have reason to value” (1999, 18). He clarifies that “capabilities” are thus an economically animated articulation of the anthropological notion of “agency:” a person with agency is able to act and bring about change; his or her achievements “can be judged in terms of her own values and objectives, whether or not we assess them in terms of some external criteria as well;” and he or she is “a member of the public and ... a participant in economic, social and political actions” (19). Within the fields of political studies and the subfield of scholars and practitioners who argue for and employ the “capability approach,” there are intense debates about the capabilities to be developed. Sen argues on political and epistemological grounds that lists of desired capabilities must not be prescriptive; Martha Nussbaum, by contrast, argues that theories of social justice require particular capabilities in order to be compelling and effective (Claassen 2011, 495). Taking into account these concerns, I elect to adopt political and economic bases for capabilities, which thus necessitates a social notion of wellbeing—a wellbeing that is perceived as multidimensional, rather than purely

related to physical health, and which therefore extends beyond the limited, largely physical conception of wellbeing of both classical economics and biomedicine. I will also connect with discussions of wellbeing in the fields of community arts and community music therapy, but will relate these theoretical and evaluative aspects back to political economy as a theoretical framework for the practices of the Field Band Foundation. Thus, I conceive of multidimensional wellbeing not only as a target of the FBF's activity, through the nurturing of particular capabilities, but also as an indicator of the political-economic success of its project.

Political-economic interest in notions of wellbeing and “the good life”

Sen's “life one has reason to value” may be linked with the notions of “a good life” invoked by Ong in the context of neoliberalism (2006, 198), but also draws on a much longer history of notions of “a good life.” This history is articulated in the work of Giorgio Agamben (1998), who studies Aristotle's juxtaposition of “bare life” (*zoē* or *zēn*) with “a good life” (*bios* or *eu zēn*). “Bare life,” he argues, is a non-political “being alive” that only gains moral legitimacy by its inclusion or exclusion from the political sphere. Agamben's work observes the distinction in these two distinct Greek conceptions of “life”: “For [the Greeks], ‘simple, natural life’ (*zoē*) was not the affair of the city (*polis*), but instead of the home (*oikos*), while *bios* was the life that concerned the *polis*” (De la Durantaye 2009, 205). Thus, inclusion within the political sphere results in the possibility of a “good life,” whereas the result of exclusion is the Greek figure of *homo sacer* (literally, “the sacred man” or the person who has been set apart). The *homo sacer* may be killed without his death being considered either murder or sacrifice (Agamben 1998, 6–8), because he is “set outside human jurisdiction without being brought into the realm of divine law” (1998, 82).

For the purposes of this chapter, I draw on one of Agamben's key conclusions: that an inclusive political system facilitates “a good life,” or gives political legitimacy to the lives that people lead. Exclusion or exception from the political economy relegates individuals to periphery, deeming them less than human, less than worthy, or expendable. Agamben locates the figure of *homo sacer* throughout history, culminating in the Nazi death camps. What is new in

the contemporary, capitalist era, he argues, is a double bind by which bare life is simultaneously excluded from the political realm—robbed of legitimacy and rights—and included in the political realm—subject to the powers and actions of the state. He calls this a “zone of irreducible indistinction” (Agamben 1998, 8), and he sees the consequent conflation of the two notions of life as “paradigmatic of our most pressing political concerns” (De la Durantaye 2009, 205).

Applied to the South African situation, the majority population under the apartheid government was under such a state of sovereign exception, excluded from participation in the political economy and at once under the control of a government that viewed these majorities as less than fully human. The post-apartheid vision was to eliminate this state of exception and ensure the full participation of all South Africans in the political economy. However, where rising levels of inequality continue to produce reduced levels of wellbeing, arguably this is evidence that many members of the population are still excluded from full participation in the political economy. Increased levels of wellbeing are thus an indicator of increasing levels of economic inclusion, keeping in mind that Sen’s notion of wellbeing is defined by the capabilities of the population rather than evidenced by their happiness or guaranteed via access to primary goods (1999, 56–8)—they are precisely capabilities, or potentialities.

rights such potentiality, rather than one that enforces or even guarantees it. It is a stance that still privileges the role of the individual, while acknowledging the necessary contribution of institutions to empower the individual (Sen 1999, 142).

Extending beyond notions of utility, an increasingly popular notion is that inequality, rather than basic levels of absolute poverty, is the main driver of reduced wellbeing. The work of epidemiologists Wilkinson and Pickett (2006; 2010), who attempt through statistical analysis to provide evidence that high levels of inequality lead to lower levels of health and physical wellbeing, is increasingly cited as common sense in areas of public health and development policy. For example, a recent University of Oslo Commission on Global Governance for Health (Ottersen et al. 2014), which includes other scholars on the links between health inequities and socioeconomic inequity, such as Michael Marmot (2004), cites the research of Wilkinson and Pickett as absolute evidence

of these links. The arguments of a small group of critics should be noted, despite their politically aligned orientations: they express what seem to be legitimate concerns about Wilkinson and Pickett's methodologies and their assumption that higher levels of equality within a society really do improve the wellbeing of all its members, even those wealthier members who, presumably, have been negatively affected through income redistribution (in most cases, taxation) (for example, Bjørnskov 2010; Sernau 2011; Snowden 2010). Moreover, studies by Wilkinson and Pickett and others "do not adequately explain the structure and processes of social support that can mitigate the effects of health inequalities, perhaps because looking at cultural aspects of this is not in their domain" (Parkinson and White 2013, 183). Whatever weaknesses still exist in this research, however, there is enough provocative evidence in the links between income and health inequalities that these ideas are becoming established not only in practice, but also amongst progressives within economic and development policy.

Thus, economists have begun to explore the measurement of happiness or life satisfaction as an expression of the success of an economy and its ability to contribute to the wellbeing of its constituents. The measurement of happiness in economics is theorised as an expression of the experience of increased utility—in other words, an increase in individual income will cause an increased individual expectation that one's choices are now rendered more possible. Clark, Frijters, and Shields (2008) point out the many problems with these assumptions, but they argue that the inclusion of the economics of happiness into economic models of taxation, labour supply, and economic growth, to name a few important policy areas, is "an important step toward greater behavioural realism in Economics, such that our models and empirical analysis move closer to how real people feel and behave" (Clark, Frijters, and Shields 2008, 138).

Development economists Banerjee and Duflo (2007; 2011) describe the range of choices that the poor do exercise. They point to anthropological understandings of beliefs and sociality, while acknowledging the psychological toll of poverty. They dispel ideas of the choices of the poor being "irrational," arguing:

The poor seem to be trapped by the same kinds of problems that afflict the rest of us—lack of information, weak beliefs and procrastination among them. It is true that we who are not poor are somewhat better educated and informed, but the difference is small because, in the end, we actually know very little, and almost surely less than we imagine.

They continue on to argue that not only are developed countries' basic infrastructure and public health systems better, ensuring clean water, sewage, immunisation, and preventative care, but also:

Perhaps most important, most of us do not have to worry where our next meal will come from. In other words, we rarely need to draw upon our limited endowment of self-control and decisiveness, while the poor are constantly being required to do so.

We should recognize that no one is wise, patient, or knowledgeable enough to be fully responsible for making the right decisions for his or her own health. For the same reason that those who live in rich countries live a life surrounded by invisible nudges, the primary goal of health-care policy in poor countries should be to make it as easy as possible for the poor to obtain preventive care, while at the same time regulating the quality of treatment that people can get. (Banerjee and Duflo 2011, 68)

In the South African case, public health scholars observe real linkages between inequalities in population health and inequalities of income. Literature on HIV and AIDS describes a complex epidemic that is rooted in the socioeconomic inequalities of large population groups within the broader society, but research also points to the burden of non-communicable disease borne by these same population groups. A 2009 report on the South African medical system for *The Lancet* reveals that the fifteen years following the end of apartheid actually saw an increase in non-communicable diseases (Mayosi et al. 2009, 934). They also observe a rising prevalence of neuropsychiatric disorders, and note the reciprocal effects of poverty, low socioeconomic status, unemployment, social conflict and mental wellbeing (936). Authors of the executive summary to the special issue observe that the overall result is a collision of four epidemics: HIV/AIDS and tuberculosis; violence and injury; non-communicable disease, chronic illness and mental health disorders; and maternal, neonatal and child mortality (Lawn and Kinney 2009, 4–5).

Also in this special issue, Mooney and Gilson directly attribute health inequalities to the Mbeki administration's neoliberal GEAR policy, which exacerbated inequality (Mooney and Gilson 2009, 858). A 2012 report observes

several improvements in the intervening years, resulting in an increase of life expectancy to sixty years. These improvements are due largely, the authors argue, to the change in leadership at the national level marked by the ascent of Zuma and Motsoaledi and the departure of Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang, whose health policies and AIDS denialism were devastating (Mayosi et al. 2012, 2020). Health, wellbeing, economics, and politics are very much at the forefront of the consciousness of those involved in public health in South Africa.

Perhaps it is in response to perceived social overemphases on the material and the physical that many arts and health initiatives focus on other dimensions of wellbeing. In his evaluation of such initiatives in the UK, Angus writes that improvement of physical health or wellbeing is seldom articulated in the goals of such organisations, which rather focus on psychological, social, and spiritual aspects of wellbeing (Angus 2002, 4). However, it should also be noted that since its creation in 1946, the World Health Organization's (WHO) definition of health has always included more than just physical health. Its first founding principle defines health as "a state of complete physical, mental, and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity." It invokes economic dimensions in a later principle, asserting that socioeconomic status should not theoretically affect the health of individuals or communities, stating, "The enjoyment of the highest attainable standard of health is one of the fundamental rights of every human being without distinction of race, religion, political belief, economic or social condition." This also refers indirectly to the political dimensions of health, made somewhat more explicit in the statement, "Governments have a responsibility for the health of their peoples which can be fulfilled only by the provision of adequate health and social measures" (World Health Organization 2005, 1). However, the absence of the economic dimension of wellbeing from the organisation's definition of health has arguably meant that groups and organisations drawing on its definition also miss out on this critical link in their work.

More recently, the WHO has become more concerned about the role of socioeconomic inequality. In a 25 February 2014 speech, the Director-General, Dr. Margaret Chan, identified growing social and economic inequality, now at their most extreme in over fifty years, as a destabilizing force and a threat to

social cohesion (Chan 2014). The United Nations Development Programme's (UNDP) most recent report addresses income inequality directly, adopting Sen's capabilities approach, but insisting that inequality of outcomes is as serious as inequality of opportunities; it states that both are necessary to successful development policy. Of relevance to the conversation on wellbeing, the UNDP report states, "Even as human well-being is inherently multi-dimensional—spanning material, relational and subjective dimensions—development theory has for the most part been concerned with inequalities in the material aspects of well-being" (Poverty Practice, Bureau for Development Policy 2013, 5).

Significantly, the organisation recommends that development economics become more inclusive:

In recent years, strong consensus has grown that a genuinely adequate concept of human well-being must go beyond material aspects of life and include dimensions such as relational human well-being (the ability to act meaningfully and engage in fulfilling social relations) as well as subjective well-being (an individual's sense of self-worth and the level of satisfaction about the conditions of one's life). Inequality has also become highly relevant here. Persistent inequality between different segments of a population can entrench the discriminatory practices and cultural biases that fuel social exclusion. Furthermore, high levels of inequality can distort political decision-making by undermining broad-based democratic participation. In addition, evidence shows that sharp disparities in access to resources and opportunities can harm subjective well-being. (Poverty Practice, Bureau for Development Policy 2013, 7)

Community arts and therapeutic approaches to wellbeing

In the context of rising inequality, increasing devolution of government responsibility for health and social services, and increasing operations of nongovernment operations, organisations and initiatives that aim to increase levels of wellbeing by engaging with the arts are proliferating globally. These same forces, however, have culminated in recent economic crises and austerity measures, and consequently such initiatives have struggled to articulate the value of these activities and to assess their contributions to health and wellbeing in terms that are compelling and intelligible to government and private funders (Parkinson and White 2013, 178). In a review of arts and health programmes in the UK alone, Angus observes that the field is relatively new, emerging from the late 1990s, and is diverse, with undefined boundaries and unclear goals. He writes, "People who have participated in community-based art for health are

already convinced of its impact and value, but more objective evidence of its effects is needed" (Angus 2002, 3).

Clift, Hancox et al (2008) have conducted an important literature review of non-clinical research on the benefits of singing that is relevant to other areas of music and arts work. They identify two types of research: broadly qualitative research that is premised with an assumption of the value of singing, and more quantitative research that aims to empirically test hypotheses about the effect of singing on mood, wellbeing, or health. They find that the field of quantitative research is small, that studies have severe limitations, and that while they are empirically interesting, they offer very limited information upon which to build a theoretical basis for the improvement of wellbeing through singing.

Their research published nine years later specifically aims to address these gaps, adopting the World Health Organization's definition of health, and employing instruments developed by the WHO Quality of Life project, which defines quality of life as "A person's perception of his/her position in life within the context of the culture and value systems in which they live, and in relation to their goals, expectations, standards, and concerns" (cited in Clift et al. 2010, 21). The resonances with Sen's notion of "a life one has reason to value" are obvious, demonstrating his impact on international policy. Clift, Hancox and their team describe their aim as developing tools that assess the contribution of choral singing to health-related quality of life (22). They focus particularly on the psychological effects, noting links to other dimensions of social and physical life.

A broader and more recent literature review of research on the contribution of the "arts and health" field to wellbeing (Raw et al. 2012) reveals a spectrum of practice models and practitioners, ranging from clinical settings with "trained professionals" (including music and art therapists) to community settings with "untrained practitioners." In such evaluations, the more clinical practices tend to emphasise physical and psychological dimensions of wellbeing. Community practices, however, often have a broader definition of wellbeing that includes the social (2012, 101). I will discuss this study in greater depth in chapter seven, but will note for the present the variation in the construction of wellbeing relevant to the research methodology.

Two studies in the South African context are particularly noteworthy. Betsy Oehrle is a highly-respected academic and community music practitioner from Durban, who runs a music outreach programme called Ukusa, established in 1988. The programme was initially under the auspices of UKZN, but now runs as a separate NGO, sending UKZN music department students to the townships to give music lessons in both classical music as well as local genres of music and dance. In a recent article (Oehrle 2010), she reflects on this work as practitioner and an educator, rather than as a researcher. She notes in the abstract and the conclusion that the programme is a bridging course to tertiary education, though she does not describe in what ways the programme accomplishes this. Her article aims to present a narrative of the project, rather than an evaluation of it, letting the strength of international reputation, continued growth, and stable international funding from multinational corporate funders and the Swedish International Development Agency stand as evidence of the programme's effectiveness. She describes a search to define shared personal, spiritual values that "infuse" those who lead and work in the programme. She acknowledges Shutte, with his attention to the Zulu proverb "*Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*" (discussed in chapter four) as a primary influence. She emphasises the primacy of community—the social—in the development of individuals and the attempt to build positive freedom through music.

Describing similar objectives, but taking a more empirical approach, Karendra Devroop (2012) has written about the social and emotional impact of a programme that instrumental music instruction has on economically disadvantaged South African students. The South African Music Outreach Project, founded by Devroop in 2007, operates jointly with faculty from North-West University (Potchefstroom campus), Tshwane University of Technology, and University of KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg campus). The goal is to establish wind ensembles in public schools in disadvantaged communities. Taking the US concert band as a model in order to accommodate as many students as possible, the bands hold weekly or semi-weekly rehearsals and weekly sectionals (2012, 410). Devroop's aim is to develop a longitudinal perspective on participation in this type of music education, evaluating self-esteem, optimism, happiness, and perseverance. He makes a particular note of the quality of perseverance, noting

studies that suggest increases in confidence are correlative with perseverance. He writes, “The researcher included this construct in an effort to measure whether the perseverance that students exhibited in this environment would transfer to other greater challenges in life, given that these students faced daunting challenges on a daily basis” (2012, 412). Based on the students’ self-assessments of the changes to these dimensions of their life, Devroop’s model demonstrates that there is significant improvement in all of these areas, but that the effect is felt most strongly in a sense of happiness, followed by perseverance, then optimism. Following significantly behind the others was the effect on self-esteem—still positive, but less pronounced. Devroop concludes:

With high rates of temporary withdrawal, grade repetition and dropout within the public school system in South Africa, increased levels of optimism and perseverance become pivotal building blocks to a psychologically and socially balanced and healthy generation of youth. The findings from this study indicate that participation in music may play a vital role in addressing these issues. (2012, 414)

Thus, implicit in Devroop’s study is the dynamic of socioeconomic status, framed as a foundational contextual challenge. He observes the imperative to engage with material wellbeing, although his present study does not include this dynamic as a variable. He notes that the small sample size of his study and South Africa’s diverse population call for caution in extrapolating the results, but suggest optimism and grounds for additional research.

Perspectives from the practices of community music therapy and community health musicking are also instructive. Community music therapy (CMT) proponents Stige, Ansdell, Elefant and Pavlicevic identify CMT as a practice that arose from music therapy, engaging with broader social contexts and developed by scholars who specifically reflect on the deinstitutionalisation of music therapy practices (Stige et al. 2010, 10). They note that CMT positions itself in contrast with many of the old, standard music therapy concepts of focus on individuals, music as reflective of intra-psychic life, and engagement with pathology (12). They clarify that there is no unified theory or practice of CMT, but rather a constellation of practices adopting a perspective that explores relationships between the individual, community and society in relation to music and health (15).

In her contributions to the above volume, Mercédès Pavlicevic focuses on projects in South Africa, describing practices that arguably might be better classified as focused on “wellbeing,” with its constituent multiple dimensions, than “health.” Projects focus on the social relationships between different identity groups and people in different, sometimes transgressive, relationships with society, who come together to collaborate musically. The therapeutic aspects of the projects include facilitating acceptance between identity groups, and facilitating the possibilities for musical collaboration by providing physical, musical, temporal, and social frameworks. Pavlicevic draws on Christopher Small’s notion of “musicing” and Tia de Nora’s theory of music’s affordances, arguing that it is the process of musicing that requires and generates the collaboration that is subsequently “activated and shaped by the conventions of social engagements”—the music on its own “does not work” (Pavlicevic 2010, 110). Distinct from the other projects described in this book, the South African projects that Pavlicevic analyses focus on the broad social dimension of wellbeing and on people’s places in society; they are conducted with populations experiencing social marginalisation due to socioeconomic inequality, who are consequently considered “at risk” for engaging in criminal behaviour and violence. The other described projects all focus on the social experience of people who experience physical or intellectual disabilities. While the goal of these projects is social integration and empowerment, perhaps the links to physical and psychological aspects of health are stronger due to the populations involved in these projects.

More recently, Pavlicevic and Impey have coauthored an article describing the potential of “deep listening” as a basis for participatory music projects in post-conflict contexts. They observe that notions of health and wellbeing have gained a particular “currency” in international development work, which is still frequently overly weighted in favour of scientific, biomedical notions of health and “Eurocentric notions of growth, progress and modernization” (2013, 238). They examine projects in Lebanon and South Sudan that employ participatory approaches to listening and musicking, reflecting upon these as employing the “deep listening” that occurs when three particular types of listening come together: “cultural listening,” which recognises shared cultural

practices and meanings of musical performance; “social listening,” which experiences musical processes as an embodiment of social exchanges and places; and “therapeutic listening,” in which people are able to reflect upon themselves, others, and the relationships between them by listening together (239). They argue that these experiences offer opportunities for participants to experience a “temporally fluid reorganising of our selves with others,” as well as “shared and negotiated, multi-levelled reframing of people’s experiences, addressing in particular social structural dismantling as transacted by sustained conflict” (249). “Deep listening” is able to “hold diversity and seek to balance the familiar with the unfamiliar” (249); thus it departs from development approaches that frame resolution and homogeneity as the means of rebuilding post-conflict societies. Such programmes also incorporate “locally, culturally-embedded music practices into health and wellbeing agendas” (249). This study demonstrates the priority of social processes in music-making for the purposes of promoting wellbeing. Such considerations may illuminate the way music works in the context of the FBF’s programme.

Conducting an ethnographic study of wellbeing in music development

Drawing upon these theoretical frameworks, I have developed a methodology for analysing music development work by gathering information that indicates its impact on the wellbeing of participants. As was seen in chapter four, the FBF focuses on particular skill sets and attitudes in its work, and these are regularly assessed (particularly at the FBA). The skills and capabilities that the FBF aims to develop are understood widely within the organisation, and leaders have fairly good indications of the degree to which students and members have mastered these. I aim through the assessment of wellbeing to determine the degree to which the development of these capabilities has improved the lives of FBF members. This may provide important information as to the programme’s effectiveness in particular areas and shed light on dimensions of wellbeing in which its intervention has not had as great an impact.

The ethnographic material in the following chapter has been generated through a particular methodological process which I describe here as a means of indicating an implicit reflexivity on my role as the facilitator of all stages of this

process. My theoretical understanding of this work was only fully developed after the completion of my fieldwork, although it was informed by the literature review conducted prior to my fieldwork. The analysis that follows in chapter six, based upon a more complete theoretical framework, suggests that this ethnography can indeed indicate, at least in a preliminary manner, the impact of the FBF in terms of the increased wellbeing of its members. My approach aligns with the recommendation of Parkinson and White to “deepen public understanding of ways in which the arts can create social and economic value without falling into the reductionist language of the marketplace” (2013, 185). As I have adopted Sen’s capabilities theory and economic notions of wellbeing as a basis for expanding the domain of wellbeing to the financial, as argued above, my model uses some of the concepts of economics but connects the promotion of wellbeing to equality at its basis. Thus, I view the wellbeing that is achieved as a result of the capabilities that are developed through musical practice as both a subjective and a political pursuit.

For my study, there are three particularly critical points to take from literature on the contribution of artistic practices to wellbeing. First, it is evident that there are political implications to the selection of particular dimensions of wellbeing, evoking different emphases on the agency or responsibility of the individual, the role of the government, the relationship to the social, and the effect of material concerns. As well, these are often seen as more appropriately addressed by one field or methodology than another. For the purposes of my project, I selected the dimensions that I felt addressed the broadest possible definition of wellbeing, encompassing material, relational, and subjective dimensions, as acknowledged by the UNDP report on inequality discussed above. My five selected categories of wellbeing, then, include physical, psychological, social, financial, and spiritual. I selected these with consideration for my research participants, determined after several weeks of observing FBA students and gauging their levels of English competency and personal experience. Thus I chose to refer to financial wellbeing rather than economic wellbeing, as this reflects family and individual experiences rather than a broad social notion of “economics.” I also chose psychological wellbeing as an umbrella term that

captured mental health and emotional wellbeing, though I took care to explain this in detail to participants and reiterated it throughout the process.

Second, the inclusion of “financial” or “economic” wellbeing evokes particular theoretical perspectives in competing socioeconomic systems, and I aim to engage with both. Notions of experienced utility, as Sen confirms, are of central interest to both classical political economy and to Marxian economics, though employed in different ways by each (Sen 2003, 1250). Thus, aiming ever to be open to the insights from both perspectives, I include financial wellbeing while noting the connotations that may be invoked depending upon the economic paradigm embraced.

Third, the field of music development, and this assessment of its contribution to wellbeing in the context of political economy, offers a valuable opportunity to bring together an inclusive perspective on wellbeing. As the UNDP report recommends that development theory engage with relational and subjective dimensions of wellbeing, so too literature on arts and health evaluation recommends engagement beyond issues of physical wellbeing to social wellbeing. I argue that music development work, due to its goal of addressing socioeconomic inequalities, must also engage with material aspects of wellbeing, alongside relational and subjective dimensions. I aim to give these dimensions equal weight, recognising, however, that low levels of wellbeing in any one dimension may have a detrimental effect on others and that causality is more difficult to identify than reciprocity.

This chapter has examined literature that argues that wellbeing is increased by the strengthening and growth of capabilities. I have examined both economic and development perspectives on wellbeing, and I have argued that the inclusion of economic dimensions is an indispensable element in an analysis that aims to indicate the degree to which capabilities have allowed individuals to experience higher levels of wellbeing. This inclusion is essential because of the impact of inequality on the wellbeing of those at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder, whom the FBF specifically aims to equip to move up from the bottom rung and beyond. Situating my research within other studies that aim to identify the potential of music to improve the wellbeing of marginalised South

African youth, I have thus set out the methodology by which I will evaluate the FBF's impact on wellbeing in the following chapters.

Chapter Six

Assessing “the good life”: Ethnography of the effects of FBF participation on multidimensional wellbeing

This chapter takes as its theoretical basis the discussion of chapter five, and builds upon the ethnography of chapter four, which discussed many of the capabilities that the FBF aims to develop in its members, in the organisational guise of “life skills,” through its musical and non-musical practices. Chapter six is grounded in my fieldwork in relation to the themes of the impact of involvement in the FBF on the wellbeing of participants. I examine shifts in wellbeing as evidence of enhanced capabilities. I will observe several tensions in the information I gathered, which become evident when in comparing participants’ verbal self-assessments of wellbeing against their documented levels of wellbeing in an empirical experiment undertaken to facilitate formal analysis of trends in their perceived wellbeing. The research question behind this chapter is thus to ask what changes to wellbeing are brought about by participation in the FBF as a musical avenue of social development, and if these evidence the enhanced capabilities of FBF members. As mentioned in chapter five, I regard this assessment as an indicator of the potential scope of the FBF programme, perhaps even beyond what the FBF currently conceives. As well, I believe this assessment suggests the success of several dimensions of the FBF’s work and, because my model of multidimensional wellbeing includes a financial aspect, it also indicates the degree to which the FBF’s programme may be considered a political-economic success. This notion of success, however, will be considered separately in chapter seven.

The chapter is structured in two sections, applying two different ethnographic methodologies to this question. In the first section, I explore the information gathered via semiformal interviews from five FBA students who graduated in June 2012. I analyse their narratives of their involvement in the FBF for indicators of improved wellbeing, and in the process observe typical “career” trajectories within the organisation. In the second section, I analyse information gathered through focus groups held with fifteen FBA students who commenced study in July 2012. I will observe that each methodology has particular strengths

and limitations, aiming to establish a way forward for future research of the impact of music development on wellbeing.

Narratives of FBF participation

On 16 June 2012, I had the opportunity to interview five members of the graduating FBA class. My friend, Ntsiko Mhlongo, assisted with filming so that I was able to focus on the conversation rather than audiovisual equipment. The academic and musical directors, Carol and Marit, had asked the students on my behalf for volunteers for the interviews, and Adrian, Joel, Ruben, Tshepang, and Thulani expressed interest. We set up outdoors in the shade of the still-warm winter sun, away from the cacophony of a Saturday afternoon in the residence.

I had been able during the previous two weeks to observe all of these individuals in their end-of-term presentations and exam performances, and thus I had some familiarity with their stories and sought to give them the opportunity to describe their FBF experience in their own terms, unconstrained by an examiner's question. Thus, I chose not to ask questions specifically about wellbeing, but rather asked broad, open-ended questions and let the conversations take their course. The framing questions were:

- Please tell me where you are from, when you started in the FBF, what your involvement was, and how you decided to come to the FBA?
- What challenges did you face before you got involved in the FBF? Before you came to the FBA?
- Did the FBF help you meet these?
- What are your challenges now?
- What was the most important part of your time at the FBA?
- What do you wish you could still learn or work on?
- How could the FBA/FBF be better?
- What do you see in your future now?

Broad though they are, these questions yielded interesting responses that permit observations about the ways students perceive the impact of FBF involvement in their lives and suggest a variety of effects on their wellbeing. In retrospect, it would have been useful to ask specific questions about music, but nonetheless interesting comments about music and its role emerged during the discussion.

It is significant that these were FBA students, as these are long-term, dedicated members who have exhibited a level of commitment and achievement in order to be selected for study at the academy. These are, in one sense, the FBF's ideal students, numbering among its success stories; the fact that they volunteered to be interviewed also suggests that perhaps they also perceive themselves in those terms. Thus, caution must be exercised in drawing generalisations from the narratives offered; rather these five life stories are presented as specific experiences that may provide entry points for a broader understanding of the work of the FBF.

Adrian McKay

Adrian, a percussionist from the Western Cape region, grew up in the town of Fir Grove, which he characterised as “really quiet” compared to neighbouring “really loud” Macassar. These social and geographic characteristics have contributed, he says, to what he calls his “split personality,” oscillating between quiet/reflective and loud/outspoken. His background, he said, was



“quite boring.” He joined the FBF relatively late, in his final year of high school in 2009. There were no extracurricular activities and he came home every night from school and spent the evenings playing video games. Encouraged by his mother to do something constructive with his time, “not just waste it away and kill my brain cells,” he joined the FBF in Macassar. Adrian explained:

Before Field Band I was this boring kid. I usually isolated myself, away from the friends and all the bad things, but even though I isolated myself, it just led me to bad things because the boredom killed me at home and I was searching for friendship, and every friend I got was doing drugs, or doing bad things like drinking excessively. And when I joined the Field Band they taught me values and principles and ethical behaviour to abide by. And it was a major turnover for me, because it actually relieved everything, the weight off my shoulders... because, there's not like, friends coming knocking at my door, “Come, we have to go, we have to do this,” and it's just like going down the street to get some money for some booze or something. But now when there's a friend knocking at my door, it's, “Come, let's go practise, let's go practise.” So it's a huge switch from being that dead end boy before the Field Band and now where I'm at the academy....

He described his mother's reaction to his enthusiasm for the band: "She actually thought I was crazy, because when I got home from Field Band, I would just take the pots or whatever I could find and start beating them, even the age that I was... And even though it felt stupid subconsciously, but for me it was... this is me!" Previously, Adrian had imagined becoming a video game programmer, but his FBF experience revealed his talent for music. However, he still did not conceptualise the FBF as a step to a career. After his high school graduation, his mother "forced him" to get a job, and he found a position in a cellular telecommunications company. "Even though the money was good, my heart wasn't in it," he said. "I wanted to do something that I had a passion for, something that I could wake up in the morning and go with full motivation, not something I could just wake up at four in the morning and wait for the train at the station and... 'Agh, I have to start this work again.'" When he heard about the FBA, it was "like an ace card to show my mum, 'I'm actually going to study further and you don't need to pay anything because it's like a bursary.' And that was a major point for my mother because she just wanted me to study further, but because there wasn't any funds, she just forced me to start working." The FBA allowed him to show his mother that music could be a career. Looking back on his earlier aspirations, he said that he had realised that "sitting in an office in front of computers and gadgets is not for me; I want to be out with the fresh air in my face and music around me—me making the music especially."

Adrian mentioned that travelling back and forth between Cape Town and Durban for his studies at the academy had been difficult, and that it was difficult to leave his girlfriend and his local friends, but nonetheless, "when it's Academy time, I just pack my bags, because I can't wait to get there." Now finished his studies, he was excited to go back to his region as a tutor, taking his newly-acquired FBA qualification to lend an extra level of authority: "the student becomes the teacher!" he exclaimed. Being a tutor, prior to attending the academy, had been a challenge initially, as he felt he had neither the authority nor the skills for the job. Now, however, he perceived his local origins as a strength, because it allowed him to be a role model for the members: "I can show these members—you can be any member in the band and you can move up to being a tutor. Like, standing with those guys and then maybe the next day you

can be standing in front of those guys, teaching them.” He now had the skills for the job, acquired at the academy, and these various skills had become an integrated whole that was now part of his repertoire. He cited teaching skills, computing, and conducting as especially important. Conducting in particular, he said, gave him the confidence to stand in front of a huge group of people and “take charge of them.” He remarked that it only struck him after completing his exams and interviews that he was a new person, that he could now “stand proudly.” The FBF was his “home turf” and he felt confident about returning to his region.

He particularly enjoyed learning the xylophone at the academy, and wished he could study further because “it showed another creative part of me that I didn’t even know existed.” He also wanted to do further ABRSM theory exams, as he had chosen to study for a grade three exam to ensure that he fully understood everything, rather than rush through and perhaps fail or barely pass. He now realised, in retrospect, that he could have studied for a higher-level exam because the facilitators at the academy were excellent teachers, but he hadn’t had the confidence for that at the time. He anticipated being able to capitalise on resources that were available at music schools in Stellenbosch to help him study further. After finishing his two-year contract with the FBF, he hopes to undertake further formal musical education. Beyond FBF, he wants “to go into the real world, and express everything to everyone, not just my community or the people that know Field Band—I want to influence them.” He hopes to get a degree in music and then start his own drum corps or music school. He imagined a day in the future that he could report back to Retha on what he had accomplished.

He also aspires to diversify musically, particularly extending to the heavy metal genre. This has been his musical preference since high school:

The reason why I joined the Field Band in the first place is—I was listening to my music, and it’s heavy metal. I listen to heavy metal on a regular basis, and if you listen to my phone there’s not one kwaito or hiphop, it’s just rock or metal. So for me, that’s the kind of music I want to create. Because the reason I joined the Field Band is because that drummer—the way he possessed those drums, it was like a life changing experience—to express yourself through drums or music, it was an opportunity to say, I’m done with everything, I’m joining the Field Band tomorrow.... From there, it’s been a really wild roller coaster ride for me,

because this is actually what I like doing. Joining the Field Band made me aware of the things I actually really liked.

At the FBA, he remarked, kwaito, jazz, hip-hop, R&B were all present, but there was a “blank spot” where heavy metal belonged that he wanted to bring to the organisation. He conceptualised heavy metal as a “discrete” genre that existed on a more underground level, and he perceived this as something that did not belong to any particular culture or nation: “If you could look into my mind,” he said, “you’d see there’s just heavy metal.” I asked him whether the popular negative connotations associated with heavy metal would permit it to be implemented alongside some of these other genres within the FBF, and he responded that in some ways heavy metal was “in total communion with Satan” but he declared, “Never mind the words, just listen to the music!” He said he was originally sceptical of heavy metal, but when he started to really listen to the details of the music, he perceived that the musicians “really know their instruments” and that was motivating for him. I asked if he had had any opportunities to learn the drum kit while at the FBA, but he said that the academy’s drum kit was not the right one for heavy metal, and that besides, he would prefer to learn how to drum with his own drum kit, on his own time, playing along to his favourite music videos. However, he believed that the learning methods he had acquired at the academy would serve him well when it came time to develop in this direction.

Asked about how the FBF or the FBA could improve, he characterised the learning environment of the academy as “advanced,” because the facilitators had to deal with an extremely diverse student body, with a variety of interests, skill levels, and experiences. “Whatever they’re doing, it’s working,” he declared, “because most of these guys, they got grade three, four or five [ABRSM qualifications], and most of them got merits or distinctions.” He felt his education had been very solid and could not offer any suggestions or improvement. Similarly, of his future, he remarked that he did not know what lay in store, but “whatever is going to be, is going to be even bigger than now.”

I had two subsequent opportunities to visit Adrian in the Western Cape region, where he continues to work for the FBF, in late 2012 and early 2014. When I saw him again in 2014, the region had recently started a band in a

predominantly “black” community, literally located across the highway from a longer-established band in a predominantly “coloured” community. Adrian and his colleagues had just initiated additional joint rehearsals to bring these two adversarial communities together. He was still passionate about the work of the FBF, but he displayed a more cynical perspective on this occasion.

I presented my research and the basic premises of my thesis to the tutors and asked for their feedback, particularly on how the FBF contributes to the wellbeing of tutors. An animated discussion followed, and Adrian was the first to comment. He felt that the FBF contributed strongly to physical wellbeing, as rehearsals and marching offered regular physical activity that many band members did not receive elsewhere. He was sceptical that the FBF brought any improvement to financial wellbeing. Since the FBF was a non-profit organisation, the only investment was in the instruments: the stipend, he remarked with a wry laugh, “has been the same forever.” He equated the hierarchical structure of the organisation with financial wellbeing: the tutors were financially better off than the members; the band coordinators and programme officers were better off than the tutors; the CEO was better off than the FBF staff; and the board members were better off than everybody. If the board members were to invest their personal wealth, he suggested, everybody would truly be better off.

His colleagues, Ralph and Yolanda, however, argued with him that the financial benefit that accrued to members was beyond the strict receipt of money—it included financial benefit in kind, such as the opportunities to travel to Johannesburg for National Championships for a cost of only R100, to receive musical training, and to build skills that enable members to have jobs one day. At this, Adrian acquiesced that the opportunity to receive his training from the academy facilitators was an enormous long-term financial benefit to him, in terms of his ability to make music a career. Nonetheless, he felt that there were discrepancies within the organisation, and likened the FBF tutors to frontline warriors, fighting the battles created by other powers: “The guy that starts the wars is never the guy on the front line fighting,” he remarked acerbically (group interview of Macassar tutors, 10 April 2014).

Thulani Maluleka

Thulani, a trumpeter from Johannesburg, joined the FBF in 1999 when he was twelve years old, after a friend in primary school had told him about the opportunity to learn music for free. He remained a faithful member over the years, although noted it was disappointing that opportunities seemed to arise for others that did not arise for him:



There was a time when most of my friends got the opportunity to go overseas [on an FBF tour], but I didn't go, but I didn't told myself, okay because I didn't go to overseas to study, I will quit the Field Band Foundation. I told myself that each and every one, there's an opportunity when time goes on, and that's where I got my opportunity to be here at the FBA to learn music and other subjects.... For me it's a good trade because I've now got Grade 5 in music, and if I want to apply for the Police Band... or an orchestra I can. But I want to work with the Field Band maybe for a few years first. Because there's something that's telling me there's a lot I have to produce to this young generation, and I'm looking forward to do that.

Thulani spoke of the environment he grew up in, a fast-paced environment where *dagga* (cannabis) and alcohol abuse were prominent, which he attributed to extreme boredom because there were no diversions or activities after school. The FBF gave him a recreational activity and a new set of friends, several of whom play in the Air Force band or orchestras today. Joining as he did early in the FBF's programme, there was at the time a dominant focus on musical training and little focus on life skills, but music caught his attention: "the only thing I could think about is my trumpet." If it wasn't for the music, he said, maybe he would have ended up "doing wrong things." He felt that the addition of life skills was a positive development, and as a tutor, he would "preach about life skills to encourage the youngsters." Even though he felt he had not had the opportunity to really "be that well in life," he felt that as a tutor it was his role to encourage the children "not to relax, but to go and reach the thing which is good for them." In Thulani's view, the practical interventions of the FBF were extremely valuable: the provision of school uniforms and blankets for children in

need, or the establishment of permaculture projects. “They do care,” he said. “They don’t just care about the organisation.”

After his graduation, Thulani had been assigned to a newly-established band in the mining town of Thabazimbi in southwest Limpopo, near the Botswana border. In his interview, he anticipated that he would need to invest a significant amount of time in learning the predominant local language, Tswana, and in connecting with the local community. He was nervous about being so far from his family, as he had been living with his mother and younger siblings, but he said, “This is something that I need to do in life, and it’s something that is good for me.” With a three- to four-hour transport time between Thabazimbi and Johannesburg, he speculated that he might be able to go home to his family every other weekend.

Thulani found that classes at the FBA were sometimes difficult, but was supported during his time there by the assigned study group. His peers, he said, worked collaboratively to try to combine their perspectives: “We told ourselves, there is no wrong and there is no right.” Combining this with individual study time, he felt that his learning was very solid. This peer support was integral to his success, regardless how fraught with conflict it often was. Strong opinions would often clash during rehearsals, sometimes between the students but also frequently between facilitators and students. Thulani described his mediating approach to conflict:

I’m not trying to be a leader here, but if I see a disagreement, maybe the facilitator doesn’t know what to say, I will try to fix it. I will go to them [the students] and ask them nice and say, guys, we can’t do it this way, we have to do it this way, we have to fix this. Because in life sometimes you say, because I don’t have this, then I have to act like this. No. So if you keep on, this is where you will see a good result.

Inspired by his time at the FBA, Thulani wanted to continue study music, to improve both his performance and theory exam grades: “I’m going to play with the best,” he said. He did not feel that he would have the opportunity while in Thabazimbi to practice, and hoped that there would be a conservatory or music school nearby where he could continue. After his time in the FBF, he hoped to study business management or play in a police band or orchestra. However, he planned to continue helping at the FBF even once he secured longer term employment.

When asked what recommendations he had for the FBF or the FBA, Thulani said that he felt the organisation was doing good work, but needed more exposure. He suggested a television advertisement during prime time television to make a broader audience aware of the FBF's work. For several years, he remarked, the FBF had done a street parade as part of the National Championships in Johannesburg, but this practice had been discontinued. This, he felt, was unfortunate, and he urged the FBF to return to that practice to make surrounding communities aware of the FBF's work. These would also serve to encourage recruitment of members, as the head office was encouraging regional bands to ensure they were operating at capacity: with fluctuating levels of attendance, regional band rehearsals frequently have fewer than the 125 members on their membership list. He said more work needed to be done at community levels as well, and that in his region, the street parades were the only public function the FBF had—there was too little involvement in community events and too few meetings with community members. This would stimulate parental pride in the children and encourage them to be involved in positive activities, ultimately preventing drug use. "I'm planning something good for Thabazimbi," he declared. "I want to plan something big. I've planned this thing for a long time, before being a teacher, while I was still a member.... It's hard for me to tell the teacher, 'We must do this thing,' and he would tend say, 'Okay, you want to take my job.' But now I have powers to work with my team and do that thing."

Thulani did not have a firm view of the future—everything, he said, was dependent on where he was assigned in the upcoming years. Before his training at the FBA, his goal had been to play with the police band, but now he felt he needed to spend some time in Thabazimbi to determine whether the move was a long-term or a short-term one. He still hoped to play in a police band one day, and did not feel that Thabazimbi would not offer that opportunity, as it was a small community (personal interview, Thulani Maluleka, 16 June 2012).

After working a year in 2012 in Thabazimbi, Thulani finally received his opportunity to travel. He was accepted to the FBF's PULSE project, and spent six months with the South African PULSE team studying music at the Toneheim Folkhøgskole in Norway and working with local bands on developing inclusive

approaches to rehearsals, specifically focused on members with cognitive or physical disabilities. In December 2013, he received the honour of playing with an ensemble for the official Norwegian memorial service for Nelson Mandela in Oslo. He returned to South Africa in May 2014, as part of the return PULSE team, where he brings his experiences and perspectives to the band in Thabazimbi.

Joel Stamboel

Born in 1991 in Mpumalanga, Joel's family moved to Cullinan near Pretoria where he joined the local Field Band in 2005, learning the tuba. His father was Pedi, from Limpopo, and his Afrikaans-speaking mother was from Northern Cape province: "I don't know how they met!" he laughed. "It makes me mixed, in a way, half Coloured, half Pedi." He had to learn new



languages and make new friends after the move to Cullinan, so this was a difficult social transition. The band allowed him the opportunity to forget his problems at home and to focus on music. "For that two hours you are happy, and the rest you are stressed. And that interacting with other people, I realised, I am not alone. There are other people who have other major problems—having your mother not working, or having casual jobs—you also have the same problem but it's kind of better because you have both your parents. And you're able to go to school."

By 2008 he had become a tutor-in-training, and came to study at the FBA in 2011, where he felt he finally began to grow. Before the FBF, karate was his only extracurricular activity, which he took for self-defence: "I didn't grow up nicely, because you just fight guys teasing you." School had presented its own challenges:

In 2009 I failed my matric, and I had to rewrite and failed again. It was a challenge, I didn't know what to do, was wondering, am I ever going to survive? In 2010 my band coordinator asked me, "Do you want to go to the FBA? It will develop you as a musician and also academically." So I thought, yeah, it's an opportunity to fill the gap of failing matric in a way. That was the major challenge. I want to further my studies and be a social worker but I couldn't do that because I don't have a matric certificate.

His experience in the FBF had helped him discover abilities he did not realise he had:

[Through being a Tutor-in-Training] I discovered this talent of being a leader and a motivator as well, taking other people's challenges, trying to come up with a solution, on how I can make them realise they are not alone, and what they can do to improve their situation.

The academy offered him a repertoire of different ways of handling pedagogical challenges by exposing him to the perspectives of people with a great deal of experience. He spoke in particular of the usefulness of IT classes: "When I came here, I didn't know how to print out and save." Music interpretation classes were another highlight, as students had to perform a piece of music to their classmates, discussing their interpretative choices. At the beginning, this was a difficult challenge, but he remarked that as his self-esteem improved, he became more confident and felt more comfortable speaking to a group.

Similarly, living at the academy was challenge. Joel said he was shy at the beginning, and that he would not confront people when they did things he did not like. Gradually, he learned to be more assertive, having confidence in his personality and preferences, which was a skill that he felt would be useful in the future. He imagined a scenario where he would have to write a proposal and make a presentation to a group for fundraising, something he could not have imagined doing before. "If we had cameras in class, you would see that I have improved a lot," he remarked.

As a devout Christian, Joel felt that he had strong ideas about how to live. However, this made him more reserved at the academy at first, until he learned to combine the skills he was learning with his upbringing. His culture, he said, had particular ways of respecting elders that other cultures thought were different or funny. At the academy he learned to give and take, to be understanding, and to work with people with very different perspectives. He speculated that these skills would make him adaptable to future change.

Even though the FBF operates nationally, he felt the organisation needed to grow so that everybody in the nation—and internationally—knew about the work of the FBF. He felt that the academic and life skills aspects of its work was key. "Music is only a vehicle, in a way. It's not training musicians, it's training leaders." He felt that the government should heavily support projects like the FBF. The organisation's expansion was slow, but moving in the right direction.

Joel had been assigned to work between terms in Rustenberg, Northwest Province, northwest of Johannesburg, during his time at the academy, but would be returning as a low brass tutor in Cullinan after graduation. There he would take over from some tutors who had been accepted on the Norwegian exchange programme, and would work alongside the existing band coordinator and dance tutor. He had specifically requested this placement because of his family situation, feeling that as the eldest child he had a duty to help out. His mother was working as a domestic cleaner, but his father, a former taxi driver, was no longer working; but while both were working, they usually returned home late in the evening, leaving the younger children unsupervised. Recently the family had met with tragedy: his two younger siblings, in their early teens, had been out late at a party, and his younger sister was kidnapped and sexually assaulted. Joel felt that he needed to go home to be a “brotherly figure” to them, to support her in her recovery, and to guide both siblings through their teen years. He felt that even with his FBF duties, he would be able to be there for his siblings before they went to school in the mornings and soon after they returned home in the afternoon. He planned to be at home for the next six months to nurture a bond with his siblings; perhaps afterwards he would be able to work elsewhere.

Joel saw himself in the future as a community leader, called upon to be a motivational speaker and to work one on one with people. His empathy, a strength in many times, was also a disadvantage in terms of the emotional toll it took on him. He felt he would need supports, “someone to lean on,” in those situations. He perceived that his greatest strengths lay outside of music, and as he anticipated the completion of his training, he wished he could study more music theory, improve his grades, and improve his arranging skills. He had larger ambitions, though:

When I go home, I want to start a project where I will have to write proposals, maybe to the Department of Arts and Culture, to fund it, because I want to have musicians, artists—singing, poetry, drama, music, dance, an uplifting programme, to have concerts at the end of the month because we have tourist sites near Cullinan, so maybe I could arrange to have visitors coming by, showcasing African styles, collaborating the arts. And maybe that will improve finances at home. It scares me in a way, because it's huge.... I have to sit down and do a budget, prove that I've used funds properly. For now, when I go home, I want to do part-time courses for maybe hopefully four years to take a social worker course.

Those are my plans, Plan A and Plan B. In the meantime, I'll be working on finding funding. Luckily, we have one of the facilitators, Musa, who has experience with theatre, so he may be one of the guys I contact for advice.

This sort of programme, he felt, was sorely needed in Cullinan, where only small, inconsistent projects were operating, aside from the FBF. Parents would frequently approach tutors in Cullinan and ask them to convince their children to join the FBF to help with their behavioural problems; they trusted the leaders and knew that their children would be safe and in a positive environment. In Joel's view, youth in communities like Cullinan have no long-term vision. After high school, there is no money for them to pursue further education, and so, he remarked:

They are sitting home three years, five years, doing nothing. The next thing is, "I saw a nice TV next door, so maybe I should pay a visit, sell it..." so they engage themselves into crime. So if you have something to keep them busy, they also see there's someone out there who cares for them. Because there are people who really have sleepless nights on how to improve people's lives, like our CEO and board members. Those guys are really doing something to improve our lives. Honestly speaking, I don't really know where I would be if it wasn't for the FBF. Maybe I'd be sitting there, going with the sun around the house. So I want to do more projects of this kind. (Personal interview, Joel Stamboel, 16 June 2012)

I have not had the opportunity to meet with Joel again, but from our communications on Facebook I have learned that his early efforts to start an independent community development project in his hometown, along the lines of the FBF, enjoyed early success but then met challenges that left him feeling directionless. He has also become a father, but has recently been away from his family as he was accepted to the 2014-15 PULSE exchange to Norway, which he began in August 2014.

Ruben de Klerk

A pit percussion player originally from Stellenbosch, at the time of this interview, Ruben had been working in Limpopo. At the age of eight, in 1997, he joined the FBF band in Cape Town, one of the original four bands established that year.



This was something of a surprise even to him:

In the beginning I didn't actually like Field Band or music. I did actually just take it as a second option, because when I was young, I was still about 7, 8 years old, my mom passed away. My father [took us] by my aunt's to go and stay there. So that's when I dropped out of school, started to do drugs—all kinds of drugs I can actually think of. So one day I met a friend who was with me at school, and he took me to the Field Band. I went there one day. It was very boring for me. I tried out everything but nothing was actually interesting enough for me, so I dropped out, I came back, I dropped out, until I got the chance to go to the National Championships in 2000. I went to my first National Championships and they asked me to play a bass drum solo, and I think I win something like R120. At that time, that was actually a lot for me. So that's when I started to realise, in the beginning, okay, I can learn, and I can actually make money out of this. Because we are not staying with my parents—it's me and my sister, we are only two kids—it will help me to support my sister.

So I stayed in the band, while starting to paint, doing carpenter work, all kinds of jobs just to earn money for a living, until 2007 when I met Marit, the principal here, and Retha, and they asked me how would I feel about going to open a band in Limpopo. But my only knowledge was playing this bass drum, I didn't have any experience. So I just said, let me take a chance, because if I'm not going to help myself, who's going to help me?

He had a difficult start, as he did not speak the local languages (Tswana, Venda, and Sepedi) and felt that because he had not completed school, he was not even competent enough in English. However, he learned on the job, attending monthly workshops. He was part of the initial focus group on the design of the FBA, and finally got his chance to attend as a student in 2011.

During his time at the academy, despite days that run often from 8:00 am to 6:00 pm, Ruben made a resolution to practise double the recommended amount. Over time he learned how to play every instrument in the FBF ensemble, as well as guitar and keyboard. He felt that he had in some ways mentored Adrian, who was initially only interested in drums and heavy metal music; Ruben arranged heavy metal music for the xylophone, and Adrian's interest was piqued. The facilitators encouraged Ruben in his ventures, and he began to arrange and compose music. "Learning never stops, because it's what opportunity I can get, so it's on to me how far I can go with it."

He had high ambitions for Limpopo after his graduation. He described it as a very impoverished place, with many child-headed families. People still drove donkeys, fetched firewood for the fire at home, and hauled water from a

waterhole; to him, it felt like travelling back in time. Not many people wanted to work in such a rural area, but he was grateful he had received the opportunity, because it felt like a fresh start. He envisioned himself running bands at different schools every day of the week, holding a small competition within the community at the end of the year. This would build interest and trust within the community, he felt. His primary fascination was with music, but he acknowledged that the music had a broader purpose: “At the end of the day, we are there to teach life skills through music and dance, which I’m trying my best. Because the first time... I was not interested in music, but it’s like when you walk down the road, you trip over something... I tripped over music. I fell in the puddle of music and I still can’t stand up.” He expressed a dream to one day return to the academy as a facilitator.

The impact of the FBF on his life prospects seemed to be enormous. He explained:

Before Field Band, after my mum passed away, mostly us kids, we feel like we have nothing left, because obviously my father wouldn’t take care of us alone, so he took us and pushed us by my aunt’s place, and he go on and marry a new wife. We didn’t have much contact. So my sister, when she turned 16, she had her first baby, and it was by one drug dealer. At 19 she had her second baby, 21 she had her third baby. And who was there to support her? It was me. It was my responsibility. So I was struggling. Retha, even before I was in Field Band, she was like a mother to us, at the time I was looking for loose jobs. So now when I moved to Limpopo, I told myself, this is where I’m going to stay. I have my own baby there. I can say I’ve got a wife there, because I’ve paid *lobola* and everything. My sister is having her own place also in Limpopo, which I did get for her as well—I’m still taking care of her kids. I’m actually an entrepreneur now, I’m having businesses that side, having a shop, having a salon... since Field Band, even before the academy, I’ve learned how to save. Through the academy I’ve learned to spend what I’ve saved. From here I’ve learned ideas on entrepreneurship, how to use money in a positive way, and everything so far has been successful. I have to stay there for the rest of my life, rather than go back in Cape Town.

Ruben had recently visited Cape Town to introduce his young son to his family there. It was an eye-opening trip for him. The same friends he had as a child, with whom he had taken drugs, and who had mocked him for joining the Field Band and “dancing like a girl,” were impoverished and asking him for R1 or R2. “Field Band changed my whole life, so I’m trying to give back what they gave to me, but it’s not easy.”

Before he came to the academy, he worried about providing income for his family. This was the impetus behind starting a small hair salon in a container, staffed by two friends from Zimbabwe and co-financed with his savings; this salon provided income for his sister and her children. After this, he bought a bakkie and thought he could help out the people in the neighbourhood without transport access by buying grocery staples and selling it to them on credit until the end of the month when they received their pay cheques or pension cheques. With the profit from this, he opened a small tuck shop in another container.

Ruben calls himself “Musicologist,” and had designed various logos for himself, posted on his dormitory door and inked on the back of a t-shirt, reflecting his love of drawing. He had also used his drawing skills to illustrate concepts for the Tutors-in-Training manual that a team at the academy was developing for use in the regions. He was passionate about arranging music, and particularly loved “music reflection” classes at the FBA. He liked the historical perspective that this class offered, and hoped that this would help him to develop his own unique “genre” of music that would describe his personality. He also claimed, “When I look at you, I can make a song that actually describes you.” He was proud of the Norwegian national anthem that he had arranged, which was performed at the academy on Norway’s national holiday. He was delighted that he could now read, transcribe, analyse, and write music. I complimented him on the history of “Meadowlands” that he had presented during his final exam, which had been very insightful, and asked him if he had any plans for further study. Matter-of-factly, he said that he had dropped out of high school and didn’t have his matric, but that his facilitator, Carol, had said that given him feedback that he was always the first to raise a question or offer a challenge despite his lack of educational credentials. He hoped to continue to develop his knowledge of music history, and would also like to continue to develop his performance technique, although he was satisfied with it to a certain degree. He also aspired to learn more about instrument repair, as he had begun to repair broken marimbas and tune battered steel drums. He had made a proposal to Retha to finally get his matric, and afterwards have the FBF support him in continuing his study at UNISA; Retha had suggested this may be a possibility.

He was enthusiastic about the inclusion of students with disabilities through the PULSE programme in development at the time. Additionally, he felt there were many more bands needed across the country, and more life skills training in entrepreneurship and financial management. This, he felt, was needed over and above the Children-in-Distress programme that helped children with school fees, uniforms, or blankets, as it was something that could help people make the most of their limited resources and take charge of their own lives (personal interview, 16 June 2012).

When I next saw Ruben in Undermark, Limpopo in November 2012, they had recently begun a “baby band” programme, focusing on basic skills for beginners and promoting them to the senior band as soon as they started improving. They had lost some members to the five external brass bands in the community who would “poach” skilled players from the FBF by offering them paid gigs, so they had to quickly develop new players to keep up the band numbers. The tutors required these “baby band” members to do some practise away from rehearsals—for drums, it was practising rhythms on whatever they could find to beat or tap on; for brass, it was to practise buzzing with their finger on their lips to develop steady airflow.

I asked what areas of wellbeing the FBF in the Blouberg region was affecting, he said that social wellbeing was the major area of influence. Students would often communicate with tutors outside of rehearsals, sometimes calling for help or wanting to walk with them or visit with them. These friendships that developed had to be kept professional, Ruben asserted, and all band members needed to be treated equally in rehearsal. This had been somewhat difficult to control, particularly as tutors from other regions had arrived in this new community with out any immediate social circles, so boundaries had to be established and levels of respect maintained. Additionally, the tutors had initiated homework clubs after rehearsal to support members in their studies, offering help where they were in a position to do so.

In terms of his own wellbeing, he spoke first about spiritual wellbeing. It had been difficult to adapt to Sepedi cultural and religious beliefs, which contrasted with the beliefs he had grown up with near Cape Town. He felt that cultural and spiritual wellbeing belonged together, and he had focused on

fostering respect for cultural difference—he had learned how small things such as removing caps when greeting an elder fostered attitudes of mutual respect. He felt that the lessons he had learned about saving and investing money continued to improve his financial wellbeing, and he had a higher level of control over his monthly income. Most of all, he was still happy making a life for himself in Limpopo (personal interview, 6 November 2012).

Upon my return visit in April 2014, Ruben was no longer living and working in Limpopo. I have not had the opportunity to reconnect with him, and have only heard second-hand that some personal challenges and a reassignment to Plettenberg Bay had caused some major disruptions in his life. I wondered if his optimism and confidence had survived these changes, and wished I had had the opportunity to meet up with him again.

Tshepang Moyo

Tshepang grew up in Rustenberg, joining the FBF in 2006 at the age of sixteen. Having lost her parents, she was living with her aunt and sister, who felt that the FBF was a waste of time. Strong-minded, she disregarded their opinions. “I was thinking, this is my life, I’m not living for my family; and I don’t have a child; I’m not sick. It’s my own responsibility to see what I want, to



set up my own goals.” By 2009, she had been appointed a dance tutor in the Blouberg region near Polokwane. The reasons given by the leaders for this appointment, she said bashfully, were her loyalty, listening skills, open-mindedness to learning, and her care for others. She did not hesitate to take the job though she did not feel she had the experience, because she felt that she was needed:

When I got to the village where I’m working, there’s lots of poverty. Teenage pregnancy is high, and the rate of HIV and AIDS is high, and most of people are illiterate, they drop out of school saying they don’t have clothes or parents, so they use it as an excuse not to go to school. So this project, it’s really making a huge impact in that place, because, most of the people they just live because they will have to live. They don’t even set goals for themselves. Now I’m from the academy, I have lots of experience. Now I’m willing to go there—even if I need to take all the girls

from the band and just sit with them and talk—I just hate to see them to suffer or do things because they don't have parents.

In 2011 she started at the FBA, excited to gain new knowledge that she felt she could not gain from people in her home community. It was difficult to be so far away from home, but she found she made new friends quickly, and rapidly learned Zulu. “Actually, it's a privilege for me to be here. Now I'm ready to go out there, to make difference to other people's life, to teach them what I've learned here, not be selfish and keep to myself.” Initially, she felt she had been chosen for the academy because of her personal qualities rather than her potential as a dancer, and she lacked confidence. People at home—her family and friends—did not believe she could dance, and Tshepang had to muster up a determination to prove them wrong. “From having that spirit,” she said, “it made me to start to believe in myself.” She spoke of her exam performance, after which she and many members of the audience had been in tears: “My piece was also to encourage those who don't believe in themselves, and make them aware that in this industry, there are lots of critics, and they just have to take them as positively as they can so they can be better dancers or anything they want to be.” She enumerated the many benefits of FBF involvement:

Everything about being in the Field Band is big for me. We get the same information or knowledge as the people in the varsities [universities], but we're not paying anything. Working with people that you don't even know, you just have to learn how to live with them. To adapt to other people—it's a growing experience. Even the way you used to live back then compared to now is way different. Before that, I was just living because I have to live. Now I know if I have to do something, I have to think first.... Maybe if I was still in Rustenberg, I would maybe be pregnant maybe or having a child maybe, or sick, but I knew what I wanted to be independent, to make sure that I take care of myself, to take care of those in need.

She had ambitions to gain more knowledge about social work, to ensure that her “soft spot” for people would still allow her to be strong enough to help them. She felt that everyone within the FBF was doing their best and had no suggestions for improvement. In her own future, she saw herself as an effective social worker. She did not see herself having a child anytime soon: “Kids tend to limit you to some of the things that you want to do. I don't see myself having a child now, to even get married now. I want to be independent until I can say I'm

settled and I know I have money and I know what I want. I do want to get married and have a child, but not anytime soon.”

She felt the strength of the FBF was to make youth independent, rather than relying on their families to provide a way forward for them. She reflected about the first time she went to Blouberg as a tutor, when she had not learned how to buy her own groceries and live on her own. Now, she said, she was enjoying being independent. She frequently stressed the importance of initiative to the members in her section: “The only time you need to relax your minds is for two hours when you’re in the band. Yes, you have to go to school and read, but you have to relax as well—come to the band and have fun, and after, you go home to do your house chores, and the next day go to school” (personal interview, Tshepang Moyo, 16 June 2012).

I saw Tshepang on two more occasions. In November 2012, I made my way to Blouberg, where she was working as a tutor. She was visibly annoyed with me that I was late, as the journey from Polokwane to Bochum had taken much longer than I anticipated; she thought this was terribly unprofessional of me. I watched her lead her dancers through rehearsal on two consecutive days. The first day, the dance section sought shade in a decrepit building on the community sports field in Undermark. Plaster and rubbish were piled on the floors, and the girls, barefooted, cleared a space in the middle of the largest room. Despite the heat, they rehearsed their routines. A small group, they hung on Tshepang’s every word. The next day she led a larger group of pupils in rehearsal on an open field in Bochum. The heat was relentless, and Tshepang wrapped a shirt around her head for protection from the sun; yet the dancers laughed as they danced. She seemed very invested in the work. She also seemed very close with Makoena, the region’s social officer.

When I returned in March 2014, there had been many changes in Tshepang’s life. She said sheepishly, “I remember I told you I didn’t want to have a child.” Her son had been born in mid-2013. She had gone home to Rustenberg for his birth, and returned to work in Bochum in August. Her partner, however, had been killed in an accident before the baby’s birth, and she was now a single mother, grieving her loss and worrying about supporting her son on her FBF salary. She spoke regretfully about Retha’s recent death, and said that she hoped

that other people from the head office would come and visit to see and understand the band's daily challenges. "It's a blessing to work in a place like Blouberg. You learn a lot, and you tend to see life for what is capable, and you as an individual, you can tell yourself, 'Now it's time for me to start my own life, do what is going to work out for me in future.'" Her aunt and sister had proven quite supportive, and she credited Makoena and Mama Nana from the head office for their support during this difficult time. She had been able to bring her baby to Bochum to live with her in her rented room: "I couldn't leave him behind after all I've been through."

I gave Tshepang and Makoena an overview of my thesis, and asked for their feedback about the FBF impact on the wellbeing of members. Soft-spoken Makoena deferred primarily to Tshepang, whose command of English was better, and nodded along in agreement. Tshepang credited the FBF values with improving physical wellbeing by increasing self-respect, which would also increase personal hygiene. She also told me about monthly collaborations in the Blouberg region with the Department of Health, when representatives would visit the band to run education campaigns, testing every three months for HIV. She cited cases where only after children had tested HIV-positive themselves did they learn the likely cause of their parents' deaths. She also mentioned projects with the Department of Agriculture, who assisted with education about growing vegetables and knowing how to store and cook meat. Psychologically and socially, she felt like she had a family support in the FBF community, and she felt that the life skills sessions allowed members to speak freely and open up about problems in their lives. She felt that the FBF was her primary support group. She mentioned the other, competing brass bands in the region, whose rehearsals often included alcohol and smoking: "We don't do that in the Field Band," she said, offering this as an example of the way that social supports led to increased wellbeing.

The new band in Machaba was full of members who were orphans or whose caregivers were unemployed, and Makoena was under stress meeting their needs through the Children-in-Distress programme. The uptake in the new band was strong: Tshepang reported 82 dancers in her section. In terms of her

own financial resources, Tshepang said that she was trying to live within her means:

I'm not complaining, as long as I can manage to maintain me and my baby, I'm okay. I won't say it's enough, but I can survive. Sometimes I can't afford this thing, but I make sure I get my needs first. I used to come to KFC every day, but now I just come once a month. I have to budget. Now I budget for him for after he finishes school. He must go to university. He must not be like me. I did not go to university. So I've started to save for him.

When I asked about spiritual wellbeing, Tshepang cited a challenge in the band that happened during her absence, which Makoena dealt with, when some of the members protested after a visit from someone who they feared was bewitching them with his prayers. The members complained to the national operations manager from the head office, who spoke to Makoena and said that the FBF needed to remain neutral in religious matters, and since that time no prayers have been offered during rehearsal time. Tshepang explained that these perspectives were held by people with traditional beliefs about ancestors. However, she said, music was helpful for spiritual wellbeing because it could bring comfort in times of grief or stress. She said, "If you listen to a song, you might feel like you spoke to someone. Sometimes there is not someone you trust to talk to, but you trust music." The music helps her to be present, and once she arrives at rehearsal, she says, "I literally forget my problem. And even at night I might dream music." Her challenges over the past two years had given rise to many spiritual questions: "Maybe I'm being punished, or maybe I'm going the wrong route." Her FBF colleagues had helped her through these questions, although she had started going to a new church on her own as a means of trying to find answers.

Asked if her goals had changed since I interviewed her nearly two years prior, she said that yes, becoming a mother had brought a significant shift:

I remember telling you that I was not seeing myself being a mother anytime soon....It was not part of my plan. I even told Sis Makoena... Most of the people, they were so disappointed—I was even scared to tell her. Not thinking of Mam' Nana at the head office, I was scared... how is she going to take it? I've disappointed them. I've let them down. Retha. She was thinking of taking me to Norway last year in May, so finding out I was pregnant... so she told me, it's not the end of the world. I can get whatever that I want. I have to focus. I have to now sit down and think further on what I want and say to them. So Field Band is something... it just means a

lot to me. You won't feel lost. If you feel like you're lost, there's always someone that you can talk to that will make you to be found.

Tshepang was keeping alive plans to be a social worker, and was hoping to upgrade her high school mathematics and physics grades so that she could begin social work studies. She hoped that perhaps one day she could work at the FBF head office or, if not, outside the FBF in a social work role (personal interview, 2 April 2014).

Reflection

Several things are evident in these narratives. First, students have gained high levels of confidence through the development of particular skills and the awareness of their personal strengths and talents. They have become aware of the marketable potential of some of these skills. They demonstrate predominantly hopeful, optimistic visions of the future. They consistently indicate a desire to be a constructive, positive force in social development in the communities in which they are working the belief that they can flexibly change their careers and learn new skills throughout the future.

These perspectives offered a stark contrast to the way they characterised their pre-FBF lives, as well the lives of friends outside the FBF: directionless, boring, ineffective, dead-end, short-term, drudge-like, care-worn, or destructive. This was borne out by the comparisons they made with their childhood friends and acquaintances back home, variously “going with the sun around the house,” “maybe pregnant or sick,” or addicted and “asking for R1 or R2.” Framing these comparisons in terms of wellbeing yields several implied effects of FBF involvement. Social wellbeing is enhanced by positive social relationships, organised around a life-affirming activity offering the ability to avoid or escape addiction, teenage pregnancy, and violence. Psychological wellbeing is enhanced by strong identity, the ability to exercise control over important dimensions of life, social support, and recreation that offers respite from worry. Physical wellbeing is improved by the ability to avoid the above social risks, by education about nutrition, hygiene, and healthy sexual behaviours, by regular physical exercise, and by improved self-esteem that fosters self-care. Financial wellbeing is improved by the development of expanded, marketable skillsets, the ability to hold a steady [if meagre] salary, the development of budgeting and planning

skills, and the opportunity to potentially position themselves for further education that may further improve their employment prospects. Finally, spiritual wellbeing was a somewhat ambivalent area of influence, but the promotion of respect of religious and cultural diversity was important to many of the tutors, with occasional attribution of comfort or spiritual upliftment to music.

These contributions to wellbeing were by no means uniform nor complete, as the challenges many of the tutors seem to have faced after their time at the FBA indicate. The initial interviews were characterised by untempered optimism; follow-up interviews, where they were possible, acknowledged more of life's complexities, and some tutors seemed more cynical or aware of the possibility that life might not be quite as straightforward as anticipated. Certainly these five students volunteered to be interviewed because they felt confident in the benefits of the FBF to their lives, and certainly their stories cannot be taken as indicative of general member experience. These five have perhaps benefited more from FBF membership in many ways, and all of them continue to be interested in "giving back" to the FBF and continuing the work that was begun in their own lives. Thus, these life stories might serve as complex "ideals" of FBF achievement—perhaps not characterised by perfect decision-making or consistency, but generally taking personal responsibility for their lives, which were ultimately on a trajectory to contribute in a conscious, positive way to society.

Perceptions of wellbeing in the FBF

The preceding narratives offer insights into possible personal and career trajectories within the organisation, and some insights into the ways that the FBF contributes to enhanced wellbeing. However, I wished to explore these notions of wellbeing in greater depth, as I found when I asked people about particular dimensions of wellbeing I frequently got the same, rather superficial answers, and I did not find that my observations were yielding any more detailed perspectives. In the final weeks of my 2012 fieldwork, I held a series of focus groups with new students at the Field Band Academy to investigate the impact of participation in the FBF on several dimensions of their wellbeing. The goal of

collecting this information was to determine whether it is possible to gauge the degree to which the FBF has successfully countered the effects of inequality by observing improved levels wellbeing. Fifteen students participated voluntarily in three focus group sessions, ranging from two to three hours each, taking part in brainstorming sessions, small- and large-group discussions, and personal journaling. Overall, the sessions aimed to examine the role of the Field Band Foundation at strategic points in their lives.

In an introductory session, I presented my research to all FBA students, introducing them to the field of ethnomusicological research, the overall scope of my project, and the notion of wellbeing. I described the five interlinked aspects of wellbeing I had conceptualised—physical, psychological, financial, spiritual, and social—providing definitions and examples of each. I presented these as five “containers” that pour into a larger container defined as “a good life”—whatever their personal definition of “a good life” was. After this introductory session, I asked for volunteers to participate in the focus groups to explore these issues. Selected PowerPoint slides (see Figure 19, below) from my initial presentation demonstrate my approach.

It should be noted that although FBA directors enthusiastically supported my research and encouraged students to participate, it was framed as a personal learning opportunity over and above their other academic and musical commitments. The sessions were conducted during evenings and weekends, during personal time that students would normally have had available for homework and practise. Thus, I was very grateful for the fifteen volunteers. During each session, they reflected upon their levels of wellbeing in each of the five identified dimensions, and considered how these had fluctuated over the years. Of the fifteen students, thirteen were happy for me to identify them by name in this discussion. Two wished to remain anonymous, whom I will refer to as male student E and male student M.



Figure 19. Presenting the focus group process to FBA students

During the first focus group session, we focused on students' wellbeing as new members, asking them to reflect back to when they first joined the FBF. The conversation was so extensive, we ran out of time. Thus, in session two, we began by concluding our session one activity, before moving on to a discussion of their wellbeing after they had been members for several years, and at the present moment as students at the academy. In the third session, we needed an entire hour to finish the enthusiastic discussion about their present lives that they had begun during the second session, and following that, I guided them



Figure 20. Students work together in focus group sessions, 10 November 2012

through a visioning exercise, asking them to imagine and describe themselves at age forty, including their family, career, and material attainments. In a final feedback session, they reflected on the process of the prior three sessions; submitted their complete journals to me, which I later scanned and returned to them; completed a feedback questionnaire documenting their thoughts on the process, which I provided in full to the FBA management; and discussed and completed their consent forms, which I had introduced at the first session. We then had a “wrap party” to celebrate—I provided ice cream and toppings for sundaes. The focus groups thus ended with rowdy laughter and dripping, overflowing bowls of ice cream.

For each stage of their FBF involvement, students depicted their levels of wellbeing in the chart I had developed. For example, male student M’s assessment of his level of wellbeing after he had been in the Field Band for several years was as follows:

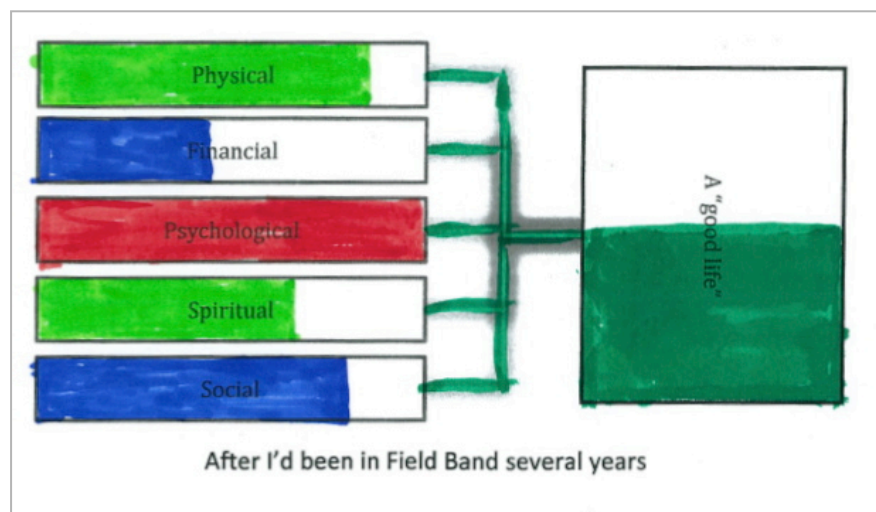


Figure 21. Example diagram of self-assessed levels of wellbeing

I have taken this information and represented it graphically in order to compare trends in students’ self-assessments. These graphs, along with an explanation of how they were developed, are available for closer consideration in Appendix C.

Most students completed the diagrams in their student journals fully and, it seemed, with good understanding of the task at hand. In a couple of cases, an element was missed (for example, the “Overall” element in male student M’s “Now, as an FBA student” diagram). One student coloured in each of the boxes fully on all of the charts and left “a good life” blank; unfortunately I did not have

the opportunity to ask whether he intended to indicate that he felt his wellbeing was at equally high levels across these three periods of time, or determine whether he had misunderstood or not engaged with this exercise.

As with the individual interviews in part one of this chapter, this group of fifteen students is not in any way intended as a “sample” that is indicative of FBF experience throughout the organisation. As I have emphasised earlier, I focused on the perspectives of long-term participants within the organisation, providing several entry points into the examination of a large programme. This analysis through the lens of my research interests and background experience has led to the development of a particular theoretical framework for considering how the work of the FBF might be understood. Thus, the information gathered from focus groups represents extremely relevant but also partial perspectives on the work of the FBF.

My primary purpose for having students graphically represent their levels of wellbeing was not an attempt to quantify their experience. It was as a tool to stimulate deeper reflection on somewhat abstract concepts and begin to articulate the ways in which they feel the FBF has had an impact on wellbeing. Group discussion and the verbal expression of their experiences, which I have transcribed, provide the most interesting and meaningful reflections. My translation of their charts into graphic form is merely a means of comparing the general trajectories of wellbeing in student experience.

One final caveat for this discussion is that ultimately, this process was very exploratory. Although I approached this research project knowing I wanted to discover something about the link between music development and wellbeing, and had done preliminary reading on wellbeing, arts and health, community music therapy, and happiness research, I knew that wellbeing was an important aspect amongst others that I would address and as such did not design the project solely around this question. Thus, because I was not intending this to be a quantitative analysis, I had little concern for statistical integrity or slavish measurement in the graphic representation of student diagrams. Nonetheless, I argue that the amount of information gathered from these focus groups is enough to beg myriad questions, and an entire research project could be designed around the sole question of music development and assessment of

subjective wellbeing. Thus, my research methodology paves the way for future research, connecting these questions and experiences to the notion of political economy, by offering a new perspective to the field of arts and health research as the ethnomusicology of music development work.

Ultimately, a longitudinal study of FBF members which tracks their assessment of their wellbeing across time, and into the future as they “graduate” from the FBF, ideally plotted against a control group without FBF involvement, would indicate the impact of the FBF on its members’ wellbeing. Perhaps an ideal study would aim to isolate the effects of FBF participation from other life circumstances, or attempt to identify whether these effects arise from musical practices themselves or from the field of musical participation. However, such circumstances are not experienced in isolation and much can be learned from these discussions about the role of membership in FBF throughout their lives. This is not to say that I will consider music neutral in the analysis, as if these effects would be identical if the FBF were a sports organisation rather than a music organisation; it is certainly worth exploring whether the music generates a particular kind of sociality that facilitates these effects. However, I am just as interested in the extra-musical aspects that contribute to increased wellbeing in the case of an organisation that centres its activities around music, and this will be the focus of my consideration as I go forward.

Overall trends in wellbeing

During the workshops, discussing the diagrams they had completed, the students reflected articulately on the specific ways in which participating in the FBF affected their wellbeing. Although we discussed each dimension of wellbeing individually, the effects in one dimension were often also experienced in other dimensions. As well as describing their self-assessments of their levels of the five dimensions of wellbeing across time, they also assessed their level of overall wellbeing by indicating to what degree they felt they were experiencing “a good life” at each of the three chosen points in time (Figure 22 below). In their

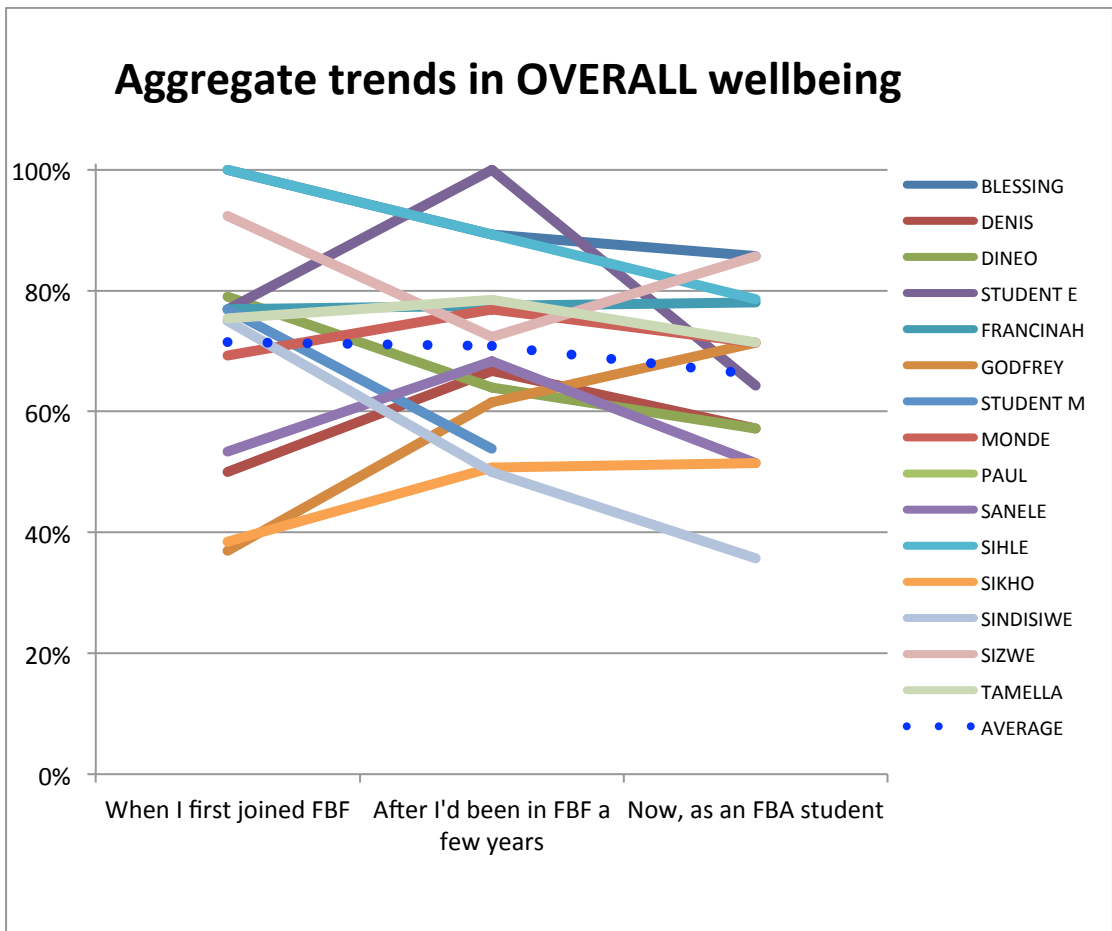


Figure 22. Aggregate trends in overall wellbeing, as assessed by students

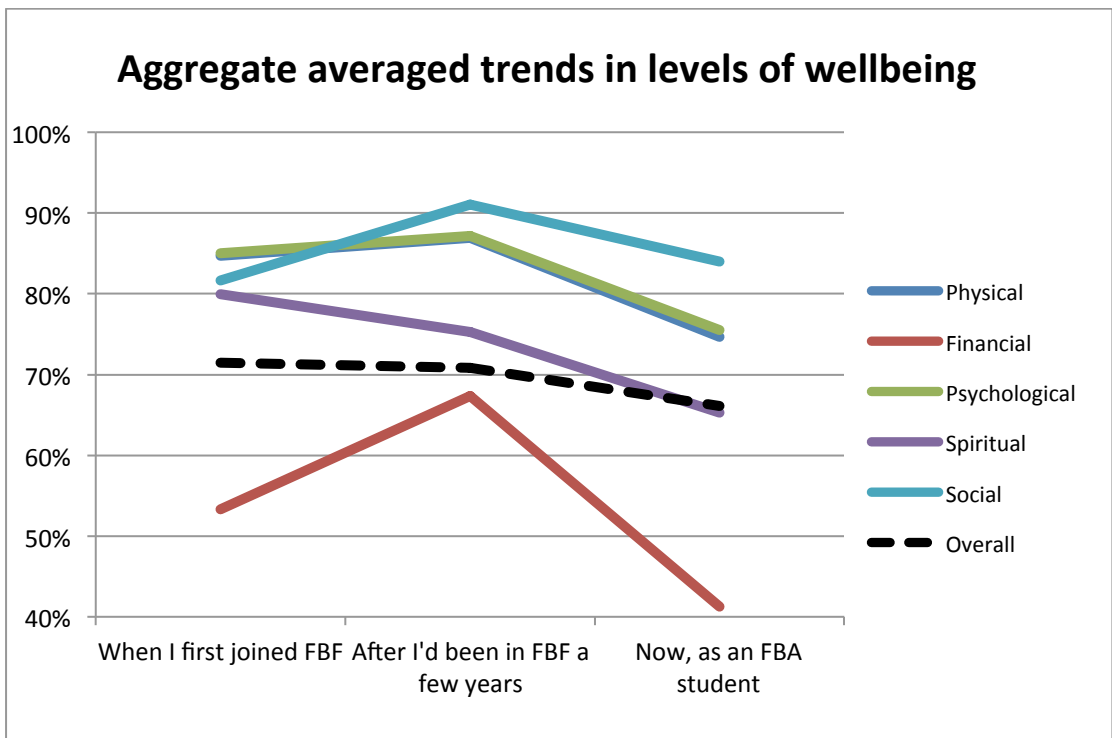


Figure 23. Trends in each dimension of wellbeing, based on calculated averages

diagrams, many depicted an increase in wellbeing after being involved in the FBF for a few years, and all but three depicted a decrease in their experience of “a good life” as current students of the FBA, with many depicting a sharp drop in wellbeing. Thus, an average of all responses shows a slight rise after a few years as an FBF member, and a significant drop in experienced overall wellbeing as an FBA student. This is even more evident in Figure 23, which depicts an average of the aggregated wellbeing “scores” of all students in each dimension.

Interestingly, most students documented their levels of wellbeing as new, young members of the FBF as relatively high across all dimensions. The exception is financial wellbeing, which was overwhelmingly assessed as the dimension in which they experienced the lowest levels of wellbeing.

These results of overall decline in all dimensions of wellbeing were counter to what I expected to find, given the positive assessments that people were constantly giving of the FBF. I asked why this was so in discussion of the results in detail with students. Sindi responded that as a child she did not concern herself with these things, and it was not her responsibility to try to improve her wellbeing. However, as she reached adulthood, the stress of taking on responsibility for her own life and the members of her family began to weigh on her. Others spoke about specific events which decreased their wellbeing over time—the experience of an illness or physical condition; the breadwinner’s loss of a job and their own subsequent enrolment into contributing to the financial needs of the members of the household. I would also speculate that these declines in perceived wellbeing are connected with increasing levels of inequality in South Africa during its transition. Declining levels of individual dimensions of wellbeing led students to perceive declines in overall wellbeing—particularly when multiple individual dimensions of wellbeing declined.

Additionally, and significantly, as students discussed individual levels of wellbeing, it became clear that their time at the FBA was a tumultuous one, with multiple challenges across all dimensions of wellbeing. Arguably this is evidence of a period of profound transition rather than an overall detrimental effect of the FBF on their life. Finally, it is likely that because students were reflecting on increasingly distant periods of time that certain memories have been dulled, sharpened, vilified, or idealised. The assessment is comparative with the current

moment, and if the wellbeing of a group of FBF members were monitored over a period of several years, rather than retrospectively, likely results would be observably different. As I will discuss in more detail in chapter seven, these potential distortions may also be evidence of the impact of the FBF in terms of the expectations that have been created and the shifting levels of anticipated wellbeing.

Physical wellbeing

It should be noted that three students indicated they had a stable, high level of physical wellbeing across all three periods of time (Francinah, Paul, and Sizwe's assessments overlap on the upper line on the graph). More significantly, twelve students indicated a stable or rising level of wellbeing from the time they joined the FBF to the point at which they had been FBF members for a period of time. As new members, the students explained, the positive impacts of participation to their physical wellbeing included: regular exercise; HIV awareness education; the addition of vegetables to their diet from some of the bands that had permaculture projects; education about hygiene, healthy food and diet; and learning about the care of and disinfecting of the instrument mouthpieces to prevent the spread of viruses. Possible negative effects, they reported, were injuries sustained during rehearsals, sometimes caused by instruments falling during the packing of the truck; flare-ups of allergies and the spread of colds and flu during bus trips and accommodation at the annual national championships; occasionally being served food they did not enjoy; and experiencing heat exhaustion under the blazing Johannesburg sun at more than one national championships in a stadium with insufficient shade.

Many students mentioned that the provision of food at some rehearsals and events was a strong factor motivating them to join the FBF. While this seems intuitively a common trait of youth, it may also connect to the fact that some of the students came from homes where there was food scarcity. They cited education about healthy, balanced diets as something that contributed to physical wellbeing. Queried as to whether this information made a real difference in their everyday lives, one male student offered, "Yes because... some of the children, they just eat anything, not only to find sometimes they collapse in

the field band. Too much sugar in the body, too much junk food, so sometimes they lose concentration. Some of them they just get sleepy when they are sitting. But after introducing healthy diet it got better, we managed to up the standard in everything” (focus group session 2, 31 October 2012). Additionally, several students mentioned that at national championships they sometimes found the catering inedible or insufficient and went hungry.

Discussions of hygiene also became more prominent at the time of Nationals, though a recurring theme throughout the year. Asked why so, one male student replied humorously, “Because they want you to smell and look good. Especially before you get on the bus for a long trip.” Another added, “They said, ‘Wash your socks!’” (focus group session 2, 31 October 2012). Certainly issues of hygiene relate to matters of physical health, but these comments also point to the social nature of personal hygiene practices and constructions of socially acceptable practices of cleanliness that are laden with values and attitudes and are perhaps associated with particular global, cosmopolitan norms.

Several students also mentioned that they joined the FBF specifically “to keep away from drugs.” Undoubtedly there are social and psychological elements to this observation as well, as students use the FBF to escape boredom and drug-seeking social groups. Exercise was also framed as a joint physical and social consideration. There was a great deal of variety in how physically active students were outside of the FBF. Several mentioned that the exercises and the marching drills and the dancing were their only real exercise of the week, while others were involved in sports, particularly soccer (football), and were torn at times between their allegiances to their team versus the FBF. They mentioned that the social aspect of the FBF encouraged them to exercise, as a joint activity done with friends, where on their own they might have rather had more sedentary tendencies.

Many students felt their physical wellbeing was in decline at the academy, predominantly due to stress and a lack of sleep. Students said they were often overwhelmed with homework and practising, spending hours into the night completing homework rather than sleeping, despite the official curfew, and rising early to practice. They also said there had been problems with the school’s water supply, and that they were made ill by water that was sometimes

brownish in colour and tasted bad. The stress of homesickness and personal conflict sometimes made them feel physically unwell.

Meals were a significant trigger of a sense of decreased physical wellbeing. Although they are provided three catered meals per day, several said they are often hungry. Indeed, the director, Marit Bakken, mentioned to me one day that at one point they had had to ban students from eating large amounts of bread between meals as they could neither keep up with nor afford the bread supply. Additionally, she related, during one term it appeared that students had begun to gain discernable amounts of weight, despite the banning of between-meal bread, and some digging revealed that copious amounts of sugar in the tea might be the culprit. Certainly many South Africans enjoy very sweet tea, and sugar is a high priority on the grocery list in many households, no matter how poor; but the institutional nature of the FBA seemed to demand limits on things students felt were staples. They chafed at the limits on the quantity and time of consumption of meals, saying that this was to treat them like children. Indeed, it must be kept in mind that many of these students, while young, are several years out of high school—most between the ages of 22 and 25. Some are parents, and others have been or still are breadwinners for their family members. On the other hand, at the academy, food was provided; and yet their access to this food was limited due to the academy's budgetary constraints. The liberty to consume food at the times and in the quantities desired was in tension with the responsibility of providing it, and had a consequent negative effect on their perception of their current level of wellbeing.

Discipline was perceived positively in other contexts, however. When asked for ways in which their physical wellbeing had improved, Sindi remarked:

For me waking up everyday at 6:00 because I know I have to bath and there's breakfast at 7. It's not something I do at home every day because I know at home I can eat anytime. So the fact that there's specific times I'm going to have to eat at and be somewhere and do this, it's just to discipline me. So at times my body has been trained, because I realised when I went back home, I was waking up at 6:00, even though I didn't have to, because my body has been trained like that now. It has actually—I have adapted now and I'm used to it.

I asked, “And you like it? Your body enjoys it?” She replied, “I thought I didn’t. But my body is telling me something else” (focus group session 2, 31 October 2014).

Financial wellbeing

Students indicated a sharp increase in financial wellbeing after a few years of FBF membership, which all but two indicated they had experienced. One student remarked that in his region, the opportunity to earn money for Field Band gigs from a very young age was important, and that this money often went towards buying things they wanted or giving it to the household to buy bread or sugar or coffee. It is worth noting that this practice is not universal—several objected that those who participate in the FBF gigs do so as volunteers, and any proceeds are sent to the FBF head office. Others took a longer view of the financial benefits of FBF membership. One said, for example, “Field Band will give you skills to play music, and someone sees the skills that you have and they hire you” (focus group session 2, 31 October 2014). Another student stated that it was significant that this was a free musical activity. When he was younger, he said, he also played cello, and his parents paid R580/month for cello lessons. However, anyone, even those who cannot afford music lessons, can come to the FBF for free musical training, he said, and this is a financial benefit.

Other financial considerations included the costs of participation—for example, the fee to travel to nationals or paying for the repair of an instrument that you had broken, which can exclude those who cannot afford it. One student commented that in his region, there was a practice of offering loans to deserving students to enable them to attend nationals, though some never intended to pay it back. He remarked, “I think why they say you should pay back, they’re trying to avoid that habit of you saying, ‘I don’t have anything’ even if you did not try, you just come and say, ‘I don’t have anything.’ OK, when they say you have to pay back, they know there’s a possibility that you cannot pay back, but they just want to avoid that habit of you coming and saying, ‘I don’t have money’ even if you did not try to ask for it or to find it somewhere” (Focus group session 2, 31 October 2014). This remarkable statement reveals some of the ethics and ideologies about individual responsibility and initiative that exist within the FBF. However,

the same student suggested that the practice had largely equality-enhancing effects: “I think the reason they do that is they don’t want those kids that don’t have something to eat on the road to feel like they are secluded. From our region, the reason why they fork out money is that the band has to buy food for all of the kids to eat. So whether you had two bags full of food, that doesn’t matter, because you will eat what I’m eating when the bus stops.” A female student added, “Fundraising [does] help others to get their needs—get their hair done for the nationals and be prepared, and also for food” (focus group session 2, 31 October 2012). These comments suggest an attitude toward finances as communal rather than individual. One used a musical metaphor to express this attitude, reciting the Field Band motto: “One band, one sound.”

Others remarked that they learned about fundraising and entrepreneurship through FBF: “[Members] also get the idea on which positive way we can make money, other than going to someone or doing crime. So they’re learning in a positive way that there are types of ways to get money. I can say in our region, most of the ideas as teachers, we don’t come up with them—they [the members] are the ones who come up with them” (focus group session 2, 31 October 2012). These lessons, then, appear to manifest in moral terms but to have material consequences. Certainly, becoming tutors in the regions offers one route to legitimate employment and a more lucrative source of income, however limited, than many find readily available elsewhere.

Moreover, many dimensions of their wellbeing were reliant upon financial considerations. There is a visible steep decline in experienced levels of financial wellbeing as students at the FBA, with eleven indicating declines to often extremely low levels of financial wellbeing. Although the organisation provides them a stipend during their residence at the academy, it is much less than they were earning previously as tutors.¹² Thus, several related that their finances were seriously affected by coming to the academy, because they were

¹² At present, monthly tutor stipends in the KZN region are R1500 per month (approximately GBP £85 or CAD \$157). FBA students receive room and board plus a monthly stipend of R360 (approximately GBP £20 or CAD \$37 as at May 2014). On my return visit in April 2014, at an assembly at the FBA, students cheered enthusiastically at the announcement that each of them would receive a one-time extra R150 with their monthly stipend to allow them to contribute to their families or hosts as they returned home or to their regions for the term break.

used to earning regular income as tutors in the regions, contributing to the household income of their parents, siblings, or children. One mentioned that as they had had regular salaries as tutors, they had accounts that now required monthly payments even though their current income was much lower (focus group session 3, 10 November 2012). Paul wrote in his journal that his financial wellbeing had improved due to this small stipend, in addition to the support of his family (Paulus Motsoatsoa journal, submitted November 2012); meanwhile, Godfrey wrote that attending the FBA was a great opportunity as his parents, one of whom had recently passed away, could never have afforded to send him to university (Godfrey Molele journal, submitted November 2012).

Clearly, students have uniformly chosen to take up this opportunity for education in order to advance their future prospects. Across the board, they envisioned themselves attaining stable careers, further education, material possessions such as houses and vehicles, and having a supportive family. As a result of their training at the academy, several had long-term plans and timelines for achieving these goals, as I will discuss in chapter seven. Thus, their financial stability is the basis upon which they hope to build social, psychological, physical, and perhaps even spiritual wellbeing.

Psychological wellbeing

It is difficult to discuss psychological wellbeing without also discussing social wellbeing. Students cited significant psychological benefits of participation in the FBF as members, and these were described in largely social terms. I include here a lengthy excerpt transcribed from the second focus group session, which elaborates on the interrelationship of psychological and social wellbeing:

Male student: ...Maybe when you are from home, having stresses from home or from school, then when you play music or hear music at the Field Band Foundation, you get relaxed psychologically. So, every time you go in the band, you're having some issues, you're playing, you're going on, then when you arrive in Field Band Foundation, you are stress free.

Laryssa: Okay. How does that happen? You come from school, and you get to Field Band, what happens actually? At what point in the music do you feel all your stress go away?

Male student: I think automatically when you arrive at Field Band Foundation, you meet many people, many friends of yours, and they will come with different stories, and if it's Monday they will come with the weekend stories. Then you're kind of relieved even if you didn't touch the instrument. Then if you touch the instrument, that will go an extra mile.

Laryssa: So it comes from the social aspect and it also comes from the playing. What happens when you touch the instrument? I could touch this [smacks the keyboard] and nothing's going to happen to my stress level...

Male student: Obviously when you choose to play that particular instrument, it's because that you liked it. So when you touch the instrument, you know that you're going to play something nice and that will make you feel comfortable. So immediately when you play music, you'll get relieved in anything, and you are thinking of nothing else but the music you are going to play. So it relieves everything. And even when you come out of the Field Band Foundation, you don't think about those things that you arrived here with in the Field Band Foundation. You are singing a song—if I am meeting Sihle there, Sihle is singing “*Amavolovolo*,” then I join him.... [sings]

Female student: To add what Sipho has said before, there's a sense of belonging when you get to the band. Like, when you get there you just feel like it's home away from home. Everything, it's fine, it gets fine. Even though you had troubles back at home, then, you know, I have another family, everything will be okay then. When you go back home, you forgot about those stuff.

Numerous voices: Yeah! Hm.

Laryssa: Um, do you feel like then once you've gotten back home, does all that stuff just come running back, or is it somehow different?

Male student: Sometimes they do come back.

Male student: Sometimes they do come back quite hard, in a hard way.

Laryssa: In a hard way, when you get home, yeah. What were you going to say about that? So if it comes back...

Male student: I want to say that sometimes you get from a certain household, you get parents who are negligent, and then you get a family that doesn't show or display a caring attitude. And then immediately when you get to the band, you just find a sense of relief, and like they say, it's a sense of belonging right? So it kind of takes away that stress. But then the negative would be that when the rehearsal is over, when you get back home, you being in the

band does not take away the problem, because when you get home the problem is still there.

Male student: It's hard.

Laryssa: Does anybody think that going to Field Band—even though the problems come back when you're home—has that time at Field Band done something for you, for your psychology, about dealing with those problems?

Male student: Uh, to add on what I said, you get home, you get the same problem, but then you get back to the band again the following day—like I said, there are SOs [social officers] who provide psychological support—and then sometimes they do continuous monitoring, and then they do follow-ups on the issues that bother you. For them, since they are professional in a certain field, they identify the problem at an earlier stage, and they also help curb it before it causes more problems.

From this discussion, it seems that students find the social experience of FBF a regular period of respite from their stress, promoting relaxation and positive feelings. The capacity of this experience to adjust perspectives, reinforce positive feelings, and escape the constraints and troubles of daily life seems extremely relevant to the psychological experience of respite cited by FBF members. Respite also seems to include the social support of peers and social officers to cope with difficult situations. Anecdotally, as I spoke with people across the country, respite is perceived as a very important psychological benefit of membership in FBF, the significance of which must not be underestimated. Interestingly, the role of the music and the instrument itself is accorded a level of effect that is significant, even if social exchange is deemed more important in dealing with psychological stress.

It is largely within the psychological domain that many of the benefits of the music itself can be observed. It seems relevant that the students connect playing the music of an instrument that they have chosen and that they like with a calming effect. The role of music in capturing and stimulating sustained interest is also considerable, and ultimately this contributes greatly to the FBF's ability to retain members over long periods of time. In his journal, Monde described the powerful lure that music, and later the trumpet specifically, was for him. He wrote, in response to the guiding questions:

Q: What did you think about the music the band played/the dance?

A: When it was my first time at Field Band Foundation, I was very interested and curious asking the guys who were there how did they play their instrument and by that time they were playing songs that I know and use to here [sic] on the radio. African songs and nice songs.

Q: Why did you end up playing the instrument you play or dancing?

A: I chose it myself but by that time I was still young but as time goes I end up being more in love with my trumpet because there good trumpet players in my band, then on t.v. was very inspired [sic] by Hugh Masekela that's where I saw myself being like him and started to practise more. (Monde Fishidi journal, submitted November 2012)

Other students commented that the music was familiar from TV, and that it was fun. It was accessible not only because of its familiarity or sense of coming from certain culture, but also because of the low level of difficulty. Male student E's comment summarises this: "I knew it from before and it was nice and easy for beginners most importantly it's an country music, and inspired us beginners" (male student E's journal, submitted November 2012). Sizwe had a unique and interesting perspective on the matter of repertoire, writing that he perceived the music of the FBF as "the music that can be specified to being play by white people. So the music that they were playing was more like classical music so I wanted to challenge myself to try something new besides soccer" (Sizwe Nkosi journal, submitted November 2012). This indicates a certain multivalence of the FBF's repertoire, as it seems to support a variety of perspectives on its origins, meanings, and ownership. These observations are critical for the FBF to continue to reflect upon in terms of the transformative potential of musical practices relative to their locally and culturally-embedded meanings, as Pavlicevic and Impey (2013) stress.

The music, therefore, plays an important role in capturing their interest, and provides an ongoing source of motivation and aspiration as they and their peers improve their skill levels. Professionals in their discipline also provide sources of inspiration: Monde's reference to South African jazz legend Hugh Masekela undoubtedly originates in Masekela's virtuosity and charisma as a performer. The repertoire itself is also seen as important to generating interest. As a "popular" genre, its appeal was in its familiarity and its connection to culture, an appeal it may not have had if the FBF was drawing from more elite traditions. Denis also concurred that the repertoire was "culturally" familiar, and

he identified it as being from South Africa, listing FBA core repertoire such as “*Amavolovolo*” and “*Dali Wami*” (Denis Mashabane journal, submitted November 2012). Thus the appeal to a certain cultural or national identity of the FBF repertoire is an important source of its attraction, sustaining interest and motivation.

The element of choice, accomplishment, and love of the chosen instrument or discipline also sustains long-term commitment to participation in the FBF. Male student E indicated three contributors to his ongoing involvement: “For me not to lose interest in the FBF is that we used to have so much performances and the kind of music they play mostly the National Champs.” He also wrote that although the instrument was chosen for him to address a shortage at the time he joined his band, “...When the time goes by I fell in love with it” (male student E’s journal, submitted November 2012). Several described “falling in love” with an instrument or a particular song. Sindi connected this affective quality directly and explicitly with her own psychological wellbeing: “I liked their music because it was familiar to me, and what fascinated me more was the instruments they used as I had never seen before. My favourite song was ‘*Ubuhle bendoda*’. It made me feel very happy and aroused the interest in me to dance for it.” She continued, “Dance healed me, it made me feel comfortable and gave me the sense of freedom to express how I feel and this was my choice” (Sindisiwe Junerose Ngcobo journal, submitted November 2012).

A lack of “fit” between the person and the instrument can be part of the reason they stop attending, and finding that fit where he or she can experience success can contribute to his or her return. Sibusiso (Sbu) Ndlovu, one of the tutors in the KZN region, told me that he had joined and quit the band several times. With characteristic humour, he related his story and demonstrated the link between the sense of enjoyment and purpose that originates in the experience of success in a particular instrument or discipline:

I started Field Band 2000, and I dropped after two months ‘cause I couldn’t take it. Honestly, I couldn’t take the noise, I couldn’t take the pressure and all that. I started and I dropped. Then 2001 I went back to the Field Band because my friends were always nagging me go to the band, come to the band, I didn’t see any much of that enthusiasm to actually be in the band. Then 2001, I went to the band again, I dropped. ‘Cause I was like, number one, you guys are wasting your time, number

two, the sun's so blazing and you're actually making noise, which was a nonsense to me at that time. Then 2002, I joined again. When I joined in 2002 I started as a snare player as well. I did snare, I did snare, I did snare, and I was like, okay well, number one, this is hell for me [Laryssa snickers], number two, this is noisy for me, number three, I see no importance of this thing. Then I left the snare, and then I did cymbals.... But 2002, I stayed there for quite some time. Then 2003, '04, to '05, I changed from drums to steel drums. When I did steel drums, then I was privileged enough that they had Thando and Bryan, who believed that I could actually teach and co-facilitate the steel drum class. We ran the steel drum group under my supervision with Sandile [...] that is not here today. I worked with him teaching the kids. And 2004, that was the first year that we as the KZN band won the steel drum trophy under our supervision, and I took that as the greatest achievement ever, you know? Being at the nationals and actually achieving that much. (Sibusiso Ndlovu, personal interview, 7 June 2012).

Asked if being in the FBF ever had negative effects on their psychological wellbeing, students did cite several such examples. The first batch of examples came when I asked them if they had ever left the band for a period of time. Many answered in the affirmative, and some cited competing interests like sport, church commitments, school exams, or other musical activities. Several of the examples, however, had distinctly social and psychological elements: too much competition within the band, bullying after rehearsal, other members laughing at them and making jokes, losing at their band's first national championships, peer group pressure to stop attending, pregnancy, and parents stopping them attending because they were coming home late from rehearsal (focus group session 1, 23 October 2012). I will pick up some of these themes below in the section on social wellbeing.

A marked decline of psychological wellbeing as current students at the academy is evident among most students. First of all, the shock of adapting to the academy setting again seems to be responsible for the sharp decline of psychological wellbeing at present. Many perceived the academy as a stressful setting, feeling acutely the distance from their families and the conflict with and between their colleagues. They perceived the demands of homework and the frequent assessment as extremely stressful. The constant lack of sleep, they argued, had a bad effect on their morale and their productivity (focus group session 2, 31 October 2012). Generally speaking, in fact, none had anything positive to say about the effect of being at the academy on their psychological

wellbeing, even in social terms. Even the music itself, which used to provide respite as band members, no longer seemed to be perceived as offering the same relief. However, one student mentioned that during the difficult times, the music did in fact offer inspiration. At times when they felt like leaving the academy, she said, “You think of the reason you are here. So the passion for the thing that keeps brought you here, it keeps you going,” to which a chorus of voices responded, “Yes!” (focus group session 3, 31 October 2012).

Spiritual wellbeing

Although it might be controversial to include spiritual wellbeing as a dimension of study, my prior fieldwork had suggested that many people in South Africa had expressed understandings of a link between their spiritual wellbeing and other areas of wellbeing. Ill health, loss of a job, and family conflict can all be perceived as the consequence of spiritual or religious breaches, and many people appealed to their religious beliefs to make sense of or cope with low levels of wellbeing in other dimensions.

The discussion around these issues was very productive but counterintuitive. I attempted to make clear that by spiritual wellbeing I did not mean religiosity or church attendance, but rather a sense of personal spirituality, whatever one’s belief system. Perhaps it would have been better, however, to clarify that an absence of religious allegiances did not necessarily equate with a lack of spiritual wellbeing—that a person could possibly define other ways of having a high level of spiritual wellbeing—because students still spoke about their spiritual wellbeing in terms of how connected they felt to the religious beliefs with which they had been raised. It was also a slightly delicate conversation, and students displayed a significant amount of reticence in speaking about such matters at first. It took some probing for the reasons behind this to emerge.

Reflecting upon their experiences as members, initially a student offered, “I think the positive thing is with us, before we go to the practice we pray, and after the practice we also pray, so it’s a positive impact to us.... They are teaching us to pray in a way.” I followed up with a question about whether these practices were consistent throughout the country, and whether there were ever conflicts

that arose where people did not have uniform beliefs, and a conversation was sparked. Students said that prayer was common, but not universal, in the regions. In some regions, where there are more diverse constituencies, students said that nonetheless there would not be conflict over prayer:

I can say although they are not Christians, when there's a prayer, usually the one who's praying is the elders, our parents; it's either before we go to Joburg or after we have done something. So he or she won't have a right to stop that. Or she would be shy or he would be shy to stop the prayer. Because of respect.... What I'm saying is that even if, I will make an example, all of them they are Christians, then you are the one who's praying, then I would be shy to just go out while they are praying because everyone is doing the same thing, even if I'm not a Christian. But for me, it's going to be fine because I have to do it, the thing that everyone is doing—as we said, One band one sound.

However, another presented an alternative view to the largely Christian hegemony this comment indicates, arguing for a prevalent secularism:

In Field Band Foundation, as we have been told in here, is that we should not practice any spiritual thing on the Field Band Foundation because we are different people, we have different beliefs, and we are from different backgrounds. So if I'm praying or even if 99.9% were praying to God, those who are not praying to this particular God, they will be affected, and they will feel like they are left out of the Field Band Foundation. Then they will leave the band. This is why in other regions we don't use any of the spiritual beliefs things.

Another student later added to the discussion, positioning prayer and religious belief as spiritually-related practices held by the dominant demographic, but which are seen as cultural more than ideological:

...We sometimes at our homes, our parents or we have been raised by Christians, then as we grew up, we start to have our mindsets and believe to other things, uh, sorry to be rude, ne, to other gods, ne? Then what I'm saying is that, at Field Band they do not need to follow about the beliefs or anything because we can end up leaving everything, most of us. Because Field Band has nothing to do with our beliefs and whatever. But what we know is that almost all of us as the black people and whatever, is that we are raised by Christians. That's why when we are going to perform somewhere, one of our tutors or what-what, they pray—they don't pray to Allah or whatever, they pray the Christian prayers. And no one will go do funny things, because we all know that's how we pray.

This comment seems also to indicate that the perhaps religious difference is at times papered over or silenced, or that minority groups defer to or make allowances for majority groups in order to maintain the sense of community. However, Sindi intervened at this juncture with a comment that indicates that

perhaps the FBF promotes an alternate, inclusive spirituality within its space, rather than papering over religious difference. She said, “For me, my spiritual belief or my spiritual wellbeing is not actually characterised by religion. When I’m here at the Field Band, I think we have our own spiritual belief.” Enthusiastic assent was voiced around the room, and she continued:

The fact that I say, Field Band is... you can see the reaction here. We all know what that means. So we have found our common ground of our spiritual belief, where we’ve come to an understanding of this is who we are and this is what we believe in. For me, a church is just a structure that you go in and you pray to God, because I’m there. That structure allows me to do that—but if I’m at the field band, I’m in that structure, and I’m going to have that spiritual belief at that time. So right now Field Band for me is doing the best. We are doing the best that we can.

A male student responded, “Amen. In the name of FBA.” (All comments, focus group session 2, 25 October 2012).

In my view, the trajectory of this discussion demonstrated deep ambivalence toward the role of spirituality and religion in a diverse South Africa, where religious belief and practice even between members of ostensibly similar religions can be extremely varied. Two strategies seem to be invoked: the strategy of secularism, where religious belief is best silenced or tacitly passed over; and a strategy of relativism, where religious belief is only engaged with in a manner relative to the median beliefs of the group. This second strategy includes the forging of new spiritualities: a “field band” spirituality. This became more explicit in the discussion about spirituality at the academy.

To whatever degree these strategies are invoked, most students do seem to have a sense of declining spiritual wellbeing, with the exception of the ones who rated it as consistently high and one who declared spiritual beliefs as unimportant to him in his journal. The academy is deliberately a largely secular environment, specifically in order to avoid the clashes between diverse religious identities of the students. Questioned about the plunging levels of spiritual wellbeing, students offered that they felt that in the context of this pluralism they were losing touch with their own spiritual beliefs. At the same time, they spoke positively about this “FBF” spirituality that they had gained; and yet their perception of their personal wellbeing revealed some cognitive dissonance about these potentially clashing values. Francinah wrote of her present spiritual

wellbeing in her journal, “The challenges that I get is that I miss church. I find it difficult because I kind [of] believe in church, praying to god and where I am, I can’t play my spiritual thing, I have to keep it to my self, am not allowed to share with anyone because it will look like am offending, and it has decreased” (Francinah Rathaga journal, submitted November 2012).

It is also provocative to consider what the role of music in the creation of this alternative spirituality might be. The affective experience of music may invoke associations of other affective experiences of music, and church services or other religious ceremonies may be a prominent realm in which many of the students have had affective experiences of music. A foundational text in the study of music and emotion is Judith Becker’s *Deep Listeners* (2004), in which she discusses the biological and psychological dimensions of listening in a particular “habitus,” an “embodied pattern of action and reaction” that is unconscious and perceived of as “natural” (71). In the South African context, Blacking (1974) references the Venda genre of *tshikona*, describing the affiliation to a social group that is enacted through its participatory performance. He postulates that this is effected through the experience of a “virtual time” or “complete absorption in the ‘Timeless Now of the Divine Spirit’” (51-2). The love of music and the absorption in musical practice to which FBF members and tutors testify suggests that further exploration of these issues is needed. Music may evoke particular emotions associated with particular religious experiences, and in the context of band rehearsals, these associations may be translated into a secular environment that facilitates a secular, affective, spiritual experience. This may subsequently support an inclusive “spiritual” identity that accommodates religious diversity. Additionally, the linkages between the physical and the emotional in the affective experience of music may, beyond identity, contribute to an experience of spiritual wellbeing that the students and I were unable to uncover in the focus group process.

It seems that spirituality is a significant aspect of wellbeing, arguably one that students value, that is largely overlooked within the organisation; but it is fascinating that a more secular idea of spirituality has emerged in its place. Once again, it would be instructive to return to this group of students in several years’ time to learn how they have weathered this transition period, and what lasting

impact on their sense of spiritual wellbeing these alternative senses of spirituality have had.

Social wellbeing

The self-assessments of the FBA students seem to support an evaluation of FBF participation as a highly valued, high-impact intervention to social wellbeing. However, interestingly, many students did not generally seem to attribute low levels of social wellbeing as being directly due to any family lacks. Rather, these seemed to be experienced as having an impact on financial wellbeing. One student who indicated overall low levels of wellbeing at the time he joined the FBF wrote, "It [was] because I was still young, because I was not working, I didn't get a chance to stay with my father." He indicated improved levels of wellbeing after a few years in the FBF, as he was able to work and help at home (Sanele Qwabe journal, submitted November 2012). Others also expressed what might have been lower levels of social wellbeing in terms of financial wellbeing. For example, one student wrote, "Financial was not good because I was raised by a single mother who was divorced and unemployed so life was not good" (Sikho Bevu journal, submitted November 2012). Another student wrote that as a new FBF member, "Everything was ok/doing well except for the financial part because at home we didn't have much money, we were many so our parents didn't manage to do other things for us that needed money" (male student M's journal, submitted November 2012). Social wellbeing in terms of family life seems to be experienced as deeply connected with financial wellbeing.

During the focus group workshops, I emphasised that social wellbeing included families and communities, as well as friends; however, students largely focused on relationships with peers during the discussion. Asked about their experiences as members of the FBF, several remarked that they had gained a new group of friends through FBF, due to the hours spent together along with common goals and interests. These bonds are important to them and add a dimension to their lives that relationships they have in other places do not. Tamella described this:

Yeah, I can say it's totally different, the friends from the location that you have found and friends from school and friends from the Field Band

Foundation. 'Cause when you are with your friends from Field Band Foundation, even if you are at school, you are speaking about Field Band Foundation. And when Sikho is from the location that I'm in and want to join the conversation that you are doing in here, he will be left out, because he don't understand anything that we're speaking about. So we are having different aspects on how to communicate with these friends and other friends and other friends.... So in Field Band Foundation, you have another social life; and in location, another social life, and so on. (Focus group session 2, 31 October 2012)

Others noted that they actually lose friends as they remain involved in the FBF, when old friends discourage them from attending or lose interest in them because they are always at rehearsals. However, overall students framed this as a loss they did not particularly regret. Over and over, the friendships established with FBF peers were framed as supportive, positive, and focused on the wholesome activity of music, juxtaposed against their "old" friends who would "lure" them to drug use, gangs, and violence.

Students observed that being in the FBF affects their relationship with family as well, sometimes resulting in family conflict. Francinah related, "My father doesn't want FBF, because he thinks that it's something silly that we do. We don't gain anything. He used to ask me, 'Why are you playing the Field Band?' And I just told him, 'Because I love the band.' And he asked me if, do they pay me, and then I said to him, 'No, they don't pay me,' and that's where the conflicts start." This parental complaint must be understood in the context of two factors: first, the existence of other types of bands in some communities, through which members receive small payments for performances; and second, the parental expectation or perception of the potential of a child to begin to contribute to the household financially. Thus, the FBF is sometimes not seen as a productive activity given other options.

Similarly, in the regions, several tutors mentioned that sometimes the FBF takes members away from their family duties and this can create family conflict, something they aim to ameliorate in two ways: by helping members learn how to discuss their commitment to FBF with family members, and by reinforcing that their duty is to their family first. Often parental resistance is framed in terms of the potential negative effect on their education. A male student offered, "You know sometimes they think the FBF is delaying us on our educational side, you see? Like if you don't perform well in class, they blame the

FBF. They tell you to leave, even though you are... you see.” The framing of the FBF as a non-productive activity was also reflected in terms of parents’ concern about a child’s future career. A female student remarked, “Also I would like to say that our parents are too old-fashioned. [Male student interjects: Yes] So for them, they grew up with jobs like secretaries, nurses and doctors. So for them, being a musician and being a dancer, it is not something that can be categorised as a job.” Francinah asserted that FBF students often do better than their peers at school, and Dineo attributed this in part to the feeling that they have to prove teachers and parents wrong, who say that the time spent in FBF would be better spent studying: “...We’ve been told that we’re going to fail. So you are so scared of failing you just push yourself hard.” Other students argued that FBF members learn determination and discipline from having to juggle these priorities and thus often succeed in their education (all comments, Focus group session 2, 31 October 2012).

The music itself is sometimes also an area of misunderstanding between FBF members and their families, and this seems to be linked to musical taste but also financial considerations. A male student described the situation:

When you go to the Field Band, Sindi’s right, your parents will just say, “Wow, you can really play that thing. That’s nice, huh? That’s nice.” Then they say, “What’s the use of this thing?” But when you start to play gospel songs or traditional songs... [Says this emphatically, and numerous students in agreement interject: Mmmm, Yoh!] ...that’s when you get support and they tell you that, “You see? If you could play like this... [laughter and chatter amongst students] you will make a lot of money.” When you start to play “*Amavolovolo*” or “*Ubuhle bendoda*” or when you’re starting to play hymns that they know from the funerals in churches, that’s when they tell you, “You see? If you play songs like this, that’s when you’re going to get the support and we don’t mind coming to watch you because you are pleasing us, or maybe you are doing something nice.” But when you start to play western or Broadway, they don’t understand it and they don’t see.

However, despite these parental conflicts, students’ perceptions of “social wellbeing” seemed to be highly reflective of the number and quality of their relationships with peers during the years as FBF members, or at least their relationships with parents were not seriously undermined by any conflicts that arose about FBF involvement.

Students experience difficulty at the FBA, living under what they perceive as strict rules. As mentioned previously, this regards such things as rising and eating at particular times, but there was also a great deal of chagrin and discussion about a log book that they were supposed to sign if they were leaving campus, indicating where they were going and what time they would be returning. One male student offered that this rule was instituted after an incident where a student was unaccounted for and acknowledged that the FBA was responsible for its students, but another suggested that this log book was often conveniently forgotten: “Well, sometimes we just forget to sign that thing because we are not used to it. Even when you are at your home, you are not signing [huge gales of laughter]—you just go and tell them you are going. You don’t have to sign and say, I’m going to town and I’m going to take this certain time.” I asked if this annoyed them because they felt like they were adults, but were not being treated like adults, and received an emphatic affirmative reply. Asked at what age they felt they had reached adulthood, there were a variety of responses, ranging from age fifteen to twenty-one, or after matric is complete.

To probe their reflections, I asked what they thought the purpose of the rules was. A male student replied, “I think it’s to know how to behave and it’s like at home—because at home there are the house rules so that you cannot go beyond the boundaries that have been set for you.” Another male student connected the existence of the rules to the cultural diversity of the FBA: “I think that the reason why there are boundaries is that we all come from different backgrounds so we all have those things that we do and others don’t do. So here, they try to combine all of those things so that we will all live in one place” (all comments, focus group session 2, 31 October 2012). This question of adulthood, and the reaction the topic drew from the students, suggests consideration of the discourses within development studies that note the paternalism of many NGOs. However, it must be borne in mind that a certain delicacy is required as the FBF works with youth who straddle the boundaries of childhood and adulthood in different areas of their lives. As mentioned above, many students conceive themselves as adults because they are parents. However, it is not the FBF alone that views them as “youth;” the categories used by South African departments span a variety of age groupings, but the most commonly used category in

national government specifies people aged 18-35 as youth. “Youth” and “adulthood” are shifting social categories, but are nonetheless salient in the ideas that the FBA students have about their own social wellbeing.

The rules and regulations of the FBA deal with specifying acceptable behaviours of the “youth” under its roof, but students also perceive that these help to deal with cultural or religious diversity. Sindi explained:

I think that what happens is, maybe at my house it is okay to drink alcohol 24/7. But I come here and there is somebody Christian who doesn't drink at all. So if I'm going to have to live with that person here, there must be some sort of understanding and it must not be a one-way street where one person has to understand the other one. We all have to be at peace and we have to understand that this is a school so there must be boundaries. There must be rules. So for me, making school rules were just to keep peace at the school and to make sure that everybody feels safe, because it should be a safe environment.

The experience of this diversity, particularly as manifested in the variety of languages spoken at the academy, seems to be linked to their feelings of plunging levels of wellbeing at the academy. Even though they are proud of themselves for learning other languages and cultures and coming to understand each other, the constant conflict and unfamiliarity is difficult. A male student said that the language diversity encompasses and is compounded by cultural diversity:

The main social challenge was the language barrier I think because he's from Zimbabwe, I'm from Zambia, he's from Kenya [laughs] so we are in South Africa so we had to adapt to the eleven official languages with the language barrier. That was one of the social challenges. The second one was understanding, trying to understand a joke from Kenya and Zambia which was sometimes not fun for a guy from Zimbabwe to laugh at Kenyan jokes. (All comments, Focus group session 2, 31 October 2012)

However, another male student, in an earlier session, had focused on the benefits he felt they had received from working through this diversity:

I think that it broadens your mind. Because when we first arrived here, we are all adults—so I think. So what happens is that a Zulu and Xhosa, she's Tswana, they are Afrikaans[-speaking] people here, there are Vendas, there are Tsongas and everything—so we are all coming from different what-whats [regions] of the country to in here—so we had one option, that is English. Or, you teach me your language, I teach you mine. (Focus group session 1, 25 October 2012)

Finally, one area in which they felt they had encountered many challenges at the academy was the extreme lack of privacy, particularly in tandem with other social, physical, and psychological challenges:

There are times because you are used to your comfort zone, and then you're shifting away and coming here. It totally shifts everything you are used to. And there were times whereby there was no privacy at all—knock and without me saying, "Come in," they just barge in. And then the other thing is we don't rest properly and individual behaviours—people have certain behaviours toward other people. And the amount of work we get here, it's totally too much. (Focus group session 3, 10 November 2012)

I queried them whether they had discussed the difference between introverts and extroverts, and the majority of the students in the focus group identified as introverts, with a strong need for privacy and space. A male student offered, in an exasperated tone, "That you won't get here. You have to go to the bushes. 'Cause you can just sit in your room thinking that you will relax and there will be someone like [mimes opening door]... Someone shouting, "*Vuka!*" ["Wake up."] Someone just popping in your room. Even if you are naked" (focus group session 3, 10 November 2012).

The students cited the music they play at the academy as actually contributing to their social wellbeing, helping them understand different cultures around the world. This statement was made particularly in reference to art music and jazz music, but they also had unanimously valued the opportunity to learn African instruments. The musical learning also motivated them to overcome these challenges. They spoke proudly of the progress they felt they had made in their music and dance knowledge and technique, asserting that they were performing at much higher levels after a few months at the academy. In response to the questions, "Have there been times when you wished you weren't at the academy? How do you cope with it?" a group of students wrote, "We keep going because we are driven by our goals and what brought us here" (focus group session 3, 10 November 2012).

Reflecting on the process

As a closing note, students appeared to appreciate this opportunity to reflect on their wellbeing. Asked if they had the opportunity to think about these sorts of things, a large number replied in the negative. This seemed to be a new and unique experience for most of them, although one in feedback replied that they had heard all the stories that they had shared previously. Asked in the feedback survey whether they had learned anything surprising or thought about

anything in a new way, and, if so, what, one said that he had learned new things about his peers and their experiences through the process. Another reflected on the field of ethnomusicology, or musical scholarship more broadly, remarking, “I was thinking that music was just about playing and teaching others how to play. But I just heard that there is much more.” Another noted, “I’ve learned how measurement and goal setting is important. I’ve learned that reviewing certain historic activities can actually bring meaning, purpose/reasoning why they occurred.” One wrote, “I have learned to look at my well being and if there are negative things affecting my well being I can change it and turn the negative into positive or change those things and find those that suit my well being.” Both of these latter comments reiterate the emphases of individual agency that come through the FBA lessons in the academic stream on leadership, teamwork, project planning, entrepreneurship, and time management (all comments, focus group session 4, 15 November 2012).

One found a personal story I had shared during the workshops noteworthy, about discovering the desire to pursue postgraduate studies, and wrote that he or she was surprised “When Larrysa [sic] told us she gave up and sold her house and also left her job”¹³ (focus group session 4, 15 November 2012). Comments like this reiterate the accurate perception of the privileged position of the researcher in this activity as someone who has had the luxury of making life choices and having the resources available to pursue a particular career or lifestyle. Additionally, some of the comments in written feedback indicated some confusion about the nature of the focus groups, which surprised me. I had opened the workshops with a description of participatory research and an activity that emphasised that each individual within the participatory research framework contributes his or her unique knowledge and experience. Using the well-known parable of five men and an elephant in a dark room, each describing what an elephant is according to the part he is touching, I positioned myself as a fellow explorer along with them, with a limited view of what the FBF is and relying on all of them to contribute their knowledge to assemble a more

¹³ The student misunderstood slightly, as I rented out my house in Canada rather than selling it. The point about the luxury of having options and resources stands.

complete picture of the FBF. I emphasised that I was there to learn from them and not to teach them, and entitled subsequent activities “elephant observations” in order to hopefully carry this metaphor throughout the workshop. However, something about the process, the setting, their expectations, or my execution of the agenda that I myself had set seemed to frame it as another class or in terms of skills that they would have been learning through some of the academic classes and framed my role as “teacher” and theirs as “learner.”

Finally, it is important to note that ultimately the self-assessment exercises were experimental and preliminary. I drew upon other assessments of wellbeing in arts and health literature in developing this process, but the analysis has revealed that there are many more questions that could be asked about each of these dimensions of wellbeing. I have indicated several of the conflicts and tensions that I have identified through analysis after the fact; all of these suggest potential follow-up questions that might indicate to a greater degree what impact the FBF has on wellbeing. Thus, this exploration of wellbeing is somewhat limited: nevertheless, I could not have arrived at these questions without having conducted the process as I did in the first place and completed the analysis of it as I have done in this thesis.

Connecting wellbeing to “the good life”

The focus group participants’ reflections on the shifting levels of wellbeing they have experienced throughout their lives suggest several tentative conclusions. First, students do perceive the FBF as having an impact on the level of wellbeing they experience, but of course these experiences are bound up with other life experiences. Thus, it is difficult to isolate the impact that FBF participation has. Second, self-assessed levels of wellbeing are likely to be cognitively linked to particular life events or stages of life, and assessments in the middle of a period of high transition provide interesting information, but certainly do not indicate a point of arrival. FBA students have many years ahead during which the impacts of their participation in the FBF may be experienced. Third, the area in which the FBF is conceptualised as having the greatest impact is social wellbeing. While students speak of the FBF as a surrogate family, they seem to nonetheless conceptualise their social wellbeing on the basis of these

non-family relationships. Family relationships are extremely important to students. They speak of the support they receive from family members or the reduced levels of psychological or financial wellbeing when they have lost family members or have unsatisfactory relationships with family members, yet somehow, these losses tend to manifest in other dimensions of wellbeing than social. Fourth, the dominant dimensions in which students seem to be most directly concerned about their wellbeing are the social and the financial. The other dimensions seem to recede in importance to these two when students consider their past and future.

The fact that students identified reduced levels of wellbeing in various dimensions of their lives must also beg the question whether the increasing levels of inequality revealed in economic and social statistics such as those discussed in chapter two has contributed to this experience. Certainly unemployment levels have reached new heights since these students were children; the demand for unskilled labour has drastically decreased; and the devastation of HIV and AIDS has unfolded over the past thirty years, contributing to the financial hardship of many families and communities through the loss of breadwinners. Thus, while this focus group exercise has drawn out in detail students' perceptions of their wellbeing, a study that collects and correlates data on household income and composition would provide another dimension by which to analyse self-assessed levels of wellbeing.

Additionally, one might attempt to conclude from the discussion above to what degree students feel that their level of wellbeing supports "a good life;" however, the snapshot of wellbeing is incomplete, without knowing how the future will unfold. Although students may not feel at the moment that they are experiencing the ideal "good life," they consistently express confidence that their experiences in life, including those within the FBF, will ultimately give them the capabilities they need to attain the level of wellbeing they desire and experience "a good life" at some point during their adult years. Thus, if the FBF wishes to be an organisation that truly enhances the capabilities of its members to experience "a life they have reason to value," it needs to examine all of the dimensions of wellbeing, building on the strength of its influence on social wellbeing, and considering the ways in which it might contribute to other dimensions of

wellbeing. Finally, since financial wellbeing is so experientially integrated with the other dimensions of wellbeing, it is critical that financial wellbeing be monitored. Indeed, if the strength of the FBF is maintaining contact with youth over a number of years, it has the opportunity to implement a monitoring programme that can trace levels of wellbeing over the years, and perhaps find ways to track participants past their FBF involvement, in order to strengthen the programme and reveal its shortfalls and successes.

In conclusion, this chapter has examined multidimensional wellbeing as an indicator of the FBF's success in developing the capabilities its members need to live lives they have reason to value. It has described the close interconnections between these various dimensions of wellbeing revealed in the focus group activities that guided students in their self-assessment of their wellbeing over time. This has proven to be an exploratory process that might be built upon by the FBF and in future academic research. I have discussed the students' assessment of declining levels of overall wellbeing over time, despite their involvement in the FBF. I have postulated that this may be because students are experiencing increased levels of responsibility as they mature, but this may also be an indicator of widening inequality in South Africa over their lifetimes. The shifting of responsibility to the individual as neoliberalism has ensured that social safety nets remain precarious and only address the barest of poverty.

It is worth closing with the observation that the experience of wellbeing in interrelated ways was evident in the students' feedback. Students are most concerned about their social and financial wellbeing, arguably because these are the areas in which they perceive their greatest vulnerability; they fear the impact of low levels of wellbeing in these areas on their physical or psychological wellbeing. Thus, I believe the analysis of multidimensional wellbeing in this chapter supports my proposal that financial wellbeing is a critical inclusion in such assessments.

Chapter Seven

Ubhle bendoda izinkomo ozayo:

Assessing success, outcomes, and impact

Ubhle bendoda izinkomo 'zayo / Uzungalibali ntombazana / Leth' imali yami
Uzuziphathe kakuhle / Emzini wakho ntombazana / Leth' imali yami

—Traditional Xhosa/Zulu wedding song

Returning to the song whose lyric, “*Letha imali yami*,” provided the metaphor for discussing the social contract between the FBF and South African society in chapter three, I wish to focus now on the opening phrase of this popular staple of FBF repertoire. The words “*Ubhle bendoda izinkomo ozayo*”¹⁴ translate literally as “How beautiful is the man who comes with his cattle,” referring to an era when the size of a herd indicated the extent of wealth. A man with many cattle was a sought-after potential mate, as he would easily be able to offer the standard eleven head of cattle for the hand of a virgin bride (Black 2010), which this song celebrates. The third and fourth phrases of the song bid the young bride to mind her new home well (literally, to “behave well” in her new home), arguably exhorting her to conduct herself as the respectable wife of a respectable man. While I will not return to the discussion about the shifting meaning of *lobolo* and marriage in Nguni cultures, the metaphor I wish to draw for this chapter is that of success—the successful man, who has the means to establish a home, and the successful woman, who has the means to fulfill her social duties to attain this desirable stable, comfortable lifestyle. Again, the *lobolo* song draws attention to the intrinsic material element of social relationships; as the means of so many people in South Africa have been devastated by years of marginalisation, these material erosions have arguably contributed alongside labour migration, violence, and the ravages of AIDS and other disease to the rupture of social relations in South Africa. Thus, the song points to the material

¹⁴ The apostrophes in the lyrics reflect the performative elisions that take place in speech or song. This occurs on the initial vowel of “ozayo” as it follows a vowel in the preceding word, and the final vowel of “letha” as it precedes the vowel of the following word. In speech, or in a different rhythmic arrangement, the word “izinkomo” may also be rendered “zinkomo” and “uzungalibali” may become “zungalibali.”

dimension of wellbeing as an indispensable element of “the good life,” both on an equal plane and intertwined with the other dimensions of wellbeing.

Having examined the theoretical perspectives that suggest the potential of music development to enhance multidimensional wellbeing in chapter five, and long-term FBF participants’ assessments of their shifting levels of wellbeing in chapter six, in this chapter I wish to return to the views of my research participants regarding the success of the FBF. I will first discuss the perspectives of the FBF’s various stakeholders, examining their definitions of its success and the types of indicators by which they perceive evidence of success. The filters through which these definitions pass are important. It must be noted that much of this information is drawn from semiformal interviews with these various stakeholders, and thus indicates their thoughts about and articulation of success. Arguably these are the product of both their own perceptions of the FBF’s work and of the way they have chosen to articulate or represent this work to me. Similarly, I have picked up on and responded to particular thoughts they have offered, and thus they pass through the filter of my own notions about success, informed by my own experiences as well as my understanding of development and education literature. Rather than seeing this information as somehow unreliable, compromised, or biased, I believe that it indicates many important things about the framing of the FBF’s work by the employees and volunteers who continue to work for it, the funders who continue to fund it, the participants who continue to participate in it—and undoubtedly also by the scholar who attempts to analyse it. On this level, in the first part of the chapter I aim to articulate the discourse about success, present the means by which performance is measured against this discourse, and discuss the kind of information this offers.

In the latter part of the chapter, I will return to the consideration of multidimensional wellbeing as an indicator of “the good life” and the successful person. I will discuss the ways that its incorporation into a definition and evaluation of success may offer an expanded, holistic view that captures more fully the impact of the FBF, alongside the methods of assessment in which various stakeholders already engage, and may, if employed in future studies, offer information about performance that is informed by but that supersedes the constraints of discourse about success. I will reiterate the interdependence of the

various dimensions of wellbeing and the goal of promoting the capabilities that people need to attain a life they have reason to value.

Stakeholder perspectives on success

FBF board and leadership

In their literature review of assessment practices in the field of arts and health, Raw et al (2012) emphasise the importance of assessment that matches goals, a viewpoint that is widely shared across corporate, non-profit, and governance sectors. The FBF has a consistent record of evaluating itself against its stated goals. In assessments, it restates and evaluates the relevance and continued potential of its mission statement, strategic objectives, and ethos—all discussed in earlier chapters (see appendix A for a complete account of these guiding principles). All of these taken together provide insight to the goals it has for its organisational culture.

The development of specific goals and strategies has been integral to the FBF's developmental process from the start. Brian Gibson was involved as an issues management consultant with PG Group on matters of corporate reputation from the time that the company was seeking a project to celebrate its centenary. With his own extensive prior experience in both journalism and nonprofit organisations, Brian was responsible for the initial inquiries and contacts that eventually birthed the idea of the Field Band Foundation. He consulted with Johann Zietsman, the managing director of the KwaZulu-Natal Philharmonic Orchestra at that time. Zietsman had prior experience with marching bands in the US and believed that their role in reorganising society amidst the social disorder of post-World War II America had potential for South Africa. Certainly, in addition to the conscription of brass music for the purposes of social development in Victorian England and its colonies, brass bands in the U.S. in fact became an important tool of social organisation after the civil war. Herbert writes that the genre had thrived amongst first- and second-generation European immigrants to the U.S., and Sousa's model, adopting the quasi-military uniforms for his civilian band, came to stand for a particular type of citizenship and patriotism. From the 1920s, Herbert writes, high school marching bands had become "one of the emblematic elements of American nationhood, and a

movement that has more than a hint of the Victorian idea of rational recreation about it” (Herbert 2013, 51). Any potential negative connotations of brass bands, however, did not register with Johann or Brian. Brian contracted Nicky du Plessis, at that time an arts consultant and today the CEO of the Field Band Foundation, to do a feasibility study of a brass-band focused programme on behalf of PG Group (personal interview, 1 November 2012).

Thus, the Field Band Foundation was birthed in an environment prioritising the evaluation of the feasibility of objectives and goals. As with many of the early stakeholders in the FBF, Brian remains involved today, now in the capacity of deputy board chair and management committee chair. He attributed the fact that the FBF has such a sophisticated strategy for its existence, mandate, and operations to its sponsorship by the corporate sector, and in particular, PG Group’s plan from the outset to broaden the programme to other investors and not remain the primary or sole funder of the programme. They contributed R6 million¹⁵ to the project over three years, from 1996-1998, and then sought other funding partners. This required a clear vision to ensure that the model was replicable beyond the pilot project (personal interview, 1 November 2012). Thus, by the end of the first year of operations, a strategic plan and handbook were in place, and a discourse about the terms of success had taken shape in a way that can still be seen in the FBF’s most recent articulations of success.

The FBF has continually re-evaluated its goals. Outside consultants were also hired to assess the organisation’s impact in 2006 and again in 2010. In 2008 and 2009, the FBF requested and reviewed proposals for the creation of the Field Band Academy, which was to become the main vehicle for capacity building within the organisation. In 2012, with the assistance of outside consultants, they revised the Field Band Manual, wrote a new Board Charter, and updated the Code of Ethics. This was part of the larger task of assessing the organisational structure and initiating the development of job descriptions for all employees and volunteers. After my 2014 fieldwork trip, the Norwegian participants on the FBF’s new PULSE project sent me a detailed status report on music and health

¹⁵ Approximately equivalent to CAD \$1.8 million or GBP £797,000 at 1997 exchange rates.

and another on gender equity in the FBF, which research they had been conducting since their arrival in August 2013 as one of the initial aims of PULSE.

Interestingly, this formal approach to assessment is seen within the organisation as a necessity, but is also seen in tension with, and sometimes as a poor fit with, the goals that arise from the earliest impetuses of the organisation. Marit Bakken, who has been involved as part of the Norwegian team in various capacities since 2006, and thus has deep organisational knowledge, indicated that ideas about wellness were foundational to the vision of the founder and Life President, Bertie Lubner, and to the initiative his company, PG Glass, would spearhead. Marit observed the centrality of wellbeing to the FBF's vision while acknowledging, "It's really hard to measure, and when the organisation was developing and growing on that level, there wasn't time and skills to talk about it—so how do you really talk about it? It's hard to measure. It's easier to measure other things, and then you measure that instead" (personal interview, 17 July 2012). Carol Harington, a consultant and instructor at the FBA at the time, noted that no one particular template of measurement is unilaterally driving the organisation's development, observing, "It is definitely a collective growth pattern... I don't think it's any one specific stakeholder that's driving it, so it's not that the Field Band has a strategy and therefore the organisation is driving it or that the NMF (Norges Musikorps Forbund, or Norwegian Band Federation) is coming with a first world perspective... it's very organic and it's like a big melting pot" (personal interview, 17 July 2012).

Nicky and Brian provided me with a wealth of strategy and assessment documents on different occasions, with Retha's consent. This is perhaps the most striking evidence of the openness and enthusiasm of the FBF's leadership toward my research and indeed any research from which it can learn. I believe it demonstrates several characteristics of the organisation as an assemblage of those who lead and run it: humility, confidence in its agenda, openness to change and critique, awareness of the complexity of South Africa's history and the challenges it faces, and commitment to the ongoing refinement of goals and strategies to best accomplish the change it hopes to bring about. It is also evidence of the introspection and sincerity with which research participants responded to my questions, allaying any concern about attempts to whitewash

or “spin” information about the FBF for the sake of its image. In a discussion with Nicky du Plessis on my return visit about the thrust of my thesis, she stated emphatically that she did not view my research as in any way threatening to the organisation. Rather, she said, “I think it’s really important. I think it’s absolutely fantastic, because it means that we’re part of society. I mean, if we weren’t going to hear this, if we weren’t going to be open to scrutiny, then we’d be occupying some sort of little ivory tower charity spot. This means that we’re a player! I think it’s important that we are able to be open to this kind of critical inquiry” (personal interview, 15 April 2014).

Returning to the documentation itself, I wish to focus on the assessments in particular, as they provide insight into the way the FBF has gauged the achievement of its goals. Thus, in this section I will focus on the assessment reports of 2006 and 2010, returning below to the 2014 PULSE report. Rather than discuss the detailed findings of the reports, I wish to identify the key indicators and themes that emerge from this type of assessment, exploring their relevance to improved multidimensional wellbeing. Though the reports themselves are rich in information, and provide a picture of the stages of development through which the FBF has been journeying over the past decade, I will not so much summarise each as extract key points of relevance.

One commonality across both assessments is emphasis on the appropriateness of qualitative rather than quantitative data to determine success. The consultants involved represent their expertise as in one or more areas including non-profit sector management, education, and development. The reports cite various studies within development literature that emphasise the benefits of qualitative data and observe the limitations of quantitative assessment. *Keystone Accountability* (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 22) attempted to use survey methods to collect data on member wellbeing, but the researchers determined ultimately that the only helpful information gained through the process was a single question that asks the surveyed FBF members to rank their level of wellbeing at the current moment. I will discuss these issues more below, but for now, I observe the priority the consultants placed upon gathering qualitative information that makes meaning of the statistics on members, bands, employees and volunteers, instruments, events, donations,

international collaboration, awards, and media coverage that are a staple of board reports. The assessors used methodologies consistent with my own—observation, surveys, interviews, focus groups, and literature reviews. All assessors had expertise of relevance to the FBF—organisational development, non-profit organisation strategic management, or developmental psychology, youth development, musicology, or music therapy.

The consultants, although from different companies, share a view of organisational development that conceives of the FBF as at the end of an initial entrepreneurial stage, needing to move into a professional phase. Both identify the risk that the organisation's incredibly flat structure and remarkably unresourced head office present, which, while efficient, left the organisation vulnerable to the loss of any of a very few individuals (but particularly then-CEO, Retha Cilliers). The aforementioned 2012 report (The Turnaround Group 2012) evidences the FBF's response to this risk, as it is a report by the consultants on the structural reorganisation in progress. This restructuring is intended to usher the FBF fully into an era of professionalisation, toward which it is seen to have already made many strides by establishing the academy. In many ways, therefore, the reports of the consultants seem to have added another layer onto the FBF's conception of and discourse about success, providing the organisation with the rationale for certain decisions.

In the latter months of 2012, I was able to meet the two new national office hires, the national operations manager and the national communications and fundraising manager. By my 2014 visit, I heard some perhaps predictable rumblings in the regions about the expansion of management, and in particular complaints about increasing bureaucracy within the organisation, suggesting that the implementation of the new structure was well underway and causing some growing pains (field notes, 16 April 2014). However, the organisation and its stakeholders were still at this time reeling from Retha's untimely passing two months earlier, and I speculate that they were also ruefully grateful that the warnings of the earlier reports had been heeded so that the new management structure was in place, even if it had not yet had the opportunity to become deeply rooted.

Both reports examine closely the values and goals of the organisation and provide anecdotal evidence from observation and interviews that the FBF is meeting its goals. Both observe that it has likely reached its maximum growth potential without the addition of financial and managerial resources or a drastic overhaul to its operational model—such as a sort of “franchise” approach, which gives regional bands greater autonomy over how they operate, fund their work, and expand, thus notionally requiring less intervention from an administrative center (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 22). The reports are predominantly focused on organisational structure, but also assess the degree to which the FBF is achieving its stated goals. Both deem the work of the FBF as largely occurring in the area of “soft skills” and interpret wellbeing in a largely social framework. Because of this focus on the social realm, the main evidence provided relates to individual behaviours and the reduction of anti-social behaviours. Music and dance are perceived in both cases as instrumental in attracting and sustaining involvement, producing some marketable skills, and developing confidence and community. Finally, the reports evidence a fairly uniform view of the role of NGOs in society, and are generally unquestioning of the logics of having NGOs involved in this sort of work: for example, the authors of the first assessment write:

Globally, NGOs are now being recognized as providing complimentary skills and additional capacity to government interventions which are often burdened with large bureaucracies. NGOs are noted for their flexibility and innovativeness as they are often able to implement programmes and activities more effectively. By responding to grassroots needs, implementing projects at a faster pace and gathering feedback sooner, NGOs now function as service contractors for government programmes and projects in many parts of the world. (The Turnaround Group 2006, 30)

That said, the report later cautions the FBF against “venturing into other areas such as the provision of public services such as education or social work—which is the role of government—despite the limitations of state bureaucracies, and difficult personal circumstances that are encountered” (40).

Turning now to some of the relevant content of each of the assessments, the initial report by the Turnaround Group (2006) evaluates the FBF highly on providing positive activities and involvement for members, reducing their participation in crime, improving behaviours such as respect for teachers and

parents, improving school attendance, and fostering high self-esteem (20). It identifies the FBF's strengths in fulfilling its mission via the provision of technical skills in music and dance as well as life skills (12). However, it found that little progress had yet been made toward formal education or future employability for many members, with these opportunities only available for the minority with exceptional talent who were able to become music professionals (18).

This assessment attributed the FBF's success to its broad appeal. It argued that while other types of activities such as soccer might have allowed the organisation to fulfill its mission, the broadly participatory field band approach allows students with no prior instrumental training or ability to read music, and even those with physical challenges, to be involved and to take part in group performance immediately (The Turnaround Group 2006, 8). During my 2014 fieldwork, I had the opportunity to attend the second rehearsal at a brand new band in Hammanskraal and saw evidence of this myself. The tutors worked with the enthusiastic, brand new members during sectionals to introduce, by rote, extremely simple beginning melodies, rhythms, and dance steps, and in ensemble an hour later, supported by several slightly more experienced brass players that the tutors had wisely brought in for the day from a nearby band, the entire group played "*Amavolovolo*" together.

The FBF approach, Brian Gibson observed, prioritised "instant gratification." Music had a "Pied Piper effect," he stated, drawing youth to the band and providing them with a rewarding experience of group performance from the very beginning (personal interview, 1 November 2012). This "instant gratification" was equally appealing for sponsors, who could very quickly see the fruit of their investment in the immediate musical product. Both Brian and Retha commented on different occasions (personal interviews, 1 November 2012 and 12 September 2012, respectively) that the benefit of this was that the musical product incorporated participants of varying ability, allowing those with exceptional interest or skill to excel, while accommodating beginners at a more basic level of skill or those making slower progress, allowing all to experience success. The Turnaround report did indicate, however, that discontent sometimes arises in situations where there are more members than instruments,

or where members persistently continue in an unchallenging role (The Turnaround Group 2006, 23). My perception from my fieldwork is that this is an ongoing challenge that requires continued management by FBF tutors, and the respect that dancers experience is sometimes undermined by the perception that the colour guard as a section exists to some degree to absorb “excess” students.

The report by Keystone Accountability (Proctor and Saruchera 2010) also reinforces this view of the role of music. The overall assessment of the FBF is that its programme is extremely effective. The writers indicate that the role of music is threefold: it is the main draw to the FBF’s programme, evidenced by the appeals of students for more rehearsal time or additional access to instruments (22); it is the main arena in which success is experienced (34); and it is the primary vehicle for the creation of a viable constructive environment experienced by many youth as a real alternative to the wider environment in their communities (30). They recommend that the FBF decentralise their operations to allow for expansion, and that they focus on connecting members to long-term employment opportunities, perhaps through partnerships with the public or private sector (40). They suggest establishing assessment or certification processes (they give the example of the karate system of earning “belts”) for members that signal levels of achievement that might have broader transferability beyond the FBF (40).

The study also focuses specifically on questions of success, proposing an “elaborated vision” of what might constitute the FBF’s future success. As an overall goal, the consultants proposed: “Field band members emerge as competent artists and as confident, creative, caring and capable young adults advancing on their own life pathway and contributing to wellbeing of family, friends and community” (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 17). They defined what success and its preconditions would look like for each segment of the FBF’s stakeholders: for band coordinators and tutors, strategic leadership, management, community institutions, and band members. In a fully successful FBF, band coordinators and tutors should ultimately not only have “high level artistic talents” along with “integrity, warmth and good interpersonal skills,” but should also have “appropriate experience and capabilities to manage relationships,” be “able to mobilise resources locally,” be “supported by

accessible regional FBF leadership,” and “have secure employment prospects within the FBF” (18). Strategic leadership’s role is to ensure it supports local level band leadership, in addition to establishing the vision and monitoring performance (18). Band members, in this ideal vision of success, will be “motivated to excel at both their art and as members of a community of artists,” “feel safe and supported and valued for who they are,” and “reflect and actively embody the FBF values” (19). In addition, the consultants employ the acronym SEED from a publication by the British youth development think tank, the Young Foundation (Kahn, Hewes, and Ali 2009), to articulate the competencies that successful members will demonstrate: social and emotional competencies; emotional resilience; enterprise, innovation and creativity; and discipline (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 14).

The members of senior leadership with whom I spoke reiterated many of the findings of the reports, and their belief in the organisation’s goals and enthusiasm about its accomplishments were always tempered by their awareness of the many communities they had not yet reached, the youth who had not benefited from their involvement in the FBF, and the depth of investment in individuals required to help them reach their potential. During Retha’s interview, she exclaimed, “They all have endless trouble, and of course they think you can save them, and the big message is, ‘No darling, you have to save yourself.’” She then recounted a story of a tutor that they had supported through anger management issues, redeploying him to a new region and sending him to an anger management course and counselling. “We’ll see how that goes,” she said. “Every kid’s got something. You know, now we’ve got over 4,000 kids and the idea is that we should be able to reach each and every one of them and deal with each and every one of them in a meaningful way.” I asked how much she felt the FBF was meeting that goal. She paused and said questioningly, “60%?”

“It’s a lofty goal,” I replied.

“No,” she objected. “I’d like it to be 100%, you know, 60% for me is low. Well, we certainly impact at least about 60% because that’s about our turnaround group. We retain annually about 60% of all the kids, and those are obviously the kids we are impacting on. Because if they’re leaving, we are not

doing what we should do.” I asked how she felt about the 40% who left. “We’ve failed them,” she replied. “There are kids you can’t help, I understand that. But we should make every effort, and have we made every effort with every kid? No I don’t think so. Because our staff’s not trained well enough. The skill—it’s nobody’s fault; it’s just, as we improve, hopefully that percentage will go up, and the academy will play that role of empowering the staff. And we are also now going to appoint some more senior people.” Thus, Retha saw the expansion of the skill set and support system within the academy’s structure as integral to increasing the organisation’s positive impact on its members.

I asked Retha to give a definition of success that might apply to the FBF’s members. “Living independently and self-sufficiently and not having to ask anybody for anything. For me that is a success. It’s also the achievement of freedom, for me. True freedom is being able to make your own choices... and for that you need a certain amount of income and a certain amount of aspiration. So you don’t end up standing on the corner with your hand out. That’s all I want” (personal interview 12 September 2012).

Brian spoke about the success the organisation has had in managing a large project over a vast geographic area with a number of relatively untrained staff and volunteers, “in relatively uncontrolled circumstances, in remote areas, where the social fabric has just been rent asunder.” He added, “The same kind of thinking applies to the members themselves, because we have to continually remind ourselves that we deliberately go and find kids who are troubled.... I think we’ve done astonishingly well given the problems that our kids come to us with. But, we have therefore had to be very tolerant and understanding, and forgive even fifth mistakes if we can get the kids to learn something from each time” (personal interview, 1 November 2012).

Nicky also articulated the organisation’s greatest successes. The first was the model of the FBF itself, which facilitates both broad participation and internal development of music skills for those who are more eager. Second was the uptake from the mining community in sponsoring bands in the regions where its mines operated: “I think that’s a unique factor—that that sector understands directly the benefits of this model to their communities which are rural, isolated, socioeconomically depressed. So I would turn that around; I’d say,

how do you reach large numbers of peoples who are rural, isolated and socioeconomically depressed? And one way is to go through the funnel of a large scale employer who has a certain responsibility.” Finally, she cited the organisation’s governance and its “reputation for being such a clean organisation, absolutely no corruption—small attempts to put through slips for a Christmas party instead of extra costumes, that have been picked up and immediately squashed.” She noted the shifting legislation and corruption present in South African government, and argued that an organisation “which is sustained by corporate funders and consistently demonstrates that it’s clean is critical.” As for the members themselves, she spoke of offering them a skillset that would allow them to support themselves in the contemporary environment:

I think that as barriers due to the pathetic education that’s now being inflicted on people are raised, more people are going to have to figure out a way around it because there’s not going to be jobs. So you’re going to have to make your own mosaic of jobs which means a bit of teaching here and playing in a band here and doing a gig on a Sunday afternoon club there—and I think one of the best things we could help young people to figure out is that, actually. And it doesn’t have to be about music.... making choices for yourself and somehow being able to plot a path. Look, not everybody can, hey? And I’m not saying we have to turn out a million little self-employed people, but I think that there probably is a shift of attitude around what’s happening, why, what’s due to me, what’s not due to me? (Personal interview, 9 October 2012)

The executive leadership’s viewpoints on success very much grapple with the socioeconomic challenges in South Africa, and frame the work of the FBF as occurring in a junction between governments, communities, individuals, and corporations. Attempts to formalise the articulation of goals and the measurement of their achievement arise out of a desire to consider the best techniques for bringing about change in the attitudes and skills of youth that will position them well for success. Clearly, as discussed in chapter two, these skills and attitudes are necessary in an environment in which individual self-reliance and self-management are prioritised as essential to poverty alleviation and raising overall standards of living. The success of the organisation is thus perceived and measured in the number of individuals it has helped to develop the capabilities that will raise all dimensions of wellbeing.

FBA personnel

The perspectives of those involved in the work of the Field Band Academy on the success of the organisation, and their part in it, are grounded in similar criteria. As they are responsible for developing the individuals who will help the FBF meet its goals and increase its capacity, their view on the skills that the organisation is aiming to develop is quite specific. Success is often defined in more individual terms, given their familiarity with each student's history and potential. The indicators of the success of the academy's role in the FBF's overall programme are seen in the behaviours and accomplishments of their graduates, and the organisational success is determined in whether it correctly gauges the support needed by its members, volunteers, and employees. Thus, they assess success in terms of expanding organisational capacity as well as in individual outcomes.

The FBA's ability to train and turn out graduates who can serve the needs of the regional bands is directly related to the potential growth and ongoing sustainability of the FBF's programme. It was for this reason that the FBA was established, as it was evident that there were no training programmes available to which the FBF could send potential future tutors that would develop the combination of skills needed in musical, interpersonal, and professional dimensions. In terms of music, the tutors needed more technical and performance ability in order to perform at a higher skill level and be able to help FBF members reach higher skill levels. The FBF's history of teaching by rote has facilitated maximum inclusiveness, as members do not need to be able to read music, but in order to receive further musical training, most music education programmes or conservatories would require levels of reading ability above and beyond those of most members of the FBF. Additionally, the musical skills required in the FBF are rather specific—for example, ensemble instruction, arranging, group pedagogy, show design, colour guard choreography. This skillset is narrower than the primary competencies developed in most formal music schools with orchestral training focuses, either in art or jazz music.

Additionally, because the FBF operates in many remote, underprivileged communities where basic education is inferior to that offered in more central, populated areas, large gaps in basic levels of knowledge also needed to be

addressed in order for tutors to function well in their roles. Assessing students who were recommended to the academy on the basis of their musical and leadership potential, the directors were often dismayed to discover that many of their new students were functionally illiterate in any language, let alone English, with inadequate numeracy skills. Thus, the FBF also needed to put its future tutors through a bridging course, addressing the gaps in their basic knowledge in order to offer them further instruction and prepare them for work in the regions.

As noted above, the success of the FBF has been such that there is demand for more bands than it currently has the capacity to meet. Thus, leaders of the FBA note that the organisation must in fact “grow its own timber”—providing specialist training to the members who understand the organisation’s work in order to fast-track future tutors to meet present and future needs. However, they also view the role of the FBA as not just broadening but also deepening the capacity of the organisation, as better-trained tutors build higher skill levels in the regional members, some of whom eventually come to the academy for training. Already, by the third class of students entering the academy, these results were being seen: Carol observed that the new class of 2012 brought with them a higher understanding of leadership, teamwork, health, and wellness than prior classes had evidenced (personal interview, 17 July 2012). As Marit Bakken observed, it was never the goal of the Academy to be a school of Western art music, but it was important for facilitators (and even the tutors in the regions) to have a high understanding of music in order to give high level instruction. This was also important because, in her words, “Knowing how to read [music] gives them access to other musical worlds in South Africa” (field notes, 18 September 2012). Access to these worlds can enrich graduates’ contribution to the FBF and also provide future opportunities outside the FBF. Indeed, musical diversity within the organisation, across the regions, is itself an indicator of the success of the training at the academy.

This is notable, given the predominantly classically-trained orientation of the Norwegian facilitators who have played such an important role in the academy, as well as the fact that students’ progress in their instrumental lessons is assessed via ABRSM exams. The ABRSM system of evaluation is viewed as an expedient way of measuring students’ musical progress, particularly given the

limited resources of the FBF; and ABRSM qualifications also facilitate other opportunities. For example, many of the army, navy, or police bands in which some FBF students have found employment and the opportunity for further education have a minimum Grade 5 achievement level for audition, as do many university music departments within South Africa (although the entry level used to be Grade 8). With a Grade 5 certificate, a student may also be a teaching assistant in music in any South African school (field notes, 18 September 2012). Additionally, for those who have had opportunity to study abroad, their ABRSM results have given them an internationally recognised assessment of their musical achievement.

That said, FBA leaders recognise that in some measure, ABRSMs do not assess the sort of musical skills of which the FBF has especial need; and they are also aware of the somewhat colonial, elitist odour that clings to the ABRSM, as well as to classical and even jazz music. As David Wright discusses, the ABRSMs were established in South Africa and other Commonwealth countries as a particularly effective element of two projects: the “Empire project” of the “British world,” magnifying and sustaining Britain’s influence around the globe (2013, 92); and a capital project, expanding the business of examinations to the lucrative global market (6). In all markets, the ABRSM as an institution has always been linked with notions of professionalisation and success, influencing the way music is taught and assessed (6). Marit acknowledged that ABRSMs are expedient for the FBF because of their organised, staged approach to training and assessment, but that they do not fully meet the organisation’s needs (personal interview, 3 May 2012).

FBA leaders view the students’ uptake of future career or education opportunities as evidence of the success of the FBA programme. As a bridging course, students are able to increase functional literacy and other much-needed academic skills, which may allow them to apply for university programmes. One example is Bongani Magube, a member of the 2012 incoming class, whom I met again in 2014. Juggling full-time studies in a Bachelor of Management Sciences programme at the Tshwane University of Technology in Pretoria, he continues to work four afternoons a week for the FBF in neighbouring Hammanskraal. He credited the FBA principal, Marit Bakken, for her moral and practical support as

he applied for the programme. He hopes to become involved in South Africa's tourism industry, but also indicated he wants to continue his involvement with the FBF for the foreseeable future. He credited his studies at the FBA for giving him the grounding for his programme, relating the excitement he felt in one of his first communications classes when he recognised some of the content. As he described his studies to me, he related the skills he was learning in each of his classes to their potential application in the Field Band context (personal interview, 27 March 2014). Carol Harington described the job of the FBA as putting people in the starting blocks of the race, not at the end of the race, and to offer off-ramps in terms of career options (personal interview, 3 May 2012). Bongani is but one of the students who has chosen one of these off-ramps, which, happily for the FBF, may also allow the organisation to reap the benefits of his enriched capacity, at least for a time.

This leads to a discussion of the indicators of success from the perspective of the leadership at the FBA. Beyond their language abilities, the most significant element of FBA education that I observed during my observation of assessments was the deep knowledge that most students had gained of their individual strengths, weaknesses, abilities, and interests, which they had clearly been given abundant opportunity to develop and discover during their time at the academy. Many could express these articulately and indicate their strategies for addressing weaknesses and employing strengths. I was impressed with the articulateness and insight that students displayed in those interviews. Speaking with Brian Gibson shortly after I had observed some exit interviews, I remarked, "If it were a job interview, I would hire them." This self-reflexivity was nurtured through a 360° feedback process, where they assessed themselves, assessed and were assessed by their peers, and received assessment from facilitators and directors.

The goal of encouraging an attitude of lifelong learning, much discussed as one of the goals of the academy, is supported by these sorts of processes, where students learn to take a somewhat objective viewpoint of their own behaviours and circumstances to assess for themselves their opportunities and constraints. In this way, there is a significant linkage between the academy in South Africa and the *folkehøgskole* (folk high school) concept in Norway that

inspired the structure of the FBA's programme. In Norway, Marit Bakken explained, folk high schools are a bridging course that allow youth to study a particular area of interest without exams or grades, but simply to "have a developing community... where everybody works together, and everybody wants to learn, and everybody learns from each other" (personal interview, 3 May 2012). In South Africa, while this model forms the basis, directors in 2012 identified the need for assessment as rising from the shortfalls of basic education and environments where the pursuit of education for education's sake has not been a priority or even a possibility. However, the goal of developing self-reflexive youth who then value educational opportunities because they allow intellectual and personal enrichment, in addition to practical opportunities, is still prioritised at the academy. Students' ability to articulate their strengths, weaknesses, interests, and motivations are an indicator of the success of the programme to its leaders. Another of the instructors, Steve, remarked, "It's a growth thing, it's not a results thing" (personal interview, 17 July 2012). Growth is ascertained in the stability and achievements of students after their graduation from the academy. Leaders see those who have managed to acquire the resources they need to support their families, whether through entrepreneurial ventures or other employment, or to start on this path by pursuing further education, as evidence of the success of the FBA, which "put them in the starting blocks."

FBF tutors and members

The focus groups with FBA students revealed that the performance, practice, and experience of music in the FBF was, for many participants, the first arena in which they experienced a sense of success. Asked about what drew them to the FBF in the first place, how they chose their instrument or discipline, and what kept them coming to rehearsals, several indicated that the experience of national championships, performing in front of an applauding crowd, was both exciting and a meaningful indication of their achievement. Awards won for solos positively affected their sense of accomplishment, as some had already experienced a sense of success in one particular instrument or discipline over another in rehearsals. Blessing wrote in his journal that although he had initially

begun in the brass section on the mellophone, “I just saw that I can’t play it good, then I change to drums. When I join the drum group I knew that I belong not on Brass and [it] was my choice to change to the drummers.” When he won second place for his drum solo at the 2007 national championships, it reinforced this sense of belonging as a successful member of the drum section (Blessing Sandile Mnyandu journal, submitted November 2012). Similarly, Sizwe started on the mellophone, but his tutor challenged him to play the trumpet. He wrote, “And I think he saw an Great Trumpet in me and hear I am today. I’m playing much better because of the challenge that he gave me” (Sizwe Nkosi journal, submitted November 2012). As these students suggest, this sense of success sustained early identity formation as well. Sindi, a dancer, expanded on this: “I enjoyed seeing and hearing instruments play and knowing that people are moved/touched by what I’m doing. Holding a flag for the 1st time made me feel like I was holding the world in my hands. I enjoyed travelling and socialising and seeing new places and doing new things. I also enjoyed when my parents came to see our finished performance on the field as they would ask how did we do that?” (Sindisiwe Junerose Ngcobo journal, submitted November 2012).

These identities as a talented musician or dancer, importantly, are most significant when they align with students’ innate sense of who they already were or interests they already had. Sindi demonstrated this in her answer to the question about how students ended up in the discipline they are in now: “I was born an artist and my body has always been my instrument. I started dancing before I even knew what I was doing, when other people would hear a song and sing it, I would dance for it. Dance healed me, it made me feel comfortable and gave me the sense of freedom to express how I feel and this was my choice” (Sindisiwe Junerose Ngcobo journal, submitted November 2012). Similarly, Sihle wrote succinctly, “I got my first choice, playing snare drum. I used to beat tables at home” (Sihle Mabena journal, submitted November 2012). Thus, early experiences of success were closely bound up with notions of identity and ability.

Particular views of social roles and structures form one dimension of conceptualised success. The most prominent of these are home and family, articulated in ways that are deeply personal, and thus seem to receive an even

higher priority than they occupy in the view of FBF board members, executive, and FBA leaders. The FBF attempts to offer intervention that responds to the social destructiveness of apartheid, which included, in Anna-Maria Makhulu's words, "the regulation of private behavior and the refashioning of African subjectivity through attempts to eviscerate potential spaces of intimacy such as home and family—domains generally deemed central to the achievement of self-definition" (2010, 141). Long-time band member and tutor Ashton Dolph reflected on his own experiences growing up without a father. He stated that one of the FBF's goals, which he shared, was to act as a sort of surrogate father to the children in his band, which meant taking on the role of teaching moral values and life skills. He particularly honed in on the word "responsibility," implying that irresponsibility was the reason for large numbers of absentee fathers in South Africa. Responsibility was one of the core values he wished to communicate, because, in his words, "A lot of the Field Band kids come from broken homes. It's important to teach them to take responsibility because one day they will be fathers." Moreover, he linked his involvement with the FBF to his social and material success in life:

If the Field Band told me I must pay them back what they've invested in me, I wouldn't be able to do it in even one year. Today I can say proudly, because of that, I have my family, I have a wife, I have a son, I bought a house two years ago—I have my own property. If you think I have a car, I have a house, if you look back and ask, where did it all start? (Ashton Dolph, personal interview, 13 July 2013, Durban)

Ashton is not alone in making the links between learning particular values, receiving opportunities through the FBF, and material success. In 2013, two tutors in two different regions posted pictures on Facebook, showing themselves posed next to their newly purchased vehicles. Daniel wrote, "Dic [this] iz 2 show fbf students dat music is a career, dnt underestimate d power of d fieldband coz it opens many doors, just bought her 2day." Responses from friends and students expressed hearty congratulations, inspiration, and respect for his hard work. The other, Ruben, invoked the story of his Biblical namesake on his Facebook post, writing, "To my aunt... you used to tell me good things come to those who wait and *yoh* belief me when I have waited 7 years of hard work but still preparing to *wag* [wait] 7 more." Responses included, again, congratulations, the expression that hard work is never in vain, and one from a

former mentor: “One day when your back in Cloetesville, ill put you up as a motivational speaker. Our youth need to see people like you, its not only gangsters that makes it, hard work dedication and disipline, with a hint of selfrespect, can also make you successfull.” This echoes the anticipated rewards for hard work—Weber’s (2001) famous Protestant ethic; indeed the very notions of success and hard work are expressed as deeply ethical.

Career also plays a central role in the conceptualisation of success. At the end of the third session, students were asked to reflect on their futures, envisioning themselves at age forty, a point in time fifteen to twenty years in the future for most of them. They were to consider all the elements of wellbeing that we had discussed in prior days. In the discussion, the main element that arose was the sense of vision that they felt they had obtained, above and beyond people who had not had the opportunity to attend the academy. These visions both included and superseded music. I asked how many felt that at age forty they would still be doing something musical, and all but a few raised their hands, though several volunteered that their future musical involvement would be for leisure or for personal fulfillment, as they had plans for ventures that they would pursue in addition to music. I asked if their studies at the FBA would help with those plans, and one of the male students responded:

For me, it’s music, but it’s not just playing. There’s so many things you can do other than playing; for me, I’m a trumpet player, but the only thing I want to [do is] become a sound engineer and record music, because I love working with sound. Because people mustn’t just think—be a trumpet player only. There are many things you can do. (Focus group session 3, 10 November 2012)

The students’ journal reflections about their desired future selves reveal a variety of aspirations beyond working for the FBF, but for many, still within music. Many see futures for themselves in South Africa’s police and army bands. Marcus wrote, “I want to see myself being a principal in the army band and also have my own recording studio.” Interestingly, Marcus reflected on the adjustment of his vision, writing, “At the age of 18, I imagined myself as a doctor, but look at me now, I am an upcoming musician” (Mxolisi Marcus Mzamane journal, submitted November 2012). Sihle hopes to be a “principal of music” and also to open a music school “whereby I will teach and be the head of music all at once” (Sihle Mabena journal, submitted November 2012). The way the

attainment of these sorts of careers is expressed communicates the value students place on status, authority, respect, and achievement.

Several students hope to go into social work or similar helping professions, often modeling their vision upon their experiences with the FBF. Paul wrote in his journal about his hope to work with the FBF and subsequently to study psychology at the undergraduate and postgraduate level, in order to become a registered social worker and private psychologist for the health department. He wrote, "When I was 14 [or] 18, I always wanted to become a teacher. My vision has changed because I started learning about different careers and I've become more aware of my different interests and skills" (Paulus Motsoatsoa journal, submitted November 2012). Likewise, Francinah hopes to apply for bursaries so she can "go to university and reach my goal of being a psychology [sic]—do the degree and masters." After this, she wrote, she would like to "go back to the FBF again so that I can give them back what I have earned from them 'for free' and also by doing I will be helping my community" (Francinah Rathaga journal, submitted November 2012). Blessing hopes to become a pastor in the Lutheran church, and wrote that his time at the FBA will help him: "If you're a pastor, it's not that you're only preaching. Like, you can help people if someone's got a problem. He or she can come to you and talk to you as a social worker" (focus group session 3, 10 November 2012). Denis hopes to start his own band, and in so doing to "introduce [a] drugs, HIV and AIDS awareness programme in my community" and "teach young people music and life skills" (Denis Mashabane journal, submitted November 2012).

Others see music retaining an important position in their lives, but moving on to other careers outside music. Dineo framed her anticipated accomplishments in terms of surpassing gender norms, writing that she envisioned herself at age forty as "a successful business woman and a great female trumpeter," despite "challenges with finance to proceed with varsity [university]." She concluded, "With the results I obtain here I will apply to the army band and also go back to school to study chemical engineering/marketing to expand my knowledge" (Dineo Mthimunye journal, submitted November 2012). Tamella wrote that he hopes to invest the education he has received back in the FBF, but then to finish his Electrical Engineering National Degree (Tamella

Mnyaka journal, submitted November 2012). Edwin's aspirations are much less defined, seeing himself at age forty as an entrepreneur. He wrote that he wants to continue studying to receive his bachelors and masters degrees of music, then to go on to do research and to network for possible future opportunities (Edwin Duma journal, submitted November 2012). Sindi has plans to open a marketing company that promotes music and arts. She perceives her education at the academy as helping her to understand the product she will ultimately market, "...because music is not something you can hold, because music, when you are marketing it, you have to think hard... how do I market those people?" (all comments, focus group session 3, 10 November 2012).

Students were also asked to consider what levels of wellbeing they thought they would be experiencing at age forty. Marcus's vision was modest. He wrote, "My wellbeing at age forty will be just normal, but there some parts that will be low that are being caused by stress and sleepless days" (Mxolisi Marcus Mzamane journal, submitted November 2012). Tamella wrote that it should not be difficult to attain a high level of wellbeing in all areas, with his plans to go into electrical engineering, a career he envisions will provide well (Tamella Mnyaka journal, submitted November 2012). Edwin wrote that he would probably live in a two-storey house, and would be financially stable; and Monde agreed that by age forty he would be rich, owning his own business (Tamella Mnyaka, Edwin Duma, and Monde Fishidi journals, submitted November 2012). In fact, many student conceptions of future wellbeing included the idea of a stable family life, but were largely expressed in terms of having adequate resources to own their own homes and cars and to educate themselves and their children. Several mentioned that they would continue to exercise and hopefully be healthy, but otherwise, the financial and the social were the dominant dimensions in which they expressed their notions of their future levels of wellbeing, with no one discussing psychological or spiritual wellbeing.

Thus, the achievement of success is largely conceptualised in terms of the attainment of the materialities of life such as home and car, in addition to the social stability reflected in supporting a wife and child, a modern-day equivalent of *Ubuhle bendoda 'zinkomo 'zayo*. Not only does this indicate the continued interdependence of various areas of wellbeing as integral to notions of future

success, but as the FBF tutors reflect above, it is also a reflection on the “aspiration to overcome categorical subordination” (Ferguson 2006, 20), moving out of the realm of the underprivileged into the working class, and in the dreams of some, into the class of the elite.

FBF communities

The FBF values connections with local communities, and conceives the support of national and local governments, civic groups, and families as integral to its success. Band coordinators and regional coordinators in Western Cape and Eastern Cape regions spoke to me of their work to facilitate and build relationships with these groups, making connections with people and organisations who share the FBF’s goals and values. Since I had relatively few opportunities to meet with community members other than the children themselves, the discussion here will be limited to discussions of community relationships related by FBF head office staff members and encounters with two community members allied with the FBF in the Limpopo region. As the consultants’ reports discussed above in the FBF board and leadership section also assessed community relationships, I will also note some of their findings relevant to this subject.

The day before the 2012 national championships, I was able to meet with Nana Pule and Rebecca Motswane, the FBF’s national social officers, as well as Vusi Dlamini, a Project Officer in the Witbank region. Mama Nana and Mama Rebecca, as they are known across the organisation, both come from nursing backgrounds. Both have additional training in different areas, including nursing education, nursing administration, NGO management, business management, communications, and human resources. They run the national HIV prevention programme and the Children-in-Distress programme. For both these programmes, they rely heavily on their local communities. In fact, many of the social officers employed by the FBF were employed by virtue of being local, well-connected, and respected in their communities. Usually they are parents, Mama Rebecca noted, because they have to have the respect of other parents in the community and be seen as knowing something about childrearing. Thus, the networking role of the social officers is extremely important. Likewise, the

support of schools is very important, as the FBF needs school facilities for rehearsals and life skills workshops. Indeed, as I visited different bands around the country, I heard how band moves had sometimes been necessitated because the relationship with the host school had deteriorated and they no longer have the necessary support of the principal, teachers, or community.

Mama Rebecca added, “That’s why you need a person who is from that community, who knows that community well, because then it’s easy for that person to network. And the people will know her, they are more accepting. And they trust” (personal interview, 5 October 2012). This is critical because community support is both sustained and supported by connections with national government departments, which require a delicate management. Both Nana and Rebecca talked about a memorandum of understanding that the organisation had been trying to sign with the Department of Education, which will give the FBF extra credibility with school governing bodies as they request school facilities. The social officer frequently liaises with the departments of social work, home affairs, health, labour, and agriculture; thus, as a representative of the FBF, it is important that the social officer fosters a sense of trust.

While all this recognises the importance of local community support, it does not indicate the extent to which local communities do support the band, except where ongoing operations are evidence of the fact that there must be at least a threshold of support from the school and the community. In the Limpopo region, I had the opportunity to get a sense of the kinds of relationships fostered with local communities and the value that the individuals in local civic groups place on the FBF. Interestingly, one of these occasions also signalled some of the complexity of these relationships. In Undermark, a member of the Community Safety Forum was in attendance at the rehearsal, having learned that I was a researcher who would be present with my video camera, and she asked if I would interview her. My friend Thuli had travelled with me to see a bit of countryside and to assist with my filming, and she remarked afterwards that this woman seemed to be rather intoxicated. Our “interview” was a rather strange one. She reiterated again and again her role in the Community Safety Forum and said that the partnership between the FBF and the community organisations like

the Community Safety Forum made it “bigger than other things” even though it was a new initiative in the community. She claimed a high degree of partnership in much of the FBF’s work and praised the organisation for helping with practical matters such as helping people get birth certificates, keeping children off the streets and away from the liquor stores, teaching them how to avoid HIV and STIs, and teaching them respect. She then transitioned towards petitioning me as a potential sponsor of the FBF, arguing that the FBF needed office space as it currently had none. She stated again the one hundred per cent support of the Community Safety Forum for the FBF, and declared, “This one is a giant. As long as it’s working together with the Community Safety Forum, the person who’s working together with all the different departments, you understand? Next time when you come back, you must come with a report saying, ‘I spoke to the CEO of the FBF, and she appreciates the work done by the Community Safety Forum member together with the supervisor of the FBF’ [here she points to Makoena, the region’s social officer]. This lady, she’s working a lot, and I am always with her.” She then demanded that the CEO come to visit and see their work, and Makoena mildly interjected, “The main problem is since we started the FBF here, no one from head office has been to visit, except Vusi. Vusi knows this place.” The woman then demanded, “Also because it’s December time, you must tell them very straight, Makoena must get a bonus. I’m serious! They must come and they must also get Makoena together with these teachers a bonus. A bonus of R1000” (personal interviews, 5 November 2012).

I tried throughout the “interview” to ask several direct questions, but she would not let herself be led astray from declaring her role in the FBF and the support of the Community Safety Forum for it. Nonetheless, what came through this exchange is the importance and delicacy of the partnerships that the FBF must negotiate in communities, partnering with groups and individuals with varying aspirations and agendas, and perhaps themselves struggling with some of the challenges the FBF aims to address. Doubtless there is value for the FBF in these relationships in terms of community support, and the value perceived by the community goes beyond the positive influences of the FBF on the children and their families, extending to the prestige and possible connections with power and capital that the organisation represents. As well, the conversation

demonstrated the connections that are experienced between national government departments, local governance and civil society (including the FBF), and families.

I have already discussed the high praise and support of Mr. Mashilo, the guidance counsellor in neighbouring Bochum-Senwabaranwa, in chapter four. His involvement with and promotion of the FBF, connected with his work with the children through school, evidences yet another tie between different civil society organisations in pursuit of the common goal of helping youth attain education and job opportunities. I spoke with parents and social officers in other regions who concur. Nicolene Presents, a mother of twin girls who were five-year participants of the FBF in the Macassar band on the outskirts of Stellenbosch, said that the work of the parents' committee to chaperone and organise fundraising events to cover the costs of travel and food for the bands demonstrated the investment of parents in the organisation. Because she saw the FBF as offering opportunities for education and travel for her children that they would not get elsewhere, it was important to her to offer her time to support the FBF in its work. Despite the challenge of one of her daughters becoming pregnant in the tenth grade, she described how her daughter's FBF friends and classmates supported her through her pregnancy, enabling her to continue studies so she can still pursue her goal of going on for training to become a chef after graduation. Nicolene saw the FBF as very involved in the community, though she admitted that at times the work of building community support is a challenging process (personal interview, 13 November 2012).

Although my fieldwork did not adequately explore community perspectives on success, leaving it a question that would require additional research to explore fully, it seems that the social pact binding government, civil society organisations, families, and individuals together in the pursuit of reduced levels of inequality is in place in many regions. The consultants conducting the impact assessments did pursue this question with small numbers of local parents and community members, revealing that demand from the local community was paramount in sustaining a thriving band (The Turnaround Group 2006, 11). They also noted that the number of community performances seemed to be an indicator of the depth of integration of the band within the community, perhaps

with the cyclical effect of generating interest by both community members and participants (15). In the 2010 report, the authors proposed a strategic vision for community institutions which includes the band's accessibility to most community youth, its cooperation with other youth development organisations in the region, encouragement of participation of families, collaboration with schools in terms of providing both facilities and teacher support for band activities, and the pursuit of ways to benefit local institutions (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 19). Focused as they were on the FBF moving to a more decentralised phase of professionalism, they argued that bands should become even more community-based to encourage investment at the local level (22, 38).

Moreover, many of the processes that the FBF has conducted over its years of operation, specifically the creation of the organisation's values statement, have been generated through "bottom-up" processes, consulting with people in local communities. In some ways, this sort of consultation is conducted through the incorporation of local, connected, respected members as employees and volunteers, which also facilitates understanding of the experienced needs at the local level. Having no information beyond that provided by the leaders who were involved in these processes and the reports that document them, I cannot comment upon the characteristics of these consultations. Of course, there may be many overlapping motivations for community consultation, ranging from generating buy-in, addressing funders' concerns and priorities, responding to calls within the development community for consultative, community-driven processes, and genuine concern to appropriately gauge and respond to the needs at the community level. All that can be observed is the importance of community consultation to the FBF. My impression is that the priority placed on this is more than lip-service to politically correct development policies.

Other constituencies

There are at least two other constituencies of stakeholders whose conceptions, definitions, and measurements of success must be considered: government and funders. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to meet with representatives of these sectors, and any information about their viewpoints comes second-hand from my discussions with the FBF leaders who

have met with them and from consultant reports. It would likely be extremely interesting and informative to discuss these questions with such people directly. What I have learned is that the FBF obviously prioritises these viewpoints: the fact that it has contracted two formal impact assessments to measure success responds in part to the sorts of demands that these constituencies make for evidence of success to be provided by appropriate metrics. Carol Harington noted her perception that corporate funders were often happy with the “feel-good” feedback, whereas the government required “hard numbers”—citing the sorts of statistics the organisation gathers on participation, gender equity, and HIV testing (personal interview, 3 May 2012). Indeed, the 2006 impact assessment (The Turnaround Group 2006, 26) noted that donors cited an “emotive appeal” and results that “speak for themselves,” valuing the photos that the FBF distributed to them, which they could use in their own corporate social responsibility reporting.

Brian Gibson noted that the support the organisation receives from mining houses is motivated in many cases because the companies aim to strengthen and build the community structures to withstand the day that the mine eventually ceases operation, but also that others are required as part of their license condition to be engaged with the community in a measurable way (personal interview, 1 November 2012). Thus, the terms of “success” would seem to be variable depending upon the perspective of the donor regarding the motivation for investment. Similarly, other funders, such as South Africa’s National Lotteries Funds and the Norwegian government through Fredskorpset, both of whom have been significant funders, must have other bases for investment and definitions of success.

I was not able to adequately investigate these perspectives during my fieldwork, but I did manage to meet with Tutu Jacobsen in Oslo, Norway in August 2013. Tutu is Head of Team Health, Education and Human Rights and Senior Adviser of FK Norway, and has been involved with the Norwegian participation in the FBF for several years. She explained that while FK’s initial investment in Africa was structured under a donor/aid model, not unconnected to Norway’s history of missions in South Africa and Norway’s support for the antiapartheid movement, the present priority for its programmes was the

facilitation of a genuine partnership between countries. The department no longer enters into agreements where there is no reciprocal benefit to both Norway and the participating country, and she asserted, “The people in the south are the experts in their own areas, and there’s so much we learn from them” (personal interview, 9 August 2013).

Success based on multidimensional wellbeing

The FBF, for all its prior efforts to understand the contributors to and the degree of its success, continues to invest a significant amount of effort in determining whether its assessment methods are fully reflective of the impact of its work. The inclusion of notions of wellbeing is not unprecedented in this analysis. The material in the 2010 impact assessment that is of greatest relevance to this thesis is the consultants’ attempt to measure the wellbeing of FBF members via the piloting of a wellbeing questionnaire. They write:

If enhancing the personal wellbeing of the young members is a desired outcome of FBF’s work, then the perspective of the young people on their own wellbeing is crucially important. This is extremely difficult terrain—how do you measure these things—but we were encouraged to try something different based on some interesting sounding research in metrics undertaken by children and youth charities in the UK and USA. (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 46)

The “categories” of wellbeing they attempted to measure were defined as physical health, self-confidence, risk behaviours, cooperation, and discipline (47). These were selected after consultation of two publications by New Philanthropy Capital, a London-based think tank and consultancy, on measuring children’s subjective wellbeing (Heady and Oliveira 2008; Nevill 2009). The former of these publications promotes inclusion of the measurement of material dimensions in the assessment of wellbeing, defining wellbeing as “the sum of several different aspects or ‘domains’ of life, including physical, material, social etc.” (Heady and Oliveira 2008, 9). However, this dimension was absent from the survey conducted by the Keystone Group for the FBF. Their assessment focused to a degree on physical wellbeing, with an expanded focus on social wellbeing. They administered the 31-question survey to sample groups in three different regional bands, but concluded that statistical analysis was difficult, and that

without a control group for comparison, the results merely “tell us what we know already” (Proctor and Saruchera 2010, 47).

The most recent development in this regard is the assessment that has been conducted during the first year of the PULSE project, another collaboration with Norway. In September 2013, four Norwegian participants came to South Africa to begin a pilot stage of the programme, and five South African participants travelled to Hamar, Norway (Larsen 2013a). In South Africa, two of the Norwegians (one of whom is a music therapist and former FBA facilitator) have been working in the Parys, Free State band, specifically on integrating youth with physical or cognitive disabilities into the bands and developing an educational module on “facilitating community health promotion” for use at the academy. Two others (a music therapist and a musicologist) based themselves in Johannesburg, and focused on ascertaining the existing perspectives on links between music and health within the FBF, predominantly from the point of view of FBF employees at all levels (Svendsen and Larsen 2014, 6–7). Meanwhile, in Norway, the five South African participants, all long-time FBF members and former tutors, some of whom had been trained at the academy, were based at the Toneheim Folkehøgskole, as previous South African exchange participants had been. They have been working with people with disabilities in the school’s music and health programme and participating in the Møllergata Skolekorps, a band with a particular focus on cultural diversity and inclusion of minority groups (Larsen 2013b).

The PULSE project is based on the World Health Organisation’s holistic definition of health, discussed earlier; but its mandate to intentionally extend the work of the FBF to specific marginalised populations—girls, homosexuals, and people with disabilities—extends the concept of health. This project itself has arisen out of the longstanding initial goals of the FBF to address inequality and marginalisation in the nation. Another contributing factor that led to this project was the practical need to develop projects that could gain the support of FK Norway after its initial involvement in the FBF regions and then the academy eventually came to a close. In a conversation with Nicky du Plessis, she mused that she had heard rumblings from within that this new project was pushing the FBF beyond its comfort zone; but she expressed her staunch commitment to it,

arguing that these developments were going to make the FBF a leader in this type of youth development work (field notes, 25 March 2014). With this project, the FBF is already making strides toward incorporating notions of wellbeing into its goals and its measurement.

The “status quo” reports produced by the Johannesburg PULSE participants evaluate the current levels of knowledge about music and health and gender equity. Although wellbeing and gender equity have both been an element of prior assessments, this marks the first attempt to focus on these issues specifically and determine how they are framed within the organisational culture that the FBF has fostered over the past seventeen years. The report on music and health states the team’s finding that many FBF employees are uncertain whether they have enough knowledge about the link between music and health to do their jobs, and most feel they do not have enough knowledge about this link to communicate it to stakeholders and sponsors. The term “life skills” is deeply entrenched in FBF parlance, the authors note, but many FBF employees do not necessarily conceptualise an explicit link between life skills, health, or music (Svendsen and Larsen 2014, 8–9). These concepts are quite abstract, and consequently the consulted employees suggested that they need increased knowledge about scientific bases of the link between music and health and methodologies for health promotion. The team observed that employees recognise the interdependence of different dimensions of health, citing examples linking mental and physical health or mental and social aspects of health. Their survey divides conceptualisations of health into the categories of those who define it as physical and those who include psychological aspects of health. They observe that most FBF employees do include the psychological dimension in their concept of health (10-11). With the focus on health, rather than wellbeing, the view of the work of the FBF is constrained to a somewhat medicalised view of the FBF’s impact. These limitations are likely due to the structure of the study, which was structured according to the model used by music therapist Ellen Neverdal (2010) in her masters research on the FBF. This represents the discipline’s rootedness in clinical frameworks, also evident, for example, in the overview of Clift et al (2008) of non-clinical research in singing and health. However, in the PULSE report, social aspects of wellbeing figure as prominently

as psychological or physical aspects in the responses of employees to a survey question that asked them to name three ways musical activity can be health-promoting (Svendsen and Larsen 2014, 12).

What is evident from these efforts to understand the impact of the FBF on the wellbeing of its participants is the difficulty of agreed terms of reference for what constitutes wellbeing. For the Keystone consultants, wellbeing included physical health, self-confidence, risk behaviours, cooperation, and discipline. The latter categories might be conceptualised as falling within the domains of psychological or social wellbeing, or perhaps hint at particular desirable “capabilities”—more on this shortly. For the PULSE participants, wellbeing was physical and psychological, with elements of social wellbeing implicit within these. Indeed, in the literature on arts and health, there is currently significant debate about the terms by which arts and health might be evaluated. A recent literature review of trends in research in arts and health initiatives (Raw et al. 2012) argues that the ever-increasing demand for evidence-based research is a secondary gap that is indicative of a primary lacuna—the development of a theoretical foundation for community arts and health practices. A more recent article argues that “preoccupation with building an evidence base” comes at the expense of the development of either a theoretical basis or research on methodology (Raw and Mantecón 2013, 216–217).

Reviewing the “evidence” collected so far, however, the authors of the 2012 literature review identify a variety of models for arts and health work, ranging from clinical to community settings. Practitioners in these may be classed on a spectrum that ranges from “trained professionals” (including music and art therapists) on one end to “untrained practitioners” on the other. They observe that in programmes linked with formal institutions, such as public health and hospital programmes, evaluation frequently employs a scientific or medical methodology. These include music therapy or art therapy approaches, attempting to simulate experimental clinical research and provide objective, quantitative evidence. Community programmes, however, are run by practitioners who have a broader definition of wellbeing that frequently includes the social, and research on these programmes tends to use a social sciences approach, frequently qualitative and critical. Raw et al argue that arts and health

practices that lie closer to the biomedical end of the spectrum should indeed employ clinical research methods, while community practices should employ social sciences methodologies and not be expected to provide quantitative, clinical evidence for their outcomes (2012, 101), arguing that an interdisciplinary, critical approach to evaluation is necessary (104).

While I recognise that the authors' goal is to review the state of evaluation in community arts and identify priority areas for development rather than to address evaluation practices within clinical settings, I am sceptical that the clear division they make between clinical and community practice is either essential or particularly helpful. In my view, it is a positive development to suggest that the pursuit of quantitative, biomedical evidence for community practices is frequently inappropriate; however, the assertion risks the continued reification of more clinical practices by associating them with "hard science" and "professionalism." It misrecognises the social nature of health, whether this is addressed within or outside the institutional setting of medical science. Nonetheless, the observations about "evidence" point to the necessity for evaluations to attend to the goals of the project. Where a goal is articulated in biomedical terms, then a biomedical approach to evaluation is required; and where a goal is articulated in social terms, likewise a qualitative, social sciences approach is required. The appropriateness of evaluation methods, then, should not be articulated relative to the setting but rather relative to the goals. What requires clearer thought, regardless of the setting, is whether narrowing the scope of evaluation to either a physical/psychological domain or one which also embraces social considerations is more helpful and more indicative of the full impact of the programme. Arguments to expand biomedical paradigms to include aspects of the social and psychological, in particular, have been one of the most influential contributions of the field of medical anthropology (a clear, foundational summary of these arguments can be found in Young 1982).

Raw et al identify several areas of engagement with theoretical fields across disciplines, in order to develop the missing theorisation of community arts practices. They identify particular thematic "theoretical angles" for viewing the potential and basis for community arts, and recommend engagement with several theoretical areas in education, geography, and anthropology (2012, 104).

However, nowhere do they consider direct engagement with political-economic theory, except where critical theory has been employed (in particular, concerning social dynamics, power, and community). Likewise, strikingly absent is any notion of physical health. In their schema, community music programmes remain divorced from more clinical music programmes in terms of the expected impact.

I would argue that all dimensions of wellbeing, including a political-economic dimension of wellbeing, are essential for a full understanding of the impact of any youth development programme, although here I am concerned specifically about programmes that employ music as a medium of their work. However, more fundamentally, I would assert that definitions of success that are based on capabilities, as demonstrated in the levels of wellbeing in each of the dimensions I have discussed, have a radical potential. Applied to the FBF, they would position the organisation to articulate its goals in terms that move beyond poverty alleviation to inequality reduction. This is due to a shift in the concept of wellbeing limited to physical and psychological health, as areas detrimentally affected by poverty, to a broader concept of wellbeing that includes social and financial wellbeing, dimensions that can only be fully addressed by the reduction of socioeconomic inequality. While it may be true that the wellbeing of the nation's poorest people could be increased by raising their baseline material resources, a comprehensive notion of wellbeing that incorporates the social recognises that it will never be possible to move them toward optimal levels of wellbeing while the inequality gap is growing. Initiatives that attend only to raising the bar lack ambition in their scope. If the FBF wishes to move beyond redress of socioeconomic inequality toward the fully realised freedom of all citizens of South Africa, it must work with a notion of wellbeing that includes material dimensions. This will make their work even more political (at a subpolitical level) than it already is. This also requires a conception of success that is articulated in the improvement of wellbeing that moves beyond medical or scientific notions of health to a social sciences notion of wellbeing that can accommodate the political-economic.

Thus, I would propose that a programme's success can be measured by its enrichment of capabilities, which facilitate opportunities for people to make

choices that lead to a life they have reason to value. I believe the FBF is on this pathway, and it is one of the reasons that its leaders embraced my research. In an interview with Nicky du Plessis about my research and the focus group sessions I planned to run at the academy, I asked if this information would be helpful to the FBF. She replied:

I think it must be helpful in terms of this proposal that Ellen and I are trying to put together around health promotion [what became the PULSE project]. We sat around on Sunday to draw up a glossary of what we understood about these various concepts working together—it's got to be around that notion of the integrated notion of wellbeing which also means that people have the capacity to act on their lives. (Personal interview, 9 October 2012)

The FBF already has a great deal of information about certain dimensions of their impact. I would propose that a long-term monitoring process that incorporates physical, psychological, social, and material dimensions of wellbeing will allow them to determine whether their impact supersedes poverty alleviation and aspires to the reduction of inequality.

Note that the spiritual dimension is absent from this list. It was a dimension that I believed was important at the time I structured my research, as spirituality is a concept that is central to the experience of a majority of South Africans. I maintain that the concept requires additional thought and research. Certainly, aspects of spiritual wellbeing could be incorporated under psychological and social wellbeing—and arguably, given the religious beliefs of many South Africans, physical wellbeing.¹⁶ The lack of clarity of thought by the focus group participants in my research on the matter of spiritual wellbeing may be due to several factors: the intentional absence of an organisational culture that embraces spirituality because of religious diversity; a lack of clarity in the way I presented the notion of spirituality to them during the focus group sessions; or a tendency to attribute spiritual wellbeing to psychological or social dimensions. At this time, I am unable to recommend whether this is a dimension

¹⁶ I should qualify this statement by observing that South Africans are by no means distinct in linking physical and spiritual health. One need only consider the embrace of holistic and alternative therapies in other parts of the world, for example, to understand that human beings frequently connect these concepts.

that is worth separating from other aspects of wellbeing. Additional research and consultation with FBF stakeholders is merited on this subject.

The difficulty the FBF has had with understanding its impact is the anecdotal nature of its monitoring of participants after they leave the FBF. I would propose the establishment of a formal FBF alumni group that allows the FBF to maintain contact with its members, sustains the sense of community that it so successfully fosters during the time of their participation, offers opportunities to sustain its influence in the lives of former members, and fosters important reciprocal relationships with them. Of course, there will always be the difficulty of those who cut their ties with the organisation for a variety of reasons, and developing some sort of means of monitoring these sorts of departures demands serious consideration. However, such long-term engagement could assist the FBF in determining the longitudinal impact of the organisation on its participants in adulthood and provide rich information for all its stakeholders on its success.

For the FBF board and funders, if the rationale for the work of the FBF were to be reframed in terms of inequality reduction versus poverty alleviation, a monitoring process such as I have proposed is critical to determining success. Likely a longitudinal academic study that considers a control group of South Africans without involvement in the FBF could also provide extremely useful comparative information about the political and economic developments in the country, although statistical information gathered by the South African government may also assist in this comparison. This information could add both qualitative and quantitative dimensions to the sorts of reporting already in place at the board level. For FBF tutors and leaders, this kind of formal monitoring would allow them to move beyond the anecdotal evidence of the impact of their work, allowing them to understand where it has been effective and where it still needs development. Ideally, FBF insiders would be equipped to conduct this assessment using a participatory research approach. This would draw on the wealth of tacit knowledge within the organisation and allow FBF stakeholders to understand the scope of their work in terms of the larger civic quest for a freer, more equal South Africa. Finally, for FBF participants, it would foster consciousness about the political potential of their participation in the FBF,

extending their experience beyond the personal and immediate social group to their communities, regions, and nation.

If the South African government is indeed moving toward a neo-Keynesian era characterised by the increasing importance of social pacts, the work of civil society groups such as the FBF has enormous opportunities within this *zeitgeist*. Involving as they do the corporate sector and government funders and frameworks, prioritising the “bottom-up” processes that ensure that they listen to the priorities of people in the communities in which they work, articulating their goals in a way that allows them to nimbly align with like-minded thinkers and institutions, and working with youth to change their vision of and opportunities for the future, they represent precisely the realisation of this sort of social pact. Although Habib suggests that social pacts must be established by state elites with the cooperation of interest groups, I see no reason why civil society should not organise itself to articulate alternative ethics, values, and priorities for South Africa’s economy. Surely this would require and engage the “Gramscian imagination” Habib calls for as power is reconfigured in the nation—particularly if it is lacking in the current leadership, in the form of Zuma (2013, 131). Indeed, in a recent paper commissioned by Oxfam’s Johannesburg office, Friedman draws on earlier work about solidarity between unions and social movements (Friedman 2012), now urging civil society organisations like Oxfam to organise, banding together with the poor to create a real power base. Only with this collaboration, an embryonic civil society-led social pact, will they be able to move beyond lobbying to partnerships, as they engage with the spectrum of power sources in society to bring about the development and implementation of pro-poor policy (Friedman 2014). In an era when the government is largely positioned as no longer a provider (a social state) but a facilitator (an enabling state) (Guilbault 2007, 242), the FBF has an opportunity to influence the way economic policy shapes society.

Importantly, it is the FBF’s inclusive approach to musical style and its prioritisation of musical participation over musical excellence that allow it to sidestep some of the pitfalls of other programmes that employ music in the quest to address poverty. For example, the symphonic traditions largely based on Western art music that are central to many well-known music outreach

programmes, Ramnarine argues, are as much concerned with the self-preservation of a tradition as with social engagement, as they seek to articulate the issues around the inclusivity and social relevance of Western art music in their engagement with poverty, deprivation, and social responsibility (Ramnarine 2011, 328–9). Two of the most popularly well-known examples of such organisations are the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra and El Sistema. In her analysis of the West-Eastern Divan Orchestra, Beckles Willson points out the profound internal conflicts that arise from the particular Utopian projections of symphonic music (and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony in particular), conceptualisations of its unifying potential under the baton of a musical genius, and notions of orchestral playing presented as overcoming conflict and, secondarily, economic hardship (Beckles Willson 2009). Likewise, in his work on El Sistema, an organisation that seems to have many of the same goals as the FBF, Baker has specifically interrogated the reification of orchestral playing as a model for society and the notions of discipline, sustained under an authoritarian conductor, that seem to go hand in hand with the musical culture of the organisation despite its invocation of inclusivity (Baker 2012). Additionally, the cautions of Bergh and Sloboda (2010) about the overdetermination of music’s role in conflict transformation, discussed in the introduction of this thesis, may serve as a reminder that the programme’s success needs to continually be interrogated in several often-overlooked critical dimensions: the precise understanding of the role of music in this transformation; issues of power within the organisation’s activities; and attention to the role and perspectives of participants on an equal footing with the role and perspectives of leaders and organisers, to name but a few of the most relevant challenges.

While there is certainly potential to examine internal conflicts within the FBF’s vision of music, overall its catholicity in terms of musical repertoire, which includes music classed as art, popular, and traditional from South Africa and the rest of the world, eliminates the hegemony of particular worldviews associated with particular genres. Similarly, its emphasis on music at the band level that accommodates all levels of ability, regardless of how new to the band an individual is, or, in more recent developments, of any physical or cognitive barriers to participation they might have, indicates the organisation’s impetus

toward musical and social inclusiveness, rather than the exclusive undertones that emerge when particular genres and practices (particularly Western art music and symphony orchestras, with some of the imperialist and elitist associations that cling to it) are foregrounded. This said, the observations of internal paradigm conflicts within other music outreach programmes serve as a cautionary tale that the FBF might heed.

Should the FBF choose to articulate its goals as counteracting inequality, rather than alleviating poverty, its methods of measuring the achievement of these goals must necessarily shift toward holistic definitions of wellbeing that include its physical, psychological, social, material, and perhaps spiritual dimensions. There are certainly available means of gathering information on these dimensions directly, as my focus group process with FBA students demonstrated. However, perhaps conceptualising a number of capabilities compromised by current structures of inequality within society, and articulating the connections between these and the dimensions of wellbeing on which they have an impact, may be another way of measuring success. The achievement of particular capabilities might be more easily observed than levels of wellbeing, and it is perhaps not as far from the current methods of evaluation to the measurement of capabilities as to the measurement of wellbeing. Certainly, however, understanding the connection between capabilities and wellbeing, and developing ways to monitor these, can animate and illuminate the success of the FBF as a music-centred youth development programme.

In summary, this chapter has explored the perspectives of various stakeholders of the FBF on the matter of success, connecting the discourse about success to broader society. It has demonstrated a common perception that success is achieved when people have resources sufficient to make choices that help them to live a life they have reason to value. This ultimately includes their ability to define and fulfill their social roles. In terms of the FBF as an organisation, professionalisation was revealed to be an important criterion for success generally and is seen as critical to its future success. I have reflected that this professionalisation has certainly contributed to the FBF's current success, particularly in the context of a policy environment that is largely supportive of NGOs. However, I have concluded, the future success of the organisation in terms

of achieving greater levels of equality may depend upon its ability to engage with more partners that have more redistributive goals. In fact, indicators are that policy developments may support the expansion of the type of partnerships in which the FBF has already experienced high degrees of success.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

You know, there are rare people at our age who actually have what we have, who actually get what we get, actually get paid the amount that we get for an hour. There are rare people at our age who work proudly and say, I'm a proud musician, as much as many people say, forgive my language, this is *kak*. But we never consider it as that. Because it has brought us so much difference in our lives. That's Field Band.

—Sibusiso (Sbu) Mabura Ndlovu, KZN pit section and dance tutor
Personal interview, 7 June 2012

This thesis has analysed the work of the Field Band Foundation in South Africa in terms of its position in shifting post-apartheid political economy. My overarching research question has been to discover to what extent a music-centred youth development programme can remedy the socioeconomic inequality in South Africa that has led to widespread low levels of wellbeing amongst populations that have experienced long-term, institutional discrimination. I have attended to the specificity of the FBF's use of music, in the form of marching bands and in the genre of popular music, as the central medium for its work. I have examined the shifts in the nation's governance and policy environment in the twenty years since the end of apartheid, and pointed at ways in which this environment has both facilitated and necessitated the type of development work in which the FBF has engaged. I have aimed to provide an ethnographically rich representation of the FBF as a contact zone between political economy and humanitarian work, and to articulate the zone's potential opportunities and challenges. By attention to the FBF's stakeholders' discourse about its work, I have endeavoured to convey what is at stake in claims upon this zone.

By adopting the ethnographic methodologies of semiformal interview, participant observation, and focus groups, as well as reviewing the organisation's literature, I have prioritised the viewpoints of my research participants. Analysing these as discourse about music development work, I have sought to contribute to the body of knowledge about the perceived and actual utility of music. Participant observation has also allowed me to attend to discrepancies both within the FBF's discourse and between discourse and everyday practice. Such discrepancies documented have included varying

definitions in notions of success, employee versus volunteer, salary versus stipend, strategic business partnership versus acquiescence to corporate interests, or empowered citizen versus neoliberal subject. All of these tensions point out the need for new theory that explains the political ideologies and social values that underpin music development work, which I have endeavoured to articulate. I have also proposed a framework for goal-setting and assessment that expands the understanding and potential of the impact of music development work beyond the social, physical, and psychological realms to which arts and health programmes generally attend.

While grounded in ethnomusicological methodologies and understandings of music and society, I have drawn inspiration and analytical tools from other disciplines. Interdisciplinarity inevitably presents the challenge of mastery and integration of disparate domains of knowledge, and the endeavour to meet these challenges reveals a vast amount of further research that must be done to answer the critical questions about the scope and limits of music for socioeconomic development. Thus, after summarising the argument that I have developed in this thesis, I will discuss the limits of this research project and suggest several areas for further research. This will be followed by key observations and recommendations for the FBF and potentially other similar organisations. I will close by indicating scope for further research and reflecting on the FBF's role in South African society.

Research summary

I have had three overarching aims through this research: to contribute to ethnomusicological knowledge about the social meanings and roles of music; to document musical practices in a specific setting; and to apply relevant theoretical perspectives about political economy to the intersection of musical practice, meaning, and effect. I have thus made use of familiar approaches in ethnomusicology by grounding the contextual aspects of the research field in analysis of the political economy of music and development work. Chapter two outlined the move towards neoliberalism that occurred in the late apartheid and transition periods, as well as indications of a shift toward neo-Keynesian approaches since the election of Jacob Zuma. The reasons for these shifts, as

analysed primarily in political science literature, were discussed, culminating in one particularly significant discursive development: the conflation of political freedom with economic freedom. I observed particular impacts of the implementation of neoliberal policy relevant to this thesis: increasing levels of unemployment and income inequality, sharp reductions in the demand for unskilled labour, privatisation and the implementation of cost-recovery models of service delivery, and the increasing responsibility placed on both individuals and NGOs to address widening gaps in public service, including education. This led to a discussion of the significance of the position of the FBF in civil society, that subset of the NGO sector that favours partnership with organisations other than the government but capitalises on the environment resulting from the South African government's increasing reliance on NGOs.

Chapter three investigated the FBF's occupation of this sector, and its consequent strategic engagement with South Africa's corporate sector and with international development agencies, predominantly Norway's Fredskorpset. I noted the moral discourses and anxieties that such partnerships introduce, as well as the neoliberal logics of self-responsibility, enterprise, and return on investment that are part of the FBF's funding arrangements by virtue of these partnerships. However, as I also elaborated, the social contracts established through such investments, spoken of as "ploughing back in" within the organisational culture of the FBF, align with ways of thinking about the links between material and social life that have long histories in South Africa, and also align with recent policy shifts that may further encourage such social contracts. As well, the international connections of the FBF, particularly with Norway, allow the organisation to diversify its ideological and funding interests outside of South Africa's corporate and government sectors, to connect with partners who share the FBF's priorities, and to create more cosmopolitan awareness in the youth who are able to participate in exchanges. Thus, I have characterised the FBF as an organisation that is not "grassroots" in the way many NGOs are perceived, but rather as strategic, well connected, and opportunistic.

Chapter four followed this characterisation of the FBF with a detailed description about its function within South African society as a mode of alternate governance, specifically by developing citizens with certain skills and

subjectivities that South African society, including the marketplace, needs. I noted the relevance of largely anthropological ideas about neoliberal subjectivities to the educational agenda of the FBF. This chapter foregrounded the role of rehearsals and musical practice itself as the medium for developing these skills and subjectivities, and discussed in detail the way that the FBA, providing basic business and entrepreneurship training alongside musical training, positions students to find careers either within the FBF, in other music-related organisations, or in the broader marketplace. This chapter also returned to South Africa's arts and culture policy, Mzansi Golden Economy, pointing out that the FBF's programme goes beyond the government's vision for arts and culture: it demonstrates that arts and culture are not merely commodities to be developed and exploited, but also provide opportunities for the development of citizens with a complete range of skills and abilities. The ethically delicate aspect of the FBF's work is whether it is able to create enough political awareness, along the lines of Freire's conscientization, about the links between the broader political and economic context that largely dictate the terms of their success. As I have suggested, the FBF goes some way toward cultivating such awareness by its emphasis on particular values, but there is potential to do more to make evident the means by which "technologies of the self" and "processes of subjectivization" (Agamben 1998, 5) influence identity formation and reinforce existing structures of power.

The second part of the thesis began by focusing in chapter five on the political potential of wellbeing and capabilities. I have linked Agamben's notion of "the good life" to Amartya Sen's notion of "a life one has reason to value," which demonstrates that the development of capabilities is central to an experience of fully fledged freedom and the fashioning of a life one has reason to value. I introduced the economic discussion around "wellbeing" and the link between income inequality and low levels of health and wellbeing. I have argued that in the same way that some economists have begun to argue the need to integrate subjective wellbeing into economic models, arts and health organisations that focus on addressing inequality and its effects need to make material wellbeing more central in their analysis and assessment.

In chapter six, I applied such a model to the work of the FBF. I detailed the attention to the capabilities that the FBF develops in its members, and indicated the need to determine how these are realised in terms of their experienced levels of wellbeing. This chapter then analysed the material gathered from interviews and focus groups conducted with academy students, evaluating their assessments of their levels of wellbeing in the past, as new members, and in the present, as students at the FBA.

Finally, chapter seven attended to the various assessments of FBF leaders, FBA personnel, FBF tutors and members, and community members of the impact of the FBF's work. I have analysed this as discourse about the definition and path to success, both individual and organisational. The commitment to developing people who have the capabilities to be part of the job market in its current form is evident. Rather than viewing this as a concession to the marketplace, I view it as a pragmatic intervention that allows the quickest route possible out of poverty and toward self-sustainability. I argue, however, that if the FBF were to examine ways to raise critical awareness about these issues, or partner with organisations that aim to reintroduce a redistributive ethic into the governance of the marketplace, it could move beyond poverty alleviation to inequality reduction. Nevertheless, I have indicated several ways in which people in the FBF exercise their agency against pure neoliberal logics, including partnership with local communities as a way of guarding against the undue influence of the marketplace on its goals.

To conclude this summary, I would like to reflect briefly on what this thesis has shown about the role of music itself in the FBF's work. A primary focus has been the contextual factors in the work of an organisation that uses music as the central medium of its work, but I have also indicated throughout that one of the major reasons for the FBF's success is the music itself. The music provides the "hook" to capture the interest of youth and draw them into the group through the appeal and familiarity of its repertoire and the appeal (and sometimes unfamiliarity) of the musical instruments. It provides an opportunity for cultural and personal expression, as students identify with music that is meaningful to them. The intrinsic reward of achievement that is experienced through performance and competition allows students to experience success

who may not have many arenas in which to do so. It allows many to proudly identify as musicians, and a substantial number to go on to work in the FBF or other music-related jobs.

Musical practice contributes directly to all areas of wellbeing: social, through the participatory and inclusive nature of the genre, the regular rehearsals, and the genuine long-term friendships that develop over time between members; physical, through the exercise students gain in rehearsal and performance, as well as the emphasis of self-discipline in musical contexts, which transfers to other dimensions and is accompanied by messages about all the different ways to experience and take care of one's body; psychological, through the opportunity to enter into an absorbing state of focus through musical practice and thus gain respite from the ongoing stresses of daily life, as well as the opportunity to express emotion in another medium; spiritual, through the affective experience of music, which may provide opportunities for the experience of transcendence and the emphasis of shared humanity; and financial, through the opportunities of paid performances and future teaching and performance work, within and beyond the FBF.

Finally, the music that the FBF chooses, by virtue of its perception as a popular and accessible music, avoids the neo-imperial pitfalls of music outreach programmes associated with elite traditions such as Western classical music. The broader range of genres embraced at the academy and the instruction students receive on reading and theory allow them to discover other traditions, develop new interests, and see the potential for a fuller range of opportunities within the musical world. Thus, although this thesis has focused to a large degree on the context of the FBF's work and on dimensions of its work other than its musical practices, the goal has been to reveal previously unexplored aspects about music development work, which proliferates not just in South Africa, but around the world.

Key observations: The FBF and beyond

As the epigraph at the top of this chapter indicates, the opportunity that many within the FBF have had to make a career from their music is not taken for granted. The pride in self-sufficiency and in finding a meaningful way to

contribute to society, to experience success, and to earn enough money to attain material needs that Sbu expresses indicates that the FBF has succeeded in helping at least some of its members develop the capabilities they need to live a life they have reason to value. As he colourfully expresses, this is not a small thing, even if some people undervalue music or this type of musical employment—even, one may argue, the government with its limited, commodified view of arts and culture.

There are several observations that might be drawn from this analysis of the FBF's work, which may also have potential for application in contexts outside the FBF. Consideration of these observations may provide a valuable starting point for future research on the FBF or other music development initiatives, even though such studies will undoubtedly require tailored approaches. For example, I observe three particularly interesting contributors to the FBF's success in addressing the effects of socioeconomic inequality relative to their current socioeconomic milieu:

- **Strategic positioning within the political spaces in civil society facilitates the establishment of partnerships with individuals and institutions.** These are selected from potential partners that are like-minded enough for the FBF to establish a social contract that facilitates investment of funds in people and communities that otherwise would be missed in the “hops” versus “flows” of capital. The FBF has been savvy about its partnerships and alignments, as well as about maintaining a certain amount of distance from the government, in order to sustain its autonomy and ability to respond flexibly to opportunities and needs that arise. The FBF has capitalised on the good reputation it has built through the government's reinforcement of its effective, business-like operations, and this has ensured its longevity and continued relevance and impact as an organisation.
- **The medium (music and dance) and format (marching bands) of the FBF's work is strategically matched to its desired outcomes.** The organisation identified the need for a participatory approach to development, and the medium and format selected facilitate such an approach. Thus, there is room for multiple levels of engagement,

beginning with the potential for diversion in casual involvement to the immersion of those who go on to study music or find careers in some related capacity. The music captures and sustains interest through the possibility of further development and performance opportunities. It also connects with familiar musical experience but is, for many members, distinct enough in its format to be different and interesting. It is inclusive, as new members or those with limited ability can quickly be integrated into a whole that yields an impressive final product. It has a history of perception as a socially-uplifting activity, and is specifically associated with increased aspirations and upward mobility in some parts of South Africa. Finally, the FBF adopts popular and traditional genres, which encourages youth to relate to it and also avoids the perceptions of elitism that cling to genres such as western art music and possibly, to a lesser extent, jazz.

- **The emphasis on values in the pursuit of concrete outcomes is a grounding force within the organisation.** This keeps the FBF closely linked with the needs and values of its constituents and offers a counterbalance to the influence of purely market-driven concerns. Moreover, it generates an organisational culture that articulates and holds stakeholders to high ethical standards, resisting notions of entitlement or self-promotion by insisting on an ethic of reinvestment or “ploughing back.” This generates goodwill within the organisation, and guards against the corruption that is far too common in the public sector. It also emphasises consideration of the group over the individual.

I would propose four overarching considerations in the interests of deepening the FBF’s impact:

- **Ongoing monitoring of levels of wellbeing in FBF members will show whether the FBF is developing the competencies that people need to be able to make choices that lead to “lives they have reason to value.” Thus, the FBF may benefit from the prioritisation of the development of an ongoing monitoring process that tracks its members over the years, even after they**

leave the FBF. One suggestion that might facilitate this is the establishment of an alumni group, notionally called FBF for Life, which sustains the connection between the FBF and its alumni community through social media and regional and national events. This could be used to generate interest and participation in ongoing monitoring, in order to understand the long-term effects of FBF participation. Consideration should also be given to ways to gather information on those who leave the FBF community and those who have never been involved in the FBF in order to establish what effects can reasonably be attributed to the FBF's intervention.

- **The FBF's work is presently grounded in a goal of poverty alleviation, but examination of its goals and programmes in light of their potential to reduce inequality may be beneficial.** Such a shift is within the realm of possibility as it is compatible with the organisation's emphasis on "ploughing back." Moreover, the shift is desirable, because according to literature on the subject, inequality is plausibly a driving factor of low levels of wellbeing. More to the point, these links are also demonstrated in the feedback of FBA students themselves, as there was a high degree of integration of financial wellbeing with other dimensions of wellbeing in self-assessment. This will undoubtedly have to be delicately articulated so as not to alienate partners who are like-minded enough to invest in the FBF's programme, but do not support interventionist redistributive agendas (such as increase of taxation and expansion of social grants).
- **The FBF may increase its impact by prioritising a Freirean conscientization of FBF members.** This may require a longer-term relationship, and it may take multiple "generations" of FBF members in order to build culture of engagement with these issues. The FBF may wish to consider partnering with organisations that seek to increase these sorts of awareness in order to achieve this goal. The repertoire of the organisation may tap into memories of resistance or alternate ways of being that could facilitate members' critical reflection upon the relationship between themselves and the political

and economic context, and thus may be a starting point for this kind of work. The FBF could potentially address this issue by supporting FBA graduates such as Joel, Adrian, and Ruben, for example, in their desires to establish their own ensembles that possibly innovate or depart from the field band idiom, as an opportunity to establish more participatory musical practices.

- **The FBF may wish to consider partnerships, whether these be funding or collaboration, with other sectors of South African society.** It has identified a likeminded funding partner in FK Norway, introducing the logics of a social welfare system to its programme, but it does not seem to prioritise engagements with this sector in South Africa. Perhaps suitable partnerships in this sector have not yet been identified, or perhaps it is not possible to partner with the South African corporate sector and government at the same time as with other civil society actors, such as trade unions; however, trade unions or social movements with similar agendas may have an interest in the FBF's work, particularly if rearticulated as prioritising inequality reduction. Such partnerships may offer a counterbalance to some of the business logics at play within the organisation. This is not to suggest that the FBF abandon these business logics, as they strengthen their reputation and relevance in the current economic and humanitarian environment; however, looking to the future, the FBF may sustain its agility, relevance, and creativity through strategic partnerships with people or individuals who have equally strong commitments to the interests of FBF's members, but different approaches to achieving the desired social change.

Future research

I opened this chapter with the observation that the interdisciplinarity of this thesis suggests several fruitful areas for research in the pursuit of greater understanding and integration of disparate fields of knowledge. The integration of three fields in particular into the theoretical basis of this thesis suggests both the potential value of this study to those fields and the potential for productive

enrichment of my future research as I seek to engage more fully with literature outside my own discipline. These fields are economic theory, development studies (whether anthropological or economic), and South African political science, both historical and current. In particular, the introductory analysis of the potential and limits of the Mzansi Golden Economy cultural policy that I have provided here, in connection with the political developments through South Africa's transition, suggests potential for the application of research on music development programmes (perhaps extended to other types of arts for development programmes) to the development of cultural policy. This research points out the interconnections between cultural policy, broader economic policy, and music development work. It notes the impact of policy environments on music development work, but also observes that in many ways, policy creators greatly underestimate the potential for programmes like the FBF to achieve the goal of reducing inequality. The understanding that programmes like the FBF are also capable of helping youth develop skills that lie outside the commodification of the central focus area (in this case, music) could help governments to develop better arts and culture policy, and could also perhaps provide new rationales for the work and thus expand funding opportunities.

For those interested in economic and political developments in South Africa, this thesis has suggested that discrepancies between the policy environment and the everyday activities and long-term goals of the FBF may be not only strategic, but a necessary subversion of the authority of the state over matters of development. Thus, more research into the characteristics of current partnerships or the barriers to other types of partnerships is urgently needed. The FBF's ability to secure diverse funding sources has left it free, to some extent, to develop priorities independent of the agenda set by the government. The organisation has been able to articulate redistributive, pro-social values that exceeded or eluded the individualising neoliberal project.

There remain several pressing music-related questions that need to be explored to expand the body of research on music and development, particularly in the interest of developing a theoretical basis for work of this kind. First, opportunities for dance are specialised and largely exist within either the spheres of tourism or high art, and presently dancers are not part of

international exchanges. How might the inequality of opportunity between musicians and dancers in the FBF be reduced? Further research, building on this thesis and Marit Bakken's masters thesis (2009), to determine whether the democratic, inclusive impetus of the FBF is best (or exclusively) served by the marching band format is a potentially rich area of study that might be useful not only to the FBF but to other organisations wishing to employ music in service of social goals. Ethnographic study of the work of the FBF at local levels may lend insight into local aesthetics and resources that underpin the efficacy of the FBF programme at local levels. Such research would facilitate analysis of particular subjective functions of music within individual and social experience. This may be best undertaken by FBF insiders; arguably a large-scale participatory research approach, working with the FBF to develop research skills in people with long-term affiliations and active roles within the FBF, would be the ideal approach to such a research project. As well, it would be productive to conduct comparative research to understand the significance of the FBF's use of the brass band format within the global brass band tradition, as well as to research in detail the FBF's national championships in the context of other such events within and beyond the world of brass bands.

This thesis has overwhelmingly focused on a utilitarian concept of music—music that is for purposes other than aesthetic enjoyment. Thus, it may have implications for other cases of music's utility, and could contribute to the ongoing discussions about funding for the arts that seem to be taking place in most countries. A tension exists within these discussions: some embrace utilitarian views, exposing all of the ways music contributes to society; and others resist utilitarian views, focusing on the aesthetic value of music. Further research on notions of cultural value in this context is needed. Parkinson and White make the provocative suggestion, "It would be easy to make the mistake of thinking that the arts and public health agenda *is* instrumentalism, necessarily reducing culture and the arts to being a subservient tool for social engineers, well-intentioned or otherwise," (2013, 184, italics original). Thus, as discussions about creative economies are not likely to end any time soon, and as funding for arts programmes continues to be under intense scrutiny, these questions are crucial. I propose that the main contribution of this thesis to this discussion has

been the observation that the utilitarian views of music enshrined in the existing cultural policy as expressed in Mzansi Golden Economy are narrow. If music is to be viewed in a utilitarian way that values its contribution to social development, then governments, arts programmes, and society at large need better understanding of the ways it contributes beyond the direct creation of job opportunities within the arts. This thesis has aimed to contribute to that understanding, but research in other contexts may broaden this understanding.

The emphasis I have placed upon connections to the material dimension suggest the need for further, likely interdisciplinary, research wherein analysis of individual, household, and community economic characteristics are integrated with ethnographic analysis of subjective wellbeing. Thus, future studies that include collection of data on household income, composition, and occupation in order to correlate assessment with national trends would permit the viability of this hypothesis, connecting the work of the FBF more directly to the political economy of South Africa. They may also shed light on the lived experience of the political economy.

Other dimensions of wellbeing may also benefit from additional integrated research. For example, the contradictions in psychological wellbeing make evident the need for research that compares groups of youth involved in the FBF with those not involved in any sort of youth development activity, to determine in what ways involvement provides a release valve or staves off further declines, perhaps in other dimensions; for example, from the suggestions of FBF students, it would seem that those not involved in the FBF might be more likely to abuse substances or engage in criminal behaviours. It would be productive to extend this research to a broader group as well as to other organisations and those not involved in any sort of youth development projects. Comparative work of this nature may facilitate the development of a theory about the potential of music development. Moreover, this is information the FBF does not yet have. Its leaders do not know, for example, whether some of the gender disparities that surface in assessments of opportunity or of organisational and individual success are widespread, because it has not been able to track this information once members leave the organisation. Further research of these matters may help the FBF improve its programme.

Finally, future research is needed to explore the way that funders of the FBF and other similar organisations conceptualise success, to examine their rationale for funding such programmes, and to ascertain the return they expect on their investment. In the case of the FBF, this would include corporate funders, government departments, and international development agencies. As I have developed a model in this thesis to understand a fuller scope of the impact of such programmes, it would be very productive to explore whether the rationale of funders aligns with the potential of the programmes they support to both relieve poverty and reduce inequality. Arguably some partnerships may contribute more to this cause than others, and understanding rationales for participation could help arts and health initiatives with decision-making on appropriate funding partners.

Closing reflections

In this thesis, I have proposed music development work that is oriented around the reduction of inequality in addition to poverty alleviation. The latter, I have argued, is generally associated with market-based approaches to economic development, while the former is associated with redistributive priorities found in Keynesian and neo-Keynesian approaches. However, I have suggested, with reference to the work of the FBF, that music development programmes can be a meeting place for these two approaches, and that they may articulate a new politics that align with some of the recent political developments in South Africa. However, I have noted that such a rapprochement comes with inherent tensions and cautions.

The FBF's leaders are pragmatic. Their attention is not on the role of the state. The state is just one partner amongst several. It has been overtly neoliberal and now appears to be moving back toward the left. The politics of the state are not the FBF's priority, and it is not trying to position itself politically. It aligns with self-proclaimed capitalists and the development arms of a social welfare state. It aligns itself with anyone whose vision accommodates its work: to develop capabilities in people that allow them to live lives they have reason to value. As global economies change and pure neoliberal logic seems to be falling somewhat out of favour, the FBF's leaders know that shifts in politics will follow.

In a sense, this means keeping the organisation going so that whatever happens, it can be there to respond to the inequalities that will always exist. Far from a utopian vision of a fully equal society, the FBF's pragmatic approach recognises that whether economic policy swings to the left or the right, the question of freedom will always require the balance of interests between individuals and groups, government and civil society, and the more and less powerful. The creation of a forum in which to develop the appropriate capabilities in people to deal with the current context allows the FBF's corner of civil society to stay alert and alive to shifts in the political economy, providing a space for these tensions to be enacted. Ultimately, whatever the politics of the state, the FBF community knows, "*Ubuhle bendoda 'zinkomo 'zayo.*" They work to make sure their members have the means to create lives they have reason to value.

Can the FBF do more? I close by restating my intent to balance strategic and critical analysis of the FBF. While I have at times noted potentially harmful consequences of neoliberal policy and the way that it restricts people's agency, I have sought in the FBF's case to examine the implications of its actions and the way agency is framed within it. For me, the ultimate question is whether these implications increase equality or merely ameliorate poverty. It is not in the FBF's power to enforce redistributive change, but I would argue that it uses its influence and relationships within a largely market driven realm to articulate an ethic of reinvestment, of "ploughing back in," that exceeds *noblesse oblige*. It partners with leaders of organisations who, even if they feel that capitalism will save the economy and provide people with opportunities, also believe strongly that poverty is the nation's scourge. The FBF partners with government departments who reinforce its credibility and provide funds. It partners with parents in communities who have no money to give, but who serve as parental chaperones. It partners with teachers who support the organisation as liaisons and through the use of school property. It partners with local governments who promote the band and ensure its continuation and sometimes contribute financially. It partners with international organisations that offer opportunity, expertise, and financing. Most of all, it partners with its members, offering them musical experiences that change their lives. Its politics of pragmatism are making good on its goal to counter the effects of inequality.

Moreover, as I have shown by foregrounding of Sen's capability theory and economic notions of wellbeing, the promotion of wellbeing has the ability to promote equality. Thus, the FBF's work has political potential: the improved wellbeing that is achieved as a result of the development of capabilities through musical practice is a political pursuit. Although this political potential is currently constrained, these constraints are not immutable if the political will is present. I have aimed in this study to shed light on some of these constraints to fully unleash the potential of the FBF to increase the experience of equality amongst South Africans.

It is a large organisation in the scheme of NGOs, but its impact is still a drop in the bucket in terms of overall need. At four thousand members per year, so many more of the millions of disadvantaged South African youth remain to be reached in the pursuit of broad, lasting change in the nation's socioeconomic profile. There are many ways it might pursue this goal, and I would reinforce Nicky du Plessis's evaluation that the organisation's diverse partnerships are its greatest strength, because this allows it to maintain a vibrant space in which the tensions of the political economy can come into contact with the needs of the nation's citizens. It is an undeniably strategic organisation, and critique of the governance and economic policy of the country is not one of its goals—change is proposed within the existing system. The FBF will remain a vibrant contributor to South African society by continuing to attend to ongoing monitoring and evaluation processes, focusing on whether its goals promote equality beyond ameliorating poverty, pursuing new partnerships characterised by interest in evening the balance of power in the nation, and deeply questioning which of its practices extend inequality and which enhance the agency of individuals and communities to achieve greater equality and more fully realise freedom.

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Appendix A

National statistical information

Income share held by wealthiest 20%											
Country Name	5 year <i>minimum</i> reported percentages								Maximum reported %	Minimum reported %	World Bank designated national income category
	1978-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010			
<i>Top 10 nations with highest proportion of income held by the wealthiest 20% of the population</i>											
Namibia				78.3				68.6	78.3	68.6	Upper middle income
Comoros								68.0	68.0	68.0	Low income
South Africa				64.3	61.8	62.7	68.2		72.2	61.8	Upper middle income
Botswana				58.9					65.0	58.9	Upper middle income
Brazil		62.1	62.1	57.6	63.8	60.9	58.6		67.3	57.6	Upper middle income
Lesotho			60.0	62.2		56.4			66.6	56.4	Lower middle income
Colombia			57.3	55.8	60.8	61.3	60.3	60.2	100.0	55.8	Upper middle income
Seychelles						48.9	69.6		69.6	48.9	Upper middle income
Bolivia				48.2	60.3	61.6	59.3		65.1	48.2	Lower middle income
Maldives					66.7	44.2			66.7	44.2	Upper middle income
<i>Other neighbouring countries, fellow members of BRICS,⁷ select G8 members</i>											
Swaziland					64.3	55.9		56.6	64.3	55.9	Lower middle income
Zimbabwe					55.7				55.7	55.7	Low income
Zambia				56.6	54.7	48.8	59.4		59.4	48.8	Lower middle income
United States						45.8			45.8	45.8	High income - OECD
United Kingdom					44.0				44.0	44.0	High income - OECD
Italy						42.0			42.0	42.0	High income - OECD
France					40.2				40.2	40.2	High income - OECD
India	43.7	40.1	41.1	40.1			42.4		43.7	40.1	Lower middle income
Canada						39.9			39.9	39.9	High income - OECD
Norway						37.2			37.2	37.2	High income - OECD
Germany						36.9			36.9	36.9	High income - OECD
Sweden						36.6			36.6	36.6	High income - OECD
China		36.6	37.9	40.7	43.3	48.6	47.9		48.6	36.6	Upper middle income
Japan				35.7					35.7	35.7	High income - OECD
Russian Federation			33.6	53.3	44.1	42.9	44.4		53.3	33.6	Upper middle income
Income share held by poorest 20%											
Country Name	5 year <i>maximum</i> reported percentages								Maximum reported %	Minimum reported %	World Bank designated national income category
	1978-1979	1980-1984	1985-1989	1990-1994	1995-1999	2000-2004	2005-2009	2010			
<i>Top 11 nations with lowest proportion of income held by the poorest 20% of the population</i>											
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.						1.6			1.6	1.6	Lower middle income
Angola						2.0			2.0	2.0	Upper middle income
Haiti						2.4			2.4	2.4	Low income
Comoros						2.6			2.6	2.6	Low income
Brazil		2.7	2.9	2.5	2.2	2.5	2.9		2.9	2.0	Upper middle income
Lesotho			2.9	2.6		3.0			3.0	1.5	Lower middle income
Namibia				1.5		3.2			3.2	1.5	Upper middle income
Suriname					3.2				3.2	3.2	Upper middle income
Belize				3.0	3.5				3.5	2.1	Lower middle income
Guatemala			2.8		3.1	3.5	3.1		3.5	2.1	Lower middle income
South Africa				3.0	3.6	3.1	2.7		3.5	1.7	Upper middle income
<i>Other neighbouring countries, fellow members of BRICS⁷ not listed above, select G8 members</i>											
Swaziland					2.7	4.5		4.1	4.5	2.7	Lower middle income
Zimbabwe					4.6				4.6	4.6	Low income
United States						5.4			5.4	5.4	High income - OECD
United Kingdom					6.1				6.1	6.1	High income - OECD
Zambia				3.0	4.2	6.2	3.6		6.2	3.0	Lower middle income
Italy						6.5			6.5	6.5	High income - OECD
France					7.2				7.2	7.2	High income - OECD
Canada						7.2			7.2	7.2	High income - OECD
Germany						8.5			8.5	8.5	High income - OECD
China		8.9	8.0	8.0	7.2	5.5	5.0		8.9	5.0	Upper middle income
India	8.2	8.7	8.8	9.1			8.6		9.1	8.2	Lower middle income
Sweden						9.1			9.1	9.1	High income - OECD
Norway						9.6			9.6	9.6	High income - OECD
Russian Federation			10.0	4.4	6.2	6.9	6.5		10.0	4.4	Upper middle income
Japan				10.6					10.6	10.6	High income - OECD

The above charts are compiled by the author from the World Bank databank (World Bank 2013), demonstrating South Africa's position in terms of comparative national levels of equality. Note that BRICS nations include Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa, the latter joining the group at China's invitation in 2010.

It should also be noted that the data reported for Colombia in 2006, where the wealthiest 20% of the nation are reported to hold 100% of the wealth, appears to be anomalous or erroneous.

Appendix B

Field Band Foundation overview

The following is the most recent statement of the FBF's goals and culture, from its 2011 annual report to shareholders .

Statement of purpose

To create opportunities for the development of life skills in the youth through the mediums of music and dance.

Vision statement

Music for Life—Growing Tomorrow's Leaders

Mission statement

The Field Band Foundation improves the quality of life of disadvantaged young people and gives them an opportunity to build a better future. Through the medium of music and movement, members participate in positive, joyful and affirming activities that teach them life skills and develop their imagination, team spirit and self-discipline.

Vivid description

Through the creativity and discipline of music and dance, FBF members enhance life-skills that are guided by the values. Regular band performances at sporting, cultural and business events provide FBF members with an opportunity to showcase their skills and talents in public. The healing powers of music and dance are evident in FBF performances, which are vibrant and proudly reflect the rhythm and unique style of their African roots. FBF members from different areas across SA work together at performances, workshops, festivals and competitions and through this interaction, and understanding and respect for other cultures and communities. Exchange programs with Norway, Flanders, and the USA and bursaries provide opportunities to experience other countries, learn new skills and broaden perspectives. South African youth who are at risk are offered an alternative to build a productive and fulfilling life for themselves by reaching for their dreams and becoming role models and leaders in their

communities. At the center of the life skills programme is the Field Band Academy and a comprehensive HIV/AIDS education.

Core values

The FBF Core Values were distilled in a “bottom-up” process that sought input from members, volunteers and staff. They are:

- Honesty;
- Empathy;
- Self-belief;
- Diversity;
- Excellence;
- Discipline;
- Respect;
- Equality; and
- Integrity.

Foundation ethos

Developed by the membership, the FBF ethos has always been viewed as special and has been recognized as resulting from adopting the following consistent approach:

- Create a love of learning in each member;
- Develop confidence, self-worth, self-discipline and a sound work ethic;
- Instil in the members a strong moral code;
- Offer a stimulating artistic and culturally inclusive environment;
- Provide a multi-cultural environment which will enhance national pride and enable the members to develop a sensitivity to the aspirations of others;
- Encourage regular opportunities for the members to discover the world;
- Preserve our heritage and unique traditions within a global society; and
- Foster international contacts & exchanges; promote the reputation of the FBF locally and abroad.

Current strategic objectives

- Grow a values-driven youth movement big enough to have a positive influence on the participating socio economic strata in South African society;
- Ensure the sustainability of the Field Band Academy to enable the FBF to raise the education levels of participating youth to a level where formal employment becomes possible;
- Raise the overall level of delivery to the communities to sustain a partnership with the Department of Education;
- Build relationships with other non profit companies and government departments to add to the delivery of our HIV and Children in Distress programmes;
- Practice a high level of governance at all times; and
- Build sufficient financial reserves which will ensure the future of the Foundation.

The positive long-term effect of the Field Bands on the young band members is such that they remain committed to its ethos and ideals for a lifetime. Although music forms an integral part of the experience, it is not the main priority. More important are lessons in life, such as:

- Willingness and ability to co-operate with others
- Being dependent upon one another;
- A sense of pride—not only in oneself but in the organisation as a whole;
- A sense of belonging;
- Punctuality and responsibility;
- Gaining self-esteem and confidence;
- A desire to serve others; and above all
- Experiencing the joy of creative expression.

The Field Band Foundation holds its members to the following civil society principles:

- Belief in inherent worth of the individual;
- Commitment to self-determination for individuals and their communities;
- Respect for the freedom of individuals and group rights;

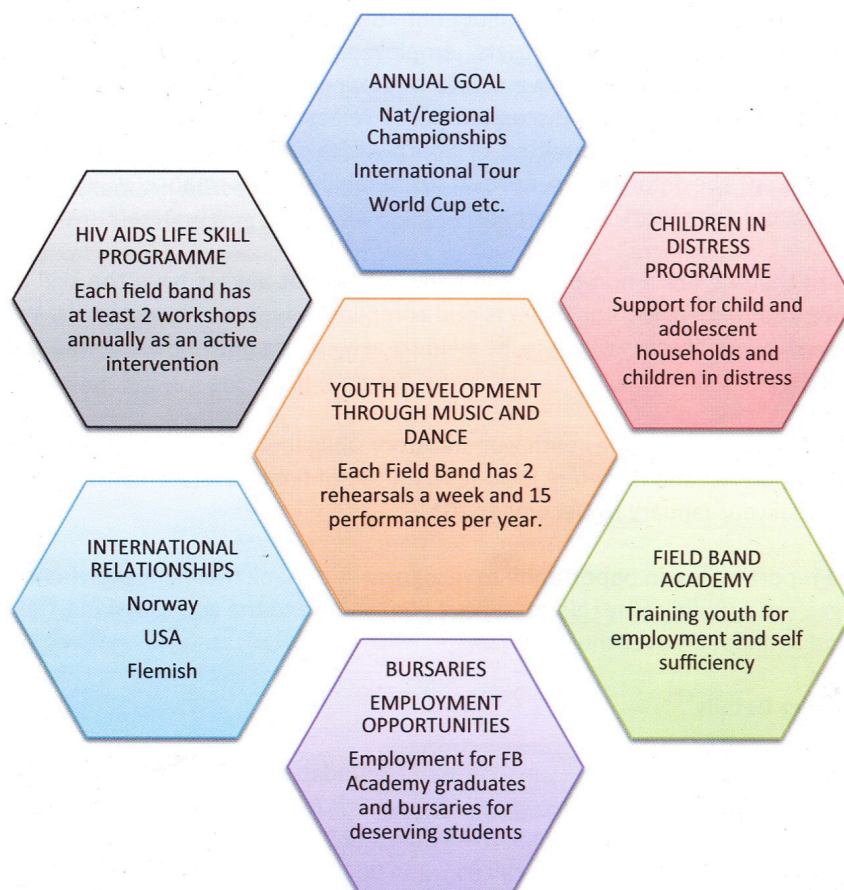
- Acknowledgement of the need for social cohesion;
- Acceptance and pursuit of democratic values and practises and the rule of law as a means to ensure a fair and just society;
- The importance of individual participation and civic responsibility;
- Respect for diversity; and
- The capacity and willingness to resolve disputes peacefully.

The bands are encouraged to become self-sufficient through performance fees as an integral part of the programme, so that both teachers and children learn basic business skills.

Through networking with other not-for-profit companies and learning institutions, the Foundation strives to create opportunities to enrich the current lives and future possibilities for our members.

Opportunities are sought to broaden the horizons of Field Band members through local and international exchange programs and scholarships.

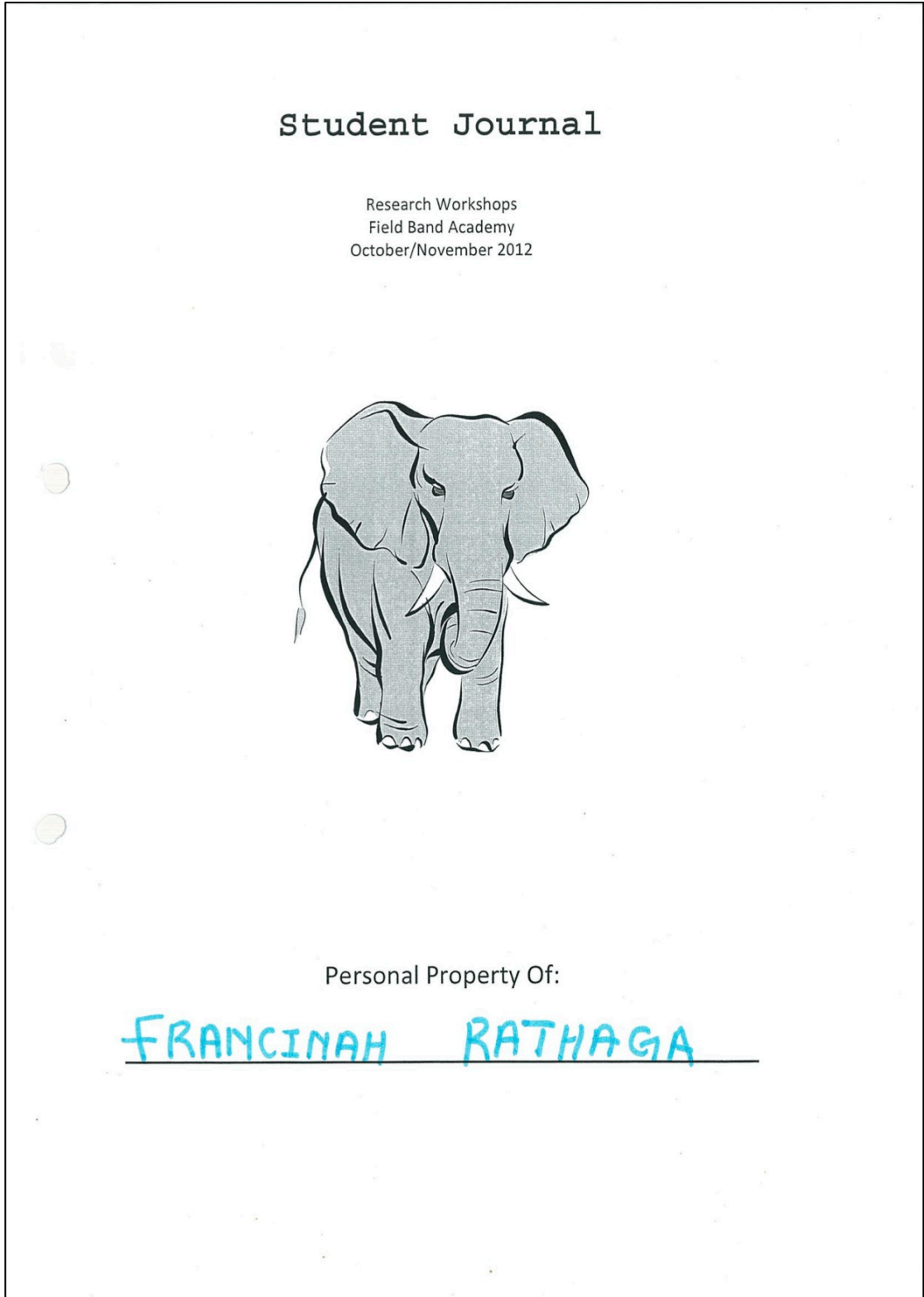
The primary activities of the Foundation can be expressed visually as follows:



Appendix C

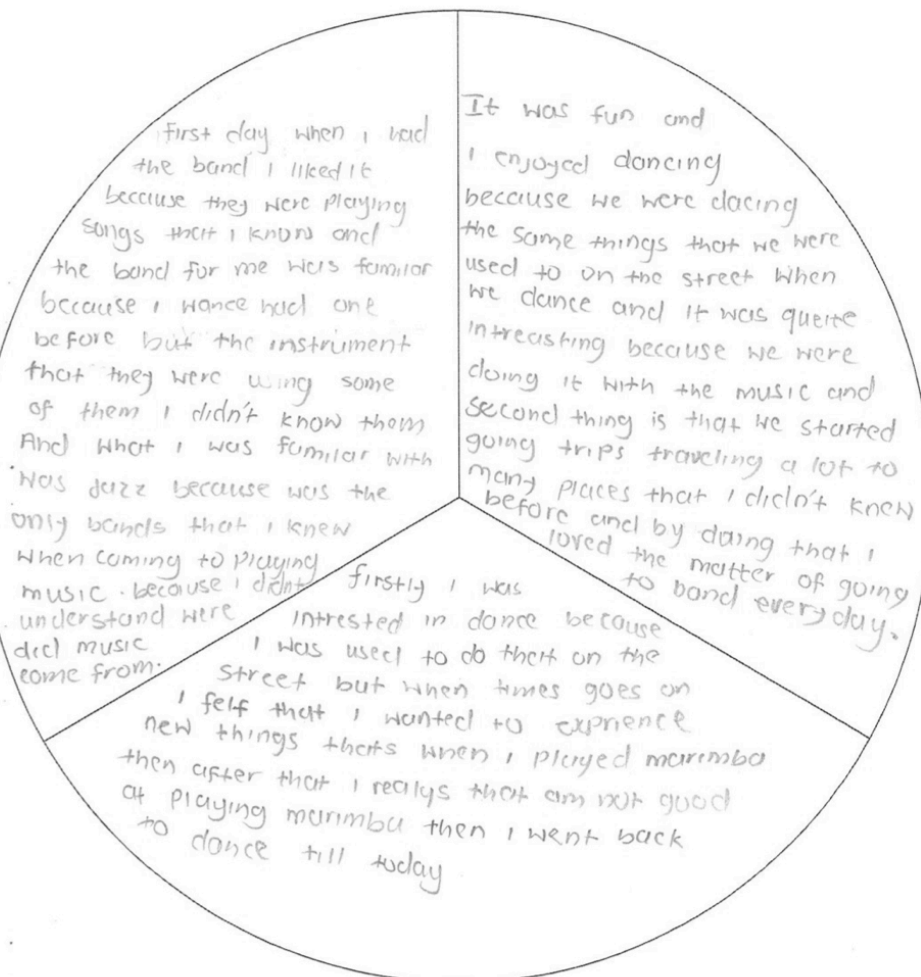
Data collected from FBA student focus groups

Sample student journal



Francinah

When I was a beginner



- Physical: I think it did make a change because we had exercises
And the games that we had.
- Financial: NO because there was no need. but sometimes I find it
hard to cope because I was used to get money and more
than what I get here.
- Psychological: I had it more difficult sometimes because it was not
nice always but other way was good because it helps
us to do ordinary things.
- Spiritual: I felt that nothing was much impossible because I believed
that I will do what I think is right for me.
And another thing is that when people believe what they
want to
- Social: I feel good because I am learning new things every
day the way we interact with each other trying
to learn their language trying to understand the
physical expression of other people

Francinah Rathagel

Now A Student At academy



Passing my academy modules
So that I can graduate



being a teacher at FBF
and teaching dance for few
years so that I can gain
more experience from what
I have experienced

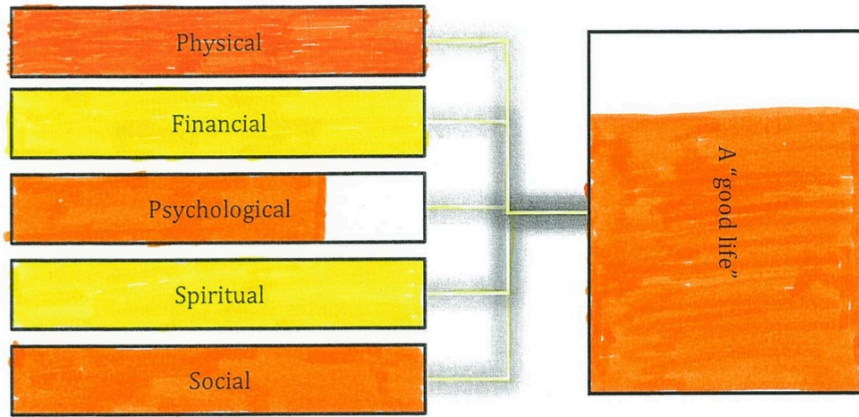
Also helping out with few
activities in my community



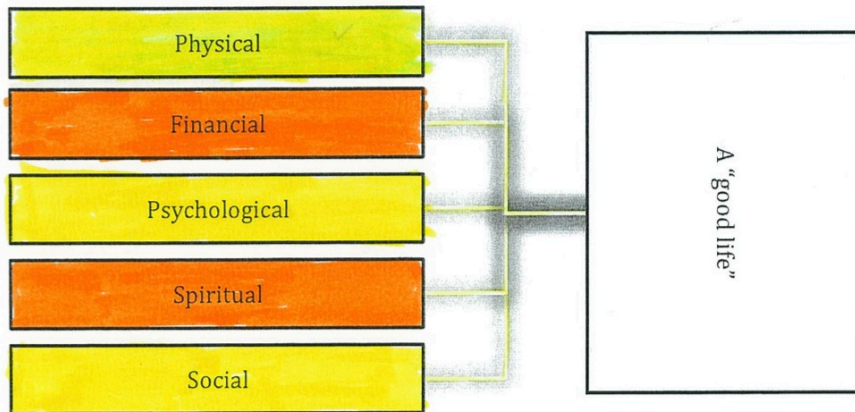
Start applying for bursaries so
that I can feather my studies,
so that I can go to university
and reaching my goal of being
a psychology de the degree and
master

go back to the band (FBF)
again so that I can give
them back what I have
earn from them - 'for free' and
also by doing I will be helping
my community

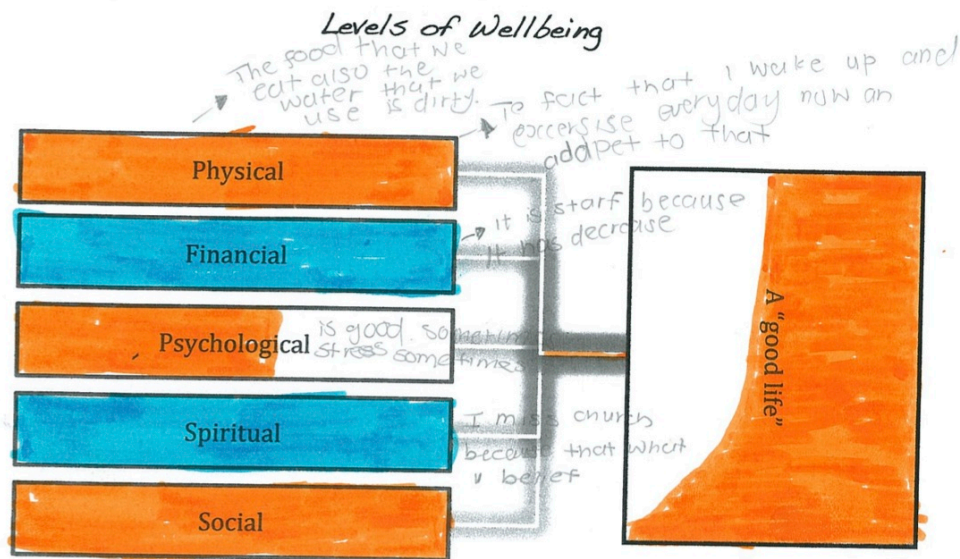
Levels of Wellbeing



When I first joined Field Band



After I'd been in Field Band several years



At this point, as an FBA student

Financial → It is traff sometimes because I was used to get (earn) money from the region that I was and now it is difficult for me because with the money that I get here I have to send some at home and buy clothes I toilet tree for my self. It is kind of a challenge.

Psychological → It is good sometimes and in the other way it's bad it is stressing sometimes I find it difficult.

Spiritual → The challenges that I get is that I miss church I find it difficult because I kind believe in church praying to god and were I am I can't play my spiritual thing, I have to keep it to my self am not allowed to share with anyone. because it will look like am offending others. and it has decreased.

Social → I am feeling good about my social because I see the way I interact with the people am living with, how we teach each other the languages different types of cultures our beliefs and also the roots.

Francinah Rithaga

09/11/2012

my family will be the people that are important in my life

people that are part of my family will be my husband and my three kids.

I live in Cullinan Petoria and that's my home where I was born and that's the place I want to live for the rest of my life because I think that were most people in my community know me more and I don't think that I can manage to adapt to live to other places

my friends homes of my friends are Lebo, Connie and Nooi am related with them because of school work they were my study mate until I finished school.

I think if they could look at my well being the style that I will be living they could describe my family and the friends that I would like to engage my self with. And also the work that I will be doing it will include my community in a way. And the work that I will be working I will be earning enough money to support my family and maintaining my family and taking my (kids) children to university

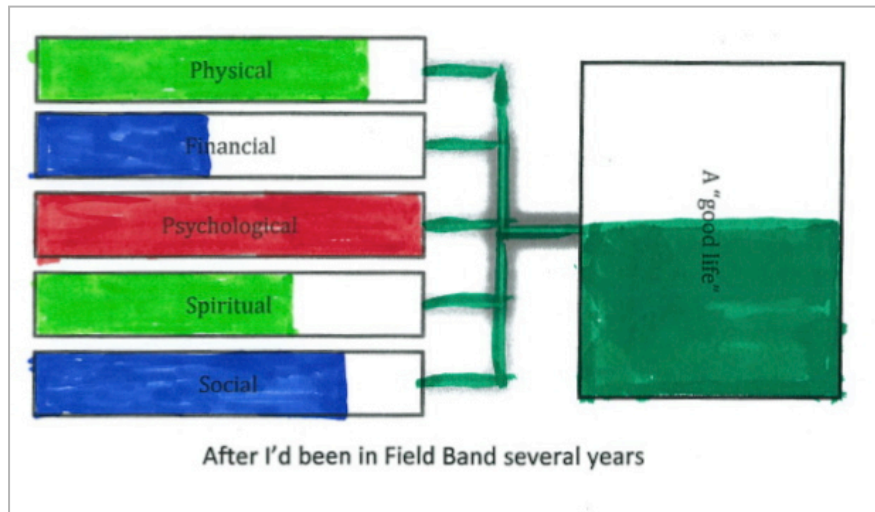
my plans and hopes for the future (beyond age 60) is to be a role model to my grand children and also to the kids around the community

The idea about the purpose of my life to build up the young people about the experience that I had before

I will make sure that I exercise everyday and enjoy talking to different people as much as I could and I will be able to keep my well being high and increasing

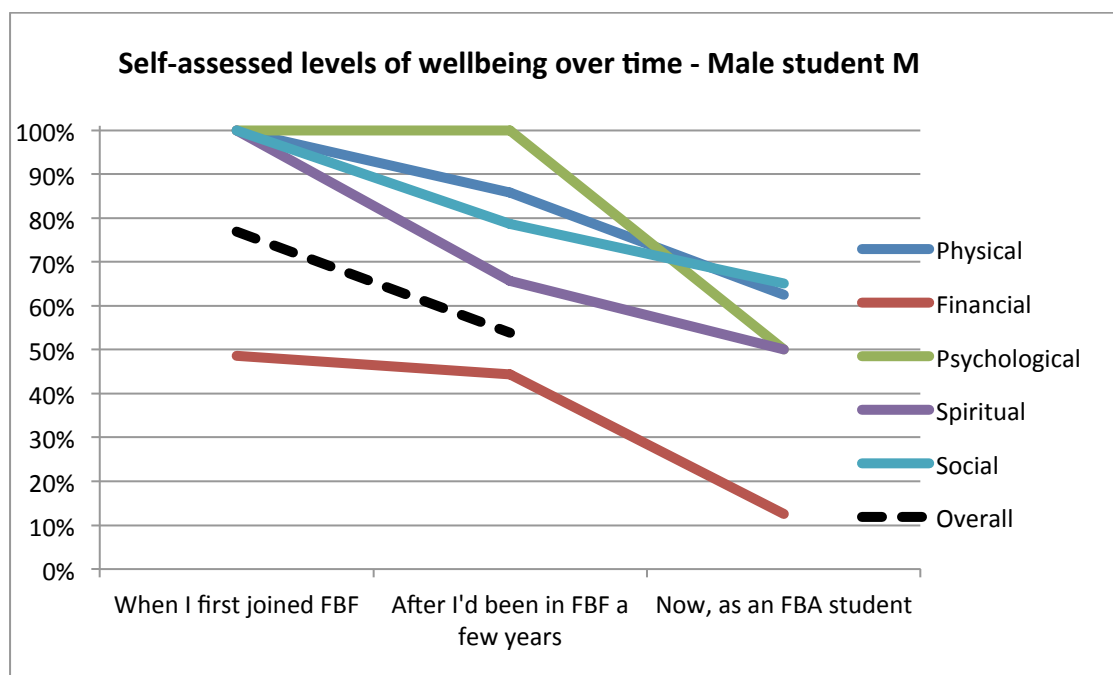
I imagine as being a doctor I never thought of being a psychology

Sample individual data and chart



Self-assessed wellbeing diagram by Male student M

Member Name:	Male student M								
VALUES:	Physical	Financial	Psychological	Spiritual	Social	Divisor	Overall	Divisor	
When I first joined FBF	7.0	3.4	7.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	5.0	6.5	
After I'd been in FBF a few years	6.0	3.1	7.0	4.6	5.5	7.0	3.5	6.5	
Now, as an FBA student	5.0	1.0	4.0	4.0	5.2	8.0			
PERCENTAGES:									
When I first joined FBF	100%	49%	100%	100%	100%		77%		
After I'd been in FBF a few years	86%	44%	100%	66%	79%		54%		
Now, as an FBA student	63%	13%	50%	50%	65%				



To graph the information above, I measured the level of wellbeing that Male student M indicated in each bar as a percentage of the whole bar. I interpreted this mathematically, alongside his diagrams of wellbeing when he had first joined the FBF and now as an FBA student, and converted these values to a percentage. The “divisor” column indicates the full width of the bar on the printed copy of the scanned version of the journal. This was measured and the proportions calculated individually to ensure the relativity of the scale despite some variance in the size of the image that occurred through the scanning process. For example, physical wellbeing measured 6.0 cm of a possible 7.0 cm, so Male student M’s level of physical wellbeing after he had been in the FBF a few years was represented at a level of 86% of ideal.

The resultant percentages were then plotted on a line graph for each dimension of wellbeing at each period of time, to result in individual graphic depictions. These data were then compiled across each dimension of wellbeing to compare aggregate trends in students’ self-assessed levels of wellbeing over time (below).

It is essential to note that the exercises in which I asked students to graphically depict their levels of wellbeing by no means facilitate an accurate quantitative analysis; quantitative analysis was never intended. The graphs I present in this appendix, which interpret this data in an apparently quantitative way, should be considered indicative of experienced trends in wellbeing rather than as accurate measurements of levels of wellbeing. Thus, anomalies in the data, such as a student who filled in all blocks fully, are retained in the dataset, rather than omitted, as might be the case in proper quantitative analysis. There were no standardized periods of time for these assessments; rather students were giving their impressions, from memory, on their sense of wellbeing at two periods in the past, as compared with their current sense of wellbeing.

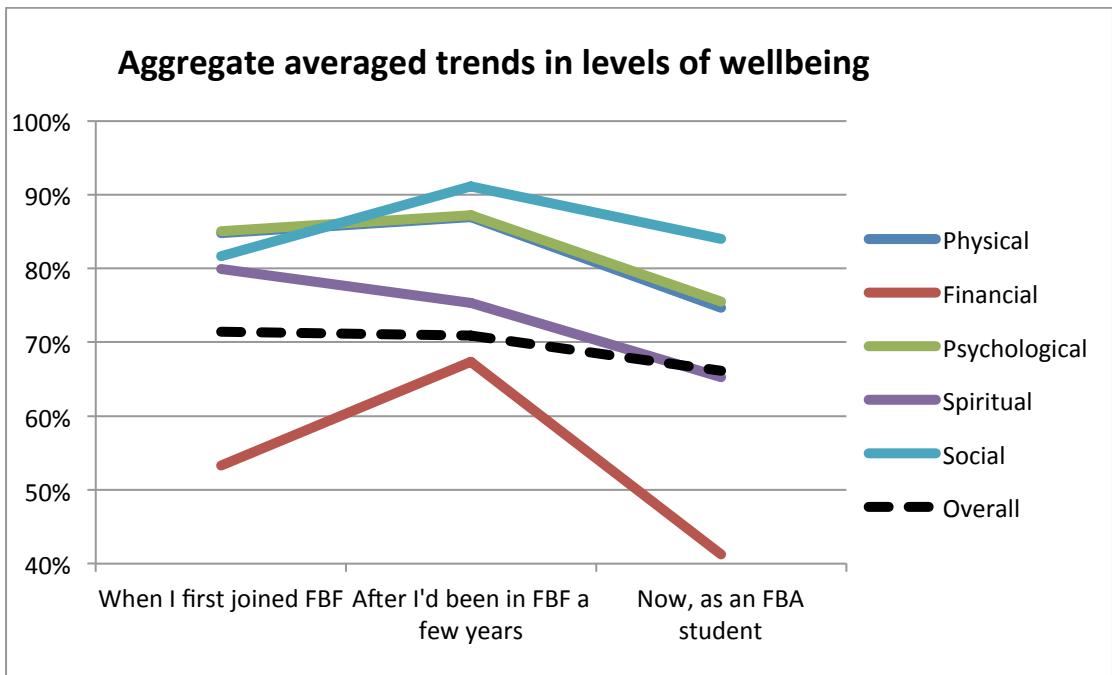
It must be kept in mind that the percentages portrayed are to some degree arbitrary, as individuals subjectively interpreted their experiences of wellbeing at each life stage; there was no attempt to standardise the measurement of wellbeing, so I understand trends of increasing or decreasing wellbeing, rather than specific levels of wellbeing, as more significant.

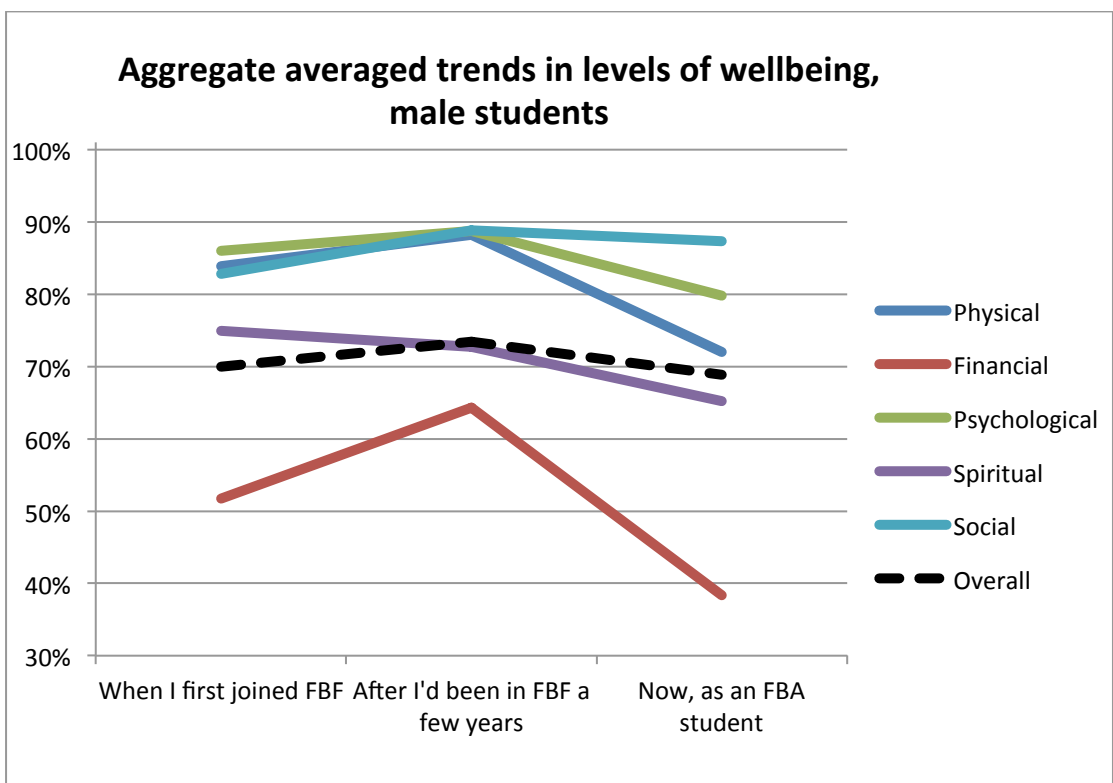
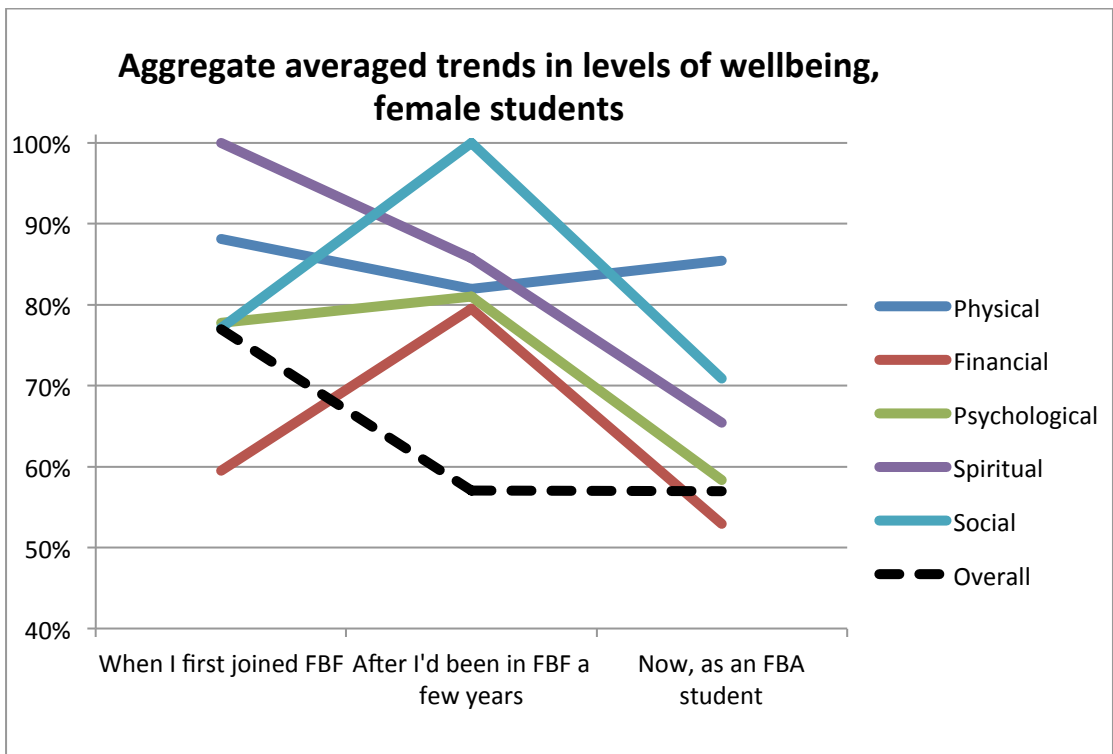
Aggregate data and aggregate charts

Member Name:	Dimension	When I first joined FBF	After I'd been in FBF a few years	Now, as an FBA student	sex	Diff First-Mid	Diff Mid-Now	Overall trajectory
BLESSING	Financial	100%	100%	46%	m	0%	-54%	-54%
DENIS	Financial	36%	46%	53%	m	10%	7%	17%
DINEO	Financial	29%	60%	46%	f	31%	-14%	18%
MALE STUDENT E	Financial	53%	100%	56%	m	47%	-44%	3%
FRANCINAH	Financial	100%	100%	100%	f	0%	0%	0%
GODFREY	Financial	8%	21%	36%	m	13%	15%	28%
MALE STUDENT M	Financial	49%	44%	13%	m	-4%	-32%	-36%
MONDE	Financial	40%	53%	19%	m	13%	-35%	-21%
PAUL	Financial	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
SANELE	Financial	14%	57%	38%	m	43%	-20%	23%
SIHLE	Financial	67%	84%	43%	m	17%	-42%	-24%
SIKHO	Financial	35%	56%	10%	m	21%	-46%	-25%
SINDISIWE	Financial	50%	79%	13%	f	29%	-66%	-38%
SIZWE	Financial	87%	67%	29%	m	-20%	-38%	-58%
TAMELLA	Financial	33%	43%	19%	m	9%	-24%	-15%
BLESSING	Overall	100%	89%	86%	m	-11%	-4%	-14%
DENIS	Overall	50%	67%	57%	m	17%	-10%	7%
DINEO	Overall	79%	64%	57%	f	-15%	-7%	-22%
MALE STUDENT E	Overall	77%	100%	64%	m	23%	-36%	-13%
FRANCINAH	Overall	77%		78%	f	-77%	78%	1%
GODFREY	Overall	37%	62%	71%	m	25%	10%	35%
MALE STUDENT M	Overall	77%	54%		m	-23%	-54%	-77%
MONDE	Overall	69%	77%	71%	m	8%	-5%	2%
PAUL	Overall				m	0%	0%	0%
SANELE	Overall	53%	68%	51%	m	15%	-17%	-2%
SIHLE	Overall	100%	89%	79%	m	-11%	-11%	-21%
SIKHO	Overall	38%	51%	51%	m	12%	1%	13%
SINDISIWE	Overall	75%	50%	36%	f	-25%	-14%	-39%
SIZWE	Overall	92%	72%	86%	m	-20%	13%	-7%
TAMELLA	Overall	75%	78%	71%	m	3%	-7%	-4%
BLESSING	Physical	100%	100%	86%	m	0%	-14%	-14%
DENIS	Physical	39%	50%	94%	m	11%	44%	55%
DINEO	Physical	64%	81%	88%	f	17%	6%	23%
MALE STUDENT E	Physical	87%	100%	81%	m	13%	-19%	-5%
FRANCINAH	Physical	100%	100%	100%	f	0%	0%	0%
GODFREY	Physical	39%	75%	71%	m	36%	-3%	33%
MALE STUDENT M	Physical	100%	86%	63%	m	-14%	-23%	-38%
MONDE	Physical	100%	100%	63%	m	0%	-38%	-38%
PAUL	Physical	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
SANELE	Physical	43%	57%	50%	m	14%	-7%	7%
SIHLE	Physical	100%	100%	63%	m	0%	-38%	-38%

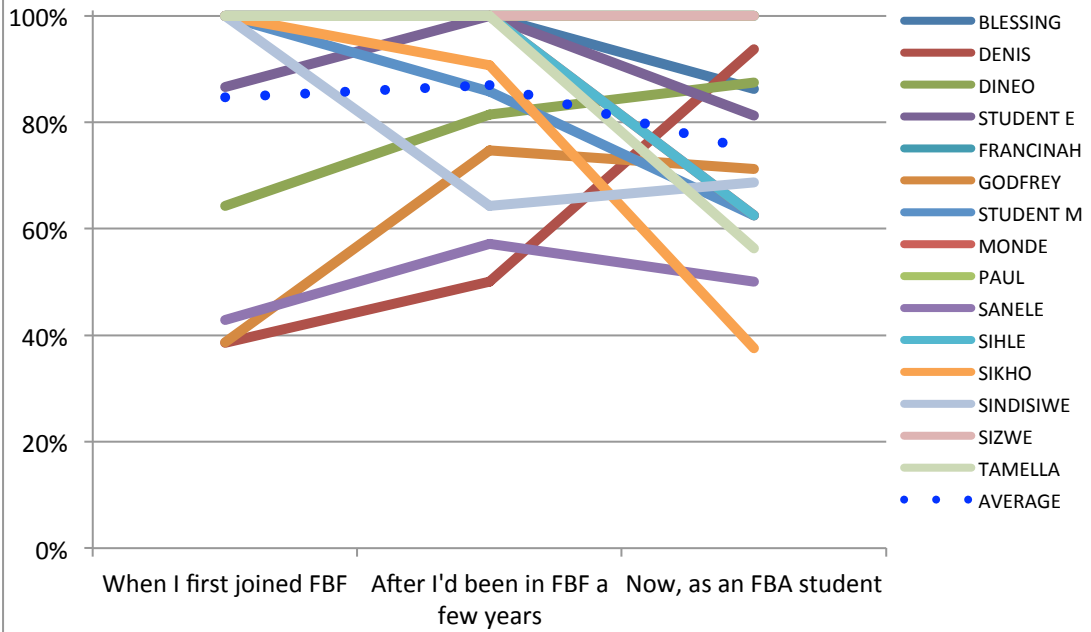
Member Name:	Dimension	When I first joined FBF	After I'd been in FBF a few years	Now, as an FBA student	sex	Diff First-Mid	Diff Mid-Now	Overall trajectory
SIKHO	Physical	100%	91%	38%	m	-9%	-53%	-63%
SINDISIWE	Physical	100%	64%	69%	f	-36%	4%	-31%
SIZWE	Physical	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
TAMELLA	Physical	100%	100%	56%	m	0%	-44%	-44%
BLESSING	Psychological	100%	100%	94%	m	0%	-6%	-6%
DENIS	Psychological	71%	64%	63%	m	-7%	-2%	-9%
DINEO	Psychological	57%	86%	79%	f	29%	-7%	22%
MALE STUDENT E	Psychological	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
FRANCINAH	Psychological	76%	100%	59%	f	24%	-41%	-17%
GODFREY	Psychological	24%	63%	75%	m	39%	12%	51%
MALE STUDENT M	Psychological	100%	100%	50%	m	0%	-50%	-50%
MONDE	Psychological	100%	100%	81%	m	0%	-19%	-19%
PAUL	Psychological	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
SANELE	Psychological	40%	46%	51%	m	6%	6%	11%
SIHLE	Psychological	100%	100%	94%	m	0%	-6%	-6%
SIKHO	Psychological	100%	100%	63%	m	0%	-38%	-38%
SINDISIWE	Psychological	100%	57%	38%	f	-43%	-20%	-63%
SIZWE	Psychological	100%	92%	100%	m	-8%	8%	0%
TAMELLA	Psychological	100%	100%	88%	m	0%	-13%	-13%
BLESSING	Social	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
DENIS	Social	64%	86%	88%	m	21%	2%	23%
DINEO	Social	60%	100%	63%	f	40%	-38%	3%
MALE STUDENT E	Social	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
FRANCINAH	Social	100%	100%	100%	f	0%	0%	0%
GODFREY	Social	35%	72%	75%	m	37%	3%	40%
MALE STUDENT M	Social	100%	79%	65%	m	-21%	-14%	-35%
MONDE	Social	93%	100%	94%	m	7%	-6%	0%
PAUL	Social	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
SANELE	Social	36%	47%	45%	m	11%	-2%	9%
SIHLE	Social	65%	100%	100%	m	35%	0%	35%
SIKHO	Social	100%	83%	88%	m	-17%	5%	-13%
SINDISIWE	Social	71%	100%	50%	f	29%	-50%	-21%
SIZWE	Social	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%
TAMELLA	Social	100%	100%	94%	m	0%	-6%	-6%
BLESSING	Spiritual	100%	80%	100%	m	-20%	20%	0%
DENIS	Spiritual	50%	57%	65%	m	7%	8%	15%
DINEO	Spiritual	100%	100%	15%	f	0%	-85%	-85%
MALE STUDENT E	Spiritual	67%	100%	100%	m	33%	0%	33%
FRANCINAH	Spiritual	100%	100%	100%	f	0%	0%	0%
GODFREY	Spiritual	49%	49%	56%	m	0%	7%	7%
MALE STUDENT M	Spiritual	100%	66%	50%	m	-34%	-16%	-50%
MONDE	Spiritual	67%	93%	63%	m	27%	-31%	-4%
PAUL	Spiritual	100%	100%	100%	m	0%	0%	0%

Member Name:	Dimension	When I first joined FBF	After I'd been in FBF a few years	Now, as an FBA student	sex	Diff First-Mid	Diff Mid-Now	Overall trajectory
SANELE	Spiritual	34%	41%	50%	m	7%	9%	16%
SIHLE	Spiritual	100%	80%	56%	m	-20%	-24%	-44%
SIKHO	Spiritual	65%	49%	65%	m	-16%	16%	0%
SINDISIWE	Spiritual	100%	57%	81%	f	-43%	24%	-19%
SIZWE	Spiritual	100%	69%	13%	m	-31%	-57%	-88%

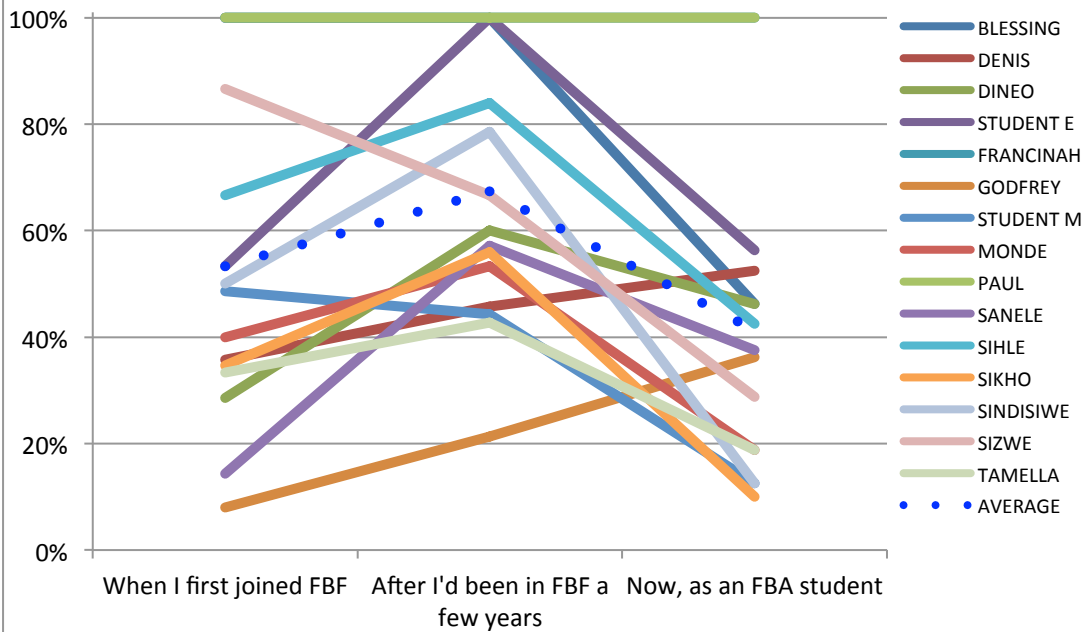




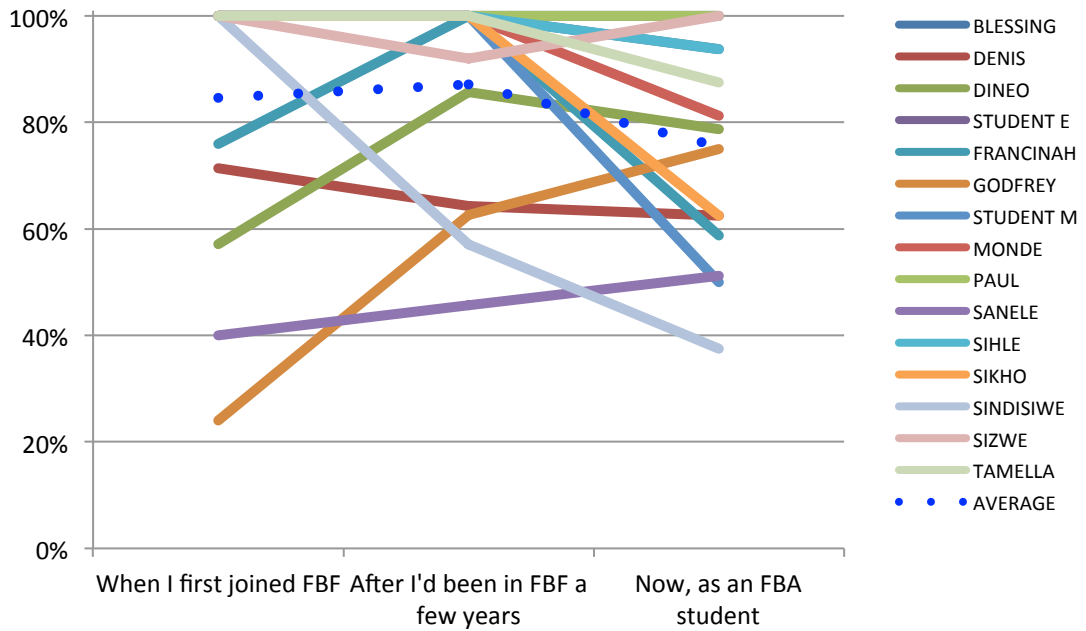
Aggregate trends in PHYSICAL wellbeing



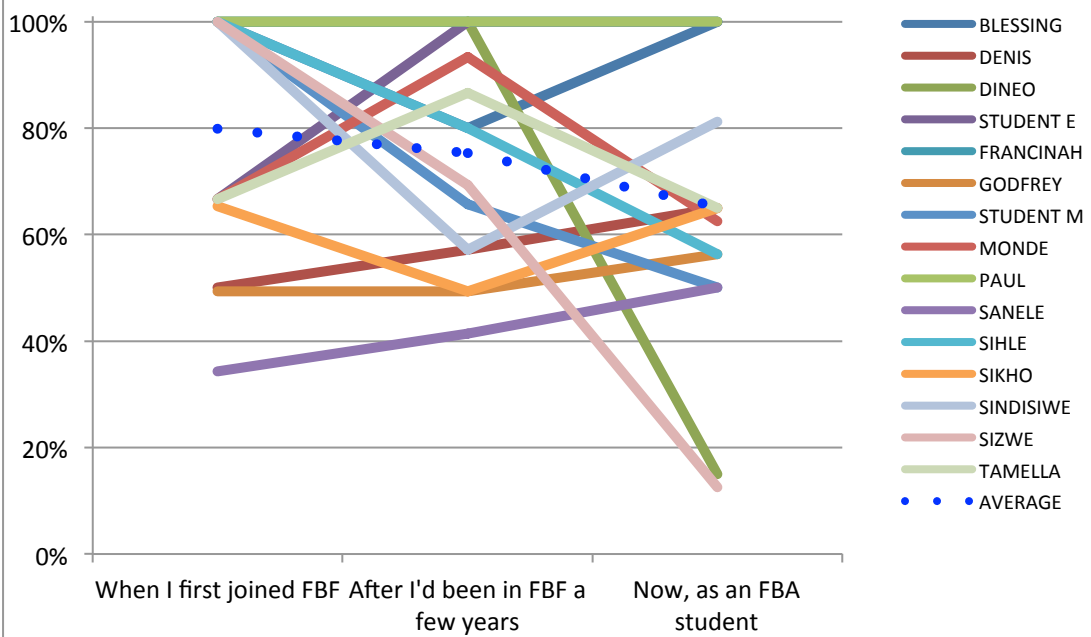
Aggregate trends in FINANCIAL wellbeing



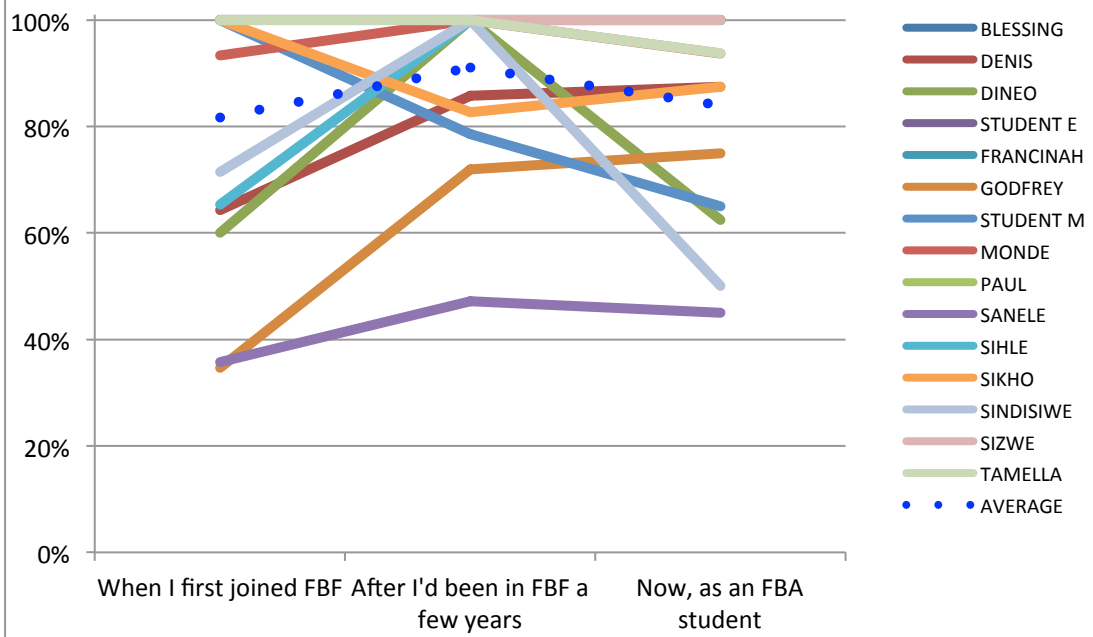
Aggregate trends in PSYCHOLOGICAL wellbeing



Aggregate trends in SPIRITUAL wellbeing



Aggregate trends in SOCIAL wellbeing



Appendix D

Semiformal interviews and focus group participants

I spoke with many individuals informally and on an ongoing basis. This includes, in particular, FBF members, facilitators at the academy, and KZN region tutors. These conversations were documented in field notes.

The following list documents the 44 individuals with whom I conducted 38 separate semiformal interviews, either individually or in small groups.

Semiformal interviews

Name	Role/ Affiliation	Location/ Province	Interview date(s)
Neville Arnolds	Tutor, Western Cape Region FBF	Cloeteville, WC	27 Jul 2012 13 Nov 2012 10 Apr 2014
Ralph Baardman	Tutor, FBA graduate, Western Cape Region FBF	Macassar, WC	10 Apr 2014
Marit Bakken	Former Norwegian facilitator, current FBA Director, Music, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	17 Jul 2012
Hlanganani Biyela	Tutor, FBA graduate, KZN Region FBF	Durban, KZN	7 Jun 2012
Retha Cilliers	CEO, FBF leadership	Umhlanga, KZN	13 Sep 2012
Bryan Clarke	Project Officer, KZN Region FBF	Durban, KZN	17 Oct 2012
Ruben deKlerk	Student, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	16 Jun 2012
Ruben deKlerk	Tutor, FBA graduate, Blouberg region	Undermark, LP Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP	5 Nov 2012 6 Nov 2012
Vusi Dlamini	Social officer/Project officer, Witbank Region	FBF National Office, Rivonia, GP	5 Oct 2012
Ashton Dolph	Former FBF member, former exchange participant, n/a	Gateway Mall, Durban, KZN	13 Jul 2012
Nicky du Plessis	Head of capacity building, FBF leadership	Musgrave, Durban, KZN	11 Sep 2012 9 Oct 2012

Name	Role/ Affiliation	Location/ Province	Interview date(s)
Nicky du Plessis	CEO, FBF leadership	Musgrave, Durban, KZN	15 Apr 2014
Thulani Dupa	Tutor, Hammanskraal Region FBF	Hammanskraal, GP	26 Mar 2014
Brian Gibson	Deputy CEO, FBF leadership	Umdloti, KZN	1 Nov 2014
Bongani Goliath	Tutor, Soweto Region FBF	Dobsonville, GP	25 Mar 2014
Carol Harington	Consultant, academic facilitator, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	17 Jul 2012
Phumezo Hlanganise	Social officer/Project officer, Emalahleni Region fBF	FBA Oakford, KZN	14 Jun 2012
Belinda Jackson	Project Officer, Western Cape Region FBF	Cloeteville, WC Macassar, WC	27 Jul 2012 13 Nov 2012
Tutu Jacobsen	Senior Adviser, FK Norway	Oslo, Norway	9 Aug 2013
Mongezi Kheswa	Tutor, Plett Region FBF	Plettenberg Bay, WC	31 Jul 2012
Lawrence Komie	Tutor, Western Cape Region FBF	Cloeteville, WC Macassar, WC Macassar, WC	27 Jul 2012 13 Nov 2012 10 Apr 2014
Steve Kruger	Consultant, academic facilitator, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	17 Jul 2012
Sakhiwo Lupa	Tutor, East London Region FBF	East London, EC	14 Nov 2012
Bongani Magube	Tutor, FBA graduate, Hammanskraal Region FBF	Hammanskraal, GP	26 Mar 2014
Thulani Maluleka	Student, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	16 Jun 2012
Mr. Mashilo	Teacher and guidance counsellor, Local school	Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP	6 Nov 2012
Masudu (surname not given)	Member, Community Safety Forum	Undermark, LP	5 Nov 2012
Daniel Mate	Tutor, KZN Region FBF	Durban, KZN	7 Jun 2012 4 Sep 2012

Name	Role/ Affiliation	Location/ Province	Interview date(s)
Mendy (Mumsy) Mchunu	Tutor, FBA graduate, former exchange participant, KZN Region FBF	Durban, KZN	4 Sep 2012
Mendy (Mumsy) Mchunu	Tutor, FBA graduate, former exchange participant, Blouberg Region FBF	Undermark, LP Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP	5 Nov 2012 6 Nov 2012
Adrian McKay	Student, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	16 Jun 2012
Adrian McKay	Tutor, Western Cape Region FBF	Cloetesville, WC Macassar, WC Macassar, WC	27 Jul 2012 13 Nov 2012 10 Apr 2014
Thoko Mlonyeni	Project Officer, East London Region FBF	East London, EC	14 Nov 2012
Sthembiso (Galfriend) Mncube	Tutor, Plett Region FBF	Plettenberg Bay, WC	31 Jul 2012
Godfrey Molele	Tutor, FBA graduate, Hammanskraal Region FBF	Hammanskraal, GP	26 Mar 2014
Rebecca Motshwane	National Social Development Officer, Head office	FBF National Office, Rivonia, GP	5 Oct 2012
Tshepang Moyo	Student, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	16 Jun 2012
Tshepang Moyo	Tutor, FBA graduate, Blouberg region	Undermark, LP Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP	5 Nov 2012 6 Nov 2012 2 Apr 2014
Andile Msimka	Social officer, East London Region FBF	East London, EC	14 Nov 2012
Sibusisu (Sbu) Mabura Ndlovu	Tutor, KZN Region FBF	Durban, KZN	7 Jun 2012 21 Sep 2012
Ellen Neverdal	Former facilitator, current Norwegian consultant, BCB	Durban, KZN	15 Jul 2012
Yolanda Nkala	Tutor, Western Cape Region FBF	Macassar, WC	13 Nov 2012 10 Apr 2014

Name	Role/ Affiliation	Location/ Province	Interview date(s)
Nicolene Presents	Parent/Chaperone, Western Cape Region FBF	Macassar, WC	13 Nov 2012
Nana Pule	National Social Development Officer, Head office	FBF National Office, Rivonia, GP	5 Oct 2012
Mxolisi Martin Sibiya	Tutor, KZN Region FBF	Durban, KZN	4 Sep 2012
Makoena Rammutla	Social officer/Project officer, Blouberg region	Undermark, LP Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP Bochum- Senwabaranwa, LP	5 Nov 2012 6 Nov 2012 2 Apr 2014
Sakhile Simane	Touring musician, BMus student at UKZN, former FBF member	FBA Oakford, KZN	21 Oct 2012
Joel Stamboel	Student, FBA	FBA Oakford, KZN	16 Jun 2012
Owen Tsoko	Tutor, Plett Region FBF	Plettenberg Bay, WC	31 Jul 2012

Focus group participants

Fifteen FBA students participated in the series of focus groups held on 25 October, 31 October, 10 November, and 15 November 2012 at the Field Band Academy, Oakford Priory, KZN. Two requested to remain anonymous. The remaining thirteen participants were:

- Sikho Bevu
- Monde Fishidi
- Sihle Mabena
- Denis Tlou Mashabane
- Tamella Mnyaka
- Blessing Sandile Mnyandu
- Godfrey Molele
- Paulus Motsoatsoa
- Dineo Mthimunye
- Sindisiwe Ngcobo
- Sizwe Nkosi
- Sanele Qwabe
- Francinah Rathaga

Appendix E

Transcription of “Ubhle bendoda”

This transcription is based on several of my field recordings. It incorporates the lyrics and vocal parts of popular choral performance as well as the rhythmic and some of the harmonic features of the FBF’s instrumental arrangement.

Ubhle Bendoda

Traditional Zulu

$\text{♩} = 132$

System 1:

Treble: U - bu - hle _____ ben - do - da i - zi - nko-

Tenor: U - bu - hle _____ ben - do - da i - zi - nko-

Bass: Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - li yam' Leth'

System 2:

Tr: - mo 'za - yo _____ U - zu - nga - li - ba - li nto-

T.: - mo 'za - yo _____ U - zu - nga - li - ba - li nto-

B.: i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth'

System 3:

Tr: - mba - za - na _____ U - bu - hle

T.: - mba - za - na _____ U - bu - hle

B.: i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth'

2

10 2.

Tr U - zu - - zi - pa - the ka - khu-

T. U - zu - - zi - pa - the ka - khu-

B. i ma - li yam' i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth'

13

Tr - - - hle
Em - zi - ni wa - kho! Em - zi - ni wa - kho nto-

T. - - - hle Em - zi - ni wa - kho nto-

B. i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth'

16

Tr - mba - za - - - na

T. - mba - za - - - na

B. i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam' Leth'

18 1. | 2.

Tr U - zu

T. U - zu

B. i - ma - li yam' Leth' i - ma - li yam'

Appendix F

Glossary

- ANC** African National Congress
- BC** Band Coordinator, a position in the FBF that is responsible for the operations of a region; also known in some regions as a Project Coordinator (PO)
- BCB** Bands Crossing Borders, an FK Norway funded programme that is the equivalent of the FBF in Norway
- CAPS** Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement, the national policy for basic education, implemented in 2011
- COSATU** Congress of South African Trade Unions
- FBA** Field Band Academy
- FBF** Field Band Foundation
- FiT** Facilitator-in-Training, a junior South African member of the teaching staff at the FBA, in training to take a more senior role in instructing FBA students
- FK** Fredskorpset, Norway's national development agency
- GEAR** Growth, Employment, and Redistribution programme, the five-year plan instituted in 1996 to privatise many government functions and introduce cost-recovery models for others, as well as to reform exchange controls to encourage foreign investment and access of South African businesses to foreign markets
- GNU** Government of National Unity, governing from 1994 to 1997 per the interim constitution of South Africa, comprising all parties electing twenty or more seats, led by the ANC
- ilobolo*** dowry or bridewealth (the verb form for the practice of the exchange of bridewealth is *lobola* or *ukulobola*)
- IMF** International Monetary Fund

- Mzansi** a Zulu or Xhosa word that literally means “the south,” which has been broadly adopted across South Africa’s population groups as an affectionate sobriquet for their nation.
- NGO** non-governmental organisation
- NMF** Norges Musikorps Forbund, or Norwegian Band Federation
- NPO** non-profit organisation
- RDP** Reconstruction and Development Programme, the platform upon which the ANC campaigned in the 1994 elections, and the short-lived redistributive policy that was replaced by GEAR in 1996
- region** a discrete FBF project, usually within two neighbouring communities, sharing one truck, one set of equipment, and one team of personnel
- SACP** South African Communist Party
- SO** Social Officer, a position in the FBF that is responsible for monitoring risk factors in the lives of FBF members and connecting their families with social grants and support
- transition** the period of South Africa’s history beginning with the run-up to the 1994 elections, establishing non-racial democracy by the implementation of a governance structure agreed upon in the negotiations between the apartheid government and anti-apartheid forces, including a sunset clause guaranteeing a five-year coalition government representing all parties
- UKZN** University of KwaZulu-Natal, with campuses in and around Durban
- Washington Consensus** Policy position during the 1980s and 1990s of international development organisations located in Washington, D.C., based on neoliberal principals
- WHO** World Health Organization