

**Contesting the South African music curriculum: An  
autoethnography**

**by**

**FRANKLIN ARTHUR LEWIS**

**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree**

**PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR**

**in the**

**Faculty of Education**

**at the**

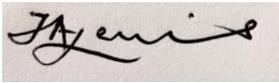
**UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA**

**Supervisor: Prof Johan Wassermann**

**JULY 2019**

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I declare that the dissertation/thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.”

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.....

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<b>INVESTIGATOR</b>	Mr Franklin Lewis
<b>DEPARTMENT</b>	Humanities
<b>APPROVAL TO COMMENCE STUDY</b>	24 October 2016
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**CHAIRPERSON OF ETHICS COMMITTEE:** Prof Liesel Ebersöhn

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## **Dedication**

I dedicate this thesis to my late parents, family members, peers, colleagues and students who have contributed to the enrichment of my personal and professional life in a remarkable manner.

## Acknowledgements

1. The successful completion of this thesis would not have possible without the inspiring and insightful supervision of Professor Johan Wassermann, who guided me through this exciting research journey. Through our many discussions, I was able to make philosophical meaning of events in my life, which I have taken for granted.
2. I am especially grateful to Dr Riekie van Aswegen and Professor Jan Nieuwenhuis, who introduced me to the research field.
3. My wife, Joy, gave me the space to embark on this journey, which I have postponed for a long time.
4. My gratitude goes to the following family members, colleagues and peers who have read my story and have responded to it:
  - My wife, Joy, and my children, Dale, Lloyd and Veda
  - My sisters, Elizabeth Lewis and Elaine Hendricks
  - My peers and colleagues who studied and worked with me, Dr Schalk Fredericks, John Theodore, Berna Pretorius, Walter Mercuur and Edmond de Vries.Through their verisimilitude they became part of the crafting of my narrative and also gave me a glimpse of how others might have perceived me.
5. I wish to thank my colleague, Ronel Swart, for her encouragement and for providing me with the support to complete my studies.
6. My studies were made possible by the generous financial support of the Directorate: Research, University of Pretoria.

## **Abstract**

In this thesis, I use an autoethnographic genre as a research methodology to reflect on my lived experiences in music education which took place in the apartheid and post-apartheid context in South Africa. My research is autobiographical and recounts my journey through music education and my engagement with the music curriculum as a child, student, music teacher, curriculum adviser and curriculum specialist. My lived experiences are socially constructed. Hence, it is closely linked to the racialised and classed society in which it was enacted.

Meta-theorising through the lenses of critical theory, Critical Race Theory and the theory of contestation, I argue for a philosophical and sociological conceptualisation of the ontologies and epistemologies of race, racism, class and the music curriculum. I argue that music curriculum processes are hegemonic and controlled by oppressive and powerful regimes with pre-set ideas based on Western ideologies, which obliterate and disempower marginalised groups. My thesis highlights my marginality as a Coloured middle-class professional within the racial hierarchy of South Africa during apartheid and post-apartheid my and contestation of race, racism and the music.

My autoethnography is performative and therefore uses the genre of a libretto for a musical through which the voice of the self is heard through narrative, reflexive poetry and song. My study is analytical and interpretive of the self, but simultaneously, it critiques the culture through the uncovering of racism and hegemonic practises in the music curriculum. It adopts a critical interpretive paradigm through an autoethnographic genre which contests and disrupts the positivistic and hegemonic way of coming to know the self and culture. Data collection was done through autobiographical memory work, journal entries, archival visits, literature reviews, the study of other autobiographies, documentation analysis, critical conversations and verisimilitude.

My study opens the space for a rich and diverse complex matrix of scholarship and research for the radical transformation of music education. My study evokes ethical

action from the reader in our striving to build a just society in which human dignity, irrespective of race, class, location, gender, age and sexuality can only flourish.

**Key terms:** Apartheid, autoethnography, contestation, Coloured, Critical Theories, Critical Race Theory, curriculum, music, race, racism.

## Language editor

Letter from language editor to indicate that language editing has been done.

# Angela Bryan & Associates

6 La Vigna  
Plantations  
47 Shongweni Road  
Hillcrest

Date: 25 March 2019

To whom it may concern

This is to certify that the PhD Thesis: Contesting the Music Curriculum: An Autoethnography written by Franklin Lewis has been edited by me for language.

Please contact me should you require any further information.

Kind Regards

Angela Bryan

[angelakirbybryan@gmail.com](mailto:angelakirbybryan@gmail.com)

0832983312

### List of abbreviations

ABRSM	Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music
ANC	African National Congress
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CAD	Coloured Affairs Department
DBE	Department of Basic Education
FET	Further Education and Training
GET	General Education and Training
HOR	House of Representatives
NCS	National Curriculum Statement
NP	National Party
SACM	South African College of Music
SASCE	South African Schools' Choral Eisteddfod
TCL	Trinity College of London
UCT	University of Cape Town
UNISA	University of South Africa
WCED	Western Cape Education Department

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# 1. CHAPTER 1: CONTEXTUALISING MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

## 1.1 PRELUDE

Our lives are filled with stories of our personal lived experiences, past, present and futuristic, telling us who we were, who we are and whom we strive to be. Our identities and actions are multiple and complicated as we are positioned in different ways along various axes of power and within a nexus of shifting relations and contexts. Our lived experiences do not occur in a social and cultural vacuum. Our response to the world in which we live is not individualistic, but it is relational as it mirrors and affects the social and cultural context in which we exist. We are not isolated from the world in which we live, but we are influenced by our family, peers, colleagues, institutions and structures of society. In the same manner can our educational struggles not be isolated from the societal, cultural and political context in which we find ourselves (Apple & Buras, 2006: 12). Hence, we construct knowledge of ourselves experientially through past, present and futuristic experiences of life (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

My study adopted an autoethnographic genre as a research methodology which was inspired by John Dewey's notion of the centrality of experiential learning and lived experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin, 2006; McAuliffe & Eriksen, 2011). In this thesis, I use an autoethnographic genre as a research methodology to reflect on my lived experiences in music education which took place in a specific social context. My autoethnography is in the form of a libretto for a musical and represents my journey through music education and my engagement with the South African music curriculum.

My study is autobiographical but is also strongly linked to the society in which it took place, and this makes it autoethnographical. My research study draws from my experiences as a child, music student and music teacher, first in a primary school and then in a secondary school. It continues with my life as a music director in the Anglican Church, community music maker, subject adviser, curriculum planner and finally as a co-designer of the music curriculum for secondary schools in South Africa.

I was initiated into the literate Western classical music tradition through the influence and encouragement of my parents, family members, teachers, friends, and the church. I was introduced to the formal examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (ABRSM), Trinity College of London (TCL) and the South African College of Music (SACM). My introduction to British music examinations prepared me for a music education system, which was grounded in the performance and theory of Western classical music. Simultaneously, I was excluded from the non-formal and orate music tradition of popular music, 'doo-wop' singers, jazz bands, Christmas marching bands and coon carnivals of the rural Coloured community in which I grew up and worked.

## 1.2 SYNOPSIS

My research study, through an autoethnography, allowed me to look inwardly (*auto*) but also outwardly to investigate why I acted in a particular manner within the broader socio (*ethno*) context. This made me ask myself the most critical question: whom do I say I am, and how do other people see me? In the same breath, I also asked myself: what is the society in which my lived experiences occurred? I tell my story in the form of a libretto for a musical which is performative, political, radical and disruptive (Adams, & Holman Jones, 2008; Denzin, 2018; De Vries, 2000; Spry, 2000; 2001). In order to interpret myself, I organise meaningful biographical experiences of my life. These events are epiphanies, and its manifestation into my life constitutes the focus of my critical interpretive inquiry (Denzin, 2018: 33). I weave these events or epiphanies through my childhood, school, university and professional life through narratives, poetry and songs. The emotive and thoughtful poetry songs add a more profound meaning to my story. The reflexive and responsive choruses call for action towards greater humanising and humanity in a raced society.

My autoethnography unfolds within the South African racialised context, which Soudien (2009: 146) describes as a "social laboratory", rooted in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial ideologies. In the first instance, South Africa experienced imperialism and colonisation by the Europeans since the seventeenth century which led to the appropriation of the resources and disruption of the indigenous cultures of the country and the brutal exploitation of the humanity of those who were not

White (Mbembe, 2017). Colonial and apartheid powers established a corrupt state that disrupted, distorted and eventually substantially eliminated the material and cultural capacity of the indigenous people. In the case of South Africa, apartheid created a "black space" and "degeneracy" (McClintock, 1992: 84) of brutality, evil, deceit, pain, humiliation and subjugation for those who were not White.

My autoethnography plays itself out within the South African racial categorisation context. Skin colour was an essential line of separation, primarily as the colonial government, and later the National Party (NP) worked towards the superiority of Whites, especially the Afrikaner, over other racial groups. Soon after the NP came into power in 1948, they legalised racial categorisation through the Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950, which formed the backbone of apartheid and separatism, and the neo-colonial control of the colonial (apartheid) subjects. The Population Registration Act specifically made a distinction between the White, Black, Coloured and Indian races by specifying the normative for Whiteness and Europeanness, namely hair texture, skin colour and facial features. The Act classified each citizen according to a racial category as White, Coloured, Indian or (African Black) Native. The Act defined a "Coloured person" as a person who is not a White person. It described a "White person" as

...a person who in appearance obviously is, or who is generally accepted as a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person, is generally accepted as a coloured person (Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950).

Home language, especially Afrikaans, residential area, type of employment, socio-economic status, eating and drinking habits, as well as the selection of friends, were also considered as passports to Whiteness. The concept of "whiteness" is and discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

In order to retain White race purity, the NP promulgated a series of race laws, namely the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act No. 55 of 1949 and the Immorality Act Amendment Act No. 21 of 1950 which criminalised interracial marriage and

sexual relationship between a White person and somebody from another race. These Acts were repealed by the NP in 1985.

The promulgation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 became one of the most potent apartheid tools of "internal colonisation" (McClintock, 1992: 88) and segregation when the racist NP assigned residential areas to specific racial groups. The Act triggered the forced removals of people from areas which were declared White and the restriction of racial groups to racially designated residential areas. It also restricted Black ownership of land within urban and developed areas. The Group Areas Act was based on the blind illusion that White South Africans had created for themselves, that South Africa was a white country that belonged to White people only, and nobody else (Sparks, 2016). Hence, non-White people were stripped of their citizenship and regarded as aliens, migrants, foreigners and *amakwerekwere*<sup>1</sup> in their own country and needed to be in their homeland or township, out of White sight. Homelands and townships for the non-White communities would create a border to protect the White civilisation from the Black and Coloured barbarianism (Sparks, 2016).

The social engineers of apartheid, in their determination to make White supremacy visible in all spheres of life, extended grand apartheid to petty apartheid laws such as the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953. Public spaces, such as public transport, banks, post offices, police stations, magistrate offices, hospitals, restaurants, sports facilities, swimming pools, beaches and camping sites, concert halls and theatres were racialised and set aside for the exclusive convenience of a specific racial group.

Education had to reflect the aspirations and superiority of Whites as proposed by the superintendent-general of the Cape Colony as early as 1890 when he insisted that

...the sons and daughters of the colonists, and those who come hither to throw in their lot with them, should have at least such education as their peers in Europe enjoy, with such local

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<sup>1</sup> *Amakwerekwere* is a contemporary slang word for a (Black) foreigner in South Africa.

modifications as will fit them to maintain their unquestioned superiority and supremacy in this land (Quoted in Steyn, 2001: 87).

The supremacy of the White population was entrenched through education which was characterised by separatism and inequality inspired by the ideology of Christian National Education (CNE) based on the four Bible gospels and racial division (Booyse, Le Roux, Seroto, & Wolhuter, 2005; Le Roux & Wassermann, 2016). The separatist ideology and White superiority led to the proclamation of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the establishment Coloured Representative Council and the Indian Representative Council in 1967 which created an inferior education system for Black African, Coloured and Indian child in terms of resources and the curriculum (Le Roux & Wassermann, 2016). Based on the premise that the White child should receive a European education, the colonial, and subsequently the apartheid government, ensured that school infrastructure, education policies, curricula, human and financial resources would reflect quality education for the White child in contrast to the inferior education that the Black, Coloured, and Indian child would receive.

My study also plays itself off within the changing education environment after 1994 with the defeat of apartheid. In contextualising my study, it is essential to provide an overview of the nature of education in South Africa after 1994 when the country's education system experienced a dynamic and turbulent period of structural and policy reform. One national department of education was promulgated by the National Education Policy Act (Act No.27 of 1996) after the collapse of the former seventeen racially segregated administrations of education (Christie, 1990). Similarly, the South African Schools Act (SASA), 1996 (Act No. 84 of 1996) in its preamble states the following:

Whereas this country requires a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners and in so doing lay a strong foundation for the development of all our people's talents and capabilities, advance the democratic transformation of society, combat racism and sexism and all other forms of unfair discrimination and intolerance, contribute to the eradication of poverty and the economic well-being of society, protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators, and promote

their acceptance of responsibility for the organisation, governance and funding of schools in partnership with the State (South African Schools Act, 1996).

The democratic government identified education as an essential vehicle for the transformation and liberation of a previously racially segregated society. It was therefore evident that the new education envisaged for all the races would have a socio-political agenda comprising both "intrinsic" as well as "extrinsic" goals. The fundamental goals focused on the development of all learners to their full potential within a multicultural and desegregated context. This was succeeded by curriculum reforms and other related policies to improve the standard of teaching and learning (Wolhuter, 2013: 107). The extrinsic goals were seldom linked to actual schooling and were of a societal nature, such as the economic, social, cultural and political needs of the country (Chisholm, 2004; Christie, 2008; Kraak & Young, 2001; Mouton, Louw & Strydom 2012; Wolhuter, 2011; 2013). The aims of education were mainly politicised in order to meet social needs such as poverty alleviation, anti-racism, cultural affirmation and democratic citizenship.

In contrast to the fragmented and racially based curriculum during apartheid, the post-apartheid curriculum for South African schools is centrally developed by the national Department of Basic Education. The national curriculum for the new integrated and racially desegregated education system was regarded as the dominant force behind the societal transformational process towards equity and redress of the imbalanced racially segregated society (Jansen & Christie, 1999). Hence, the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) for all subjects was underpinned by intrinsic principles derived from the Constitution (Department of Basic Education, 2003: 1). The principles emphasise the transformation of society through education by focusing on social justice, human rights, and access to education to all learners irrespective of race, gender and ability as defined in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Department of Basic Education, 2003). These principles would form the foundation of all teaching and learning in South African schools. This was a fundamental departure from the separatist ideology of Christian National Education (Jansen & Christie, 1999; Le Roux & Wassermann, 2016).

The politicisation of education elicited widespread criticism, which was especially directed to the transformational nature of education. Besides, the inability of the education system to raise the quality of teaching standards and learner performance on various levels contributed to further discontentment and distrust in the system (Jansen & Christie, 1999; Mouton, Louw & Strydom, 2012; Wolhuter, 2013). Added to this, the government, teachers and other stakeholders in education experienced several challenges, because the curriculum made a radical paradigmatic shift from content-based education to outcomes-based education (OBE) with the introduction of Curriculum 2005 in 1998 (Mouton, Louw & Strydom, 2012; Van der Horst & McDonald, 2005).

Curriculum 2005 was met with fierce resistance by teachers and the community, including politicians due to its sophisticated design and the inadequate training of teachers (Jansen & Christie, 1999). OBE, despite its good intentions of learner-centredness and the development of critical and creative thinking, was "hotly debated" (Van der Horst & McDonald, 2005: 4). The OBE approach to education created several challenges ranging from curriculum overload, vague subject content and assessment standards. This was compounded by confusing messages from district officials, ill-designed subject and learning area guidelines and the concerns around the poor literacy and numeracy levels among South African learners (Jansen & Christie, 1999). This necessitated a review of the curriculum, which resulted in the introduction of the Revised National Curriculum for the GET phase of schooling.

The high-stakes matriculation certificate necessitated the development of a national curriculum for the Further Education and Training (FET) phase (Grade 10 to 12). Therefore, the National Curriculum Statement for all subjects in the FET phase was implemented in 2002 to ensure that a national examination was based on a curriculum that was acceptable to the majority of South Africans (Department of Basic Education, 2003).

### **1.3 INTRODUCING MYSELF**

Two anecdotes did not only confirm my physical appearance but also affirmed my confused identity within a racialised South African context. The one incident occurred when my seven-year-old son had to create a picture of our family as part

of his Grade 2 art project. His colour consciousness caused him to exclaim in distress and frustration: "I can't find a dark brown colour for daddy". My son was conscious of my dark skin and that I looked different from my light-skinned wife. He also could have been influenced by the predominantly White school environment in which he was a learner in 1992. He was one of a few Coloured learners at a former White primary school after schools in South Africa were declared open for all races.

The second incident happened in 1995, the year after apartheid had ended. South Africa, after the economic, sports and cultural boycotts and the miraculous peaceful transition to democracy, became a popular destination for cultural exchange between European and South African groups. Everybody wanted to meet the South African Rainbow Nation<sup>2</sup>. They particularly wanted to meet the formerly oppressed population groups. I received a request to host a Finnish youth choir in Cape Town and neighbouring towns in the Western Cape. The race-conscious Coloured leader of the Finnish choir, who was born in South Africa and had been in exile in Finland for more than thirty years, was initially confused with my racial identity. He regarded the choir visit as a renewal of his Coloured and South African roots of which he had been deprived for more than thirty years. He also wanted the Scandinavian choristers to experience the warmth of the (Cape) Coloured hospitality with its rich and unique culture, music and food for which he had been longing for three decades. However, meeting me at the then DF Malan<sup>3</sup> Airport (now Cape Town International Airport), he exclaimed: "This man definitely had too much *Matebele* mealie-meal<sup>4</sup> to eat"!

The denotation of *Matebele* mealie-meal, or what was racially known as *kafferkringpap*, evoked the stereotypical and negative representation of Blackness and contained undertones of racism which he had acquired through his long exposure to White supremacist patriarchy<sup>5</sup> in the mono-racial Nordic country. His

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<sup>2</sup> Rainbow nation is a term coined by the Nobel Peace Prize Winner, and Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, to describe the post-apartheid multi-racial populations of South Africa.

<sup>3</sup> D.F. Malan was the first Prime Minister who was appointed when the National Party came into power in South Africa in 1948.

<sup>4</sup> *Matebele* mealie meal refers to the derogatory racialised term for *kafferkringpap* (gransorgum), a cereal brown in colour eaten by poor people especially Blacks and Whites.

<sup>5</sup> White supremacy is based on the attitudes, ideologies and policies which promote European or White dominance over non-White people.

analysis of me as a dark-skinned human being was influenced by Western aesthetics, which were based on Whiteness being beautiful and not associated with *kafferkringpap*.

Another story revealed the dissociation of Western classical music with Blackness. I performed at a concert in Cape Town. My wife, Joy, who was sitting in the audience, overheard a White man sitting next to her saying: "If you look at him you would never say that he was the person playing the piano like that". Informed by White supremacy ideologies and Westernised aesthetics, it was unreal to see a Black person performing Western classical music, and playing the piano which was generally associated with White and European knowledge and skills.

At my birth, the identity of "Coloured" was imposed upon me in order to distinguish me from the White and Native racial groups in South Africa. My inherited biological markers such as the colour of my skin, shape of my nose, texture of my hair were used to in the racial classificatory system to determine my racial classification of Coloured male, *Kaapse Kleurling* (Cape Coloured), Bruinman (Brown man) as determined by the Population Registration Act. Being "coloured", or so-called coloured (not capitalised based on the rejection of the categorisation), or "person of colour" in South Africa, meant that I formed part of a phenotypically varied group of mixed raced people who were predominantly based in the Western Cape province (Adhikari, 2005b; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Being Coloured, I earned disparaging and derogatory names associated with Colouredness were *hotnot* and *bushy*, derived from the extinct Hottentot and San population groups, respectively.

The label of "coloured" made me part of the "in-between", "middleman minority", not white enough, not black enough" and "semi-privileged proletariat" (Johnson, 2017: 4; Sonn, 2006: 336). It established in advance the political, social, cultural and economic resources and opportunities that would be accessible to me (Sonn, 2006). It predetermined my life pathways and educational opportunities, including music education as well as the social status that I would occupy. I formed part of the 'step-children' of the heterogeneous South African population, who according to Sparks (2016) left me "nowhere in a country obsessed with racial identity, who are trapped

between white and black nationalism, between privilege and oppression, between today's and tomorrow's power" (Sparks,2016: 70).

My birth into a working-class Coloured family with a nominally literate father and a mother who was working in the kitchens of White families meant that my educational success rate would be low. In the rural context of Wellington, I was surrounded by an eclectic music tradition of the oral and aural coon carnival music, *langarm*<sup>6</sup> dance music, Christmas bands, Cape Malay music, and the literate Western classical music. Instead of following in the footsteps of my father and siblings who practised the typical Coloured music styles and genres, I was destined for the 'highbrow' and literate Eurocentric music curriculum. This placed me into two worlds of music "without being completely of either one or the other" (Said, 2014: 30; Bellman, 2011: 421). My location within the racialised South African context is encapsulated by Said (1994) in his Culture and Imperialism:

No one today is purely one thing. Labels like Indian, or woman, or Muslim, or American are not more than starting-points, which if followed into actual experience for only a moment are quickly left behind. Imperialism consolidated the mixture of cultures and identities on a global scale. But its worst and most paradoxical gift was to allow people to believe that they were only, mainly, exclusively, white [sic], or Black, or Western, or Oriental (p. 421).

#### **1.4 THE RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION FOR MY STUDY**

According to Kaniki, (2006), a researchable issue often has its birth from what one has experienced personally. To this personal aspect of research, one can easily add the 'heart' element which reveals the researcher's deep feelings about events. This emotional state is often elevated to the conceptual level when you analyse these events to make sense of society. My autoethnography is, apart from those mentioned above, also about the professional element, as it explores the role of music education in my life and how it has impacted my identity as a person, music teacher and curriculum specialist. I am influenced by the deliberate silence about the role of race and racism in music education. I, therefore, take a critical stance

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<sup>6</sup> *Langarm* music is a type of ballroom dance music.

against the exclusiveness of music education and how it is benefitting only a small percentage of South African learners.

My study has been mainly influenced by the writings of Zimitri Erasmus (2017). She describes life as a "creative unfolding" (Erasmus, 2017: 134) of events as we continually move from point to point to connect the dimensions of life. Lived experiences occur alongside the interwoven dimensions of the world as we journey from cultural juncture to another. Each of these junctures often demands a different personal response. Erasmus (2017) regards our relationship with the world not as a superfluous and idle occupancy but regards the individual as an active inhabitant in the world.

My autoethnography is also influenced by the "dark and bitter times" (Denzin, 2003: 257) of post-modern<sup>7</sup> society due to an economic recession, unemployment, violence, and terrorism. Individualism restrains the revelation of private matters in the open. Hence, the personal voice and concerns have no place in post-modern society. Democracies are under threat of neo-conservatism disguised under the label of neo-liberalism and meritocracy. In South Africa, the violent confrontations which had formed part of the resistance to apartheid have made way for the reconciliation of the Rainbow Nation.

Alexander (2001) posits that non-racialism has not extended to the broader South African population but is still restricted to the optimism of the leaders of the country for historical, economic, and contemporary reasons. The past often shadows the air of democratic hope and non-racialism and how we deal with crucial issues, such as racial inequality (Tihanyi, 2006). The history of colonialism and apartheid has left us with the legacy of the wide gap between the rich and poor, and between White and Black. Racial inequality remains intact as Whites continue to retain their position of power, and unless a radical redistribution of resources occurs, the hope of the Rainbow Nation will never realise (Alexander, 2001).

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<sup>7</sup> Post-modern refers to the radical departure from how we used to live. It is especially influenced by globalization, technology and advanced modernization.

Unlike most countries in the world, South Africa's history depicts different groups of people who came from various parts of the globe to be integrated socially, economically and politically. Each of these groups had a specific role in fulfilling. The Cape Colony became the settlement of the European settlers in their role as merchants, soldiers and administrators of the Dutch East Indian Company (Alexander, 2001). The Black Africans were part of the colonial labour force. The mixed group of people, namely the "Coloureds" were born out of the aboriginal African people, such as the Khoi, the San, and the amaXhosa as well as the imported African and East Indian slaves. Hence, the South African social structure became a racial caste in which language and class were less salient than race.

Soudien (2012) postulates that the South African individual is confronted with two great predicaments. Firstly, one has to develop the ability to know oneself and to take care of oneself. Secondly, he posits South Africans are faced with the challenge to appreciate other human beings and to take care of their well-being. Erasmus (2017), writing about being human, regards the term "human" as not being a noun, but a verb. In other words, it is something that you *do* with yourself and to others. Thus, our social science research must have the objective to humanise ourselves and others in order for us to become more human.

With the rise of democracy, the apartheid signs disappeared from the South African beaches, public buildings, benches and public transport. The segregated schooling system began to display the non-racial Rainbow Nation of the country as former White and Coloured schools became racially integrated (Dolby, 2001; Soudien, 2009; 2012). However, the narrative of race continues to animate our society, and the spike of racism remains as we struggle to integrate and blend the Rainbow Nation in our institutions (Dolby, 2001; McKaiser, 2015; Tihanyi, 2006).

The imposition of a Coloured identity on the mixed group of people in South Africa left them with the dichotomy between personal and social identity as they continue to struggle sociologically and psychologically to articulate their own identity within the post-apartheid era. Miscegenation and mixedness afford them hypodescent status due to the American 'one drop rule' which classified the child of a mixed couple as Black due to the mixing of blood (Davis, 2006). The concept of

“colouredness” is discussed in Chapter 3. Coloureds in South Africa are not regarded as White enough or Black enough to be identified as either White or Black within the racialised South African society. This intermediary status of not being good enough to be assimilated into any of the dominant races has been strongly contested politically and sociologically after the demise of apartheid.

The ambiguous position within the essentially Black-White binary afforded the Coloured community neither full citizenship nor complete subject status (Adhikari, 2002; 2004; 2005b; Du Pré, 1994; Erasmus, 2001; 2017; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). Being regarded as "not only not white, but less than white, not only not black but better than black" (Erasmus, 2001: 13), they found themselves as a vulnerable mixed-race group at the periphery of the political, economic and social dispensation. They experienced the discomfort of having to choose between the dominant White-Black binary.

My study is grounded in the feminist and Black philosophers' stance against the underlying probability of the neutrality about race and the universality of the mainstream Western epistemology as being the only ontology which determines the norms and standards of philosophical reasoning (Mills, 1998: 21). The traditional knowledge of the upper and middle classes is regarded as carrying more value than that of the lower class and Black people (Mills, 1988). It is assumed that Black people, in contrast to White people, possess less cultural capital<sup>8</sup>. This superior Western philosophical perspective deliberately silences the indigenous voice and thereby perpetuates the underrepresentation of Black scholars in philosophical studies.

Qualitative and interpretative research and ethical considerations are carried out with more caution based on the notion of what conservative institutions define as "acceptable inquiry" (Denzin, 2003: 258). Research is often grounded in whose knowledge is considered to carry cultural capital and regarded as legitimate (Holt, 2003). Orthodox epistemologies, rooted in a Western point of view, have an

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<sup>88</sup> Cultural capital comprises the social assets, such as education, language, and music that a person possesses.

underrepresentation of Black and 'non-European' scholars and the richness of African philosophies (Mills, 1998).

Eurocentric epistemology, through its presumptuous neutrality on race and racism, ignores the oral and literary history of Black experiences which are filled with stories and parables which reveal the true feelings of Black persons. I construct knowledge of the research problem through my own participation in the research process which provides me with "multiple perspectives" (Tai & Ajjawi, 2016: 178) and "alternative epistemologies" (Mills, 1998: 21) and the means to uncover injustice and to seek the reasons for the perpetual inequality in music education.

### **1.5 FOCUS AND PURPOSE OF MY RESEARCH STUDY**

In light of the above, my study focuses on my personal experiences in a racialised society and how they shaped my engagement with the music in various contexts.

The purpose of my study is to uncover how race and racism informed my music curricular decisions and design.

### **1.6 MY RESEARCH QUESTION**

My research question is informed by the rationale and motivation as well as the focus and purpose of my study. As my study focuses on my identity as a Coloured male in a raced and classed South Africa who has lived through various curricular spaces, I make the following two research questions central to my research:

- How did I engage with the music curriculum in South Africa and
- why did I engage with the music curriculum in the manner I did in South Africa?

Through these research questions, I want to make sense of my lived experiences through music education and why I engage with it the way I did.

## 1.7 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The review of the literature contextualises my study and situates it in the scholarly domain (Creswell, 2013). My ontological and epistemological assumptions are also strengthened through purposeful and critical engagement with the existing scholarship on my topic and research methodology. The existing literature gives me new ideas and perspectives about my research topic, research design and methods and helps me to answer questions, such as what is already known about the issues that I study, which theories have been used, what concepts have been used or contested, and how previous research was conducted. Through a review of the literature, I am also able to identify a niche for my study by identifying gaps and unanswered questions in the research field (Flick, 2009).

The exploration of the literature does not only provide the background information and theories, but it also strengthens and justifies the research methodology and refines the research question to fit into the empirical research domain (Delpont, Fouché & Schurink, 2011; Ridley, 2012). Through this the researcher discovers how other researchers had approached and perceived a similar problem in terms of the theoretical and conceptual framework from which they had conducted their research, the methods of data collection, and the key research findings that emerged from their research (Chilisa, 2012; Hart, 1998; Kaniki, 2006). Andersen (1997) summarises the purpose of the literature review by stating that the researcher becomes familiar with the 'conversation' in the subject area by identifying an appropriate research question, ascertaining the nature of previous research and issues surrounding the research question, finding evidence in the academic discourse and keeping abreast of ongoing work in the area of interest.

To provide deeper contextualisation to my autoethnography, I draw on the lived experiences of marginalised people in music and education. I identify race and racism as the primary barriers to the transformation of education, and specifically the music curriculum. My exploration through the existing scholarship assists me to uncover acts of racism, discrimination, oppression and dominance, and the entrenched and perpetuated inequality based on race (Hopson & Dixon, 2014; McKaiser, 2015; Qunta, 2016; Vollenhoven, 2016). The literature highlights racism

as it is animated at the micro level in the form of "micro-aggressions" based on race, by making marginalised and Black individuals "invisible" in matters that concern society, in my case, education and the music curriculum (Huber & Solórzano, 2014; Hylton, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2010; Treviño, Harris & Wallace, 2008; Robinson & Hardy, 2010; Toro-Morn, 2010; Yosso, 2006).

It is also important for me to contextualise my study within the South African social and political context during apartheid and post-apartheid. Hence, I interrogate research studies on racism as it is experienced within the South African education context in which race is still a significant marker of privilege or exclusion. My study is also influenced by the scholarly texts of other musicians and music teachers whose lived experiences in music and music education have contributed towards their identity formation.

I draw on Bourdieu's notion that cultural consumption is linked to social status and that people who belong to a higher social status, are assumed to have greater cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Dwyer, 2015; Van Eijck, 2001). There is extensive evidence that musical taste and artistic consumption have a strong influence on shaping social and class structures and upward social mobility. (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Tampubolon, 2016; Van Eijck, 2001). Music and the arts have shaped social hierarchies, particularly during the latter half of the 19th-century, which experienced industrialisation and urbanisation and the emergence of a strong bourgeoisie (Scott, 2002).

The highbrow arts and musical taste were opposed to the omnivorous taste of the popular and light arts. Highbrow Western classical music was regarded as a significant factor in establishing an upper middle class (Bourdieu, 1984). Through cultural appropriation, the bourgeois ensured their assimilation into the elite and strengthened their cultural domination over the lower class by their consumption of music and other arts. Family background and educational attainment influenced cultural product consumption and musical taste (Van Eijck, 1997).

Drawing on the literature of Boyce-Tillman (2012; 2016) and others, I argue that the construction of music knowledge is not a neutral act, but a discursive act to sustain

power and White supremacy. From a Foucauldian perspective I argue that through the relationship of power and knowledge, the construction and legitimisation of what is regarded as the truth continues to promote and sustain inequality in a democratic society (Foucault, 1977). Legitimate knowledge in the curriculum constructs and reconstructs discrimination, hegemony, privilege, colonialism and dominant ideologies (Abeles & Custodero, 2010; Apple, 2004; Hess, 2016).

My study is a re-experiencing of my personal and professional life as a Coloured male within a racialised South Africa during apartheid and post-apartheid. Hence, my literature review particularly focuses on the rich scholarship on Coloured identity formation and Colouredness as articulated by Adhikari (2002; 2003; 2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2008; 2013), and Erasmus (2001; 2011; 2013; 2017). The scholarship emphasises the marginality of the Coloured population who find themselves in a "blind spot" (Adhikari, 2005b: 1) within the South African historiography and political landscape. Their intermediate status within the three-tiered racial hierarchy has often put them in an ambiguous and ambivalent position.

The Coloured community are regarded as "not white enough and not black enough" (Adhikari, 2005b) and perceived not being part of the Rainbow Nation between the dominant White and the majority Black group within the political and social context during apartheid and post-apartheid. Hence, their rejection of segregation and their aspiration to be assimilated into the White or being part of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of the 1970s and 1980s have often been regarded as being clouded with racism, political opportunism, confusion, compromise, retreat and failure (Adhikari, 2005b).

The literature review is discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

## **1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

My autoethnography is grounded in Critical Race Theory (CRT), which is an outgrowth of the work of discontented Black Legal Scholars (BLS) in the United States (US) in the mid-1970s. CRT draws on the critical theories of the Frankfurt

School<sup>9</sup> and the notion of hegemony. They use race to explain the legitimacy of oppressive structures, such as the curriculum and portray the United States as a meritocratic society (Apple, 2004; Gillborn & Youdell, 2009; Giroux, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2003; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007). CRT has a revolutionary habitus and is committed to social justice and social transformation through the intersectionality of race, gender and class (Denzin, 2018).

In positioning my autoethnography within a historical and social context, the concepts of race, ethnicity, and class are illuminated as powerful constructs that influenced my lived experiences in education and the music curriculum. I regard the "normalised" and "taken for granted" (Randolph, 2010: 121) White supremacy as a powerful force and argue that it plays an active role to perpetuate structural inequality and an untransformed "white-washed version" of the South African music curriculum. I use a CRT lens and its power of counter-storytelling to craft my narrative by highlighting race and racism as central to my personal and professional experiences in music education and the curriculum in the South African context (Dixson & Rossouw, 2006).

From a CRT perspective, I argue that race and racism are embedded in the music curriculum based on the intersectionality of race and racism in the reproduction of inequality and subordination (Dunbar, 2008; Gillborn, 2007; Hylton, 2012; Ladson-Billings, 2010; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009; Stovall, 2008; Treviño, Harris & Wallace, 2008; Yosso, 2006). CRT focuses on two significant issues, namely the concept of 'White supremacy' and the centrality of race and racism, and challenging race neutrality, colour-blindness and meritocracy (Gillborn & Youdell, 2009: 17; Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Han, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Taylor, Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2009; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009; Zamudio, Russell, Rios & Bridgeman 2011). CRT commits itself to social justice through an agenda that promotes the liberation and transformation of individuals who have been oppressed on the grounds of race, gender and class (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009). My autoethnography

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<sup>9</sup> Frankfurt School is a school of social theory and philosophical thinking at the Institute for Social Research at the Goethe University during 1918-1933. The group of intellectuals comprised sociologists and academics who critically contested the socio-economic systems based on capitalism during the period.

is mainly grounded in CRT, which values the experiential knowledge of people at the margins.

In my contestation of the music curriculum, I draw on Wiener's (2017) theory of contestation. She describes the concept of contestation as twofold, namely, first as a social practice and second, as a mode of critique. Contestation as a social practice implies the disagreement or outright rejection of the normative and the status quo. It entails non-compliance to the normative and rules of governance. A mode of critique is not merely an objection to the normative theory. A mode of critique might involve collaboration with the norm in order to achieve desirable outcomes. Wiener (2017) regards contestation as not only a theory but also as a methodological framework to study the practice of contestation.

The theoretical framework is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

## **1.9 CONCEPT CLARIFICATION**

In this section, I introduce and clarify the key concepts that I use in my thesis.

### **1.9.1 Curriculum**

The concept of curriculum differs from the term syllabus in that it covers more than the mere subject content to be taught. The curriculum could be defined as the learning opportunities, learning outcomes and assessment standards as well as the related contexts in which the curriculum will be enacted (Marsh, 2013). A simplistic definition of the curriculum focuses on the subject content and assessment criteria, which are explicitly listed in curriculum policy documents and guidelines. This is supported by appropriate and approved or self-developed learning and teaching support material, such as textbooks.

In my study, I argue that curriculum design is not a politically and racially innocent process, but that it is done to privilege the dominant group (Apple, 2004, 2014; Apple & Dumas, 2006; Au, 2012; Milner, 2010a). This makes the transformation of the curriculum difficult and even impossible because the dominant group will resist any changes that may jeopardise their privileged position. Milner (2010a; 2010b) identifies three types of curricula, namely the explicit, implicit and null curriculum.

The explicit curriculum entails the official policy and guidelines provided to the teacher. These guidelines with regard to subject content and assessment criteria are mostly sacrificially followed by the majority of teachers and learners in their pursuit of excellence and subject attainment levels as required by the national assessment and quality assurance bodies. A second form of the curriculum is the implicit curriculum which is not documented. In this 'hidden' curriculum the learning outcomes are implied intentionally or unintentionally. The implicit or hidden curriculum contains the unofficial and covert practices which perpetuate a specific power relation which will be for the benefit of the already powerful group. The third form of the curriculum is the null curriculum. In this curriculum "what is absent or not included is actually present" (Milner, 2010: 3).

The narrative of race and racism is often subtly avoided in educational institutions through the null or silent curriculum (Milner 2010a; 2010b). This curriculum could be regarded as the most powerful tool through which information about sensitive issues, such as race, racism, gender, sexuality, and class, are silenced in the classroom (Milner, 2010a; 2010b). Through this silencing teachers and learners are prohibited from debating and interpreting race, racism and other discriminatory practices. Critical thinking, questioning and critiquing of information, knowledge and power relations are intentionally avoided through silences. Although there are silences, powerful messages are sent out through "silent dialogue" (Milner, 2010: 3). This, in effect, means that teachers and learners accept unjust behaviour. Through their silence about racism, inequality, oppression, and discrimination, teachers are transmitting knowledge and messages of acceptance of unfair practices.

Racist behaviour and racism become acceptable when nobody speaks against it. The critical pedagogy of Freire (2000) demands of teachers to speak out against injustice and inappropriate situations (Blackburn, 2000; Freire, 2000; Irwin, 2012). Through the null curriculum, learners are not taught alternative views of knowledge but are taught that the information they learn is the only legitimate knowledge. The null curriculum speaks louder than the official curriculum. It communicates acceptability of racist actions directed to those who cannot talk back.

### **1.9.2 Music education in South Africa**

The contemporary South African education system consists of primary and secondary schools and two phases, namely the General Education and Training (GET) and the Further Education and Training (FET) phases. The GET phase is for learners in the reception Grade up to Grade 9. Grade 10 to 12 learners are in the FET phase. Historically music education in South Africa was delivered in various formats in schools which were inherited from the British schooling system.

Music education in South Africa is a combination of general class music, extra-curricular music, and specialisation in solo performance. In the GET phase, music is integrated with the other art forms, visual arts, dance and dramatic arts. Music forms part of the subjects, Life Skills (Grade 1 to 6) and Creative Arts (Grade 7 to 9). All learners in the GET phase are exposed to music education which takes place in a group context in the form of singing, listening to music, playing of instruments, reading music notation and creative activities, such as improvisation and composition.

Music, as a specialist and elective subject, is offered as a distinct art form to selected and talented learners in the FET phase. In this phase, learners are allowed to specialise by selecting subjects based on their abilities and potential. Learners are prepared for tertiary music studies or a career in the music performance industry. The development of the learner's artistic development through solo performance receives primary attention. Besides, the learner gains knowledge of the theoretical concepts of music and is introduced to the history of music and general musical knowledge. The subject also makes provision for the creative development of the learner through composition and improvisation (Department of Basic Education, 2011).

As part of the decolonisation<sup>10</sup> of education, the curriculum for the first time acknowledges the value of indigenous knowledge and alternative native ways of

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<sup>10</sup> South Africa was the last country in the Sub-Saharan region to be decolonised through the dismantling of apartheid in 1994. Decolonisation in the South African context focuses on the eradication of Eurocentricism and the valuing of indigenous knowledge systems and cultures.

knowledge construction and making sense of the society in which they are living (Department of Basic Education 2003: 4). This paves the way for music learners in the FET phase "to perform, interpret and present musical works that represent music from a variety of African and global cultural and historical contexts" (Department of Basic Education, 2003: 16). Extra-curricular music takes on various formats, such as choral music, band, and orchestral playing. Extra-curricular instrumental lessons are also offered to learners who can afford to pay.

### **1.9.3 Race and racism**

In my theorisation of race I argue that race is not a biological and essentialist category, but a historical, political and social construct that perpetuates inequality, exclusion, dominance, hegemony, discrimination and racism in society, in my case education and the music curriculum (Han, 2014; Hopson & Dixson; 2014; Leonardo, 2009, 2014; Shimahara, Holowinsky, & Tomlinson, 2001; Soudien, 2001, 2011). Similarly, racism is "more than prejudice" but organised by the "logic of prejudice" (Bonilla-Silva, 2014: 73). In other words, the historical, political and social construct of race leads to racism and the resulting exclusion by the supposed superior group against the supposed inferior racial group.

Contemporary sociologists argue that human beings, irrespective of their racial markings, are connected in a single and indivisible race (Phillips & Platt, 2016; Soudien, 2012). The insignificant biological markers of pigmentation and physiognomy constitute less than a single percentage of the human being's genetic make-up (Soudien, 2012). This notion of race strips the concept of its essentialist and biological descriptive nature. The idealistic and fictitiousness of race, and the genetical connectedness of all races propagated by some scholars (Duncan, 2002; Mbembe, 2017; Phillips & Platt, 2016; Soudien, 2012), could be contested. The phenomenon of race continues to create undesirable social imbalances and power relations, even in democracies such as South Africa, the United States and Brazil which have histories of subjugation based on racial differences.

I further argue that race should be analysed from a social constructivist perspective. An analysis of race from such a point of view reveals the power structures in our society. In South Africa, it has been a significant "maker of social, political and

economic entitlement and organisation" (Duncan, 2002: 117). Thus, based on this argument, race cannot only be described in terms of the pigmentation of the skin, size of the nose and texture of the hair. Race is more than a physical element. It is a discursive category around which social, political and economic power relations are created in order to exploit and exclude the other through the reification of meritocracy founded on racism and thereby constructing unequal power relations and discrimination in modern society and educational practices.

Racism is commonly and incorrectly regarded as static, irrational and outflow of prejudice and stereotyping (Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011). However, Bonilla-Silva's (2015) in-depth analysis of racism reveals that racism is an active and rational phenomenon with a material foundation which affects systemic structures. Its rationality is based on the fact that White actors of racism support overt and covert racialised behaviour because it benefits them. A prejudiced perspective of racism could be regarded as a reflection of how people accept it as common sense and taken-for-granted. This interpretation provides an inadequate causal explanation and explains why Whites follow the racial protocols of society.

Racism, which emerged from the macro-aggressions with its "savage inequalities" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006: 13), found its foundation in White superiority and apartheid in South Africa to justify racist structures and behaviour. In contrast to legalised macro racism, racism as a form of micro-aggression appears "normal not aberrant" and "natural" (Ladson-Billings, 2003: 8; Rollock 2013: 492) which makes it difficult to detect, define or describe.

Pérez Huber and Solórzano (2015: 298-302) succinctly describe racism as "everyday assaults", "layered assaults" and "cumulative assaults". Due to this subtle and covert articulation, the aggressor sometimes fails to see it as an act of domination and consequential hurt inflicted upon the oppressed. Racism becomes almost invisible in our social structures, such as schools where it is difficult to detect it. According to Dawjee (2018):

It's hard to believe, but it's true. It's not perverse as it once was. It doesn't stare you blankly in the face, look you up and down, and

spit at your feet. But it's there, at the frontline. Winning. All the time  
Dawjee, 2018: 181.

#### **1.9.4 Whiteness**

The colour of supremacy over Black people resides in the White skin. DiAngelo (2011: 56) describes Whiteness as being historically, socially, politically and culturally produced and linked to dynamic relations of domination. She explains that Whiteness is a:

...constellation of processes and practices rather than as a discrete entity (i.e. skin colour alone). Whiteness is dynamic, relational, and operating at all times and on myriad levels. These processes and practices include basic rights, values, beliefs, perspectives and experiences purported to be commonly shared by all but which are actually only consistently afforded to white people" (DiAngelo, 2011: 56).

Whiteness studies begin with the premise that racism and White privilege exist in both traditional and modern forms. Whiteness operates in tandem with Blackness, which is discussed further on. Whiteness reflects the perpetual inequality in the basic needs of human beings, such as freedom, education, health, political rights and employment in a raced South African society (powell, 2001: 283). Whiteness is a naturalised and universalised "fantasy" (Mbembe, 2017: 43) created by Europeans. In other words, Whiteness, just like the concept of race, is an imaginative fiction with no real substance and shape. For example, a person's cannot be as White as a piece of paper. However, Whiteness becomes a reality when skin colour and other physical features are employed to create unequal power relations between White and non-White people (Ohito, 2017: 5). In his essay, titled "The Souls of White Folk, Du Bois stated: "Whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen!" (Bonilla-Silva, 2015: 81).

For Leonard (2009) Whiteness is a "collective racial epistemology with a history of violence against people of colour" (p. 111). A White skin, coupled with ancestry serves as qualification for political and social status complemented with personal freedom, privileges, economic wealth, education and property, whereas a Black skin relegates the carrier to slavery and dispossession (Mbembe, 2017). This empowers Whites with unquestionable and unearned privileges and opportunities above those

who are not White (DeCuir, 2006; Erasmus, 2017; Leonardo, 2011). The notion of Whiteness, with all the privileges attached to it, is "taken for granted" (Picower, 2009: 199). Whiteness is an asset, as Leonardo (2009) avers, if a White man walks down the street, he already has money in his pockets. It affords wealth and "property" (Hess, 2016: 16) and the automatic privileges to possess, command and exercise control over anything that is regarded lower than White.

#### **1.9.5 Colouredness**

The racial category "Coloured", sometimes described as "Brown", differs from the international usage of the term. In South Africa the term Coloured does not mean Black in dominant and popular discourses, be it historically or contemporaneously. In the United States, coloured or a person of colour means "black" due to the imagined percentage of Black blood in the veins of individuals (Erasmus, 2017: 21). The South African Coloured group was not perceived as a homogenous group but was described as a 'mixed race' configured from the first inhabitants of the colonisation of South Africa. This imagined population group had diverse cultural and geographic origins. They were regarded as a product of miscegenation and interracial sexual relations between White settlers, indigenous Khoisan and the Xhosa speaking population and imported slaves (Adhikari, 2005a, 2005b; Erasmus, 2001). The novelist Kole Omotoso described their diverse physical appearance as varying from "charcoal black to bread-crust brown, sallow yellow and finally off-cream that wants to pass for white" (Adhikari, 2005a: 2).

In my study, the Coloured population emerges as an intermediary and marginalised group. The marginality of the Coloured population is strongly connected to their intermediary position within the South African socio-political-economic context during the apartheid and post-apartheid periods (Lee, 2006). Adhikari (2005a; 2005b) posits that their marginality is articulated in their history of slavery, dispossession and racial oppression during the colonial period and apartheid. In the new democratic dispensation with its "unity-within-racial" (Farred, 2001: 176) ideals of the Rainbow Nation discourse the Coloureds also find themselves in a frustrating and ambivalent situation in which they have to renegotiate their identity as a minority group between the fears of the White group and the aspirations of the Black

population (Adhikari, 2004; James & Caliguire, 1996; James, Caliguire & Cullinan, 1996; Rasool, 1996).

### **1.9.6 Autoethnography**

There is substantial evidence that music teachers' lived experience and their cultural beliefs influence how they practise their music teaching (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009; Milner, 2010). Their experience in music creation and performance is carried over in how they perceive the value of music, research and teach it. The term autoethnography was coined by Hayano (1979) and was first used to describe how anthropologists struggled to utilise existing theories and methodology to write ethnographies about their people. Autoethnographic writing is autobiographical with multiple layers of consciousness, but it is also about the culture and society in which it occurs (Ellis, 2004; Denzin; 2014; Hamilton, Smith, Worthington, 2008). Chang (2016: 444) defines autoethnography as “a qualitative method that uses a researcher’s’ autobiographical experiences as primary data to analyse and interpret the sociocultural meanings of such experiences.”

According to Denzin (2014; 2018), autoethnographic research is retelling and re-performing meaningful autobiographic events, experiences and moments which intersect with history, culture and politics. The autobiographical detail is woven through the layered strands of a person's life and constitutes the focus of critical inquiry. The life story becomes an invention, a re-presentation, a historical object which is taken apart, analysed and recontextualised to rediscover new meanings and ways to perform the past events (Denzin, 2014: 28-29). The past is viewed and in a new light and re-interpreted with the present insight. Denzin (2014) explains that to represent the past means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up a moment of danger and to see the past not as a succession of events, but as a series of scenes, inventions, emotions, images, and stories. In bringing the past into the autobiographical present, I insert myself into the past and create the conditions for rewriting my life and hence re-experiencing and re-interpreting it.

### **1.10 RESEARCH PARADIGM**

My study takes place within a critical interpretive paradigm which focuses on making meaning of my lived experiences, but also of myself as a person and a professional.

It seeks my emancipation, societal change and the transformation of the music curriculum (Denzin, 2018; Creswell, 2013; Ward Randolph, 2010). Music is a human experience of individual expression of feelings and messages, but it is also an activity which expresses social issues such as resistance to oppression and other social ills. Music has been part of humanity for centuries, and it occurs in a humane and natural context. This unique and natural nature places it directly within the qualitative research paradigm.

My worldview of the music curriculum, as it is practised in South African schools, and the underpinning theoretical framework locate my research study within the critical research paradigm (Hammersley, 2013; Henning, 2004; Kim, 2016). The critical paradigmatic stance that I take alerts me to the complex and critical discursive nature of the music curriculum in an unequal South African society. I take the stance that the present music curriculum is underpinned by the concept of exclusion based on race, power, dominance, inequality, privilege and White supremacy.

### **1.11 RESEARCH APPROACH**

My study is performative and political as it straddles between my autobiography and the context in which it has taken place. (Denzin, 2003; 2018; Spry, 2001; 2011; 2018). For this purpose, I adopt the Critical Race Theory theme of "counter-storytelling" and "naming one's own reality" or "voice" (Delgado, 1993: 462; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006: 20). CRT uses counter-story to challenge the Western and mainstream research paradigm which silences the voice of the oppressed and those at the margins based on neutrality, objectivity, universality and meritocracy.

CRT considers the majoritarian and dominant mindset with its presuppositions, received wisdom, and shared culture as the primary impediment to racial transformation (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). Critical race theorists recognise the counter-storytelling by the oppressed as "psychic preservation of marginalised" (Ladson-Billings, 2006: 21). They allow the augmentation of the voice of the oppressed through the revealing of their racial sacrifices through counter stories, narratives, parables, songs and poetry.

I link my CRT approach to the archaeological and genealogical approach to research methodology as used by Michel Foucault (Livholts, & Tambboukou, 2015). Foucault's archaeological method which was a departure from positivist correspondence theory and the notion of "deeper meaning" (Howell, 2013: 2) has as its objective the uncovering of unconscious ideas and thoughts which he coined epistemés. Through the archaeological method, Foucault wanted to delve into the historical thought of different eras and track the meaning through historical changes identified in epistemés. Archaeology and genealogy adopt a phenomenological approach, the study of structures, experiences and consciousness. Through phenomenology and epistemés, I focus on the meaning of my personal experiences to make meaning of them because in order to understand society I must first understand myself (Howell, 2013). This approach situates me central to my research as if the self is employed in the service of my research (Luvaas, 2017: 4). I tell my story through an "embodied narrative" (Huber, Murphy & Clandinin, 2005).

### **1.12 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The methodology for my research study seeks to expose both myself (personally) and provide the reader (society) first-hand experience of race and racism and how it intersects with the music curriculum. I selected autoethnography as a research methodology. Autoethnography is defined as "an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural" (Ellis & Bochner, 2000: 739). Autoethnography places personal experiences of individuals within the social and cultural contexts, but at the same time, comments on how society and culture affect these experiences (Reed-Danahay, 2009). Hence, my research gives insight into the culture-sharing group that exists in music education in South Africa and about their beliefs and actions; and how I have engaged with I these beliefs through the music curriculum.

Autoethnography is performative (Denzin, 2018; Spry, 2011). Hence, my story is written in the form of a libretto for a four-act musical which consists of my voice narrating my story. Through the libretto, I memorise my lived experiences and link them to the culture and society in which I have lived (Chang 2008; Denzin 2014; 2018 De Vries, 2012: 354; Ellis, 2004; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Kim, 2016; Spry, 2001; 2011). I realise the significance of others who have shared the drama. Hence, the

libretto also includes the voices of others who have known me and have often shared my lived experiences.

Autoethnography is both a process and a product (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). In order for me to relive and assemble my past experiences in hindsight, I used the following methods to craft my autoethnographic product:

- The recollection of my past lived experiences using autobiographical memory work and interviewing myself
- Archival visits and research which will include visiting the places where I grew up and studied and practised my career
- Studying photographs, family documents, school reports and certificates
- Analysis of documents such as curricula, education policies and legislation
- Studying literature and reading the autobiographies of others
- Journal entries to record my field notes and discussions with family members, colleagues and friends
- Critical conversations with family members, mentors, colleagues and friends to add to my story and verify my story and data
- Verisimilitude to serve as a verification of my autoethnography and its trustworthiness.

The research methodology and methods are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

### **1.13 MAKING MEANING OF MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

Autoethnography obtains cultural and symbolic meaning if personal lived experiences are analysed and compared against the experiences of others in society (Chang, 2008: 137). The analysis and interpretation of a mass of data are regarded as a deep "immersion" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 270) in the detail of the spoken and musical texts that have been collected during the creation of my autoethnography. The analysis of my narrative entailed the critical reflection, interpretation, and analysis of my libretto supported by the theoretical framework and the literature review. It required zooming in on the details of my life and zooming out to the social context in which it took place (Chang, 2008: 2016).

When I reflected on my narrative, I initially found the data messy. I found it difficult to stand back and think about my personal experiences academically. The data in my autoethnography were not self-explanatory and it required interpretation through "complex cognitive steps" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 36). I built research rigour into the analysis stage by dividing the process into two stages. Firstly, I briefly described the accumulated data holistically, and secondly, I broke up the data into smaller parts to see how these parts linked to my research question (Gray, 2009: 493). I constructed themes or "patterns" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 270) and linked them to my research question, theoretical framework and the literature review. I connected the data to the underpinning theory of contestation and Critical Race Theory to develop an understanding of myself, the music curriculum and society (Denzin, 2005; Gray, 2009: 496; Rossman and Rallis 2003: 273).

#### **1.14 OUTLINE OF MY STUDY**

In this chapter, I introduce my study and provide the background and context of my research. I explain what inspired me to do the study and give reasons for selecting an autoethnography as a research method. I provide the focus and purpose of my study and state the research question on which my research is grounded. This chapter introduces the research methods and how I went about crafting my story. The research methodology will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical foundation of my study through the theorisation and conceptualisation of my study which will be continued in Chapter 3 with an exploration of the existing literature and scholarship on race, curriculum, music and autoethnography. In Chapter 4, I will expound on the research design, methodology and methods which were used to collect the data. Chapter 5 contains my narrative, which is a libretto for a musical. In Chapter 6 I interpret and analyse my autoethnography. Chapter 7 concludes my study through an overview of my research study in which I answer my research question and reflect on my research methodology.

#### **1.15 EPILOGUE**

In this overview chapter, I have introduced and contextualised my study socially, politically and musically. This formed the backdrop to my autoethnography. I

explained the rationale for my study and motivated how it would benefit me personally and professionally. I also considered its scholarly contribution to education. This informed the focus and purpose and the research question for my study. I introduced the conceptual framework, theoretical framework and existing scholarship which underpinned the research.

In this chapter, I also briefly explained the research design, methodology and methods that I have employed to craft my autoethnography and how I ensured the trustworthiness of my research. I believe that any story has a plot that has rich data and sociological meaning that can provide solutions to a research problem. I then explained how my autoethnography was analysed to provide the answers to my research question. Finally, this chapter concludes with how I have organised my study. In the following chapter, I will expound on the existing literature on race, music and autoethnography that I have used to ground my autoethnography in the scholarship on my topic.

## **2. CHAPTER 2: GROUNDING MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY IN LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP**

### **2.1 PRESENTING MY LITERATURE REVIEW**

Knowledge of a research topic is seldom generated in isolation of what already exists in the research field. The purpose of a literature review is primarily to contextualise the study, to argue a case in a scholarly manner and to introduce the research niche that the researcher wants to occupy (Henning, 2009; Kaniki, 2006). The literature review situates the study within the scholarly domain of empirical research (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Booth, Papaioannou & Sutton, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Tuckman & Harper, 2012).

It would be senseless to do research if there were not a problem. The rationale for my research originated from a research problem and a researchable topic which were identified through my personal experiences. The existing scholarship is needed to conceptualise a new study within the scholarly domain (Kaniki, 2006). The literature on a topic provides direction and guidance to the research plan and processes. Through the literature review, the research study is logically organised within a framework that locates it in the related study field and the research enterprise (Delpont, Fouché & Schurink, 2011).

The exploration of the literature determines how extensively the research problem and topic were investigated in previous studies (Booth, Papaioannou & Sutton, 2012; Hofstee, 2006; Leedy & Ormri, 2014; Ridely, 2012; Tuckman & Harper, 2012). Hence, my literature review is a comprehensive and systematic study of the available trustworthy published and unpublished scholarly secondary sources that contain information and data related to my research topic. The purpose of such a review is to become familiar with the field of study and have a deeper understanding of the background, nature, and meaning of the identified research problem and topic (Leedy & Omri, 2014). This determination involves an interpretation of what is known about the topic and to point out contradictions and gaps in the research field (Jesson, Matheson & Lacey; 2011).

Through the literature review, the researcher determines whether the study would contribute towards the existing scholarship. One of the benefits of such a review is to build confidence in the research topic and ascertain whether it is indeed researchable and worth studying. Through the engagement with the literature, the researcher invites other researchers to become part of a lively, critical, contesting conversation about a topic (Henning, 2004). This "written dialogue" (Ridley, 2012: 3) with other researchers provides a bigger picture of a study (Kim, 2016).

A literature review must be purposeful, focused, critical, comprehensive, contextualised and systematic (Hofstee, 2006; Jesson, et al., 2011; Kaniki, 2006; Rugg & Petre, 2007). It cannot only be a summary of the sources or a mere description but must show evidence of critical engagement and judgement of the literature (Jesson, et al. 2011; Kaniki, 2006; Leeds & Omrod, 2014). My study is critical. Hence, I selected a traditional literature review which does not only describe the research of others comprehensively but also requires a critical engagement from the researcher in order to add new perspectives and knowledge to the topic (Jesson, et al., 2011).

The research contributions of others were used to strengthen my own argument. This required more than surface reading, but high cognitive skills as well as reflective, critical and analytical thinking from me by presenting counter-arguments on the research topic, theories and methods and findings. In order to obtain a coherent and structured literature review and cover various perspectives and contradictions about my research topic, I organised the literature in themes (Kaniki, 2006). My analytical and critical search through the research literature enabled me to identify four key themes.

In the first instance, I present the personal lived experiences of marginalised individuals shared through autoethnographies and personal narratives. I focus on the silencing of the narrative of race and racism through the null or silent curriculum and how the voices of marginalised people are augmented through autoethnography. The second theme links music to identity formation and how music teachers and learners struggle to identify themselves with a specific cultural or racial group, particularly in heterogeneous societies. I argue that music curriculum

processes and content are controlled by pre-set ideas based on Western ideologies, which obliterate and disempower marginalised groups.

The existing scholarship identifies the Coloured population as a marginalised group within the past and present South African racial hierarchy in which they are not White enough or Black enough. I highlight the ambiguity of the Coloured population as they collude with Whiteness in order to cross the racial borders in the three-tiered racial South African society in which individuals are still identified and classified according to racial signifiers. Finally, I discuss how the association between cultural capital through musical taste promotes social mobility in a raced and classed society.

## **2.2 LIVED EXPERIENCES THROUGH RACE AND RACISM**

In apartheid South Africa, all individuals were classified according to a specific racial group. Hence, race determined our existence and was “part of the air one breathed, and it structured and regulated one’s personal and social life” (Parehk, 2008: 25). Race determined our social relations. In this way, racial identity acquired immense currency and significance even if one was not aware of it. There is a consensus that race remains an essential factor in the construction of unequal societies, despite the notion of the scientific invalidity of race and the termination of its historical hegemonic impact. However, it is through the curriculum that race and racism are often subtly animated. Given the history of South Africa and the almost idyllic transition to a non-racial society in 1994, the issue of race is regarded as a sensitive issue and avoided in the South Africa African classroom. Teachers, and we, as a society, find ourselves ill-equipped and not knowledgeable enough to open discussions about race, racism, gender, sexuality, and other sensitive issues in the classroom. Hence, these sensitive issues become part of the null or silent curriculum, as we avoid teaching them.

Teachers are confronted by the awkwardness and complexity race as biologists and geneticists can find no physical substance for its existence (Alvarez & Johnson, 2011). Furthermore, the eradication of apartheid makes it almost politically incorrect to pursue the race debate. There seems to be the general notion that considering the dark and painful past of apartheid, it is best to avoid a discussion of race by both

former oppressor and oppressed. Hence, "race" is often used in quotation marks due to its complexity and inappropriateness in a democratic and non-racial society. Teachers prefer to focus on multi-culturalism with its attention on the diversity of beliefs and artistic practices. This, according to Alvarez and Johnson (2011), diverts our attention from the continuation of the inequality between different races.

The scholarship on race confirms that racism is still alive and well, despite the call for non-racialism and the democratisation of regimes which were based on racial ideologies (Alexander, 2001; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Diversi & Moreira, 2013; Durden, McMunn Dooley & Truscott, 2016; Durrheim & Mtose, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006). South Africa, due to its history of legalised racial segregation, remains a "social laboratory" (Soudien, 2012: 2) in which race has "never gone out of fashion" (McKaiser, 2015: 6) and still "remains the primary point of reference" (Soudien, 1994: 56).

Apartheid signs at South African public entrances have disappeared and have become artefacts in museums, yet the recidivism of racial essentialism remains problematic and continues to infiltrate our institutions explicitly and implicitly through racial, language and cultural preference (Dolby, 2001; McKaiser, 2015; Soudien, 2012; Tihanyi, 2006; Vandeyar, 2008). This is particularly evident in educational institutions where young people are struggling to identify with non-racialism through various cultural practices such as hair, dress, music taste and sports (Vandeyar, 2008).

Adhikari (2005b), in his analysis of Coloured identity, points to the difficulty of the Coloured population, but also the whole of South Africa, to relieve themselves of the burden of racial identity that apartheid had imposed on them. Even the so-called 'born-frees' who have not experienced apartheid struggle to shake off a Coloured identity, despite being exposed to a supposedly non-racial society. The research on Coloured learners who have grown up in a post-1994 educational context reveals that these learners have limited experience of the legislated apartheid era (Dolby, 2001; Soudien, 2012). However, their lived experiences highlight the continuing undesirable consequences of apartheid and how educational institutions are shaped and infused with "contradictory messages about identity in terms of lived experience

and dominant discourses" (Carolissen, Van Wyk & Pick Cornelius, 2012: 40). It shows how these Coloured learners have to negotiate their racial identities in the contradictory environments in which they find themselves.

The case study of Carolissen et al. (2012) analyses the lived experiences of a focus group of Coloured adolescent girls from a working-class community, using CRT and feminism as a theoretical lens. Their lived experiences as marginalised individuals who cross borders in racial spaces are depicted as painful and traumatic. Race is identified as an essential marker in the formation of the girls' identities. The learners are also conscious of the signifiers of success and Whiteness. They regard education and material goods, such as branded clothing as significant commodities for upward mobility in a raced and classed society. The group of learners, born in the post-1994 South African era, are acutely conscious of their Colouredness and express contentment with their racial identity by wearing it as "a badge of courage" (Carolissen, et al., 2012: 48).

As they move through the contradictory racial spaces, they are aware of their marginality and of not being Black enough and not White enough and sometimes not good enough to be White. They resist dominant social discourses that devalue them. The Coloured learners reject an imposed racial identity of Colouredness by constructing and internalising negative and positive images about themselves (Carolissen, et al., 2012). However, ambiguity is noticed as they re-inscribe micro-aggressions which affect their identities by colluding with dominant discourses and re-enforcing White supremacy by aspiring to "unattainable middle-class privilege" (Carolissen, et al., 2012: 47). They are conscious of the difficulty of crossing borders, whether in terms of race, gender or class. Those learners who are brave enough to cross the racial border are often faced with explicit or implicit racism.

Dolby's (2001) ethnographic study at a former White school reveals that race plays a significant role in how teachers and learners identify themselves with a specific racial group, as determined by the old racial categorisation. Like the majority of former White schools with predominantly White teaching staff and a multi-racial learner population, they struggle to adopt a reflexive practice to relieve themselves and the institution of the burden of apartheid and separate education. Hence, what

learners experience inside of the school, differs radically from what they experience outside of the school in their communities which are still based on the racial and spatial organisation of the past (Dolby, 2001). The study reveals that the school wants to retain its former racial culture in terms of how discipline is maintained and how cultural and sports events are organised. There is also a reluctance on the side of the institution to amend the teaching staff in line with the changed racial profile of the learners. (Dolby, 2001).

Courageous teachers such as Jason and Eplon (2016) suggest strategies to create learning opportunities for teachers and learners to interrogate how their beliefs, feelings, and actions concerning race and racism are shaped by their social worlds. A courageous pedagogical approach allows learners to examine their personal experiences and have deep thoughts about race relations and the damaging subtleties of racism. Jason and Eplon (2016) argue that learners should be encouraged to analyse the social origin of their thoughts and actions. This could be done by personalising their assignments through personal narratives in which they identify the source of internalised colour blind ideologies. They contend that only when teachers and learners are pushed to acknowledge the social sources of their perspectives, will they be equipped to examine society through racialised lenses.

Autoethnography and narrative methods of enquiry are mainly used to privilege and respect the voices of marginalised people (Burgess 2016; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Ellis, 2004). Narrative, autoethnography and self-study as methodologies for educational research privilege the self in the research design with the belief that understanding the self will contribute to understanding education and its institutions (Hamilton, Smith & Worthington, 2008; Ohito, 2017). The scholarship on the lived experiences of marginalised individuals is used to understand race and how racism is normalised and naturalised in society. The narrative of autoethnography is particularly articulated in the meaning-making and analysis of personal lived experiences of Black and female individuals within predominantly White spaces and unreformed educational institutions.

Using Black Feminist Thought (BFT) as a theoretical lens, Robinson and Clardy (2010) relate their experiences as they move into an oppressive and discriminatory

environment where White supremacy is flourishing. BFT originated out of the need to voice the experiences of Black females who lived in American culture (Robinson & Clardy, 2010). Through autoethnographies and narrative studies Black individuals share their painful and humiliating racism and link it to the culture of the untransformed institutions and unequal society (Carolissen, et al., 2012; Daniels & Damons, 2011; Robinson & Clardy 2010; Toro-Morn 2010; Ward Randolph, 2010). They use critical ethnographies and autoethnography to reflect and analyse their lived experiences at these institutions and uncover racism at traditionally White universities in the United States of America where the desegregation of educational institutions is still in its adolescent stage. Their stories uncover the embedded discourses of racism, inequality, oppression, marginalisation and White privilege, which are transmitted via explicit and implicit racist acts.

### **2.3 IDENTITY FORMATION THROUGH MUSIC AND MUSIC EDUCATION**

Personal identity intersects with social identity (Lewis & Bell, 2006). In other words, individuals ascribe to the identity that is imposed upon them by society and behave in a certain way according to that identity formation. There is a renewed emphasis on the identity formation of people of colour in the United States as they experience tension between personal and social identity (Lewis and Bell 2006). In a racialised system like South Africa, the socialised identities of marginalised people are reflected in their personal identities and how they react to the society around them.

The narrative of decolonisation has further contributed to the trend in the research on identity formation in racialised societies (MacKinlay, 2005; Msila, 2017). Research studies have mainly focused on the corrupted indigenous cultures caused by colonialism and Western imperialism (Sirek, 2017). Globalisation, immigration, and hybridisation have further contributed towards an uneasiness and a lack of conviction and certainty among music teachers and learners to articulate a definition of their musical identity.

Decolonialisation of the music curriculum requires the need for a more culturally and racially nuanced music education and taking cognisance of the social and political context in which education occurs (Locke & Prentice, 2016). Decolonisation

demands a critical stance towards music education, the curriculum and music teacher education. This challenges music teachers to see themselves in relation to the social and political context in which they have to teach.

Our music making often reveals who we are. Sirek (2018), through a qualitative research study, explores the relationship between identity and musicking in Grenada in the West Indies. She links her study to the history of the traumatic colonialism and slavery in Grenada, where the population was struggling to reclaim and construct an identity of dignity through cultural practices. She posits that music making, and its related activities, are linked to identity in complex ways. She argues that through our cultural practices and musicking we often reflect our moral codes, values, and ethical viewpoints that tell other people "who we are" (Sirek, 2018: 2018: 5). Hence, we often communicate our political and social beliefs and values through our music taste, music making and music teaching.

Music is a human experience of individual expression of feelings and messages, but it is also an activity which expresses social issues such as resistance to oppression and other social ills. This is especially the case in Africa, where music has multiple meanings and purpose by expressing political affiliation, local knowledge, national identity, such as Blackness and pan-Africanism (Falola & Fleming, 2012). Musicians' experience in music creation and performance is carried over in how they perceive the value of music and interpret society and culture (Elliott & Silverman, 2017; Lum, 2017; O'Neill, 2017).

The traditional notion of identity in music is that a person is regarded as being a musician, composer or performer, whereas music in identity, refers to how our engagement with music influences our overall self-identity, personhood and nationhood (Elliott & Silverman, 2017; Hargreaves, MacDonald & Miell, 2017). Since the turn of the twentieth century, several empirical studies have focused on the musical identities of a multidisciplinary character. The lack of music in identity and an inability to define one's music identity have mainly emerged through ethnographical studies (Sirek, 2017), phenomenology (Lum, 2015), case studies (Crawford, 2017; DeNora, 2017), self-studies or autoethnographies (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009; Boyce-Tillman, 2016) that were conducted. Elliott and Silverman (2017)

assert that our music practice, based on Aristotle's concept of praxis, has the potential to develop and nurture positive and ethical growth in the self-identity of people. Our music practice also has the potential to provide the social, interactive, intersubjective contexts in which people can co-construct one another's musical, social, and personal identities which entail mutual respect and empathy towards one another.

The relationship between the musician or music educator and their lived experiences is often created and presented through the elements of music, whether instrumentally or vocally. Musicians and individuals are inspired by their lived experiences to create and produce musical products or performances. This is evident in the variety of Western classical music, jazz and indigenous repertoire that is the result of personal emotions and community oppression. There is substantial evidence that music teachers' lived experiences and their cultural beliefs influence how they practise their music teaching and performance. Hence, music teachers are turning to self-study and autoethnography to express their emotions and feelings autobiographically in a way that they find challenging to do through "pure" musical genres (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009).

Autoethnographic writing allows music teachers to explore and realise the synergies between music and self-study. Coupled to this is the demand to be a self-reflexive musician, teacher, conductor and composer. Bartleet and Ellis (2009) point to the common thread between music and autoethnography and the ability of both to express the lived experiences of individuals through music and text. They use autoethnography as a research methodology to reflect on their music practice as musicians to describe the synergy between music and autoethnography as follows:

Autoethnography allowed me to end a very significant musical phase in my life; a phase filled with such darkness, dissonance and anger, it was strangling me. However, instead of running away from this situation, I decided to face it head-on with an autoethnographic study. Autoethnography challenged me to find the cadence point, to breathe, and to listen to the reverberations of my pain and sadness. Autoethnography helped me to hear the beauty and vulnerability in that phrase and understand the reasons for its dark timbre, competing melodies, and restless pulse (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009: 1).

This performative personal narrative describes the musician's frustration in her music career and effectively serves as therapy for her distress. She is at a dead-end in her conducting career, but as she rightly puts it: "... instead of running away from the situation, I decided to face it head-on with an autoethnographic study" (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009: 1). Her vulnerability, sadness and pain are revealed through the metaphors of music elements, such as dark tones and dissonance in her story, which would not have been possible through traditional research. To Bartleet, autoethnography provides her the time to pause at 'cadence points' and to listen to her voice, and experience the feelings within herself. Autoethnography becomes her moment of reflection and truth from which she cannot run away.

Boyce-Tillman (2012) bases her argument on personality and society on two domains of thought. The first system favours logical and scientific reasoning in order to construct discreet categories of knowledge. It is based on impersonal, objective and detached thinking. In the second system, knowledge is constructed on subjectivity, personal feeling, emotion, magic, involvement, associative ways of knowing, belief and non-causal knowledge. Boyce-Tillman refers to this type of knowledge construction as "subjugated ways of knowing" (Boyce-Tillman, 2012: 11) that Western epistemologies tend to devalue. However, post-modernity is increasingly acknowledging the significance of subjugated and other ways of knowing as seen in the field of feminist theory, CRT, narrative inquiry, story-telling and autoethnography. Music also plays a significant role in subjugated ways of knowing the world due to its creativity, expressiveness and its subjective nature. Boyce-Tillman (2012) links subjugated ways of knowing to the intuitive non-verbal medium of music and for that matter to other arts and ordinary discourse. She further argues:

Our sensitivity to other people is carried by a multitude of non-verbal links which embrace music in its broadest sense, including such areas as the pitching and tone colour of the voice and the rhythm and pace of the words. At both an individual level and a cultural level, we need to recognise our rhythms and melodies and those of other people and races so that we can relate our patterns to theirs. Western society has tended to deny the notion of otherness, the spiritual, the transcendent. The

result is the reduction of artistic products to the level of status symbols and marketable commodities (Boyce-Tillman, 2012: 11).

## **2.4 RACE, CLASS, MUSIC AND CULTURE**

Foucault poses serious questions about self-liberation and the reform that is characteristic of post-modern society (Foucault, 1988; Martin, Gutman & Hutton, 1988). His theorisation about power, knowledge and control challenges modern pedagogical theories and puts them under the critical scrutiny of the binaries of oppression and oppressed, constraint and freedom (McHoul & Grace, 1993). He views the typical school as a prison with restrictions and constant surveillance through an inspectorate system which controls and enforces strict regulations and militarised mechanisms (Ball, 1990; Foucault, 1977; Metro-Roland, 2011).

There is a dearth of research focusing on music education, culture, social transformation and the relevance of music within our post-modern schooling system. The need to recontextualise and reculture education has received prominent attention and contestation of the curriculum (Abdi, 2002; 2013; Abeles, 2010; Abeles & Custodero, 2010). The scholarship emphasises a culturally responsive music curriculum to speak to the diverse needs of a pluralistic and interconnected world influenced by race, ethnicity and culture (Lind & McKoy, 2016).

The literature reports on culturally relevant music teaching and teaching in general (Byron, 1995; Lind & McKoy, 2016). However, the scholarship on music education is generally silent on how race and class intersect with music and how music curriculum development perpetuates inequality in oppressed and racialised societies. The whitewashing of the music curriculum through curriculum innovation processes serves in many instances to perpetuate the dominance of Western aesthetics and keeps other music styles at the margins (Tillman, 2012; 2016). Boyce-Tillman illustrates this notion by telling the following story:

A British host took an African leader to a concert of Mozart at the Royal Albert Festival Hall. After the concert, the African guest said to his host: 'Thank you for this, but I thought your music was more complex than that' (Boyce-Tillman, 2016: 181).

This story is perceived from the "assumed exalted position" (Boyce-Tillman, 2016: 181) that Western classical music has over popular, folk and indigenous music and jazz. Boyce-Tillman further explains that the aesthetic beauty and complexity of Western classical music primarily resides in melody, harmony and form structure. The African listener was confronted by the linear musical structure and melodies which were simplistic and predictable. The complexity of indigenous African music is found in the rhythmic structures, such as polyrhythms, inter-rhythms and cyclic movement which are generally absent uncommon to Western classical music. This is what the African listener missed when he listened to the melodious and linear music of Mozart.

Western classical music is based on a rigid, linear, literate and reproductive mode. For the musically untrained listener, it is often less communicative and expressive except for music that includes texts. Thus, to the musically illiterate, music without text makes no sense and leaves them cold. African music and jazz have a cyclic nature and accommodate the freedom of improvisation and creativity. African music and jazz have personal, spiritual, sociological and political meaning for the performer and listener (Falola, & Fleming, 2012; Nzewi, 2007; Nzewi, Anyahuru & Ohiaurumunna, 2001). Indigenous African music is also relational and never static because it is created through the interaction of traditions and the creativity of individuals (Falola & Fleming, 2012). Indigenous African music and jazz are not fixed, because they are always in the process of creation through improvisation and not bound by a written score as is the case with Western classical music.

Nzewi (2007) points to the deeper spiritual, symbolic, philosophical, political and social meaning of indigenous African music that sometimes goes unnoticed by the Westernised ear, which generally regards music as pure entertainment. In African music, the listener constructs meaning through the complexity of the broad musical and non-musical categories of messages that the music wants to communicate. Nzewi, Anyahuru and Ohiaurumunna (2001) describe African drumming as communicative and containing poetic and dramatic dialogue. These categories of messages could contain name calling as well as contextual, political and social narratives and other non-textual signifiers which would have been easier demystified if they contained conventional text-singing. Hence, the symbolic and

philosophical meaning of indigenous African music is generally not captured by the listener who has been trained in Western aesthetics.

Our pursuit of the aesthetics and beauty of classical music has contributed to the failure of our existing music curricula (Boyce-Tillman, 2012; 2016). Boyce Tillman critiques the values embedded in the Western classical music tradition from a Foucauldian perspective. Curriculum designers have the power to decide what is 'beautiful' and 'acceptable' and what is 'ugly' and 'unacceptable' and what should be included in the music curriculum. Their curricular decisions often lead to the elimination of the other and the elevation of the normative Western monoculture.

Through her self-study, Boyce Tillman (2016) reports on her dislodgement from the orate music tradition and regrets her inability to have the improvisatory skills that her musician father had. She identifies the issues of power as a central problem for the Western culture, which has developed into a universal and monoculture in which those people who do not ascribe to Western aesthetics are disempowered or ignored.

It is not easy to challenge the universalised and normalised Eurocentric paradigm of music education. The commitment to work towards equity is often tricky, tedious and messy (Hess, 2017). Foucault's disruptive and challenging theories about the history of ideas seem to have nothing to do with education. However, a more in-depth study of his writings discloses his critique of the normalised "education enterprise" (Metro-Roland, 2011: 139) and his rejection of what is regarded as universal knowledge. By normalising, Foucault means the establishment of measurements, hierarchy, and regulations around the idea of a "distributionary statistical norm" (Ball, 1990: 2). Judgement is based on normality, which is the case of music as the norm of Western classical music.

The efforts of music teachers to reform and work towards equity are often superficial as they engage in multicultural music education and add indigenous flavour to the curriculum. Hess (2017) investigated the discourses, philosophies and practices of White female music teachers by using a multiple case study underpinned by an anti-oppression theoretical framework. She uses anti-colonialism, anti-racism and

antiracist feminism as lenses with counter-hegemonic objectives to introduce teachers to Black music. Her study focuses on race, social justice and equity. The teachers in the study went beyond the superficial appreciation of Black music, which is often the case with multicultural music education programmes. Instead, they confronted their learners with real racist incidents in society. They addressed the notion of White privilege and opposing racism, offering a wide range of music, including Afro-centric genres and challenged the marginalisation of the arts.

The scholarship on the relationship between knowledge and power is evident that knowledge, and for that matter, the curriculum and research cannot be divorced from power and domination and the active subjugation of the other. Knowledge is not neutrally constructed and does not operate in a void (Hall, 2001a). Foucault views knowledge as a form of deliberate power creation and inequity. The interplay between knowledge and power is intentional, direct, repressive and brutal (Hall, 2001a; 2001b). Those in positions of power determine what should be regarded as legitimate school knowledge, especially in the secondary school curriculum. Thus, the testimony of the oppressed was not required in the construction of knowledge of the crime. The voice of the accused and oppressed was not heard during the hearing, and the sentencing took place in the absence of the accused (Foucault, 1977). This notion links to my research methodology, autoethnography, which emphasises the voice of the marginalised, and those subjugated by universalised knowledge.

All knowledge has effects which could include punishment, failure and exclusion. Knowledge reproduces domination and exclusion within our institutions. Therefore, an oppositional stance against the South African music curriculum seeks to understand how structuralism and power distribution impact on how music knowledge is classified and evaluated to be recognised as legitimate and professional within our institutional structures (Goodson & Dowbiggin, 1990). Thus, music curriculum development, as a form of power construction, has as its primary and deliberate objective the maintenance of dominance and the continued silencing of the voice of the subaltern (Apple & Duras, 2006).

From a Foucauldian perspective Boyce-Tillman (2012) argues that we are experiencing a crisis in Western culture which is controlled by a limited group of influential people that focus on the "devastation of the other in various forms including the natural world, different cultures, women, the poor, and the different" (p. 26). She avers that Western classical music, as an encroaching monoculture, minimises creativity, imagination and cultural evolution. This could be ascribed to its literate nature where the performer is bound to the score which generally leaves no room for improvisation. Her analysis of the present-day music curriculum is that of one that promotes a dominant hierarchy that prescribes pre-set lines of thought with "branded bales of marketable results" (Boyce-Tillman, 2012: 26) without considering cultural and social transformation.

Traditional pedagogy entrenches and perpetuates the "dominant culture" (Freire, 2000: 76) in education, resulting in the fact that the majority of learners are exposed to learning content that is hegemonic by nature. Giroux (2011) argues that neo-liberalism with its capitalist nature creates and entrenches "diverse forms of hegemony" (Giroux, 2011: 69) through its influence on dominant structures in society such as education, finance, military, culture, technology and economics. This hegemonic approach dehumanises education whereby education becomes a technical and undemocratic and autocratic process through the curriculum.

Critical pedagogues look at education through a critical conceptual lens focusing on racial inequality (Zamudio, Russell, Rios & Bridgeman 2011: 11). Critical pedagogues postulate that to counter this hegemony; education needs a radical pedagogy based on a variety of theories such as Critical Theory, CRT, neo-Marxism, post-modernism and post-structuralism (Giroux, 2011; Leban & McLaren, 2010). Contrary to traditional pedagogy, critical pedagogy and Critical Race Theory are about a "bottom-up" and "grassroots" approach (Blackburn, 2000: 4).

Critical pedagogues also investigated the role that educational institutions play to overtly and covertly undermine social justice and the culture of democracy through unequal relationships in race, gender, class, sexuality, religion, indigenous issues and physical ability (Kincheloe, 2007: 13). CRT researchers take into account the diverse socio-economic and cultural situations in which educational institutions are

located and how these institutions replicate an unequal society through the curriculum. The imposition of Eurocentric ideologies in the curriculum further entrenches racial inequity.

Critical pedagogues reject racial blindness and propose a race-conscious approach to understanding educational inequity. Race consciousness enables one to understand better and effectively solve inequity in education. Education serves as a powerful tool to ensure White privilege and Black subjugation and the relegation of those not identified and classified as White to unskilled labour and servitude which were promoted since colonialism and later apartheid. Even after the dismantling of apartheid, those who have been endowed with privileges based on their skins fought fiercely for its retention. However, Trina Grillo (2001) posits that 'you cannot get rid of subordination without eliminating the privilege as well' (powell, 2001: 381). The concept of colour-blindness is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

For Abrahams (2007), writing from a critical pedagogic perspective, and applying the ideas of Paulo Freire, music education becomes meaningful when teachers succeed in breaking down the barriers between music that learners experience outside of the music classroom and what they learn through the intervention of the formal curriculum. He explains that empowering, transformative, and liberating learning occurs when teachers succeed in connecting the informal music curriculum with the formal curriculum. Music learning becomes meaningful when learners can see the relevance of music to their lived experiences outside of the classroom. Both the teacher and learners are transformed through a critical pedagogic framework as they resist the hegemonic practices of the music curriculum.

## **2.5 MUSIC AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION**

The concept of social stratification is based on the idea that most societies have an organisational structure based on categories of people who are hierarchically ranked (Platt, 2016). This hierarchy is based on the difference in race, gender, level of education, ability, heritage, birth, economics, wealth and location. In other words, social stratification contributes towards the economic, social and political power of individuals within the social hierarchy. Societies are generally divided into three strata, namely upper, middle, and lower strata (Platt, 2016). However, from a Marxist

point of view, two social classes are distinguished, namely the bourgeoisie (capitalists) and the proletariat (labourers) (Platt, 2016). The bourgeoisie, also perceived as the middle-class, were presumed to possess the cultural and material capital, consisting of property, economic, educational and cultural wealth. The proletariat was in the employ of the bourgeoisie by supplying their services to them in the form of cheap labour, and maintaining and reproducing themselves to ensure that a future cohort of labourers was available.

Those members of society who were deemed more valuable or contributed more to society were rewarded with a larger share of the goods and services. Social stratification intentionally and unintentionally contributed to the inequality of society. Cultural capital was regarded as "instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed" (DiMaggio, 1982: 190). The possession of these scarce cultural items afforded the individual social status and power within a stratified society. It was transferable from generation to generation. Thus, children would naturally retain the status of their parents. Hence, the returns on cultural capital were higher for children from high status and low for those from low status and disadvantaged families.

The unfair and unequal circumstances and opportunities into which individuals are born and live, often contribute towards unequal achievements. Those born in an environment with higher social status are afforded more considerable educational advantages, economic growth, cultural consumption and life chances (Platt, 2016; Stewart, 2016). Therefore, a person coming from a working-class family, or being Black in a racially segregated society, would be perceived as having a lower status in society and would seldom have access to the type of education envisioned for the middle-class citizen.

Bourdieu's (1984) 'sociology of taste' and his concepts of 'habitus' and 'distinction', point to the enculturation of artistic preference, either formally or informally, and how it underpins behaviour. Habitus is cemented through informal impregnation mechanisms which are not regarded as authentic learning. However, according to Coulangeon (2005), this feature of habitus is salient in the realm of musical taste. The history of music and its consumption is strongly linked to socio-economic factors

that impacted social stratification. Musical taste is strongly linked to upward social mobility. There is extensive empirical evidence, both qualitative and quantitative, that there is a secure link between aesthetic choice and social status, origin and cultural capital variables (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2006; Coulangeon, 2005; Danaher, 2010; Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Scott, 2002; Tampulon, 2010; Van Eijck, 1997; Van Eijck, 2001). Through cultural appropriation, the bourgeoisie ensured their assimilation into the upper class and strengthened their cultural domination over the working-class by their choice of music and fine arts.

The research on the association of class, and in some respects race, with musical taste displays varying and often conflicting conceptions about the influence of music and the arts on social stratification. Aharon (2012), postulates that the sociology of culture poses new questions of how culture influences social inequality, social stratification and power relations in society. In her analysis of how 'high culture' shapes social mobility and that upward mobility from a marginal position is assumed to be possible through the attainment of "established modes of cultural expression" (Aharon, 2012: 447). Her study on cultural appropriation is an investigation on how "high culture" is produced and how it shapes social mobility.

Using an ethnographic research methodology, Aharon examines the assimilation of immigrants into the Israeli social hierarchy through music and the appropriation of established modes of musical expression. The path to full integration into the dominant or 'high culture' group is often closed to 'low culture' groups through the politics of difference, for example, racial difference, as was the case during apartheid in South Africa. Cultural appropriation was considered the best option whereby the marginalised groups could retain their ethnic identity yet still establish themselves among the dominant cultural group.

The possession or consumption of 'high culture' and 'legitimate culture' (Aharon, 2012: 453), which was presumed to be universal, secured the integration of the individual into the Western culture. Hence, culture became a social construct that divided society through 'highbrow' and 'lowbrow' cultural tastes (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018). Already from the 17th to 19th-century opera houses served in

the entertainment of the aristocrats and wealthier middle-class. 'Highbrow' culture was a primary means of gaining political power and moral legitimacy, which were accessible to the elite. Western classical music, taking its strength from being universal, was a "stamp of social and cultural acceptability, existing at the pinnacle of the social order ... and presented as a respectable cultural mode" (Aharon, 2012: 453). Classical music, as 'high culture' and associated with respectability and knowledge, was reserved for the upper class during the 17th to the 19th century.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the consumption of the fine arts distinguished the 'highbrow' Anglo Saxons from the 'lowbrow' immigrants whose music was regarded as pure entertainment, containing no artistic and intellectual capital (Peterson & Kern, 1996). Jazz, blues, gospel, folklore and popular music were considered to be rooted in ethnicity, regionality and religion and therefore lacked the global character which was required for 'highbrow' music (Peterson & Kern, 1996). In Victorian London musical taste and its consumption became an influential source of social stratification. This was particularly noticeable as the growing powerful and wealthy bourgeoisie distinguished themselves from the lower class during industrialisation and urbanisation.

The rise of a capitalist economy led to the professionalisation of artistic creation and performance, as well as the publishing of music for more extensive consumption (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018; Scott, 2002). This meant greater economic empowerment for musicians, composers and artists who created an exclusive audience and consumer base for the arts. Music genres such as opera were classified as a form of art "worthy of the status of high culture" (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018: 3). Before this period, the notions 'art' and 'culture' were regarded as pure aesthetic creations unaffected by the economic structure of society.

During the late 19th century the fine arts became a signature of high status for the elite and emerging middle class. Western classical music and opera were regarded as significant factors to determine the social class and provide upward mobility into the upper class (Coulangeon, 2005; Danaher, 2010; Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018; Peterson & Kern, 1996). Attending classical music concerts, ballets, drama productions and visiting art galleries served as a 'valid index' and passport

to the upper class. Besides, the music conservatoire served to groom the elite and upcoming bourgeoisie in the virtuosic performance skills and the conceptual understanding of classical music genres.

In South Africa, social stratification was generally linked to race by the social engineers of apartheid. During apartheid in South Africa, the non-White population was generally relegated to the lower class through legislation and petty apartheid laws, as well as restricting access to formal arts educational opportunities (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b; Roos, 2014; 2015). Hence, access to the 'highbrow' arts through education was politically and strategically restricted to the White population. This did not withhold the emerging Coloured middle-class in their aspirations to be recognised as part of the Westernised culture and ultimately assimilation into the White dominant group.

The small Coloured petite bourgeoisie group distinguished themselves from the lower class Coloured population through economic, educational and cultural material. There was an urgency among them to acquire the knowledge and skills of the Western cultures in their efforts to be integrated into the Western bourgeoisie culture and Whiteness and share its values, aspirations, and social practices (Adhikari, 2005b). The English language, music, drama, art and ballet became important vehicles to achieve this goal. The Coloured elite accepted the international and prestigious English language as representative of rich culture and literature, as the "apotheosis of civilisation" (Adhikari, 2005b: 69) and the gateway to social progress. During apartheid, classical music was reserved for the White population and Coloureds were not included in the symphonic and operatic activities due to their racial classification (Roos, 2014).

The exclusion of Coloureds from formal music education was contested by the Coloured elite, which consisted of educated individuals (Adhikari, 1993). Their contestation took the form of either careful negotiations with the White officialdom or the establishment of their community, church and private arts education initiatives that would substitute the arts education that was supposed to be provided by the state. One of these was the establishment of the Eoan Group, a cultural and welfare initiative which originated in Cape Town in 1933, making the group the oldest

amateur opera, ballet and theatre company in South Africa (Roos, 2014; 2015). It produced eleven operas until its demise in 1976. The mandate of the group was to 'socially uplift' the Coloured community through the exposure and performance of classical music, ballet and drama (Pistorius, 2018; Roos, 2014; 2015).

The group served as an example of cultural accumulation through the fine arts and the English language. (Pistorius (2018) and Roos (2014; 2015) recount on the Coloured experience of the 'highbrow' arts through opera, ballet and drama. In the historiography of the group, it became clear that the reasons for its establishment included more than just the artistic development of the Coloured population. The majority of the members could not read music, but they were able to stage world-class artistic productions ranging from full-scale Italian operas, ballets, dramas and choral works which included eleven operas and three musicals during their existence despite not being funded by the government subsidised arts councils. The media took little notice of this musical development of the Coloureds and regarded it as Coloured entertainment even though they were producing more operas than the existing White provincial arts body, premiered the first indigenous ballet and undertook national and international tours (Pistorius, 2018; Roos, 2014).

It must be noted that the Coloured population did not politically isolate the Eoan Group because they were performing Western classical music, but because they accepted funding from the apartheid government. It is ironic that the achievements of the opera productions of this group of working-class singers neither enjoyed the respect and acknowledgement of the White media and its critics during the time of its existence. Neither does research on Coloured identity adequately cover the historical and cultural impact of the Eoan Group (Pistorius, 2018; Roos, 2014, 2015). Hence, it could be construed that the Coloured population did not reject Eurocentric music, because it was regarded as necessary for the upliftment of the Coloured population and to demand respect and from the dominant White group.

The Eoan group's 'highbrow' arts were in contrast to the jollity of the Coon Carnival tradition and the notion that the Coloured population was a nation without a culture (Adhikari, 2005b). The Coloured culture did not contain sufficient highbrow cultural capital, making it difficult for the Coloured population to be assimilated into the

dominant White culture. The Coloured bourgeoisie perceived the spectacle of dance and marches by the coon carnivals as vulgar and uncivilised. There was not sufficient cultural capital that would convince White people to accept that Coloureds were culturally nearer to them than to the Black population. The 'lowbrow' coons tradition was perceived to promote corrupt morals and had to be avoided.

I argue that people in the higher social stratum tend to have a preference for high or elite culture, whereas individuals in the lower class tend to consume popular mass culture (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). This homologous argument could be regarded as outdated and challenged, since differences in musical taste, consumption and lifestyles have changed and lost their grounding in social stratification as people in the higher social and economic stratum tend towards a more varied taste of music in economically advanced societies (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007).

In post-modern societies, and in a post-apartheid South Africa, individuals align themselves with a broader range of music choices and possibilities to create their own identity and lifestyle independently from their social status (Chan & Goldthorpe, 2007). People across broader social strata now have access to a variety of musical tastes. Significantly, many high-status persons became more eclectic in their music taste by moving from a "snobbish exclusion to omnivorous appropriateness" (Peterson & Kern, 1996: 900) towards the end of the twentieth century.

The term "cultural omnivorousness" was coined by Richard Peterson (1992) in his cultural consumption literature in which he refers to a specific cultural appreciation profile. Omnivorous consumers had an increased breadth of cultural taste and a willingness to cross established hierarchical cultural and genre boundaries. Research by Peterson & Kern (1996) reveals a "hypothesised change" and "historical shift" towards omnivorousness as the elite were more likely to consume the fine arts as well as a wide range of low-status music. According to him, this shift to eclecticism was due to the macro changes experienced in the socioeconomic and political spheres.

Class, like race, is a highly contested social construct with many meanings and interpretations (Platt, 2016). Class could be described as the socio-economic

conditions into which the individual is born. Traditionally the working-class is perceived as the other by the normative middle-class. A person's social status is often based on the racial group to which she or he belongs (Kelly & Majerus 2012). Like race and gender, class is embodied. The body signifies class. Hence, a respectable body is White, desexualised and middle-class (Byrne, 2006). Class is also visible through markers such as clothing, housing and cars, level of education and musical taste. To these criteria, one could add the background of the person, for example, place of birth, the language, and education level of the parents. Stewart (2016), writing about the influence of family background and the conditions under which individuals are born, argues that if inequalities in health, wealth and job quality were exclusively a result of hard work and effort or natural talent, the inequalities in society should not be a concern.

Class is perceived as a form of lifestyle that is made possible through economic wealth (Platt, 2016). Like race and gender, class as a discursive construction has specific visible bodily markers that cause material inequalities, social exclusion and exploitation (Byrne, 2006). In other words, class is determined by what is observed, for example, the type of clothing somebody is wearing, the car driven and type of housing.. Class is not just the way you talk, or dress, or furnish your home; it is not just about the job you do or how much money you make doing it; nor is it merely about whether or not you went to university, nor which university you went to. Class is something "beneath your clothes, under your skin, in your psyche, at the very core of your being" (Byrne, 2006: 106).

The intersection of race with social class has contributed to inequality and exclusion in neo-liberal societies. Class provides opportunities, advantages and privileges to an individual or restricts the upward economic and social mobility of an individual. A distinction, based on a neo-Weberian approach, is made between class and status in that class is normally associated with economic rewards, whereas status provides greater social mobility which may not necessarily be linked to economic rewards. Status is linked to a specific social or professional group. For example, education would provide an individual with social status, but will not necessarily place that individual in the class of the bourgeoisie. Class provides better life opportunities. Black and Coloured populations were not a classless population during apartheid.

There was a definite class distinction in these communities primarily due to the increased access to education and the capitalist nature of society.

Class does not only provide economic empowerment and mobility and access to monetary resources and property rights but also creates cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990; Platt, 2016). Bourdieu (1984) defines cultural capital as the total social assets that an individual possesses. Cultural capital is regarded as "instruments for the appropriation of symbolic wealth, socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed" (Bourdieu, 1984: 190). It comprises the scarce and rare social and cultural assets such as language, cultural, artistic, musical and economic practices.

Cultural capital functions as a social-relation within an economy of practices and comprises the material and symbolic goods that society considers as rare. It affords social status and power. This could include things such as level of education, language and knowledge of the highbrow arts and literature, which will facilitate upward social mobility in a stratified society. Cultural capital functions as a social-relation within an economy and comprises the material and symbolic goods that society considers as rare (DiMaggio, 1982).

Music had a close association with the developing capitalist economy and the upcoming bourgeois. The commodification and professionalisation of music and the arts reached its peak with the late 19th-century industrialisation and the emergence of the bourgeoisie and dominant urban population (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018; Scott, 2002). This meant greater economic empowerment for musicians, composers and artists who created an exclusive audience and consumer base for the arts. Music genres such as opera were classified as a form of art "worthy of the status of high culture" (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018: 3). Before this period, the notions 'art' and 'culture' were regarded as pure aesthetic creations unaffected by the economic structure of society. The upcoming bourgeoisie had access to the concert halls, theatres and art galleries, but it also signalled a message of an anti-mass and anti-bourgeoisie stance that created an exclusionary cultural hierarchy. By the 20th century, 'high culture' was perceived to be in opposition to mass or

popular culture. This, according to Scott (2002), caused a distinct divide between serious art and entertainment.

Social stratification did not only take place in the arts. Kelly and Majerus (2012) report on the results of several ethnographic studies which disclose that learners with a low status in society or those coming from disadvantaged backgrounds tend to be faced with challenges and tend to perform poorer in traditional forms of education than their White counterparts or that they drop out of the system. Their research identifies two challenges that learners with a low social status face. In the first instance, these learners have to act according to the norms which are, in most cases, not related to their social status. Secondly, they have to conform to an institutional culture which prescribes norms and standards associated with high social status. This leads to social creativity, which could be described as non-compliance, rejectionist, institutional disobedience and disengagement from the system.

There is strong evidence that a particular class structure existed in Black and Coloured communities during apartheid. For example, Nyquist (1983) identifies a discernible upper middle class or *abaphakamileo* (high one) within Black communities. Adhikari (1993; 2005b) identifies an upper stratum and petite bourgeoisie and elite in the Coloured population where people distinguished themselves from the proletariat of the "sunken lot" (p. 47). Education was seen as a tool for economic and social mobility and class mobility with the hope of being assimilated into the dominant White group. Integration into Whiteness and greater social and economic mobility exposed more Black and Coloured people to the lifestyle of the middle and upper-class White population as they were introduced to the White artistic and economic practices such as Western classical music. The Coloured and the Black population became more class-conscious and made a deliberate effort to acquaint themselves with the Whiteness and middle-class style associated with the White values and cultural practices

## **2.6 RACE AND MUSIC**

In this section, I focus on how race intersects with music. Western classical music was presumed to be reserved for White people. The lived experiences of the Black

English composer, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor could be regarded as an example of the role that race played in music, especially Western classical music. As an outstanding composition student at the Royal College of Music, and also one of England's most famous composers in the early 1900's, he suffered humiliation because of his black skin. He was of Creole descent due to his Black African father and White English mother and identity transformation (Green, 1990).

Coleridge-Taylor's black skin coexisted with his English identity and Western classical music. Although he was Black on the outside, he was able to reconstruct his identity using Western classical music. His White future in-laws protested vehemently against his marriage to their White daughter, because "the negro ... necessarily belonged to a lower stage of development" (Cook, 2017: 705). Despite his giftedness, he was often laughed at due to his black skin and referred to as "boyish", "nigger" and "Blackie" by the aloof English community, the music academy and British press. However, Coleridge-Taylor regarded himself as "equal to any White man who ever lived" (Cook, 2017: 706).

The notion of Western classical music being reserved for Whites resulted in the historiography of South Africa being silent about the cultural contributions and products of the Coloured population and them being historically written out of the narrative and relegated to a cultural and historical "blind spot" (Adhikari, 2005b: 1). The available sources about the Coloured population have mostly been "journalistic, polemical, speculative, poorly researched or heavily biased" (Adhikari, 2005a: 5). During the apartheid era, few school textbooks covered the Coloured population and those who eventually reached the desks of learners, were either incomplete or had to ascribe to the curriculum prescriptions and ideologies of the White-dominated education system (Adhikari 2005b). This subdued historical trajectory of the Coloured population has contributed to the misconceived perception that they had played an insignificant role in the social, cultural, economic and political development in South Africa (Adhikari, 2005a, 2005b; Johnson, 2017; Lee, 2006; Lewis, 1987).

The superficial analyses of Colouredness often overlook the cultural and musical contribution of the Coloured people. Their music is silenced or diminished and even

belittled as pure entertainment with little artistic and aesthetic value (Martin, 1999; 2006; 2013; Bruinders, 2008). The Coloured population, being a heterogeneous group, displayed creolisation through eclecticism in their cultural practices (Erasmus, 2017). The characteristic of creolisation is often overlooked in the research literature on Colouredness. Instead, the scholarship on Coloureds and their identity tends to focus on the degeneracy of Colouredness due to racial mixedness and supposed lack of culture (Erasmus, 2001). The research tends to focus on the negative essentialism of Colouredness in terms of backwardness, having no culture, miscegenation, drunkenness and poverty (Adhikari, 2005a; 2005b; 2008; 2013; Erasmus, 2001; 2011; Hendricks, 2005; Isaac-Martin, 2015; Lee, Erasmus (2017) describes creolisation as borrowing from other cultures that impacted Coloured identity. Creoleness is discussed in detail in chapter 3.

Creolisation took further shape in the cultural activities of the Coloured population as they practised a fusion of Western classical and indigenous styles of music. Art, and especially music has often been used as a tool to bring diverse cultures together through art creation and performance (Ballantine, 2015; Fredericks, 2015). Due to the heterogeneous composition of the Coloured community in the Western Cape, its music styles demonstrate an eclecticism and hybridity in the mixture of music drawn from the Western classical inspired English and Afrikaans church hymns and gospel songs to a fusion of Cape Malay texts and *ghoema*<sup>11</sup> rhythms. Their music ranged from the jollity of the Coon Carnivals, the marching Christmas choirs, Cape Malay choirs, sacred church music, *langarm* (ballroom) jazz bands, and popular music as well as Western classical music (Bruinders, 2008; Martin, 1998, 1999, 2013). These styles of music are clarified in my narrative as I experienced it as a child.

What is significant is that there was little folk music genre associated with the Coloured community (Martin, 1998). Through their racial designation and separation from the Black and White populations, Coloured cultural practices, such as music, were systematised and inherited which "cemented a distinctive community from heterogeneous elements" (Martin, 1998: 523). In other words, the Coloured

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<sup>11</sup> A *ghoema* is drum without a bottom. It is usually played in Cape Coon Carnival and Cape Malay music.

population had their own musical culture. The racial difference was specially made visible and articulated through the Coon Carnivals and Christmas bands that were unique to the Coloured population in the Western Cape (Bruinders, 2008; Martin, 1998; 1999; 2013).

The small group of the petite bourgeoisie, which included academics, religious leaders, teachers, artists and classical musicians realised the power of the 'highbrow' arts as a means of Westernisation and civilisation of the Coloured population. The stigma associated with Coloured music due to its jollity, drunkenness, vulgarity and pure entertainment and spectacle for the White bosses was disturbing for the Coloured elite (Martin, 1998; 1999). There was the fear that this 'lowbrow' music, generally associated with the Coloured lower class would derail the aspirations of the educated middle-class to be integrated into the dominant White Western culture. The connection of Coloured music to slavery was also an embarrassment for the elite (Baxter, 2001). Significantly, the same group of people who rejected the jollity of the coon culture are now at the forefront fighting for its revival as a means to re-establish Colouredness within the context of the perceived marginality of the Coloured population within the Rainbow Nation discourse.

The research reveals that creolisation took further shape in the cultural activities of the Coloured population as they practised a fusion of Western classical and indigenous styles of music (Martin, 2006; 2013). Art, and especially music has often been used as a tool to bring diverse cultures together through art creation and performance (Ballantine, 2015; Fredericks, 2015). The cultural and music contribution of the Coloured people has been silenced or diminished and even belittled as pure entertainment with little artistic and aesthetic value. Due to the heterogeneous composition of the Coloured community in the Western Cape, its music styles demonstrate an eclecticism and hybridity in the mixture of music drawn from the Western classical inspired English and Afrikaans hymns and gospel songs to a fusion of Cape Malay texts and *ghoema* rhythms, including indigenous music (Martin, 1999; 2013).

Musicianship among the oppressed Coloured community is further demonstrated in the "transgressive" and "pan-ethnic" (Ballantine, 2015: 507) music which embraces

the music of the Coon Carnivals, Christmas choirs, jazz, *langarm* and popular music which are primarily used for entertainment and as personal and community expressions. Music making was predominantly non-formal and was orally and aurally transmitted from generation to generation. Their exposure to Western classical music was restricted to the sacred genres which were generally reserved for the White population

In order to gain more knowledge about Coloured identity in South Africa, I draw on the personal narrative of Zimitri Erasmus (2017) in which her lived experiences reveal essential racial and classed experiences of ambiguity and ambivalence of being not black Black or Black African. As a middle-class Coloured female, she finds herself in a "web of multiple thresholds" (Erasmus, 2017: 23-27) as she seeks greater human-ness in a race-conscious society. She describes her ancestral lineage as a "bundle of lines" and a "bundle of stories" (Erasmus, 2017: 2) that reflect intercontinental and slave movements with the resultant race, cultural and religious integration. She was protected from political activism and teenage pregnancy by her strict policeman father and mother, who was a teacher. Her middle-class parents regarded education, including her music lessons, as essential forms of social mobility within the context of apartheid in which death was "...literally and metaphorically a constitutive feature of everyday life" (Erasmus, 2017: 15).

Her music examination, which she calls a "psycho-social encounter" (Erasmus, 2017: 15), exposes a negative epiphany with "interactional moments" or "moments of crisis" (Denzin, 2014: 52). It left on her the marks of humiliation and pain after failing the examination. The experience was her first encounter with the wealth, aloofness and power of Whiteness as she entered a mansion with a music room in which a grand piano was the only piece of furniture. She did not only fail the music examination, but she failed the assimilation test into Whiteness and the upper social strata. Reflecting on her music examination and Whiteness, she regards her experience as a humiliation that is characteristic of Black life in an anti-Black world. For her, writing her autoethnography was a "saving moment" (Bartleet & Ellis, 2009: 2), which provided her with an opportunity to express her grief and to regain her self-concept and self-worth.

## **2.7 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, I have discussed the importance of the review of the existing literature. I have explored the scholarship on autoethnography in order to have a deeper understanding of autoethnography as a research method. The literature contextualised my topic within the local and global context. My literature review provided an understanding of the workings of race, music and the curriculum in society.

I organised my literature review logically in four themes. I concentrated on the narratives, self-studies and autoethnographies of other researchers and the challenges that they had encountered. I studied case studies and ethnographies that focused on identity formation and how music and music education played a significant role in how individuals identified themselves in terms of race and class. The scholarship has also emphasised the impact of race, music and class on how societies are structured through cultural capital and musical taste.

The literature review provided insight into what has been researched on my topic and whether my study would make a significant contribution and bring new perspectives and knowledge to the existing research field (Hofstee, 2006). Through the literature review, I have grounded my study in scholarship and prepared the theoretical framework which I will discuss in the next chapter.

### 3. CHAPTER 3: FRAMING MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY IN THEORY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

Theory gives "symbolic legitimacy" to my autoethnography (Levinson, 2011: 1). Etymologically the word theory originates from the word *theoria*, which links the term to the theatre, which reflects symbolically. The Greek word for theory is "viewing" or "being a spectator". Theory helps to explain past events, but it also serves to predict what could happen if the present and future circumstances remain the same (Williams, 2013: 2). Although it is not fixed or absolute, it provides the best possible interpretation of a sociological happening at a particular point in time. The nature and function of a theoretical foundation of any research study, and how to gain knowledge of the world and its social structures, in this case my lived experiences within the South African music curriculum, cannot be divorced from theory and the existing scholarship (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Howell, 2013).

This chapter explicates the theoretical framework of my autoethnography. It grounds my study in the theoretical literature on the articulation of race and racism in a racialised society. Through theorising, I situate my autoethnography within the scholarly domain of empirical research (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Booth, Papaioannou & Sutton, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Tuckman & Harper, 2012). It adds scholarly rigour to my autoethnography by transcending beyond the story level and generating rich abstract data. Through meta-theorising, my autoethnography obtains philosophical and sociological meaning. Through theorising, I can "lift the veil" and to "see the dots" (Levinson, 2011: 6) that link the epiphanies of my autoethnography to give me a better grasp and understanding of my personal lived experiences in the music curriculum.

My theorising starts with an explanation of the nature of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and its origin within the legal jurisprudence system. I explicate the term "race" as a social-political construct that creates racial hierarchies with the deliberate intention to establish and retain unequal power relations in post-colonial societies. I discuss how race intersects with other forms of otherness, such as gender, sexual orientation, class, ability, religion and language and how this intersectionality entrenches inequality. My theorising of race concludes with a discussion of

Colouredness and mixed race within a raced and classed society, such as South Africa. I explicate how hybridity, mixedness, racial impurity and creolisation contribute towards further discrimination against people of colour and relegating them to an intermediary status. In this regard, I draw on the writings of Adhikari (2002; 2003; 2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2008; 2013) and Erasmus (2001; 2011; 2013; 2017) and others who theorise on hybridity, mixedness and creoleness within the South African context.

### **3.2 CONTESTATION AS A MODE OF ENQUIRY**

Norms, according to Wiener (2017), are the means through which human beings coordinate their actions. Once a norm has been established, it is diffused and institutionalised, and individuals act according to those norms (Bueger, 2017). Contestation, as a mode of research, involves processes of arbitration, deliberation, justification, and contention. Hence, through my autoethnography, I seek those moments of crises that display a contestation with the normative and how I justified my actions even though they could be regarded as controversial.

The concept of "contestation" is often loosely defined as an analytical tool (Wiener, 2017). The popular notion implies the outright rejection of the normative or the status quo. As a social practice, contestation commonly occurs through non-compliance with the norm, which includes the rules, regulations and the values underpinning the norm. This type of contestation is reactionary with little intention to change the condition of life. It is often a natural and under-analysed response to the normative. Contestation, as a mode of critique, is more than just an objection to the normative.

A theory of contestation leads beyond the definition of the discursive and social practice of rejection and objection. Wiener (2017) identified four means of contestation, namely arbitration, deliberation, contention and justification. In each context, one mode of contestation could be more potent than the others. These modes of contestation involve personal as well as an external intervention before an outright objection. Although there could be disagreement with the norm, the resultant action is justified by a conceptual understanding of the norm gained through processes of arbitration and deliberation.

Wiener (2017) contends that contestation changes as individuals cross borders, or when dormant contestations are called to life. Border crossing and the "normative baggage" (Wiener, 2017: 113) cause tension and conflict. She explains that in a diverse and inter-cultural context, shared norms often clash and culminate in conflict. For her, contestation is a meta-organizing principle and a representation of dormant contestations which become the starting point for contesting at the meso-level of governance. As a mode of enquiry, a theory of contestation accommodates diversity, but simultaneously it maintains norms concerning the practices of norm validation.

### **3.3 CRITICAL THEORY AND CRITICAL RACE THEORY**

The concept of critical theory originated with a group of German-American theorists linked to the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany (Rush, 2006). The school of thought aimed to promote Marxist and Freudian psychoanalytical theories that would work towards the enhancement of a capitalist society. These theorists included Horkheimer, Adorno, Marcuse, Lowenthal and Fromm (Rush, 2006). In 1937 their neo-Marxist theories became known as "critical theory" (Hinchey, 2010; Kellner, 2015; Rush, 2006). Critical theory is about critiquing the status quo, which benefits a minority and hampers social transformation.

Hamera (2011) perceives critical theory as a verb or something that you do. To her, 'doing' critical theory means to interrogate our research methods, where we do research, our scholarly representation and the structures that promote privilege and inequality (Hamera, 2011: 319). Critical theory challenges the dominant culture and works towards human emancipation and social justice (Freire, 2000; Giroux, 2011; Irwin, 2012; Kellner, 2015; McLaren, 1995; McLaren & Kincheloe, 2007; Rush, 2006). It is about the improvement of society through fearless critiquing of oppression of groups within society through new and radical perspectives. Critical theory allows us to explore new ventures and to make radical changes to improve the lives of the disenfranchised and marginalised and giving them hope and creating new possibilities (Hinchey, 2010).

In the mid-1970s and 1980s the principles of critical theory found a new home in the Critical Race Theory (CRT) movement in the United States when a group of

discontented left-wing legal scholars critiqued the American legal system on the basis of colour-blindness and race-neutrality (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Gillborn & Youdell, 2009; Han, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Taylor, Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2009; Zamudio et al., 2011). CRT's pioneering legal scholars were Derrick Bell, Alan Freeman and Richard Delgado and Kimberlé Crenshaw (Crenshaw, 2011; De Cuir & Dixon, 2004; Delgado, Gillborn & Youdell, 2009; Treviño, Harris & Wallace, 2008).

CRT was an outflow of philosophical critique and was characterised by its activism against racism and elitist institutions which wanted to retain the status quo (Ladson-Billings, 1998; 2003; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006). CRT demanded that institutions revisit and transform their conceptualisation of race neutrality, which was used to exclude the other. Through extensive publications, critical race scholars critiqued the Critical Legal Studies (CLS) movement consisting of predominantly White Marxist and post-modernist legal scholars, who wanted to uncover the ideological underpinnings of American jurisprudence (Delgado, Gillborn & Youdell, 2009). Liberal legal scholars believed that the system of law reflected the privileged subjectivity of those in power.

Critical Race Theorists argued that American society side-lined an open and honest discussion about race, racial oppression and human rights, which were essential concerns for Black Americans. The focus on White-Black relations in the law profession spread to other disciplines such as education (Han, 2014; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006). The movement adopted a stance that presumed that past racism contributed to contemporary inequity and the manifestation of group advantage and disadvantage.

### **3.4 THE CENTRALITY OF RACE AND RACISM**

Critical Race Theory acknowledges the reality of race and its relevance to the construction of a society based on humanity and equality and challenges how race and racial power are disregarded and underplayed (Dunbar, 2008: 4; Parker & Lynn, 2009: 149). On the other hand, First World political philosophy disregards and ghettoises race through "intellectual segregation" (Mills, 1998: 97) and focuses its attention on diversity, multiculturalism, sex and corruption. Non-Western and Black

philosophers, on the other hand, show an increased philosophical interest in matters such as race, racism, decolonisation, feminism, Afrocentricism, Pan-Africanism, nonracialism, humanism, culture and identity (Appiah, 1996; Erasmus, 2017; Jansen, 2017; Gutmann, 1996; MacDonald, 2006; Mills, 1998; Mbembe, 2017). Black philosophers also regard race as an essential social construct in their struggle towards a more human society based on justice and equality. Thus, race gives meaning to how we interpret and contest history and unequal power relations.

Racism is conceptualised as "an ideology through which the domination or marginalisation of certain 'races' by another 'race' or 'races' is enacted and legitimated ... a set of ideas or discursive and material practices aimed at (re)producing and justifying systematic inequalities between 'races' as socialised groups" (Kasese-Hara, 2006: 248). CRT's point of departure is that racism is embedded in post-colonial and post-apartheid societies. CRT works from the premise that race and racism are critical and central to how society and its structures are organised. Liberal legal scholars believed that the system of law reflected the privileged subjectivity of those in power, and believed that the law could not be unbiased, race and class neutral. Critical Race Theorists further argued that race and racism were secretively hidden in social constructs, such as educational institutions (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006).

The centrality of race is confirmed by the scholarship on race which shows evidence that racism is alive despite the decolonisation and democratisation of regimes, such as apartheid, which were based on racial ideologies (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2014; Durden, McMunn Dooley & Truscott, 2016; Durrheim, Mtose & Brown, 2011; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006; McKaiser, 2015; Solórzano, 1998). CRT has the intention to uncover the everyday forms of racism, commonly regarded as "racial micro-aggressions" (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015: 297). According to McKaiser (2015), the legislated overt and 'bloody' racism has been covertly replaced by what he calls "non-bloody racism" ( McKaiser, 2015: 9).

Racism emerged from macro-aggressions, such as apartheid with its "savage inequalities" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006: 13). It found its foundation in White superiority and apartheid in South Africa, which was used to justify racist structures

and behaviour. In contrast, to legalised macro-racism, racism as a form of micro-aggression appears normal and natural (Ladson-Billings, 2003a; 2003b; Rollock 2013), which makes it difficult to detect, define or describe it. Racism is "everyday assaults", "layered assaults" and "cumulative assaults" (Pérez Huber & Solórzano, 2015: 298-302) to harm and bring psychological pain.

Racism is commonly and incorrectly regarded as static, irrational and a result of prejudice and stereotyping. However, a more in-depth analysis of racism reveals that it is an active and rational phenomenon with a "material foundation" (Bonilla-Silva, 2015: 74), which affects systemic structures. Worldwide racism has undergone deep-rooted changes. For, example, in South Africa, the blatant or apartheid-style racism based on White superiority and Black negativity has become socially and even constitutionally unacceptable and a criminal act. However, open and aggressive racism, as experienced during apartheid, is often replaced by subtle racism which is privately and institutionally articulated, making it difficult to be detected and addressed. Durrheim, Mtose and Brown (2011) identify three types of modern racism, namely symbolic racism, aversive racism, laissez-faire racism and colour-blind racism.

Symbolic racism replaced the open dislike and hatred for Blacks with the feeling that Black people are intruding Whiteness through their presence. For example, there is the feeling that Black people are making unfair demands to change the racial status quo. Symbolic racism rejects the affirmation of Black people based on the belief that Black people are responsible for their own disadvantaged position and not yet ready to qualify to occupy roles of responsibility and accountability. There is the perception that White people have worked hard to attain their level of economic and cultural achievement. Symbolic racists commonly express their dislike of Black people in private.

Aversive racism, on the other hand, is based on the notion of tolerating Blackness but with a "deep-seated racial prejudice" (Durrheim, et al., 2011: 73), racial stereotypes and bias towards White people. This type of racism associates Whiteness with positive attributes and Blackness with negativity. In aversive racism, representation becomes a powerful tool for domination. It is especially enhanced

through the media, which portray Whiteness as beautiful and successful and Blackness as stupid, funny, corrupt and violent. This type of racism is also present among Black people and contributes unintentionally to the internalisation of White supremacy and Black oppression (hooks, 2009).

Racism is also articulated through laissez-faire and colour-blind racists who oppose affirmative action because according to them, Black people already have the rights to change their own lives in a free, democratic, race-neutral and open society (Durrheim, et al. (2011)). It works towards the legitimisation and preservation of White privilege and entitlement. For example, with laissez-faire racism, Whites are willing to accept the integration of schools as long as their cultural, religious and language preferences are not affected by the infiltration of Blacks.

The rationality of racism is based on the fact that White actors of racism support overt, covert and racialised behaviour because it benefits them. A prejudiced perspective of racism could be regarded as a reflection of how people accept it as common sense and as something taken-for-granted. This interpretation provides a short and causal explanation and describes why individual Whites follow the racial protocols of society.

Due to subtle and covert articulation, the aggressor sometimes fails to see it as an act of discrimination and consequential hurt inflicted upon the oppressed. The purpose of CRT is to disrupt and eradicate racism that subtly excludes, marginalises and minimises people of colour and their culture. A CRT lens does not only reveal structural racism but also uncovers "micro-aggressions" of racism that are intentionally and unintentionally inflicted upon individuals and taken for granted (Solórzano, 2014).

### **3.5 COLOUR-BLINDNESS AND MERITOCRACY**

Colour-blindness is generally associated with liberalism. However, the ignorance of race is a "longstanding conservative project" Crenshaw (2011: 1319) Colour-blindness is associated with racial enlightenment which deliberately avoids the race issue. According to Crenshaw:

...post-racialism becomes the vehicle for a colourblind agenda, the material consequences of racial exploitation and social violence - including the persistence of educational inequity, the disproportionate racial patterns of criminalisation and incarceration, and the deepening patterns of economic stratification - slide further into obscurity. Under the thrall of post-racialism, these stubborn conditions pose little challenge to interpreting the historical election of one politician as the end of racism (Crenshaw, 2011: 1327).

CRT opposes the liberal view of race neutrality, colour-blindness and meritocracy as factors that sustain inequality wherein Black people occupy a liminal and marginalised position (Dixon & Rousseau, 2006; Dunbar, 2008; Gillborn & Ladson-Billings, 2009; Gillborn & Youdell, 2009; Han, 2014; Ladson-Billings, 1998, 2003a; 2003b; Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2014; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006; Rousseau & Dixon, 2006). CRT adopts a stance that past racism contributed to contemporary inequity and the manifestation of group advantage and disadvantage. The slow transformation of educational institutions and structures is often attributed to colour-blindness and meritocracy. In a race-neutral and meritocratic society discrimination becomes invisible and is taken for granted because interactions are not linked to racial discrimination but to individual ability and merit (Crenshaw, 2011; Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller & Thomas, 1995).

Colour-blindness neutralises race and focuses on non-racialism and meritocracy, that is, the individual's ability and qualities (see Gutmann, 2001). Colour-blindness, a product of liberalism sees no race, gender, location and class and everyone is seen as equal. Colour-blindness operates from the premise that racism can only take place as a result of political arrangements and the legislation associated with it (Zamudio, Russell, Rios & Bridgeman, 2011). To ignore the concept of race under the moral pretention of colour-blindness, and the claim that human existence and relations are race-neutral perpetuates inequality and racial privilege and leads to what powell (2001) refers to as "racial privileging" and "supraracialism" (powell, 2001: 372-373).

In South Africa, racial privileging and supraracialism dominated human existence during the colonial and apartheid eras. Hence, today, racial groups still struggle to come to terms with the racial baggage that they have carried during these eras. The concept of rainbowism is blurred, with some people not feeling part of the rainbow as it is the case with the Coloured population in the transforming South Africa. For example, there is a perception among Coloured that they are further marginalised within the new Black-dominated political arena in South Africa (James, Calguire & Cullinan, 1996; Rasool, 1996). The rainbow nationalism of the democratic South African society is regarded as "an arid ideology that is long on rhetoric, but short on practical solutions to racially defined problems" (Adhikari, 2015b: 185).

Race consciousness is regarded as imperative to achieve social justice and material improvement in the lives of oppressed Black people (Delgado & Stefancic, 1993). The rejection of race as an "objective analytical category" (Phillips & Platt, 2016: 245) is disputed by other race theorists scholars who argue that race is a reality in neo-liberal societies (Beach, Lunneblad, 2014; Han, 2014; Hopson & Dixson, 2014; Leonardo, 2009). Hence, Gutmann (1996) argues for a colour-conscious approach to redress inequality on the basis that although colour-blindness is regarded as a liberal approach to race, it is a neo-conservative approach to hide the evils of racial injustice. Zamudio, Russell, Rios & Bridgeman (2001: 22) state:

The notions, ideas, forms of interaction developed to produce and reproduce inequality have moved beyond the legal scriptures that allowed man and woman to own man and woman, to force people off their land, to colonize them for their labor, to marginalize their children, to determine their status and place in society, and to develop ways of thinking and knowing that legitimized the inequality created in the process.

To be colour-blind means to remain silent about racial injustices. Racial discrimination cannot be swept under the carpet or wished away after years of legalised systematic instantiation of racial injustice and disproportionate harm against Black people. Neo-conservatives regard colour-consciousness and affirmative action as reverse racism by correcting one wrong with another wrong. This neo-conservative colour-blindness approach is based on the assumption that the restoration of the dignity of the marginalised and the decolonisation of our

thoughts and actions are not required. This neo-conservative approach, in itself, entrenches White supremacy and perpetuates the subjugation of Black people (Gutmann, 1996). Colour-blindness allows the perpetrator and racist to find a reason for racism and not identify race as the origin of racism. Gutmann (1996) and Powell (2001) argue for a race-conscious approach that affirms Black people through policies that take cognisance of the racial hierarchy in which individuals have found themselves in the past.

Meritocracy could be regarded as an outflow of colour-blindness. It is based on criteria of racial objectivity and detachment from a socio-political and historical context to reinforce Whiteness (Hylton, 2012). Critical race theorists point to the fact that the playing field is not level to enable previously disadvantaged Black individuals to perform within a meritocratic economy, education and other spheres of society. They contest the societal myth of meritocracy as more than merely an ideological connotation. Meritocracy is based on the fact that those who fail to be successful, due to natural ability and conscientious work, can only blame themselves, their families and a turn of luck. It is built on the perception that free education provides all learners with opportunities to succeed, and no other factors, such as race, poverty and class can influence their success. Meritocracy expects the individual to succeed even if the broader society does not provide equal opportunities to all. It conjures up a society where individuals rise and fall solely on their merit (Hylton, 2012).

### **3.6 CRITICAL RACE THEORY METHODOLOGY**

Knowledge construction does not occur in a neutral, objective and historical-political vacuum (Hall, 2001a; Livholt & Tamboukou, 2015). It is never objective, but is historically and politically laden, meaning that past and present events, as well as power relations, determine its construction. Power is implicated in our determination of how and when knowledge should be applied. The scholarship on the relationship between knowledge and power elucidates that knowledge, and for that matter, research, cannot be divorced from power and domination and the effective exclusion and subjugation of the other. The application of knowledge and the effect it would have been more important than its validity and truth. The connection of knowledge

to power assumes its authority of truth and has the power to "make itself true" (Hall, 2001a: 76).

Foucault's theorisation about power, knowledge and control challenges orthodox theories and puts it under the critical scrutiny of the binaries of oppression and oppressed, constraint and freedom. He views knowledge as a form of deliberate power creation and inequity. The "interplay" between knowledge and power" (Hall, 2001a: 76) is intentional, direct, repressive and brutal. Those in possession of power determine what should be regarded as legitimate knowledge. All knowledge has effects which could include punishment, failure and exclusion (Foucault, 1989).

Knowledge reproduces domination and exclusion within our institutions (Giroux, 2011). Therefore, an oppositional stance against traditional and Western theories seeks to understand how structuralism and power distribution impact the manner how research is classified and evaluated and recognised as legitimate and professional within our institutional structures (Goodson & Dowbiggin, 1990). Research as a form of power construction has as its primary and deliberate objective the maintenance of dominance and the continued silencing of the voice of the subaltern (Apple & Duras, 2006). Disruption of power relations through knowledge construction is generally contested by those enjoying privileges which stem from unequal power relations.

CRT contests the hegemonic Western theories for their contention that they are the only form of knowledge that makes scientific and academic sense. It questions the unequal power relations that are created by the binaries of researcher/ researched, Eurocentric/indigenous, White/Black, male/female influence and how research is undertaken and analysed (Dunbar, 2008; Midgley, Tyler, Danaher & Mander, 2011). The power of knowledge in education research is articulated in the concept of binary – a structuralist concept that describes representation based on either/or logic (Mander, Danaher, Tyler & Midgley, W. 2011). Binaries are expressed in situations where one member is considered to be more powerful, suitable, normal and acceptable, whereas the contrasting member represents the powerless, unsuitable, abnormal and unacceptable. In a binary, one member has the upper hand over the

other. In research, a simple binary could be Western/indigenous, White/Black, masculinity/feminism and researcher/researched.

From a post-structuralist and Foucauldian perspective, the knowledge gained through research is understood not as a reflection and transmitter of external truths, but as contingent and constructed; and linked intimately to power (Hall, 2001b; Foucault, 1989; 2002; Koopman & Matza, 2013). Foucault's disruptive and challenging theories about the history of ideas seem to have nothing to do with education and research. However, a more in-depth study of his writings discloses his critique of the normalised "education enterprise" and his rejection of what is regarded as "universal knowledge" (Metro-Roland, 2011: 139). There are increasing attempts to deconstruct, disrupt and transform binaries to decolonise education and create equality between the research and the researched.

A researcher often has to recontextualise a binary when there is a need to apply a research methodology that is beyond the positivism, objectivity and race neutrality of specific Western theories. Foreign and non-Western methods and methodologies are often perceived as invalid and suspicious by traditional researchers. However, Saito (2011) argues that the validity of a methodology cannot be discarded based on dualism, and essentialist categories supported by the discourse of binary. He further explains that such distrust is circular and limiting and fails to reflect on its dichotomous assumptions.

Critical Race Theory challenges the grand narrative of the White normative of research paradigms with its emphasis on race-neutrality, objectivity and universality (Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2014; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006; Solórzano, 1998). CRT contests the hegemonic Western theories for being proposed as the only form of knowledge that makes scientific and academic sense. CRT questions the unequal power relations that are created by the binaries of researcher/researched, Eurocentric/indigenous, White/Black, male/female influence, and how research is conducted and analysed (Dunbar, 2008; Midgley, Tyler, Danaher & Mander, 2011). CRT rejects the hegemonic and dominant Western orthodox ideologies and challenges Western and White male-dominated research paradigms which approach the issue of race objectively (Parker & Lynn, 2009;

Solórzano, 2009). The traditional knowledge of the upper and middle class is regarded as carrying more value than that of the lower class. Hence, in the colonial mind, the colonised is presumed to possess less cultural capital and social skills, and therefore, their knowledge is not regarded as wealth.

CRT challenges the utilisation of "White codes" to construct, reconstruct, distribute and control knowledge from a "White privilege position" (Baffoe, Asimeng-Boahene & Ogbuangu, 2014: 13). In a White male-dominated research paradigm, the knowledge produced by researchers from the so-called Third World is regarded as containing less value. Black researchers and their experiences, theories and research methodologies are kept at a marginal and liminal position through objectivity, race-neutrality and colour-blindness of Eurocentric research (Mills, 1998; Rollock, 2013; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009). Through CRT, we recognise and acknowledge the various forms of knowledge, skills and abilities that marginalised communities possess. CRT further challenges "traditional interpretations of cultural capital" (Yosso (2005: 69) and calls for the transformation of theorising and epistemology to allow for the views of Black and marginalised people to be heard.

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CRT challenges ahistoricism which does not take the contextual and historical analysis of education into consideration. By drawing on post-structuralism, CRT critiques the construction of privileged, ahistorical and apolitical knowledge, and the structural way in which to understand the world as a means to perpetuate unequal power relations and socially unjust societies (Youdell, 2006). Post-structuralists argue that to understand a phenomenon, it is necessary to study both the phenomenon and the structures of society that produce the phenomenon.

### 3.7 CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND COUNTER-STORY TELLING

Linking to the previous tenet, CRT recognises the experiences of indigenous Black people in knowledge construction and analysis. It moves away from the “deficit view” (Yosso, 2005: 69) that we have of Black people by shifting power to the powerless. It challenges the master narrative, and dominant perspective through counter-stories heard from the perspective of the Black oppressed (Ladson-Billings, 2003; Zamusio, 2011). Mainstream and Eurocentric epistemologies, through their presumptuous neutrality of race and racism, ignore the orate and literary history of Black experiences which are filled with stories and parables which reveal the true feelings of Black persons (Mills, 1998: 29).

Black people, and especially females, often occupy a "liminal space of alterity" (Rollock, 2013: 492) and are subjected to the "dominant cultural mode" (Dunbar, 2008: 3) of Western research done by White males. Marginalised people are regarded as research objects and the "other". Orthodox epistemologies, rooted in hegemonic Western points of view, have an underrepresentation of Black and non-European scholars and the richness of African philosophies.

Critical race theorists contest the notion that writing about lived experiences through autobiographical genres is reserved for White males. The notion that autobiography is reserved for White males prompted Dawjee (2018) to introduce her book about her experiences as a Coloured woman in a White male-dominated South Africa as follows:

No one owns their stories and the telling of them like White male writers. They are given endless opportunities for it. They can write about anything. They can pen rants about white-men problems and white-men wealth. They can wax lyrical about cars and boats and spaceships. They can have reams and reams of motivational articles published about 'bosses'. Without, mind you, ever having to refer to sexual harassment, unequal opportunities, discrimination or unequal pay. But the cherry on the vanilla cake is that they also get to write the soft, sensitive, soulful stuff. You know? (Dawjee, 2018: 1).

Lastly, CRT contributes towards social justice and the elimination of racial discrimination and oppression to create a better society. Finally, CRT is interdisciplinary and intersectional. CRT is transferable to other social issues, such

as education, with which post-colonial and post-apartheid South African society is struggling.

### **3.8 RACE AS A SOCIO-POLITICAL CONSTRUCT**

In order to understand Critical Race Theory, one needs to understand the origin, nature and significance of race and its working in society. There is a great need to develop a more in-depth and useful racial theory and sociology of race in order to understand how race and racism articulate in the 21st century. The perspectives and interpretation of race have been grounded on historical, anthropological, biological, physical, genetic, philosophical or societal principles. Sociologists regard "race" as one of the biggest challenges and have often responded to it with uncertainty about its social and political significance (Golash-Boza, 2016; Soudien, 2012; Winant, 2000).

Sociologists admit that due to its complexity, comparable to other areas of sociological research, such as culture, religion, sex and education, race is under-researched and inadequately conceptualised without a clear-cut interpretation (Brunsma, Embrick & Nanney, 2015; hooks, 1994; 2009; Hopson & Dixon, 2014; Soudien, 2012). This is confirmed by Mbembe (2017: 10) who posits that anthropologist, historians and sociologists can only speak about the phenomenon of race in "fatally imperfect language, grey and inadequate" (Mbembe, 2017: 10). He continues to describe the concept as a "perverse complex, a generator of fears and torments, of disturbing thoughts and terror, but especially of infinite sufferings and, ultimately, catastrophe" (Mbembe, 2017: 10).

The dearth of scholarship on the concept of race approaches it from a historical, as well as a social perspective, which is often grounded in the socio-political-cultural paradigm, drawing on the writings of Du Bois and Fanon. Race is not only a complex phenomenon, but the sociological perspectives of race also display instability, because they reflect the constant political changes that surround them (Winant 2000). Social, political and cultural differences are often grounded in race, which responds to and naturalises racialised exclusion based on genetic and biological differences (Gunaratnam 2003). Race is relational in its stratification of social, political and economic hierarchies and inequality through access to or withholding

of privileges and advantages in a racialized context (Appiah & Gutmann, 1996; Mbembe, 2017; Wilkins, 1996). This notion supports Erasmus' (2017) assertion of race used as a socio-political classification to give freedom and privileges to somebody with a White skin and to enslave somebody with a black skin.

The description of the human being from an evolutionary-biological, anthropological and social perspective has always been a myth (Dynes & Lee, 2008). The meaning of the term "race" is demystified by explicating its function in the construction of unequal relations of power in societies based on racial difference (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Golash-Boza, 2016; Han, 2014; Hopson & Dixon, 2014; Soudien, 2012). The myth of race becomes a reality when human beings act racially in their construction of social interaction and power relations (Prah, 2002). We should investigate how race is animated in our raced and "social laboratory" (Soudien, 2012: 2), and how it is applied to structure our institutions and curricula.

The hierarchy of race was already established in the 9th century, with the perception that people of "dark skin" were suitable for manual labour, and those with "light skin" for leisure activities (Golash-Gora. 2016: 130). Race is a White and European invention. It is, for the most part, a product of colonialism as the European and North American settlers invaded Black occupied regions across the world in the seventeenth century (Duncan, 2002; Erasmus, 2017; Golash-Boza, 2016; MacDonald, 2006). Erasmus (2017) explains that skin colour and other physical features were the primary criteria used by European colonists for socio-political classification. The term "race" was introduced not only to describe physical differences between the European settlers and indigenous tribes, but also to allocate an inferior position to the indigenous Black population based on physical differences. It became the social and ideological construct to distinguish between racial groups to display displaying superiority or dominance of one racial group over another (Solórzano, 2009: 131).

In discussing and analysing a complex, blurred and problematic phenomenon such as "race", one has to take into consideration all ideas related to that concept. The idea of race links to Appiah's (2006) philosophical notion of "race" in his attempt to give meaning to this under-theorised concept of race. He identifies two approaches

to the description and analysis of race, namely the "ideational" and "referential" meaning of it (Appiah, 2006: 33). He avers that the "idea" of race involves how one thinks about it and what is regarded as the core truth about it. The referential notion refers to what relates to race, such as physical features, culture and class (Appiah, 2006). In most instances, when we want to make meaning of the concept of race, we do not isolate these two approaches but combine them to make a judgement. This is regarded as the process of racialisation.

Through the process of racialisation, we obtain a social and political meaning to race and its theoretical conceptualisation (Hopson & Dixson, 2014). Racialisation also covertly perpetuates everyday and taken-for-granted racism and *rassehaat* (race peril) that hinders the desired post-racial social justice and the restoration of oppressed individuals and groups (Hopson & Dixson, 2014; Qunta, 2016). Racialisation. The description and interpretation of race are often founded on physical features, such as skin colour, the shape of the nose, hair texture, buttocks, hips, lips and genitalia.

Subdominant groups who do not possess the appropriate physical features were seen as subhuman and inferior and subjected to subordination, exploitation, oppression, marginalisation and exclusion (Gunaratnam, 2003). It gives reason to unequal treatment, injustices and subjugation that provide unearned privileges to those with the normative White features, and slavery and oppression to those associated with Blackness (Mbembe, 2017). Those individuals who do not fit into the normative framework in terms of physical and biological qualities, become the "other" in society, and can thus not expect to enjoy the same educational, economic and cultural opportunities that the superior race is enjoying.

The biological and genetic notion served the "political and social construct" (Gunaratnam, 2003: 4) of race, which was the primary driving force behind oppressive ideologies such as apartheid in South Africa. In South Africa colonialism, and later apartheid, turned the articulation of physiognomy, together with culture, language and ancestry, into something that determined human existence and self-worth with the social, political and economic rights attached to it (Erasmus, 2017; Soudien; 2001; 2012; Stevens, Franchi & Swart, 2008; Williams & Eberhart, 2008).

Physiognomy served as the organising principle to distinguish between master and slave, existence and non-existence. It also helped to shape, negotiate and manage social, economic and political relationships.

Individuals make choices of acceptance or rejection of other human beings founded on their racial beliefs, which are normally based on physical appearance. This conception then results in those disadvantaged Black groups not ascribing to the physical normative to be further disregarded and isolated in terms of economic and social opportunities and promotion. The determination of race based on biological characteristics creates racial in-groups and out-groups, thereby excluding the disadvantaged population and eventually making it invisible (Williams & Eberhardt, 2008). Physical appearance as a criterion provides the right to privilege and opposes any attempt to give those same privileges to Black people (hooks, 1994; Qunta, 2016).

I argue that race should be analysed from a social constructivist perspective. I further argue that race is more than biological, scientific and essentialist, but is a social, political and economic construct that is applied to perpetuate domination, racism and inequality in society. Contemporary sociologists argue that human beings, irrespective of their racial markings, are connected in a single and indivisible race (Duncan, 2002; Mbembe, 2017; Phillips & Platt, 2016; Soudien, 2012). The insignificant biological markers of pigmentation and physiognomy constitute less than a single percentage of the human being's genetic make-up (Soudien, 2012). This notion of race strips the concept of race of its essentialist and biological descriptive nature. Thus, based on this argument, race cannot only be described in terms of the pigmentation of the skin, size of the nose and texture of the hair. Race is more than physical elements. In essence it is an idealistic fictitious concept (Duncan, 2002).

Although race is fictitious and genetically unreal, it continues to create undesirable social imbalances and power relations even in democracies. Racism and racist ideologies, such as segregation in South Africa, the United States and Brazil originated from race. Race is a reality, and this has contributed towards the domination by the White race over others. Race is a discursive category around

which social, political and economic power relations are created in order to exploit and exclude the other through the reification of meritocracy founded on racism and thereby constructs unequal power relations and discrimination in modern society and educational practices. In South Africa, it has been a significant "maker of social, political and economic entitlement and organisation" (Duncan, 2002: 117).

### **3.9 BLACKNESS AS A SOCIAL CONSTRUCT**

The word "black", according to Mbembe (2017), refers to something and "a name given to me by somebody else" (p. 151). It has weight and density, which provokes a sensation, a feeling, or even resentment. The weight and density of the word are intended to inflict pain, insult, and wound the person to which it is directed. To be Black is to be degraded and objectified in order to be described as inhuman. Blackness is intended to be made obscure, invisible and unheard. Mbembe (2017) associated "black" with obscurity, which objectifies and makes the Black person obscure. Blackness is associated with claustrophobia, suffocation, amputation, murder, death and being buried alive "along with the silence to which the thing necessarily had to be reduced - the order to be quiet and remain unseen" (Mbembe, 2017: 152).

Fanon (2008) describes this Blackness-phobia as Negrophobia as a neurosis characterised by fear and anxiety about an object with specific qualities creating a sense of insecurity and loss of control in the individual. He continues that a phobia does not originate out of nothingness, but has its origin from a previous experience that harmed the individual and weakened the individual's security. We see in the example of representation of difference and otherness the discourse of stereotyping and negativity through depicting Blackness as vulgar, uncivilised, uncultured and sexually different from the White normative.

The binary opposition of Whiteness and Blackness covertly strengthens the discourse of "difference" and "otherness" through what we read and observe. This oppositional binary gives meaning to the conceptualisation of Whiteness and Blackness; masculinity and femininity; being South African and being an alien. This binary covertly creates power relations in which difference and otherness lead to brutality and condones oppression, which depiction of inhumanity makes the

brutality and punishment logical. Foucault (1977), in his reasoning of power relations and the oppressed and marginalised, contends that discursive practices build on Blackness and otherness.

### **3.10 WHITENESS AT THE CENTRE OF THE RACE PROBLEM**

There is the perception that as long as Whiteness is at the centre of racism and as long as it exists, racism and inequality will remain (Leonardo, 2009; Steyn, 2001; 2012). In order to conceptualise race, it is essential to discuss the significance of Whiteness within CRT. The colour of supremacy over Black people resides in the White skin. Whiteness operates in tandem with Blackness and reflects the binary perpetual inequality in the basic needs of human beings, such as freedom, education, health, political rights and employment in a raced South African society (Decuir-Gunsby, 2006; powell, 2001). DiAngelo (2011) describes Whiteness as being historically, socially, politically and culturally produced and linked to dynamic relations of domination. She explains that Whiteness is a

...constellation of processes and practices rather than as a discrete entity (i.e. skin colour alone). Whiteness is dynamic, relational, and operating at all times and on multiple levels. These processes and practices include basic rights, values, beliefs, perspectives and experiences purported to be commonly shared by all but which are only consistently afforded to white people (DiAngelo, 2011: 56).

Through colonisation, the racial difference became the organising principle to create social structures that would subjugate and denigrate anybody who had a physical appearance that was not White (MacDonald, 2006). The European settlers described themselves as White and the captured African inhabitants as Black or Negro. Just like race, Whiteness is an imaginative fiction with no actual substance and shape, but it becomes a reality when skin colour and other physical features are employed to create unequal power relations (Ohito, 2017: 5). In settler colonies such as the United States and South Africa, the "fantasy of Whiteness" (Mbembe, 2017: 43) was naturalised and universalised through which legal rights could be institutionalised in the regimes of labour abuse through slavery.

Mbembe (2017) asserts the fantasy of Whiteness as being determined historically. First, he perceives Whiteness as a belief that was inculcated, spread and sown

across the world through colonisation. This doctrine infiltrated our theological, cultural, political, economic and educational institutions over centuries. This was especially the case in the United States and South Africa through slavery and apartheid. Second, Whiteness became common sense, but also desirous and fascinating in order to obtain "autonomous and internalised power" (Mbembe, 2017: 45). Hence, racial segregation as a semiotic gave the power to dehumanise, discriminate and subjugate those who were not White. It provided the right to brutality, cruelty, exploitation and subjection based on race.

Whiteness empowers Whites with unquestionable and unearned privileges and opportunities above those who are not White. Whiteness is regarded as normal, whereas Blackness is viewed as being abnormal. The inherited privileges of Whiteness are associated with exclusivity and access to the social and economic resources of society made possible by other powerful Whites who already possess and utilise these privileges (Decuir-Gunby, 2006). Hence, White privilege is the most motivating reason for the subjugation of those who are not physically white (Decuir-Gunby, 2006; Hess, 2016; Leonardo, 2009; 2011).

In his essay, titled, *The Souls of White Folk*, Du Bois stated: "Whiteness is the ownership of the earth forever and ever, Amen!" (cited in Bonilla-Silva, 2015: 81). A White skin afforded political, social and economic freedom, whereas a Black skin relegated the carrier to slavery and dispossession. Through skin colour, humans are afforded exclusive rights and privileges that a subject earns (Decuir-Gunby, 2006; Erasmus, 2017: 78-79). A White skin, coupled with ancestry, serves as a qualification for political and social status complemented with personal freedom, privileges, economic wealth, education and property.

The notion of Whiteness, with all the privileges attached to it, is "taken for granted" (Picower, 2009: 199). Haji Mohamed Dawjee (2018), a Muslim woman from the Indian township of Laudium in Pretoria, succinctly describes the taken-for-granted notion of Whiteness in her book, *Sorry, not Sorry*. According to her, to be White means that the world belongs to you. You never have to think or worry about the colour of your skin. You are not bound by rules and never think about the consequences of your deeds, because it will be minimal. Whites live in a "charming

little universe" (Dawjee, 2018: 38) in which power, pride and fundamental rights are afforded to them.

The recent shift in race studies and a critical focus on Whiteness could be regarded as a "white-led race intervention" (Leonardo, 2009: 91) as a reaction to what people of colour have written about Whiteness. Three schools of thought could be discerned from this intervention to Whiteness, namely an interest convergence approach, an abolitionist stance, and a reconstructionist approach (Baffoe, Asimeng-Boahene & Ogbuangu, 2014; Leonardo, 2009; Steyn, 2001).

The first school of thought about Whiteness is interest convergence and racial protection. The interest of Black people will only be met when it converges with the self-interest of Whites (Rousseau & Dixson, 2006: 64). Interest convergence as an analytical construct of CRT has a link with colour-blindness and meritocracy whereby progressive White people would make changes as long as it does not negatively affect their privileged and White supremacist position and disrupts the power relations (Baffoe, Asimeng-Boahene & Ogbuangu, 2014). These progressionists will normally ensure that they are racially comfortable and insulated from "race-based stress" (DiAngelo, 2011: 54) by refraining from discussing race and racism or using racial terminology. They will use "racially coded language" (DiAngelo, 2011: 55), such as "diversity", "urban", "multicultural" and "disadvantage" instead of racially laden terms, such as "privilege" and "over-advantage". They usually react to racial conversations with anger, fear, emotional instability, withdrawal and silence and even with "we know it all, and we are not guilty of such racist acts." Morris (2006) explains that the interest convergence principle "is built on political history as legal precedent and emphasises that significant progress for African Americans is achieved only when the goals of Blacks are consistent with the needs of Whites" (p. 130).

The abolitionist paradigm perceives Whiteness as the "centre of the race problem" (Leonardo, 2009: 92) and others posit that racism will not cease as long as Whiteness exists. They argue for the abolition of Whiteness. The assumption is that abolition of racial Whiteness will terminate all racial categories, terminate White power and oppression. This will also mean that anti-racism must necessarily be anti-

White and pro-Black, or it might entail the total rejection of race categories (Erasmus, 2017: 95). This rejection of Whiteness links to the decolonisation and sanitisation of the curriculum of colonial theories and knowledge as protested during the #FeesMustFall movement.

The abolitionist paradigm seeks the end of oppression and the purification of the landscape of colonial cultures and symbols such as statues, literature, art and music (Erasmus, 2017; Nyamnjoh, 2016). There is also a call to exclude Whites from curriculum development processes in the belief that they will not address the issues of White supremacy, race and racism which are embedded in the curriculum (Erasmus, 2017: 95). This method of decolonisation has its cracks and is flawed. Decolonisation cannot be activated by only taking down statues, renaming streets and buildings associated with colonialism, apartheid and White supremacy.

The third approach to Whiteness and White supremacy is articulated through a reconstructionist approach towards Whiteness. It regards the reconstruction of Whiteness as tantamount to self-hate, race treason and shame among Whites and that the discourse of White rejectionism will lead to White defensiveness and retrenchments which will not be favourably accepted by progressive and anti-racist Whites (Leonardo, 2009: 93). From an abolitionist paradigm, White people do not exist, but structures recognise their existence in society. This recognition of White bodies is dependent on the reification of a spurious category combined with a misrecognition of other human subjects who are not White. Leonardo (2009: 92) asserts that to invest in Whiteness means to perpetuate the existence of non-Whites and the resultant White supremacy.

The reconstruction of Whiteness articulates a redefinition and a reconfiguration of Whiteness which is grounded in a new discourse of race which promotes hope and transformation. In other words, White people are transformed from the usual oppressive imagination to that of Whites who are not trapped in a racist logic (Leonardo, 2009: 92). The reconstructionists seek a new form of Whiteness that will reclaim its identity in the promotion of racial justice. Although they acknowledge White privilege, they argue that this privilege could be used for racial justice to

contribute towards the reconfiguration of the Whiteness that is inherently racist, oppressive and false.

### **3.11 COLOUREDNESS AS A HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCT**

Davis (2006), in his theorisation of race mixing and hybridity, defines a Black person in the United States as "a person with any known African Black ancestry, no matter how little or how distant" (p. 15). The offspring of interracial sexual relationships received the hypodescent (lower) status of Black. The "one-drop rule" was instituted in the 1600s when miscegenation between White indentured servants and slaves took place. Even if a person looks White "one drop of black blood makes you black" (Davis, 2006: 15). In America, mulattos, mestizos, browns, ladinos, coloreds, pardos and triguenos are regarded as Black (Bonilla-Silva, 2014: 80). Mixed persons became slaves and had the same status as the Black Africans. In more liberal states and certain countries, the mulattos had an intermediate status and could even become White through behaviour and reputation and were allowed to marry into White families (Davis, 2006: 17). However, the practice of free Coloureds marrying White persons was prohibited through segregation laws which caused alienation between mulattos and Whites.

Consequently, in the United States "coloured" means Black due to the imagined percentage of Black blood in the veins. In South Africa, the term "coloured" has a different meaning from what it means internationally. In South Africa, it does not mean Black in dominant and popular discourses historically and contemporaneously. In South Africa, the term "coloured" originated as early as 1890 when the more than fifty percent of the half-castes and mixed-race slaves born in the Cape referred to themselves as "coloured" (Adhikari, 2005b, 2006, 2008; Erasmus, 2011, 2013, 2017). The term "coloured" became the ethnonym which the apartheid government used to classify the mixed group of people who were neither White nor Black (Williams & Stroud, 2015: 278).

The racist National Party, commonly described as the architect of apartheid and segregation, legalised the segregation of the South African society through the Population Registration Act of 1950 which divided the South African population

groups, namely, White, Coloured, Indian and Bantu (also Native) into. The Act loosely described the South African population as follows:

A White person is one who is in appearance obviously white - and not generally accepted as Coloured - or who is generally accepted as White - and is not obviously Non-White, provided that a person shall not be classified as a White person if one of his natural parents has been classified as a Coloured person or a Bantu ... A Bantu is a person who is, or is generally accepted as, a member of any aboriginal race or tribe of Africa ... a Coloured is a person who is not a white person or a Bantu (Population Registration Act of 1950).

The White and Black population groups had specific attributes stipulated by the Act. To be Coloured, you had to be something between White and Black, not Black enough or White enough. What is significant about the Act is that it did not specify the Asian population due to them being an unthreatening population in terms of numbers and possible miscegenation. It just wanted a clear distinction between Black (African), Coloured and White.

Simone (1994) postulates that Coloured identity was met with a certain reticence. According to her, other nations, particularly Brazil, Angola, Mozambique, Trinidad, the Swahili coasts of Kenya and Tanzania, Panama, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic have also produced their share of racial mixing. However, racial mixing in South Africa is unique and needs a special reflection and analysis. This reflection is often highly charged and avoided by Coloureds themselves (Simone, 1994).

The complexity of Coloured identity is accentuated due to its origination out of slavery, rape, and the miscegenation between White settlers, the Khoi San people, indigenous Black races and the imported slaves from Sri Lanka, India, East Africa, Madagascar, Bengal and Indonesia (Erasmus, 2001). The narrative of a Coloured identity in South Africa displayed stability until the end of the nineteenth century (Adhikari, 2005b). However, this presumably static Coloured identity has shown greater fluidity and has been contested ideologically, socially and politically since the turn of the 19th century and even more intensely in the post-1948 period (Adhikari, 2005b; 2008; Alexander, 2001; Duncan, 2002; Du Pré, 1994; Erasmus, 2001; 2017; Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Farred, 2001; Hendricks, 2005; James, & Caliguire, 1996; Johnson, 2017). With the introduction of apartheid in 1948 and the

promulgation of Population Act of 1950, the Coloured and Indian populations found themselves as buffer groups between the dominant White and majority Black populations.

The Coloured identity is often essentialised through racist and stereotypical conceptualisations and reductionist analyses. These regard the Coloured population as a heterogeneous group of people who were essentially a product of miscegenation which evolved from interracial sexual relationships outside of wedlock between Whites, free slaves and the indigenous population groups of the Cape (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; Adhikari, 2005b). Erasmus (2001) asserts that "being Coloured is about living an identity that is clouded in sexualised shame and associated with drunkenness and jollity" including immorality, sexual promiscuity, illegitimacy, impurity and untrustworthiness" (Erasmus, 2001: 14-17). Their miscegenation was often linked to a lack of culture and a collective identity.

Colouredness is associated with derogatory racial descriptions, predominantly in vernacular Afrikaans, such as mixed bredie (mixed stew), misfits, left-overs, hotnot (derived from Hottentot), Boesmankorrels (Bushman corns or tufts), Hotnotholle (steatopygia), *malau* (have no culture) and Gam (Ham) (Adhikari, 2005b: 15- 32). Complementary to this has been the notion of Coloureds not being a homogenous group which had contributed to the negativity attached to racial hybridity (Erasmus, 2017). Coloureds often gave these names to other Coloureds based on their physical traits. It is an indication of how racism was internalised by the Coloureds who used these derogatory words. Negative attributes of the Khoisan were transferred onto the Coloureds invoking images of inveterate laziness, irresponsibility, dirtiness and thievery (Adhikari, 2005b). In addition to the political motivation of the time, the negativity around Coloured identity became a significant fact to convince politically inactive middle-class Coloureds to adopt the ideologies of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) of the 1970s and 1980s.

Coloured identity displayed four key characteristics (Adhikari, 2005b). In the first instance, many Coloureds rejected their hypodescent status and argued for full citizenship on the basis that they were closer to the European-ness of the dominant White group than to the Black African in terms of culture, religion and language

(Adhikari, 2005a, 2005b; 2008). They found themselves in an ambiguous situation as they showed a strong desire for their cultural value to be acknowledged and to be assimilated into the political and social status of the dominant White group. Their plea was based on individual merit such as education, class, heritage, as well as cultural and economic achievements (Lee, 2006). The majority of Coloureds spoke Afrikaans, the language of the Afrikaner, and they shared the Christian faith with the Europeans due to the European missionaries. The assimilationism, expressed primarily by the Coloured elite, was often regarded as obedient flattery and collaboration with the oppressor (Adhikari, 2005b; 2008).

The second paradigm of Coloured identity was the intermediate and marginalised status that they occupied in the racial hierarchy (Ahluwalia & Zegeye 2003; Johnson, 2017; Lewis, 1987). They were "not only not white, but less than white: not only not black but better than black" (Adhikari, 2005b: 10). Their "not too black" status afforded them relative privileges above that of the Black population (Du Pré, 1994; Lewis, 1987). In the Cape Province (now the Western Cape) where the Coloureds were in the majority, the Coloured Preference Policy ensured that they enjoyed relative political and economic preference above that of the Blacks, especially concerning employment and residential space (Du Pré, 1994). The apartheid government ensured that there was a clear divide between the Black and Coloured population through separate residential areas and educational institutions as well as through racist propaganda.

The segregationist legislation ensured that a clear divide existed between the racial groups, making a united resistance against the apartheid policies and White oppression impossible (Du Pré, 1994). The relatively privileged position of the Coloured population, resulted in them displaying an affinity for Westernised norms and traditions and a rejection of Black African-ness and the maintenance of White supremacy (Adhikari, 2005a, 2005b, 2008; Du Pré, 1994; Lewis, 1987).

The marginality of the Coloured population is strongly connected to their intermediary position within the South African socio-political-economic context during the apartheid and post-apartheid periods (Lee, 2006). Adhikari (2005a; 2005b) posits that their marginality is articulated in their history of slavery,

dispossession and racial oppression during the colonial period and apartheid. In the new democratic dispensation with its "unity -within-racial" (Farred, 2001: 176) ideals of the Rainbow Nation, discourse the Coloureds also find themselves in a frustrating and ambivalent situation in which they had to renegotiate their identity as a minority group between the fears of the White group and the aspirations of the Black population (Adhikari, 2004; James & Caliguire, 1996; James, Caliguire & Cullinan, 1996; Rasool, 1996).

In the post-1994 dispensation, a large section of the Coloured community displays scepticism towards the universal suffrage offered, because it does not offer Coloureds the "symbolic and political means" (Farred, 2001: 177) to internalize the national unity the Rainbow Nation discourse. Within the new dispensation, Coloureds find themselves with an identity "fraught with racial ambivalence and ideological uncertainty" (Farred, 2001: 176). They tend to reject the unified Black Conscious Movement of the 1970s and 1980s, which does not acknowledge the specificity and heterogeneity of Colouredness (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). This marginality and ambivalence resulted in the unexpected political response of the Coloured community when they voted in favour of the previous White oppressor in the first democratic elections and being accused of suffering from a slave mentality (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). This voting tendency was often interpreted in a decontextualised manner with racist tones added to it.

The marginality and frustration of the Coloured population resulted in the emergence of a movement towards ethnic purity and ethnonationalism in the form of the "Brown Nationalist" movements in the Western Cape where the Coloureds form the majority. The movements included the Kleurling Weerstandsbeweging (Coloured Resistance Movement), the National Liberation Front and the Coloured Forum (Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999). What is significant is that the Coloured population is establishing their own identity, which is dynamic and not politically imposed, as was the case during apartheid. Erasmus (2001) foregrounds the making of Coloured identity as being the result of the history of colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid through the "processes of creolisation" and "cultural creativity" (Erasmus, 2001: 14). She rejects the notion of the Coloured population suffering from a slave mentality and

argues instead that the Coloured population has constructed its own identity through a process of creolisation, which involves cultural borrowing.

### **3.12 CREOLENESS AND DEGENERACY**

Social constructivists, such as Erasmus (2001, 2008, 2017), Adhikari (2003) and Martin (2006), oppose superficial analyses of "coloured" as a social identity that are often based on racist grounds and understood through an essentialist lens that focuses on race mixing, miscegenation, racial oppression and protest politics. They deemphasise the negative essentialist approach associated with race mixing through extra-marital interracial sexual relationships and a racial group that lacks culture and full citizenship. Erasmus (2001: 17) contests the discourse of Coloured identity based on the negativity and stereotyping such as drunkenness, slave mentality, jolly *hotnot*, coon, immorality, illegitimacy, "not to be trusted", and being clouded in sexual shame.

The colonial movement was complemented with sexual control to ensure that a distinction could be made between the categories "coloniser" and "colonised" associated with the qualifying rights of individuals and the passing of these rights to descendants (Erasmus, 2017: 78-79). The spatial and temporal movement of the coloniser made it increasingly difficult for individuals to retain these legal and social rights because of interracial sexual relations (Erasmus, 2017: 79). In her theorisation of race and the concomitant race mixing, Erasmus emphasises the concept of inheritance, heredity and the rules of lineage. She perceives the engendering of life as "making something new from that which is already there" and producing a "new and different being" (Erasmus, 2017: 79). Reproduction, according to her is the "perpetuation of humans as a species over time by way of heterosexual practices, with genealogy and an individual's belonging to collective entities such as sex and race" (Erasmus, 2017: 79).

In light of the above, social constructivists perceive mixed-race identity as a product of the "processes of creolisation" through "cultural borrowing" and "cultural creativity" shaped by colonialism and White supremacy (Adhikari, 2008: 95; Erasmus, 2001:14). The contention of Erasmus (2001) is that Coloured identity is not characterised by "borrowing per se, but by cultural borrowing and creation under

the particular conditions of creolisation" (p. 16). This is in opposition to the colonial and essentialist interpretation whereby Colouredness is associated with miscegenation and a lack of culture. Social constructivists argue that all identities are mostly culturally hybrid. Colouredness, according to them, is a process of inter-racial and cultural blending and borrowing that took place over a lengthy period of three centuries which eventually resulted in an own and original culture (Martin, 2006; Erasmus, 2001).

Colouredness, as a social identity, has often been incorrectly portrayed as a "false identity" which was imposed through White legislation and oppression, as well as Black alliance upon a group of "weak and vulnerable" people, called Coloured (Adhikari, 2003: 158). This simplistic approach to the analysis of Coloured identity, based on the notion of external imposition, often produces a racialised and stereotypical conceptualisation and reductionist view about Coloureds. This notion is contested and rejected by the paradigm that Coloured identity is primarily formed by themselves employing cultural borrowing (Adhikari, 2005b; Erasmus, 2017). Although the Coloured population has a culture, it is not an autonomous culture, but originated from settler colonialists over whom they had no control (Johnson, 2017). Their identity was further fraught with racial ambiguity and ambivalence as they struggled with ideological and cultural uncertainty during apartheid and even the post-apartheid era (Farred, 2001).

A constructivist paradigm which emerged from the latter mid-1980s regards Coloured identity as the product of its bearers and has not been thrust upon Coloureds by external forces such as White supremacy. This paradigm came as a response to the racialised and essentialist analysis of Coloured categorisation, which originated with miscegenation and the associated degenerate status combined with social and political marginalisation. Social constructivists acknowledge that Coloureds have expressed their own identity through contesting the racist state, or by collaborating with the dominant White group. It stems from the premise that Coloureds have their capacity and power to construct their own identity without being influenced by racist-imposed perspectives.

The Coloured identity, which is a product of interracial and cultural blending, has been formed over a lengthy period of three centuries (Martin, 2006). Coloureds have been able to create an original and own culture over a long period. Both an essentialist and instrumentalist analysis of Coloured identity could be regarded as superficial and a reaction to White domination and the apartheid state. These two paradigms reify Colouredness without taking into consideration fluidity and instability of Coloured identity (Adhikari 2005b; James, Caliguire & Cullinan, 1996; Sonn, 2006). The social constructivist paradigm emphasises the ambiguities and ambivalence in the expression of Coloured identity as it is continuously influenced by cultural, social and political factors (Adhikari, 2005a; 2005b; Erasmus, 2017). As an intermediary group who were often regarded as a degenerate group of people with partial citizenship, they had to continuously negotiate their identity through cultural borrowing during colonialism and apartheid.

Erasmus (2011: 636) defines degeneration as a "deviation from a normal type of human". This was caused by a pathological change from one condition to another in society and the body. In the colony, partial citizenship and social inequality were grounded in the ideas of "mixed" or "corrupted" race and a lack of culture (Erasmus, 2011: 635). The "half-caste", "hybrid", and "mixed race" Coloureds, though they had a cultural connection with Whites, and sometimes shared a political identity with Blacks, due to their "impurity" were neither classified as European nor as tribal subjects and denied full citizenship (Erasmus, 2013: 648). The Coloured population could be regarded as a creolised group of people.

Creoleness is a sign of degeneracy, decline and corruption and a mixed-race people with a lack of culture and authenticity (Erasmus, 2011). Creolisation challenges the normative manner in which individuals are racially classified as well as the normative definition and conceptualisation of racial purity (Erasmus, 2017: 97). Erasmus distinguishes between Creole as a category, creoleness as property, an ideology of creolité and the processes of creolisation. She explains that Creole and creoleness are racial taxonomies to classify people as a "type of people" (Erasmus, 2017: 97) based on biology and culture. In the colonial imagination "creole" indicated a degenerate type and being non-native, non-tribal and not indigenous.

The term "creole" originated from the Spanish word *criollo* which referred to the Spanish Americans who were born in the colonies, contrary to those born in Spain and living in America (Erasmus, 2017: 84). Creoles were ethnic groups which originated from creolisation, linguistic, cultural and racial mixing between colonial-era emigrants from Europe with non-European peoples, climates and cuisines. They were regarded as biologically and culturally mixed. Spanish Americans, who were born in the colonies, acclimatised and acculturated to local conditions easier, in contrast to Spaniards, born in Spain and living in America, who struggled to adapt to the American lifestyle (Erasmus, 2011).

Criollos were associated with slavery, extramarital sexual relations, and being the "offspring of lust" (Erasmus, 2017: 85). They earned derogatory names of "half-breeds" or "mestizos" and a "dishonourable status, with illegitimacy, with shame and concupiscence" (Erasmus, 2017: 85). Creoles were also perceived as a 'better type of natives' and could, therefore, enjoy potential and partial citizenship in the colony. Slaves born in the colony were biologically and culturally closer to European-ness in terms of language, eating habits and clothing. However, their creoleness and therefore, mixedness, impurity and inauthenticity afforded them second class citizens considered a degenerated community.

Creolization in the Cape Colony was animated by the colonial administration to impose partial citizenship upon mixed population groups based on "corrupted" or "lack of culture" (Erasmus, 2011: 635). Being born out of interracial sexual relationships, they lost their 'native' status and 'ancestral indigeneity', as well as their European-ness within the racial taxonomy of the Cape Colony and later apartheid legislation which judged citizenship on full-bloodedness based on White supremacy. Creole slaves were considered to be lacking identity, having no roots, without an ancestral native history and culture; and therefore, unable to be constituted as a nation and receive full citizenship (Erasmus, 2011: 641).

In essence, creolisation rejects the negative and stereotypical conceptualisation of mixed-race identity. Adhikari (2008) defines the process of creolization as "cultural creativity under conditions of marginalization" and "the construction of identity out of elements of the ruling class as well as subaltern cultures" (Adhikari, 2008: 95). The

danger, however, is that such an ideology can fall into the same trap as the racist classification of colonialism and apartheid with the perpetuation of oppression, marginalisation and inequality. Creolisation, therefore, connects colonial and apartheid history and its associated processes to the Coloured population's second class citizenship, degeneration, corrupted identity and a lack of culture (Erasmus, 2013: 45). It reaffirms the existence of a changing and ambiguous mixed-race identity that adapts itself according to the social and political conditions that were created over different periods.

People behave in a particular manner according to the context in which they have been raised. For example, the context might require them to speak a specific language and dialect associated with that community. In order to 'belong', individuals have to behave in a manner prescribed by the social structure in which they live. In the case of the Cape, they might not have to agree with the behaviour, but to be accepted by the White dominant group and the Black subaltern group and not be the 'other' in the community, the individual has to reconstruct a 'pure' identity by borrowing from these cultural groups (Erasmus, 2001: 14). In most instances, the uniqueness of individuals is ignored by society. Through creolisation processes and adaptation to social and political conditions, the Coloured population in South Africa is regarded as a type of 'upstream' community resisting transformation and being part of the Rainbow Nation.

Glissant (2011), the exponent of creolisation, refers to it as the unnoticed work of diversity. To him, it is not a misapprehension of diversity and the displacement of the slaves coupled with cross-breeding, but it is the addition of "something new to the components that participate in it" (Glissant, 2011: 12-13). Creolisation adds new language structures, art, music and other cultural practices and opens a radically "new dimension of reality" (Glissant, 2011: 14) and results in something else in a novel way. He avers that creolisation creates a unique identity which projects a new and unique root, which he calls a rhizome, which branches off in multiple directions in order to establish new communication and relationships without rejecting one's own identity (Glissant, 2011: 15). Through creolisation, we are interconnected in culture and have "multiple belongings" (Erasmus, 2017: 98) with our identity always changing and produced in relation to others.

### **3.13 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, I have provided the theoretical framework which underpins my autoethnography. I explain the concept of contestation drawing on Wiener's (2017) theory of contestation as a social practice as well as a mode of enquiry. I emphasise the criticality of my research by grounding it in the critical theories of the Frankfurt School. I explain why I use a CRT as a lens to craft and interpret my personal narrative. I trace the origins of CRT as a reaction to the objectivity to race and class, which existed in the American jurisprudence in the mid-1970s and 1980s.

I link CRT to education as a structure of society in which inequality has prevailed despite democratic changes and reforms since the dismantling of apartheid. I continue with my theorisation of race by arguing that the power of race does not reside in the biological and physical. The phenomenon race gives a reason for human beings to treat others with brutality and disrespect. Race, through the invention of Whiteness and Blackness, perpetuates inequality, domination, oppression through legalised and implicit racism. The chapter explains CRT research paradigms and epistemologies and the power relations that emerge in the research process. I explain CRT as a research methodology which accommodates counter-storytelling and the augmentation of the voices of marginalised people such as Blacks and females.

I conclude my theorisation of race by focusing on the concept of mixed race identity and the marginality, intermediary status and negativity associated with it due to interracial sexual relationships during colonialism. I argue against an essentialist analysis of such identities, focusing specifically on Colouredness in the South African context. I then approach mixed racial and Coloured identities from a sociological and constructivist perspective by arguing that Colouredness is not an imposed political and racial identity that was cemented in colonialism and apartheid, but that the Coloured population formed their own identity through creolisation in the form of cultural borrowing and cultural creativity over a long period of time. In the next chapter, I will discuss my research design and methodology.

## **4. CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

In Chapter 2, I situated my study in the scholarly domain through the exploration of the secondary literature on my topic. Chapter 3 provided the theoretical framework for my study as I introduced Critical Theory and Critical Race Theory as the lens through which I would craft my autoethnography. In this next chapter, I explicate my epistemological stance, my research approach and justify my research design, methodology and methods of data collection. This chapter serves as the broad plan for the crafting and analysis of my autoethnography while it also represents a merging of my theorisation of the concept of race and CRT, which I have discussed in Chapter 3. I explain autoethnography as a research method and discuss how I undertook to collect the data which I used to craft my story. Finally, I outline the process of interpreting and analysing my autoethnography as well as the steps I took to ensure the trustworthiness and credibility of my findings and the ethical procedures required as part of research scholarship.

### **4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN**

Researchers have to present their ideas logically, systematically and methodically. Hence, the selection of the most appropriate design is essential at the outset of the research process. Hofstee (2006) posits that “a result can only be accepted, rejected, checked, replicated or even understood in the context of how you got here” (Hofstee, 2006: 107). In other words, research results can only be regarded as credible and trustworthy if the researcher can prove that the theoretical framework is appropriate for the type of study and that logical steps were followed to collect and analyse the data. The research design specifies the type of study that will be conducted. The type of research design usually is strongly influenced by the researcher’s philosophical assumptions, research expertise and practices (Henning, 2004; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). Research skills could include the ability to write, interpret and analyse textual data.

The research can thus be defined as the entire process of research from the conceptualisation of the research problem and question to the data collection, analysis, interpretation, and writing the report (Creswell, 2013: 5). It involves all the

decisions that the researcher has to make in the planning of the study (Fouché and Schurink, 2011: 307). It provides structure and guidance to a study by determining which theories, methods and instruments will form the foundation of the study (Seabi, 2012: 81). Just as composers use unique genres and form structures to present their musical ideas, researchers collect, analyse and present their data and findings in a specific format.

Musical ideas only make sense to the listener if they are put together logically to form a genre. The research design maps out how, where, and with whom the study will be conducted. It determines both the role of the researcher and the researched as well as the conditions under which the study will be conducted. These procedures and conditions are covered in the research design, which is described by Mouton (2001: 55) as a “blueprint” and a detailed plan of action for the research project.

Nieuwenhuis (2007b) summarises the research design as a plan of action that originates from the theoretical underpinning of the study to the selection of participants, the data collection strategies and the analysis of the data. In considering the conditions of the research process, the researcher must be aware of the advantages and disadvantages of the selected research design. However, the weaknesses and challenges of the design must be highlighted. Hofstee (2006) posits that both the researcher and the research design have strengths and weaknesses. Hence, a research design must not only fit the purpose but must also suit the strengths of the researcher to achieve credible and trustworthy results.

### **4.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH APPROACH**

There is more than one way to approach a research problem, and I have selected a qualitative research approach. In this section, I motivate why I made this choice. Qualitative research, according to Creswell (2013) is the collection of data from the natural world of the participant who is studied. In other words, the researcher investigates the activities and thought processes of the participants as they are experiencing them in the real world. The researcher is brought into the world of the researched by talking to them and observing their actions. Apart from getting to know the participants, the researcher is also gaining knowledge of their culture and society. A qualitative research approach contributes towards the post-positivist

'qualitative revolution' which started in the 1970s (Kim, 2016; Wertz, Charmaz, McMullen, 2011). It focuses on how a phenomenon functions within a natural setting and how its participants are experiencing it with all its complexities and uniqueness (Creswell, 2013).

Qualitative research takes cognisance of the cultural and societal complexity in which experiences occur. Hence, the inquiry cannot be undertaken in a controlled laboratory setting, or through surveys but requires interaction between the researcher and participant. The researcher has to experience the real and natural world where data is to be gathered. Therefore, qualitative researchers have to engage with the participants through interviews and observation (Creswell, 2013). Through qualitative research, the participants can explain their personal experiences and understand human action (Kim, 2016) through words, terminology and symbols (Hammersley, 2013; Nieuwenhuis, 2007b). The qualitative approach enables the researcher to collect multiple and unique data and diverse interpretations of a social phenomenon such as music as it functions within complex contexts.

Qualitative research is often described as constructivist, interpretive, feminist and postmodern as it differs from the fixed and scientific positivistic approach to research (Creswell, 2013). A qualitative approach is not rigid, but it is idiosyncratic, personal, dynamic and flexible and accommodates various designs (Creswell, 2013; Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005). Therefore, the field in which the study is situated does not require a large number of participants. Its flexibility accommodates adaptation to the data collection processes as the research unfolds. In contrast to the fixed and a generalised and positivistic scientific research paradigm, a qualitative strategy provides more data by permitting the participants to talk extensively by elaborating, expanding on the detail as well as explaining their perceptions and views in their own words (Hammersley, 2013: 12).

The flexibility of a qualitative approach provides opportunities for multiple methods of exploration and construction of knowledge about a problem. In other words, it avoids a unitary and generalised perspective and interpretation but instead seeks for multiple epistemologies across diverse cultures and societies which take into

consideration the real and complex world in which the phenomenon is investigated. Schurink (2009) argues that the fluidity and flexibility of a qualitative inquiry allow for a cyclical reflexive process of research. He reasons that the ontological and epistemological perspective of the researcher can change as the study is progressing while the researcher is continuously engaging in a forward and backward reflexive mode as more evidence is collected, interpreted and analysed. The constructivist and feminist nature of qualitative research provides various experiences and interpretations of the phenomenon within various cultural contexts (Creswell, 2013).

Culture and society are the natural worlds of qualitative inquiry (Creswell, 2013; Nieuwenhuis; 2011). This sensitivity to the culture in which the research problem is located links the experience of the individual to culture and society. Hence, experiences in music, for example, become “social realities” (Henning, 2004: 1) which can be best explored through a qualitative research strategy. In essence, a qualitative research inquiry is exploratory and allows for a deeper understanding of the experiences and society (Creswell, 2013; Welman, Kruger & Mitchell, 2005).

The holistic nature of qualitative research is beneficial for my study because it reveals the full picture of the music curriculum and the society it serves through the myriad of “minute threads, many colours, different textures, and various blends of material” (Creswell, 2013: 42). The deductive nature of qualitative research enables the researcher to identify patterns or themes from the variety of data and to “dig deep” into the data in order to comprehend how a specific and intricate concept or phenomenon is understood and experienced in the “real world” (Leedy & Ormrod (2014: 141).

Qualitative research opens the “natural world” of the music curriculum and the challenges it faces in an unequal society (Creswell, 2013; Nieuwenhuis; 2011). It focuses on the experiences and the narrations of those involved in music education. It allows me to experience my struggle in the real situation of the curriculum but also in the society in which I have lived, providing me with a detailed and rich narration of my experiences.

#### 4.4 RESEARCH PARADIGM

A paradigm is based on the researcher's philosophical assumptions and how the researcher views the world and sees reality (ontology), and what the researcher knows about the world (epistemology). A paradigm underpins the construction of new knowledge during the research process (methodology). What we already know about a phenomenon and the outstanding knowledge about it influences the paradigm and how we go about research (Gitchel & Mpofu, 2012). In this section, I explain my epistemological and ontological views, and I also explain the paradigm that underpins my study.

My theoretical framework took cognisance of my ontological (truth) and epistemological (what can be known) assumptions about the music curriculum. My assumptions were also influenced by my personal experiences as a music teacher and curriculum co-designer (Gitchell & Mpofu, 2012; Morgan & Sklar, 2012; Nieuwenhuis, 2016b). In other words, how I perceived and experienced the world of music education and the problems that it poses, guided me to the specific research paradigm or inquiry paradigm (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014).

I problematise music education and the curriculum spaces that I have experienced. Hence, my research inquiry adopted a critical conceptual framework as I reflected on and analysed my experiences of the world of music education. Further, my research paradigm was influenced by Foucault's archaeological and genealogical research method situating and historicising myself about my lived and present experiences in curriculum spaces seeking transformation and social justice (Metro-Roland, 2011; Sampath, 1995).

Research is classified as critical when the researcher exposes and critiques deep-seated structural contradictions within social structures and takes a critical stance toward taken-for-granted assumptions about how institutions are structured in society (Myers & Klein, 2011: 19). Myers and Klein (2011) identify three interconnected stages or elements of critical research, namely *insight*, *critique* and *transformative redefinition* (Myers & Klein, 2011: 23). Before the critique of a social situation, it is necessary first to have a "careful analysis and diagnosis" and a "broad

insightful understanding” (Myers & Klein, 2011: 23) and an in-depth description of the present social situation and practices.

Critical research challenges unfair social practices and beliefs and is therefore disruptive by uncovering the “normative basis of the current situation found in the research site” (Myers & Klein, 2011: 23). The critique of a social situation draws on critical hermeneutics that recognises that all human interpretations are influenced by socio-political-economic contexts related to the workings of power and ideological domination. “Doing” critical theory means to investigate our research sites, our methods and motives, our tactics of scholarly representation, and the structures of our privilege. (Hamera, 2011: 319).

Critical interpretive research emerged as a significant stream in the social sciences as it addresses inequality, power, race and racism. However, what counts as critical research, and how it should be undertaken, is still somewhat vague due to the diversity of critical research that exists (Myers & Klein, 2011). Research is regarded as critical when a critical stance is taken toward taken-for-granted assumptions about institutions and the status quo. In my case, I take a critical stance towards the music curriculum and the contradictions that it poses in order to protect deep-seated beliefs that perpetuate racial inequality. I also look critically at myself and my engagement with the curriculum. Through this critical stance, I position myself as an “agent of change” as well as an “agent for change” (Chang, 2010: 3) by challenging the status quo and working towards liberation and emancipation; and the empowerment of all who are marginalised and made “invisible” through a curriculum that entrenches inequality and inaccessibility of opportunity and growth.

Critical social scientists call for critically and radically performative research that contests the problems surrounding race, oppression, inequality and injustice (Conquergood, 2003a, 2003b; Lincoln & Denzin 2003). Ethnography is a social science research method as well as a type of social science text (Conquergood, 2003b: 351). Critical theorists critique this contradiction by politicising science and knowledge by uncovering the political powers that ground all social and scientific representation (Conquergood, 2003b: 351). Contrary to the objectivity and neutrality of an interpretive paradigm, critical research calls for radical change to improve the

conditions of society. This critical stance calls for the “participatory and transformative element of research” (Hylton, 2012: 37) and calls for remedial action and a “transformative redefinition” (Myers & Klein, 2011: 24) of the social condition. In doing that, it does reveal not only domination and discrimination but also suggests new ways to overcome the discourse of power.

The critique of objective scientific research came at the time of the fall of colonialism. The disclosure of the imperialist foundation of anthropology requires new epistemological, methodological and ethical introspection (Conquergood, 2003: 352). The end of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century experienced a crisis, which Denzin and Lincoln (2000: 12) describe as a “turning point” or the “seventh moment of inquiry”. With the emphasis on decolonisation at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup>-century it became imperative that social research required a reconfigured approach that would challenge authority, representation and research practice in an unjust post-colonial context in which racism and oppression continued to exist. Social research was also still male-dominated and the voice of the marginalised was silenced (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

The turning point in social research had implications for what was to be accepted as truth and how research should be conducted ethically to address colonialism with its associated discriminatory practices. The crisis in research required that social issues such as race, racism, gender and class had to be foregrounded. Western and orthodox epistemologies were contested by the emerging feminist movement and Black philosophers for their presumed neutrality on issues such as race and racism (Mills, 1998: 21).

Critical social scientists and ethnographers point to the limitations of scientific positivism. They argue that the real world can only be socially constructed by resisting the reductionist and culture free nature of scientific research. The decolonisation of research demands situated research in which the researcher becomes embodied in the research site and the research condition. It calls for the embodied research in which the researcher cannot be detached from the research process. It links the past to the present and the future. Foucault (1975) expands on the concept of embodied genealogy by stating that:

...I would like to write the history of this prison, with all the political investments of the body that it gathers together in its closed architecture. Why? Simply because I am interested in the past? No, if one means by that writing a history of the past in terms of the present. Yes, if one means writing the history of the present (Foucault, 1977: 31).

Ethnographical research takes on an autobiographical and personal nature, which relates to Foucault philosophy of embodied genealogy as a “situated research strategy” (Livholts, 2015: 107). Through embodied genealogy, the human being becomes a subject with its own identity and self-knowledge through lived experience (Livholts, 2015: 16). Critical theorists argue that embodied research places the subject within the researched site. The performance of the body is political and cultural. It enables us to make meaning of past, present, our identity and the power relations in society. Lincoln & Denzin (2003) explain that culture and its related performance and representation are at the centre of lived experience. Every performance is a political act that displays our struggles, identity and power as well as a site of possibilities that function as a “politically engaged pedagogy” (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003: 328) which focuses on transforming society.

Feminist and Black philosophers contest the neutrality of traditional epistemology and its universal theory of cognitive norms and standards (Mills, 1998: 21). They contest the unequal power relations that are created by the binaries of researcher/researched, Eurocentric/indigenous, White/Black, male/female influence how research is undertaken and analysed. (Dunbar, 2008: 2). Furthermore, orthodox epistemologies, rooted in Western points of view, have an under-representation of Black and non-European scholars. It lacks the richness of African philosophies. Eurocentric epistemology, through its presumptuous neutrality, and, therefore, escaping race and racism, ignore the oral and literary history of Black experiences which are filled with stories and parables which reveal the true feelings of Black persons (Mills, 1998: 29).

Traditional research excludes the marginalised from mainstream culture through the under-representation of Black people. The socio-cultural, political and economic position does have an impact on the presentation and interpretation of research studies and is regarded as research objects and others subjected to “dominant

cultural mode” (Dunbar, 2008: 3) of Westernised research. Eurocentric philosophies and thoughts about non-Western people and the under-representation of Black people in the research are contested (Mills, 1998: 21). There is also the realisation that masculine orientated Western epistemologies were unable to address the social issues that would decolonise society.

The focus of my study is not only to discover and point out the reasons for the lack of transformation in music education but also proposes how this transformation can take place in a specific social context of an untransformed society. This approach resonates with Tai and Ajjawi’s (2016) motivation for qualitative research and their notion that real education intervention takes place when research reveals “whether something works”, “how does it work“, “why does it work” and “for whom does it work in what context” (Tai & Ajjawi, 2016: 175).

My study takes place within a critical ethnographic paradigm calling for personal emancipation, societal change and the transformation of the music curriculum (Creswell, 2013: 93; Ward Randolph, 2010: 122). My study is performative and political as it straddles between my autobiography and the context in which it has taken place. (Denzin, 2003; 2018; De Vries, 2000; Spry, 2000). I interrogate the narrative of race and racism to uncover hegemony and White privilege that promotes continuing marginalisation and inequality in music education (Creswell, 2013; Denzin, 2003; Jarvis, 2014; Stanger, 2018).

I link my critical approach to the archaeological and genealogical approach to research methodology as used by Michel Foucault (Livholts, & Tambboukou, 2015). Foucault’s archaeological method which was a departure from positivist correspondence theory and the notion of “deeper meaning” (Howell, 2013: 2) has as its objective the uncovering of unconscious ideas and thoughts which he coined epistemés. Through the archaeological method, Foucault wanted to delve into the historical thought of different eras and track the meaning through historical changes identified in epistemés. Archaeology and genealogy adopt a phenomenological approach, the study of structures, experiences and consciousness.

Through phenomenology and epistemés, I focus on the meaning of my everyday personal experiences to make meaning of it because, in order to understand society, I must first understand myself (Howell, 2013). This approach situates me central to my research as if the self is employed in the service of my research (Luvaas, 2017: 4). I tell my story through an “embodied narrative” (Huber, Murphy & Clandinin, 2005). The methodology for my research study wants to expose both myself (personally) and provide the reader (society) first-hand experience of race and racism and how it intersects with the music curriculum.

My autoethnography is in contrast to the conventional research paradigm. Through a Critical Theory and CRT lens, I uncover the discourses of dominance, White supremacy, power and hegemony, which perpetuate inequality and Eurocentric ideologies in music education. I challenge the dominant narrative of a racist South African society by foregrounding race and racism and the experiences of Black people within the music curriculum spaces. My study is political and radical. It is influenced by the performance pedagogy of Paulo Freire and CRT that pull towards a radical and utopian criticism of education and post-modern society (Denzin 2010; Freire, 1997).

CRT places my study within the critical research paradigm (Creswell, 2013: Hammersley, 2013: 29; Henning, 2004: 23; Nieuwenhuis, 2016b). I adopted a critical stance by rejecting the objectivism and neutrality of interpretive and positivist research paradigms (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Critical theorists perceive science and knowledge as products of power. From a post-structuralist and Foucauldian perspective, the knowledge gained through research is understood not as a reflection and transmitter of external truths, but as contingent and constructed; and linked intimately to power (Conquergood, 2003; Hall, 2001; Foucault, 1989; 2002). Research with a positivist approach as a form of power construction has as its primary and deliberate objective the maintenance of dominance and the continued silencing of the voice of the subaltern (Apple & Duras, 2006). A disruption of the power relations through knowledge construction is typically contested by those enjoying privileges which stem from unequal power relations.

Post-structuralism and post-modernism demand that researchers create the world through social texts by writing about lived experiences (Denzin, 2014: 82). Textual and cultural understandings are shaped and re-inscribed by social texts. Writing should be a method of inquiry and a way of knowing (Richardson, 2003: 379). This means that in order to make sense of ourselves and the world, we should have more than one way of inquiry and knowing. Our inquiry must make way for a research methodology that rejects clichés and worn-out metaphors (Richardson, 2003: 379-380). Critical research invites courageous writing which displays creativity, artistry and performance.

#### **4.5 AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AS A RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

Whereas the research design is the overall approach to research, the research methodology provides details of the processes in terms of research instruments and how data will be collected and analysed (Hofstee, 2006; Mouton, 2001). The limitations and challenges of the methodology are also highlighted. The methodology also identifies the procedures to be undertaken and potential problems that may be encountered in terms of ethical requirements.

I selected self-study as a method of research justified by my philosophical assumptions, theoretical framework and the existing literature on my topic. Although self-study is autobiographical, it is more than about the self in that also draws on the historical, cultural and political context within which the self is situated (Hamilton, Smith & Worthington, 2008). Autoethnography is a component of self-study. Ellis and Bochner (2000) define autoethnography as:

“autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions of mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation” (Bochner, 2000: 742).

Deborah Reed-Danahay (2009), one of the first proponents of autoethnography, describes it as a post-modern ethnography that contests the significance of the self in sociological research. As a type of indigenous anthropology, it is further described by her as “a form of self-narrative which places the self within a social context” (Reed-Danahay, 2009: 28). Understanding of the self is a “precondition and a

concomitant condition to the understanding of others” (Kim, 2016: 123). Autoethnography does not only want to produce an autobiography but also provides readers with an insight into society and culture (Boylorn & Orbe, 2014; Ellis, 2004; Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011; Holman Jones et al., 2013). From a critical autoethnographic perspective, autoethnography is the critical study of culture through the lens of the self (Holman Jones, 2018: 4). Through the lens of the self, the autoethnographer looks at how cultures are created, constrained and compromised by our institutions.

Holman Jones, Adams and Ellis (2013) describe autoethnography as:

the use of personal experience and personal writing to purposefully comment on/critique cultural practices; make contributions to existing research; embrace vulnerability with purpose, and create a reciprocal relationship with audiences in order to compel a response (Holman Jones et al., 2013: 22).

According to Denzin (2014), autoethnographic research is a retelling of and re-performing of meaningful autobiographic events, experiences and moments which intersect with history, culture and politics. It is an “invention, a re-presentation, a historical object often ripped or torn out of its contexts and recontextualised in the spaces and understandings of the story” (Denzin, 2014: 28). Key “turning point experiences” and “objective life markers” (Denzin, 2014: 7) serve to generate the personal and social meaning of life experience (Denzin, 2018). Lived experiences are frozen in a narrative text.

Ellis, Adams and Bochner (2011) regard autoethnography as an approach to research and writing that seeks to describe and systematically analyse personal experience in order to understand and critique the cultural and social context in which it takes place. Their definition resonates with that of Spry (2001), who sees autoethnography as a “self-narrative that critiques the situatedness of self with others in social contexts” (Spry, 2001: 710). It is both a process as well as a product (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). However, autoethnography looks beyond the research product but instead focuses on the process (Ellis, 2004; Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

The researcher is researched and generates data from own lived experiences through autobiographical memory, archival retrieval and visits to sites of experiences. In autoethnographic research, the researcher is a “textualising body” (Spry, 2011: 133) at the centre of the research process, which is performative, reflexive, and analytical but also archaeological. The data of autoethnography is “meaningful biographical experience” (Denzin, 2014: 28) or events in the life of the researcher. These significant biographical events, which Denzin calls epiphanies, intersect with history, politics and culture and constitute the focus of research inquiry. These epiphanies are regarded as “critical moments”, “turning-point moments” and “interactional moments” (Denzin, 2014: 12), which affect us and leave their marks on us. Through autoethnographic analysis, the biographical event gains historical, political and cultural meaning. In other words, the epiphanies and turning points manifest the reality and truthfulness of history and culture.

Autoethnographic research is undertaken self-consciously and self-introspectively and written in the first person. It features performative dialogue and emotion focusing on the perception of the self through self and culture, self and other and how others perceive the autoethnographer (Ellis, 1999, 2000, 2004; Denzin, 2014; 2018 Giorgio, 2013; Holt, 2003). As an evocative interpretive research approach, the self is perceived as powerfully and significantly connected to the research topic and process (Doloriert & Sambrook, 2011). Spry (2001: 711), avers that “in autoethnographic methods, the researcher is the epistemological and ontological nexus upon which the research process turns”.

According to Holman Jones, Adams and Ellis (2013) “autoethnography creates a space for a turn, a change, a reconsideration of how we think, how we do research and relationships” (p. 21). Autoethnographic research methodology discards the false beliefs in objectivity and custom (Hamilton, Smith & Worthington, 2008). Ellis and Bochner (2006: 433) describe autoethnography as “unruly, dangerous, vulnerable, rebellious and creating”. As a research methodology, it is controversial due to its narcissistic and subjective nature with the researcher at the centre of the research process. It goes against mainstream sociologists by opposing the structuralist functionalism of qualitative approaches.

Autoethnographic research is about resisting Grand Theorising and the school of scientific research. It is a synthesis of post-modern ethnography and post-modern autobiography, which is used to write about social life in a new manner (Reed-Danahay, 2009; Spry, 2001). From a CRT perspective, it challenges canonical ways of knowing and doing research. It deviates from European research techniques due to its ethnic and indigenous principles such as counter story-telling and artistic genres. A further link to CRT is its focus on the experiences of marginalised and oppressed individuals such as Black people and females (Chang, 2008). Autoethnography treats research as a political and socially just activity by foregrounding race, racism, gender, family, heritage, class and injustice in society (Denzin, 2003; 2014; Ellis, 2004).

Autoethnography is relational because the autoethnographer is not only talking about the self but is relationally co-performing, in that the narrative involves an intentional and critical reflection which is connected to the political and social position of other people. Chang (2008; 2016) regards it as a triangular relation between the self (*auto*), culture (*ethno*) and the research process (*graphy*). Autoethnographies are written texts composed with the discursive and troubled spaces in which the self and others find themselves. This makes autoethnography more than a little narcissistic autobiographical and self-study exercise but provides the researcher with an “ethnographic wide-angle lens” (Ellis, 1999: 673; Hamilton, Smith & Worthington, 2008: 24) to study both the personal experience and the social and cultural aspects.

#### **4.6 PERFORMING AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

For Spry (2001) “autoethnographic performance makes us acutely conscious of how we “I-witness” (Spry, 2001: 706) our reality constructions. Interpreting culture through the self-reflection and cultural refractions of identity is a defining feature of autoethnographic performance (Ellis, 2004; Denzin, 2014; 2018; Spry, 2001). Performance is perceived as a form of research to interpret and present ethnographic data and critically analyse society. The performance disciplines of art, music, poetry, story-telling and drama are employed to present scholarly work and publications.

Autoethnography is a type of performative ethnography which is explicitly critical and political and includes the researcher's vulnerable self, emotions, body and spirit (Denzin, 2014; 2018; Ellis, 2004; Hamera, 2011). Through the autoethnographic performance, the body of the researcher becomes "a site of scholarly awareness and corporeal literacy" (Spry, 2001: 706) which emphasises the aesthetics and evocative above the cognitive (Denzin, 2014; 2018). The writer as embedded and embodied ethnographer and performer becomes one with the world (Denzin, 2018).

This combination of feelings and creativity produces evocative and performative texts that create the effect of reality. It celebrates the actual experience and intimate detail through performance (Ellis, 1999: 669). It provides one with an aesthetic, evocative and engaging tool that uses story-telling elements, such as character, scene and plot development (Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011). Apart from the "inward-looking" (De Vries (2012: 354) nature of autoethnography, the research genre is creative, poetic, improvisatory making use of performance and story-telling (Spry, 2001). This performative autoethnography requires truthful, artistic and free disclosure of the deep inner feelings of the researcher. It makes use of a variety of literary forms, such as short stories, poetry, fiction novels, photographic essays, personal essays, journals, fragmented writing and social science prose (Ellis, 1999; 2004; Spry 2001; 2011; 2018).

As an autobiographical genre, performance autoethnography engages the reader through evocative story-telling, which is artfully dramatised through action, emotion and self-consciousness displayed in scenes, dialogue, spirited and reflective solos, and responsive choruses. Denzin (2018) explains that engaging and nuanced texts evoke feelings in the reader and take the reader into another world. Performances become critical and political acts of resistance to racism, power, inequality and subjugation to work towards a just society (Spry, 2018). The performative, according to Lincoln & Denzin (2003: 329), is an "act of doing, an act of resistance, a way of connecting the biographical, the pedagogical and the political". They argue that if we interpret culture performatively, the performance becomes something that allows memory, fantasy and desire to ignite one another, and links hermeneutics, politics, pedagogy, ethics to scholarly representation. In performance, racial, gender, and

political ideologies are reproduced, sustained, challenged, subverted, naturalised, and subject to criticism.

Performative autoethnography provides the researcher with a poly-disciplinary vocabulary to explore power, politics and poetics that challenge researchers to represent their interaction to make meaningful interventions and produce a new understanding of the culture and insist that this understanding generates a more just society (Hamera, 2011: 19). Denzin (2018) perceives performative autoethnography as a “performance-centred ethnography which is participatory, intimate, precarious, embodied, grounded in circumstances, situational identities and historical process”. Performance autoethnography uses expressive elements of culture as tools for representing a scholarly engagement and a critical, interventionist commitment to theory in practice. The researcher gains “situated understandings” (Denzin, 2018: 19) through the uncovering of social injustices through ethnodramas and performance events. Denzin (2018) summarises the blurred genre of performance autoethnography as follows:

It is many things at the same time. It bends and twists the meanings of ethnography, ethnographer and performance. There is no separation between the writer, the ethnographer, the performer and the world. Performance autoethnography makes the writer’s self visible through performance, through performance writing, through the writer’s presence in the world. Performance autoethnographers are committed to changing the world one word, one performance at a time. The community is global (Denzin, 2018: 49).

Denzin further elaborates on performance ethnography and describes performance autoethnographers as “methodological actors who creatively play, improvise, interpret, re-present roles and enact scripts in concrete field settings” (Denzin, 2018: 51) as they turn their history, memories, emotions and stories into performative inquiry. Through performance autoethnography, the researcher becomes a wild, unruly, and passionate performer, poet, playwright, ethnodramatist, storyteller, critic and social justice advocate who refuses to be bound by the orthodox research paradigm (Denzin, 2018; Holman Jones, 2018).

#### **4.7 AUTOETHNOGRAPHY AS SOCIAL JUSTICE**

According to Denzin (2006; 2018), ethnographic research is never politically innocent and neutral. It is about the contestation of power relations and discursive practices which perpetuate an inequitable society. As a blurred genre of research, autoethnography is the ideal methodology to uncover and critique the discourse of power in social structures, such as the music curriculum that I am contesting in this thesis (Neumann, 1996, Spry, 2011). Autoethnography calls for social justice and “giving back to the community” (Holman Jones, Adams & Ellis, 2013: 17). This resonates with Denzin and Lincoln (2011: 499) who define autoethnography as “a personal political praxis, an aesthetic/epistemic performance, and a critical/indigenous/advocational ethnography that operates from a compassionate and lionhearted will to usurp and resist injustice”.

Autoethnography, as a research methodology, is more than epistemology (gaining knowledge), but is also a “praxis of social justice” (Toyosaki & Pensoneau, 2013: 557). It speaks to transformation and social justice and seeks to create space for change (Holman Jones, 2018; Holman Jones et al., 2013; Toyosaki & Pensoneau-Conway, 2013). It has a responsibility to address privileged and marginalisation, processes of unfairness and injustices, which include practices of research. The provocative texts that emerge from autoethnographic writing call for our critical reflection and action (Sturm, 2015).

The text of an autoethnography is not just an aesthetic add-on but is regarded as containing ideological content that speaks to real social issues embedded in power relations. Autoethnography is not fiction but makes truthful statements about real persons and real lives. It calls for critical thinking and analysis from multiple standpoints. Through ethnographic research, we actually “enact the world we study” (Denzin, 2006: 422). Our stories about ourselves and others are describing the society in which we live. Through these stories, we seek to promote a more just and egalitarian society (Kincheloe & Maclaren 2000).

In summary, autoethnography is described by Denzin (2018) as :

not ethnography, autobiography, biography, personal narrative, personal history, life history, life story or personal experience story. It is not analytic, nor is it deeply theoretical. It is more than personal writing or cultural critique. It is more than performance. But it is performative. It is transgressive. It is resistance. It is dialogical. It is ethical. It is political, personal, embodies, collaborative, imaginative, artistic, creative, a form of intervention, a plea for social justice (Denzin, 2018: 49).

#### **4.8 CRAFTING MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

My autoethnography is not restricted to an exact autobiographical timeline, but the key events highlight the leitmotifs<sup>12</sup> of race, music and curriculum as elucidated in the literature review and the philosophical and theoretical sections of my thesis. Hence, my autoethnography is not entirely chronological, but it covers selected lived experiences in my childhood, school and university years and professional life as a teacher, subject adviser, curriculum adviser and a leader in my community. I take various experiences or epiphanies that served as critical moments from each of these spaces to reflect, analyse and link them to the socio-cultural context.

My autoethnography is performative and is written in the genre of a libretto for a musical in four acts. Performance autoethnography is embodied research which is crucial to express and analyse culture. For Hamera (2011), performance autoethnography provides the researcher with the appropriate vocabulary to explain the expressive elements of a culture which is not achieved through traditional research. Performance autoethnography is a dramatisation of data through ethnodrama as a “live and mediated performance event” (Saldaña, 2018: 377). Ethnodrama creatively combines artistic techniques with empirical materials to compose a significant narrative collected from interview transcripts, participant observation and other forms of data collection methods. Like any artistic work, the autoethnographic performance seeks to capture the reader through a convincing representation, which calls for “real-time theatrical immersion (Saldaña, 2018: 380).

In the first act, I relive my childhood, growing up in a working-class family and my first encounter with the informal music curriculum of community music making,

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<sup>12</sup> A leitmotif is a recurring theme linked to a specific character or theme in an opera.

experiencing and taking my first piano lessons. The second act plays out my student life at a White liberal institution where I studied music to become a teacher. In the third act, I am represented as the music teacher within a politically unstable educational environment of resistance to apartheid education. The fourth act depicts me as I become part of the apartheid project as a subject adviser for music in the Department of Education. In this act, I am also a change agent as I attempt to use the formal and informal curriculum to work towards social cohesion within the inherited racialised education system.

By situating myself in the various contexts, I narrate the various identities I had to adapt to either resist or collaborate in my role as a change agent as I engage with the music curriculum. My autoethnography is about my ambiguity and ambivalence towards my Coloured identity as I contested music education and the curriculum in a racialised South Africa. I highlight both the informal curriculum to which I was exposed and the formal curriculum which I followed during apartheid and post-apartheid. In my autoethnography, I perform epiphanies, vignettes and critical moments in my life in order to uncover the formal and informal music curriculum that mirrors racism, subjugation, marginalisation and oppression (Denzin 2014). It is about myself (inward looking), a South African Coloured male in a racialised society and music curriculum (outward looking). I look at myself autobiographically, ethnographically and reflexively from an insider as well as an outsider perspective.

#### **4.9 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS FOR MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

In this section, I discuss the research instruments I used to obtain the data to write my narrative. The research method, as a broad plan, needs specific steps and methods for evidence collection. Any research study is subjected to the scrutiny of the rigour and sophistication of the data collection procedures (Creswell, 2013). Hence, the reader must be convinced through a detailed description of the research instruments that were used that the findings of the research are valid and trustworthy. The flexibility of qualitative research, in particular, autoethnography, allows the researcher to use a variety of instruments to collect autoethnographic data through memory, artefact collection, interviewing self and others, observing and reflecting on personal experiences (Chang, 2013).

In autoethnography, the researcher is the primary source of data. I used more than one data collection instrument to obtain an in-depth understanding of my engagement with the music curriculum. My autoethnography stretches over more than sixty years. This posed me with the challenge of retrieving data that could be inaccessible after such a long period. Data collection instruments have strengths and weaknesses. I highlight both the advantages and disadvantages of each instrument. During my study, I also used more than one data generation strategy to obtain an in-depth understanding of my lived experiences and achieve credible research results. Each of the data collection strategies is discussed in detail below.

#### **4.9.1 Memory work**

Giorgio (2013: 406) defines memory as “the act of remembering and recalling; the mental faculty for retaining and recalling a past event; something remembered”. My autobiographical memory formed the “building block” (Chang, 2008: 71) and the “bricks and mortar” (Giorgio, 2013: 408) that served as the unique information processor in the crafting of my autoethnographic research. Embodied genealogy is dependent on memory work (Livholts & Tammboukou, 2015). Memory became my “investigative tool” (Giorgio, 2013: 407) in the crafting of my story and the generation of data for my analysis and interpretation of the data. Just as ethnographers make use of the information that people provide based on their memory during fieldwork, I delved into the richness of my memory to uncover information and construct knowledge and data for my libretto (Chang, 2008).

In autobiographical writing, we write about our lived experience in the past and link it to the present. Recall of my past personal experiences and moments became the primary and unique source of information and data collection to which sometimes only I had access (Chang, 2008, Giorgio, 2013; Rose, 2008; Wilson & Ross, 2003). There is a “bi-directional relation” (Wilson & Ross, 2003: 137) between the past and the present self. Memory links the present with the “richness of the past” (Chang, 2008: 71). The present can only gain contextual meaning if it is linked to the past.

Writing about the fertile terrain of memory from the “womb to the tomb”, Elnoy (1998: 339) explains how the present continuously becomes the past, and by the time we remember it, we are in another present preparing for the future. The present will

have no meaning if we cannot remember the past. For example, when we listen to a piece of music for the first time, the experience stays with us. The first encounter of the music will influence all subsequent performances.

Memory work starts with an evaluation of the present self by looking at past achievements and failures. Past attitudes and feelings are reconstructed based on the present opinion and beliefs (Wilson & Ross, 2003). For example, the distant memory about my engagement with the curriculum as a student is reconstructed when it is influenced by my perception of the present curriculum and myself. As an autoethnographer, I made use of my long-term memory as it became the working memory from which I purposefully retrieved information from my lived experiences which were stored in my brain.

Autoethnography is a “sociological introspection” and an “emotional recall” Ellis (1999: 678; 2004: 18) in order to understand past experiences. Human beings are more likely to recall a memory if emotions are associated with it. We have pleasant memories of the past associated with joyful events, but there is also a wish to forget what has caused severe pain to the self, such as loss, death, brutal attack, victimisation and sickness. An emotional return amplifies other detail about the happening and place that would not have been possible. Ellis (1999) also warns that too close emotional involvement could make it challenging to analyse the event from a cultural perspective. She advises the researcher to write about the event while there are still strong feelings and return to the place where it happened if it is emotionally distant (Ellis, 1999). bell hooks (1994) regards memorisation as an empowerment tool for oppressed people even if those memories evoke pain that we want to forget. She reminds us that the struggle through apartheid was also a “struggle of memory against forgetting” (hooks, 1994: 240). Hence, the oppressor wants to wipe out memories in order to disempower and to perpetuate dominance and oppression.

The selective retention of memory censors our stories by withholding information that brings back pain or guilt. For example, the memories about the brutality of apartheid are often censored. This prevents the former victim of oppression from moving forward, or from being reconciled with the perpetrator. By silencing and

obscuring the memories of the horrors of oppression, the former oppressor is almost exonerated from guilt and can continue with a taken-for-granted attitude towards brutality against human beings who are regarded as inferior. The mother, at childbirth, forgets her pains almost immediately as she is filled with the joy of new life.

Human beings carry memories within themselves. St Augustine in his *Confessions* describes memory as a form of “personal continuity” (Kermode, 2008: 3). It sustains our life. Human beings need the recollection, storing and recall of language structures, relationships with family, colleagues and friends to continue living out personal identities and be part of a cultural group. We retain and retrieve information which we have gathered since our birth from our “spacious palaces of memory” (Kermode, 2008: 3; Rose, 2008: 55). Memory contextualises the present and the future and is vital to the experience.

Without memory, I cannot be myself. We would not have been able to continue our humanity if we could not remember past experiences and store information vital to life sustenance (Eysenck, 2012; Wilson & Ross, 2003). If we could not remember past events, we could not learn or develop language, relationships, nor personal identity (Eysenck, 2012). This facility of the brain to collect and store information and later utilise it in our daily interaction with other individuals and the world enables us to continue life and make sense of the past, present and future. The ability to remember makes us fully human beings. In my case, the fascinating phenomenology of memory brought back my experiences that were painful, joyful, emotional and nostalgic. Though it is hurtful, memory forces me to recall and “name my grief and pain and the sorrow” (hooks, 1994: 240).

#### **4.9.2 Critical memory sharing**

My memory work was complemented by the views of others. My memory sharing with others prevented me from running the risk to “narrow my lens” and become too narcissistic (Luvaas, 2017: 7). Through critical conversations with other people, such as my family members, friends and colleagues, I was able to extract information about myself and obtain the “absent memory” (Giorgio, 2013: 69) to fill the gaps. I regarded these conversations as “interactive interviews” (Chang, 2016:

444) in order to contextualise my past experiences within the socio-cultural context in which it occurred. I could compare my experiences with similar experiences that my family, peers and colleagues had in their lives.

Through these conversations, my stories became shared and collective memories of my lived experiences. Through the conversations, I was able to refresh my memory and obtain more detail of my life as a child and an adult. My conversations were not a mere listening on my side, but I reflected on it afterwards to gain a deeper understanding of the events that occurred in the past. It provided me with another perspective of something that I took for granted. When I reflected on these conversations, they became analytical and interpretive and often had a transformation effect on me. Rouston (2010: 67) describes these conversations as “participatory engagements” and “transformative dialogues”, which have as its purpose the transformation of both the interviewer and the researcher.

I had critical conversations with individuals whom I believe had their own perception of me and my lived experiences. How they perceived me could differ from how I saw myself. This links to Bakhtin’s concept of the self as not autonomous, coherent, fixed and unified according to the Western normative. Instead, the self is fluid and often changes in various situations. I visited people in the community of Wellington, who had seen me growing up and becoming a professional and a community figure. They knew my parents and family and could tell me stories about them. I spoke to people who worked with my parents. They shared with me my parents’ involvement in the community and the church and how they influenced other people. them.

I had face-to-face as well as telephonic conversations with friends who were at school with me and studied with me at university. We could share the details about our lives, ranging from the games we played, the movies we watched, the girl-friends we had and other activities during the 1960s and 1970s. We could talk about my piano playing and how we as friends, gathered around my piano and joined in singing songs and hymns. I had conversations with my nearest family members, who included my two surviving siblings, my wife and my children, people in the community and colleagues. The countless critical conversations with my supervisor, Professor Johan Wassermann, contributed to the crafting of my narrative and its

cultural meaning. He often asked me probing questions which required in-depth and philosophical thoughts. He encouraged me not to minimise events that seemed insignificant to me but to seek the deeper meaning behind these happenings.

I perceived the critical memory sharing as a conscious “discovering discourse” (Miller, 2006: 117), which provided me with rich data and a conceptual understanding of my experiences. Miller views these engagements as forming “social networks” where both the researcher and those participating in the critical conversations are “empowered and working toward the betterment” and changing of the status quo (Miller, 2006: 155). These conversations to which Karlsson (2001: 211) refers as “evaluative discourses” took place in an “open and power-free exchange of opinions and ideas”. I found the familiar voices inspiring, and they brought back the detail of the experiences to the fore, enabling me to have a more precise recall of events that happened a long time ago.

#### **4.9.3 Published material, biographical and autobiographical material**

I studied published material such as academic journals and books relating to race, music and the curriculum as part of the literature review, as discussed in chapter 2. I was inspired by the biographies and autobiographies of other Black people, such as the two past presidents of the Republic of South Africa, Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki; and Dikgang Moseneke, retired Deputy Chief Justice of the South African Constitutional Court. Reading about their lived experiences and the racially discriminatory practices that they were exposed to, provided me with a better understanding of my journey and how to approach my study (Gumede, 2005; Mandela, 1994; Moseneke, 2016).

I studied the curricula and policies developed by the South African Department of Basic Education since 1994. I retrieved and analysed these documents, such as the National Curriculum Statement for Music which was published in 2003 and 2011, the National norms and standards for school funding in terms of the South African Schools Act, 1996 (Act No 84, 1996) and the Protocol for the organisation and coordination for school music competitions and festivals published in 2000.

#### **4.9.4 Archival visits and artefacts**

Archives are physical spaces which have been part of my life. They brought back memories and revealed the social conditions and the “manifestations of culture” (Chang, 2008: 107) serving as confirmation of my experiences and personal embodiment (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013: 68). These archival visits evoked specific emotions of joyful and painful moments shared with my family, friends and colleagues. During my visits to the site where I was born, my old schools, churches and other places of personal interest I took photos in order to bring back memories and to reflect on them.

Personal and family photographs that were collected and studied complemented my memory and served as a type of “long-term impression” (Chang, 2008: 109) and visible data for my observation and the illumination of a distant memory. It served as a “visual autoethnography” (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013: 15) because it told my lived experience in images and sometimes through empty and demolished spaces, a specific colour, regalia and other scenic detail. I regarded it as a “documentary trace” (Ricoeur, 2004: 167) to listen to my own voice and those of others, observe and to consult my life which enabled me to write my autoethnography.

My site visits retrieved events that I had experienced and brought them into the “psychological present” (Wilson & Ross, 2003, 143). Through close observation, interpretation and deep reflection, I was able to find greater detail and meaning of the specific experience. Most of all the personal and social artefacts brought back the feelings that I had experienced at that time in the distant past, but they also influenced my present feelings and attitudes which enabled me to notice how they have changed. During my research, I visited the place of my birth, Wellington. At the time of my archival visit to Wellington, to view the space in which I spent my first four years of my life, our house in *Verlatekloof* was demolished. I found a vacant erf, and I could not see any significant residential development in the area after almost sixty years.

My primary school, St. Alban's Primary School in Wellington celebrated its one hundred and tenth year in 2016. The principal provided me with recently researched information about the school. I took a walk through the old section of the school which existed when I was a learner and teacher. I visited Noorder Paarl and New Orleans Secondary Schools in Paarl, where I was a music teacher. I specifically observed the structural changes that had taken place concerning new buildings, the curriculum and the racial composition of the staff and learners.

#### **4.9.5 Field notes and journal entries**

I regarded the writing of field notes as a core method of ethnographic research which should not only cover details about others but also about oneself (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013: 66). Through field note-taking, I was able to recall distant memories and chronicle the past by discovering vignettes that would form the basis of my narrative. Field notes required deep reflection not only of past experiences but also of my present emotions.

I saw note taking as the start of my story writing. I made field notes of my visit to Wellington and other sites such as my primary and secondary school and school conversations with family, friends and colleagues. During my study, I reflected on my curriculum engagements and interaction with colleagues and students. I immersed myself in these engagements through reflection and note-taking. I would focus on my feelings and attitudes and also reflected on how I would have felt about these experiences in the past.

#### **4.10 THE VALIDITY AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

The representation of autoethnography as a credible and trustworthy research methodology is vigorously debated and even outrightly rejected by traditionalists (Doloriert & Sambrook, 2011; Holt, 2003). As a contemporary approach to research, autoethnography is associated with research that is airy-fairy, self-indulgent, subjective, narcissistic, lacking academic rigour and not fitting into the traditional positivist scientific mould. The research methodology is often perceived as being a "square peg trying to fit in the round hole" (Forber- Pratt, 2015: 11) of scientific research.

Autoethnography requires a reconceptualisation of the validity of research due to its ideological nature and the perceived distortion of research logic. Autoethnography poses legitimation challenges of the representation and evaluation of the text. Without validity, the text cannot claim to be legitimate and have authority (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003: 139). For this reason, Lather (2003) posits that specific measures should be taken to guard against the distortion of research logic in ideological and interpretive research. Hence, I have employed member checking through verisimilitude, critical conversation with family members, peers and colleagues.

When research has validity, it means that it has verisimilitude (Denzin, 2018). The term *verisimilitude* was coined by Bruner (1986). It requires critical responses from people who have read my narratives (Adler & Adler, 1994; Austin, 2001; Ellis, 2004; Grossi, 2006). Verisimilitude ensures the credibility, authenticity, rigour, truthfulness of the narrative and its content. Clough (1999) Holt (2003), Morse, Barrett, Mayan, Olson and Spiers (2002) and Richardson (2000) focus on the importance of reader responsiveness when they suggest that how credible autoethnography is, is dependent on the degree to which the text creates for the reader an experience of believing what is being read.

Through verisimilitude, the reader experiences the autoethnography as “real” and “alive” and is transported into the world of my study (Richardson, 1994). Verisimilitude ensures the clarity of writing and makes the text believable and realistic to capture the complexities of the real world in which experiences took place. It creates the feeling of truth, and coherence and connects the reader to the world of the autoethnographer (Denzin, 2018). I requested my wife, children, sisters, peers and colleagues to read my story. Their verisimilitude is attached to Annexure A.

#### **4.11 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Post-modernism challenges the disciplinary rules and boundaries of research based on ethical, aesthetic, theoretical and empirical principles. Ethnographic research is a human activity which implies that personal feelings, emotions and subjectivity are involved in our collection and data and its interpretation. Autoethnography as a

method creates the dichotomy between science and art, fact and fiction, objectivity and subjectivity, insider and outsider (Ellis, 2004). In autoethnographic research, the researcher is central to the research process and not an outsider who is removed, distanced and neutral.

Critical research is concerned with the power relations, privilege, otherness and human suffering. Whereas a positivist paradigm is concerned with race, gender and class neutrality, critical research has freed itself from “superficial instrumentation” (Christians, 2011: 75) in its mission of redress towards social justice and personal emancipation. Critical research poses several challenges and ethical pitfalls that require a radical ethic which is concerned with power and oppression (Cannella & Lincoln, 2011: 81; Denzin, 2011: 79). The intersection of power, oppression and privilege linked to social justice requires that research has a critical ethical foundation.

Denzin (2014) posits that the accountable researcher should adhere to a set of universal ethical principles that are duty-based and utilitarian. These ethical principles are linked to values that Denzin, Lincoln and Smith (2008) refer to as “feminist, caring, communitarian, holistic, respectful, mutual (rather than power unbalanced), sacred, and ecologically sound” (p. 569). The utilitarian principle means that ethical behaviour has consequences which could be beneficial or harmful to the researcher or the researched.

I applied for the necessary ethics clearance at the University of Pretoria. The participants who were involved in critical conversations and verisimilitude were informed that participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time during the process without providing reasons. I ensured that I was constantly aware of the power relationship between me as researcher and them as participants. Therefore, I did not coerce the participants in a specific direction with their responses and their verisimilitude. Finally, I informed all participants that they would not suffer any ill consequences due to their participation in the study, but that they would also not benefit from it, thereby stressing the importance of their objective, honest and accurate feedback. Ethical clearance was

received from the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria to conduct the research.

#### **4.12 CONCLUSION**

In this chapter, I have explained my research design, methodology, and methods that I used in my study. I have justified my choice of the selected research design and methods, based on my ontological and epistemological assumptions. I have motivated my research paradigm and the critical stance that I have taken. The chapter extended on the methodology of autoethnography as being a process and a product. I have explained the methods of collecting data for my narrative. I explained how I ensured that my story could be regarded as valid, trustworthy and credible. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the process of the analysis and interpretation of my narrative and the ethical procedures that were followed, as required for conducting responsible ethical research.

## 5. MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

### 5.1 ACT ONE: MY CHILDHOOD

#### Pastorale

The pastorale provides a brief historical background and situates my autoethnography within the South African colonial context. The picturesque town of Wellington is surrounded by the Groenberg and Drakenstein mountains. The Berg River flows at the south end of the town. The rural town is located approximately 75 kilometres northeast from the Mother City, Cape Town. In my Environmental Study (today called Social Studies) lessons I was taught that the town was founded by the Dutch colonists who named it *Limietrivier*, (meaning boundary of the Dutch's African world). The French renamed the town between the mountains *Val du Charron* (Valley of the Wagon Makers as there were good trees for that purpose). The Dutch named it *Wagenmakersvallei* (Valley of the Wagon Makers). In 1840 the British finally named it after the Duke of Wellington who defeated Napoleon at Waterloo.

This pastorale depicts the pastoral life of the pre-colonial nomadic life of the Khoisan occupying the land, called *Drakensteen*<sup>13</sup>. The earliest maps drawn by the first European cartographers indicated that there was indeed human life in the area of the *Drakensteen* along the Berg River, before the arrival of the settlement of the French Huguenots, commonly associated with *free burghers* (free citizens) (Glatigny, Maré & Viljoen, 2008).

The Berg River which flows through the grassy *Drakensteen* Valley is shown as a natural source of life for the needs of the group of Khoisan cattle farmers (Bredenkamp, 1982) and later for the French Huguenots who applied their viticultural knowledge and expertise to establish farms which became famous for their high- quality exportable table grapes, apricots, wine and brandy. Wellington has strong links with the religious wars and battles between Catholics and Calvinist Protestants in France. When Henry IV of France signed the Edict of Nantes with its ninety-two articles in 1598, he gave freedom of religion and economic as well as social equality between Catholics and Protestants. Protestantism could be practised

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<sup>13</sup>Today *Drakensteen* is known as Drakenstein which is also the municipality in which Wellington is located.

freely, and those practising it could possess the land and be economically active. However, in 1685 Louis XIV revoked the edict which resulted in the renewed brutalisation of the Huguenots after Protestantism was prohibited. This resulted in 400 000 French Calvinist Protestants fleeing France to seek refuge in the Netherlands, Britain, Prussia and the Americas.

The Cape Colony became part of the solution to the Huguenot problem, and many of the French refugee families were offered a new homeland in the Cape Colony where they became *free burghers*. In 1685 the governor of the Cape Colony, Simon van der Stel provided shelter to the French Huguenot refugees. In 1688 he allocated land between Stellenbosch, Franschoek and *Drakensteen* to these *free burghers*. The white painted Dutch Reformed church at the entrance of the town at the corner of Main and Church Street is a testimony to the Protestant establishment by the Dutch and French Huguenots who made their home in Wellington. Until today White families, and some Coloured families, have French names and surnames such as Louis, De Villiers, Nel, Marais, Vivier, Cordier, Hugo, Nortjé, Retief, Du Preez, Du Toit, Cilliers, Le Cordeur and Joubert.

Although the Huguenots had to flee France to avoid persecution for their religious beliefs, their deeds of land grabbing and cheating of the local inhabitants did not display any form of Christianity. Their fraudulent dealings with the indigenous people were done under the guise of a European form of the land exchange. Bredenkamp (1982) records the immigration of the Protestants and religious refugees and reports how their violent grabbing of land under the protection of the Roman-Dutch law eventually made the indigenous people the slaves and the domestic servants of the White colonisers. The Khoisan people were disowned of the cattle, livestock and land and became slaves on the new White-owned farms. The Protestant refugees who escaped the brutal persecution of the French authorities became the new oppressors of the Khoisan people.

### **5.1.1 Act one: Scene one: My parents**

#### **Narrator:**

My father, John Clifford Lewis was commonly known as Cliff, and more often by his nickname, *Baroe*, was born on a farm in Wellington in 1913. He was likely to become

a farm labourer, but he escaped the exploitation of the farming industry, which was continuing the tradition of colonised slavery and cheap unskilled Coloured and Black labour. His escape from the farming industry saved him from the *dopstelsel* (tot system), a practice of remuneration by liquor for Black and Coloured farm labourers which was introduced by farmers as early as the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Instead of monetary remuneration farm labourers were paid in the form of a daily tot of *vaaljapie* (literally grey Jonnie cheap liquor), thereby increasing the profits and affluence of the White farmers.



**Image 5.1 My father, John Clifford Lewis**

The photo was probably taken in the 1960s. The photo was given to me by my sister, Elizabeth.

**Narrator:**

My father was deprived of formal schooling. He was nominally literate and could not read nor write. The highest grade that most of the Coloured children reached was Standard 4 (now Grade 6). He qualified for the cheap labour market and worked as an unskilled labourer at the South African Dried Fruit factory in the Main Street of Wellington. The factory was an exporter of high- quality dried fruit products to Europe. Over weekends my father drank *Lieberstein* (a type of cheap white wine). To some of the family members, he was a *dronklap* (drunkard) and a *bestakel* (spectacle) to be kept away from the stiff ‘upper lip’ people. He never drank during the week, because he loved his job, though he was earning a minimum wage of £13

per week. He was extremely proud of the achievements of his children, especially of my musical talent. When we had guests, I had to perform to them to show off my musical talent. I never saw him getting angry with my mother or us, but he sometimes expressed his disappointment in us when we would fail him. He was a man of few words and could not always express his feelings verbally, but used music to do it.

He was a self-taught musician who played the *pan*<sup>14</sup> (banjo) and was a member of the Good Hope Christmas Choir. Christmas bands were called “choirs” although there was no singing involved. This Christian Christmas seasonal music practice was distinctive to the Coloured population in the Cape Province (now Western Cape). The music tradition was established as early as the 1920s (Bruinders, 2008). Over the Christmas season, they would march through the dusty streets from door to door to bring the message of Christmas with their saxophones, banjos, guitars and strings playing Christmas carols and other sacred songs. They were smartly dressed in their tailor-made double-breasted jackets, snow-white shirts, bell-bottom trousers and bow ties.



**Image 5.2 The Good Hope Christmas Choir**

My father was a member of the choir. He is in the second row, 5th from the left. The photograph was provided to me by my niece, Martha Fortuin.

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<sup>14</sup> The banjo is a string instrument that looks like a pan and was commonly associated with working class Coloureds.

The preparation for the Christmas season would start early as January. My father would take a small portion of his weekly wages to pay off the cost of his suit, which was designed and made by the local Coloured tailor. Rehearsals would take place in the back yard of the club captain. Most of the musicians were self-taught and primarily depended on the orate tradition of music learning. The male members were unskilled and skilled artisans and labourers who had basic education. The middle-class and educated Coloureds played a minimal role in this music activity and looked down on this music practice.

When my father was in his jolly mood, he would express his affection for me by singing his favourite songs, such as the Al Johnson song:

**Song: Sonny Boy**

*Climb upon my knee, Sonny Boy,  
Though you're only three, Sonny Boy,  
You've no way of knowing,  
There's no way of showing,  
What you mean to me, Sonny Boy.  
When there are grey skies,  
I don't mind the grey skies,  
You make them blue, Sonny Boy.*  
(Words and music: Al Johnson)

**Narrator:**

My father married my mother, Mercy Segole, who came from Bloemfontein in what was then the Orange Free State, now the Free State Province. Her father was the chauffeur of the manager of the South African Dried (SAD) Fruit Company in Wellington. This position gave him a higher status than the ordinary factory worker. It also meant that he required some schooling and a driver's license to be employed in such as responsible occupation. He could also be trusted with the property and safety of his White employer.

My maternal grandparents lived at Riverside, an area north of Wellington. When Riverside was declared a White area, they had to move out and rent a place with my aunt in Schoongezicht Street. My grandparents played a prominent role in the Anglican Church and the Anglican Mission School (now St. Alban's Primary School).

My grandfather served on the school committee. Sports played an important role in the upliftment of the Coloured community. Hence, my grandfather played an active role in the promotion of cricket through his leadership in the Melton's Cricket Club in the town. I never knew him, because at the time of my birth he had died



**Image 5.3 My maternal grandfather, Jacob Segole**

The photograph was provided to me by my niece, Martha Fortuin who is the oldest surviving grandchild.



**Image 5.4 My parents, John Clifford and Mercy Lewis**

The photograph was taken at the wedding of my sister, Elaine on 25 December, 1964.

**Narrator:**

My mother achieved a Standard 6 (now Grade 8) qualification which was relatively high for a Coloured female at the time. She worked as a semi-skilled labourer in the *patatstoor* (sweet potato store). I was told that she was active in labour matters and contested the exploitation of Coloured workers at the store. Later she took on a job as a domestic worker and cook at the Railway Hotel, near the Wellington Railway Station. The hotel was owned by two Jewish families, the Michaelowski's, who we addressed as Mr Abe, Miss Pearly and Mr Meyer and Miss Bella. The Railway Hotel sold liquor and had a bar where Coloured men could enter through their separate entrance to the bar to enjoy their drink after work and over weekends, contributing to the family violence and street fighting over weekends.

My mother and her family had a close relationship with the Jewish population who settled in the town after the war. The Jewish community trusted her family. Their trust was possibly based on the fact that my grandfather was the chauffeur of the manager of the South African Dried Fruit factory. My mother and her sister, Violet, were also excellent cooks. The two sisters were employed by the hotel, owned by the Michaelowski family. On a Thursday night, they catered for Jewish and other Whites the Rotary Club's weekly gathering at the hotel. They met the other exiled members of the Jewish community, which was composed of professionals and business people of the town.

Wellington was dominated by the White Afrikaners and their cultural practices. Hence, the Jewish community often related better with the marginalised Coloured community, though in secret. Both she and her eldest sister, Violet worked at the hotel where they were generally not treated as domestic workers but formed part of the family. I often played with the Michaelowski boys after school. Their clothes and toys were often passed on to me when they had outgrown them. One of the Michaelowski boys and I went to the White University of Cape Town to study accounting and music, respectively. This conflicted with the apartheid regulations for separate tertiary education.

My mother was an active member of the Anglican Church by serving as vergger, sacristan and councillor and was also an enthusiastic member of the multi-racial women's guild. This church, which had its mother church in Canterbury, England, began its missionary work in Wellington as early as 1853. After fifty years of worship in a small chapel, the present church building was erected for an amount of £1830 in 1903. Despite its colonial links, the Anglican Church covertly critiqued the apartheid system by having racially integrated services and cautiously preaching about the evils of apartheid, without being reprimanded by the government. In the conservative town of Wellington, these integrated services were a thorn in the flesh for the apartheid government. The few old White members, predominantly females, saved the church from being moved out of the White area as was the case with other churches which had to relocate to Coloured designated areas.

My mother's duties as vergger and sacristan included the weekly cleaning of the church, polishing of the pews and brass icons and the preparation of the Altar for the Sunday Mass. Her musical gift was her high pitched and resonant soprano voice with which she led in the singing of the difficult English tunes in the *Ancient and Modern Standard Hymnal* which was used at the Sunday services. She was also a member of the school committee of St. Alban's Primary School which had missionary links with the Anglican Church.

My mother was known among her friends, and the wider community, for her delicious meals and cakes. She often catered at social events such as parties, weddings and church bazaars. Her sense of food preparation also made it easy for her to feed a large family of eight on the meagre weekly wages of my father. I am still puzzled about how she managed to feed all of us. We never starved, and there was enough on the table to even give to unexpected guests.

### **5.1.2 Act one: Scene two: My birth**

On 19 September 1954, my mother gave birth to me in the bedroom of our two-roomed house in *Verlatekloof* (meaning lonely ravine) because there were no maternity facilities for non-White mothers in Wellington. The delivery was performed by one of the two Coloured mid-wives in the town. I was the youngest of six children

and would fill the space in the two-roomed house and would share the *strooimatras* (chaff mattress) with my parents.

Our house was located at the furthest and southernmost part of Wellington, near the main railway line that linked Cape Town, in the south, to Pretoria, in the north of South Africa. *Verlatekloof* was one of the nine areas occupied by the Coloured community in Wellington. Our house was situated on the corner of Versailles and Lower Pentz Street on an erf shared by two families. The rented house belonged to the Jewish butcher, Levine. Few Coloured people were property owners, and the rented houses primarily belonged to White owners or the church. Like most houses, in the area, our house consisted of two rooms. The first room served as the kitchen and the second room as a bedroom. The house had a corrugated iron roof with no ceiling to protect the inhabitants from the extreme climatic conditions of Wellington.



**Image 5.5 Verlatekloof, Wellington, my place of birth**

The vacant piece of land in Lower Pentz Street, Verlatekloof, Wellington where my birthplace is located. The house was demolished after the Group Areas Act of 1950 removals. The back wall of the neighbouring shop which was retained is visible at the right. The photograph was taken by ME during my visit to Wellington in November, 2017

**Narrator:**

During summer it was boiling in the valley between the Drakenstein mountains and winter we had stormy rains and winds. The uneven *misvloer* (floor smeared with cow-dung) was covered with a vinyl layer bought at the Jewish war refugee and

general dealer, Dorrogow. The walls were covered with cheap white- water paint which had already turned yellow and waiting for its Christmas coat. It was customary for Coloured people to paint their houses over the Christmas season – paint bought from the hardware store owned by the Jew, Kropmann and his son. The Coloured families occupying the rented houses were at the mercy of the White landlords. *Verlatekloof* people were notorious for being slow rent payers. Your furniture would land on the pavement if you neglected to pay your rent, which was collected weekly. A paraffin (kerosene) lamp and wax candles were used to lighten the darkness in the two rooms. In the corner of the first room at the front of the house was a Primus stove<sup>15</sup> with a silver pot containing the meal for the family of eight. The pots, pans and cutlery were stored in the kitchen dresser. We had our meals at the table with the four wooden chairs. The cracks in the table top were filled with the cheap and hardened blue soap which was used to scrub it. The communal washing stone on the *erf* (plot) was shared by the women who did their weekly washing. The toilet was on the open space in the back yard. There was no bathroom and a big zinc bathtub was used for the weekly bath.

### **5.1.3 Act one: Scene three: My race classification**

My race was determined by my ancestry and the racial classification of my parents and the language that they spoke. Although I was born with black skin and curly hair, the apartheid government classified me as Coloured or Cape Coloured or Brown man. I was not classified Native or Bantu according to the race categorisation of the apartheid regime. My family was not part of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa according to the racial categorisation of the country, although we had mixed blood. Based on these criteria, I qualified to be registered as a Coloured person in the Population Register of the country. Hence, I was entered in the Population Register as a *Kaapse Kleurling* (Cape Coloured). I spoke Afrikaans, the language spoken by most of the Coloured population and the Whites in the town.

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<sup>15</sup> A Primus stove is used in unfavourable conditions where electricity and a wooden stove are not available. It is a pressurised burner which uses paraffin and is ignited by spirits. It works like a blowtorch with the fire blowing upward.

### **Song: Race classification in South Africa**

*A White person is one  
who is in appearance obviously White –  
and not generally accepted as Coloured –  
or who is generally accepted as White –  
and is not obviously Non-White,  
provided that a person shall not be classified  
as a White person  
if one of his natural parents has been classified  
as a Coloured person  
or a Bantu ...  
A Bantu is a person who is,  
or is generally accepted as,  
a member of any aboriginal race  
or tribe of Africa ...  
a Coloured is a person  
who is not a White person or a Bantu.  
(Population Registration Act of 1950 of South Africa)*

#### **Narrator:**

Due to my mixed heritage, some people referred to me as a so-called Coloured or *Bruinmens* (Brown person). Due to my dark skin, I was often subjected to derogatory and hurtful names given by racist Coloureds and Whites, such as *Kaffir*, *Hotnot*, *Bushman*, *Kroeskop*, *Dakskroef*, *Gam* and *Masbieker*.

### **Song: The names**

*The racist hurls names at me  
Kaffir, darkie, as in black  
Hotnot and Bushman the extinct Khoisan  
Kroeskop, with curly hair  
Dakskroef, as if rusted and corrupted in the head  
Gam the cursed son of drunk and naked Noah  
Masbieker as if from the north of Africa  
Names bring pain to my dark skin  
Their sharpness hurt  
My mind and my soul.  
(Own composition)*

#### **Narrator:**

As it was customary for Anglicans to be baptised within three months, my baptism was solemnised in the parish of Wellington (Church of St. Alban) by the Reverend A. Earp Jones on 26 December 1954.

BAPTISMS solemnized in the Parish of <i>Wellington</i> in the Division of <i>Wellington</i> in the Year 1954								
When Baptized	Christian Name	Declared Day of Birth	PARENTS NAME		Trade	Quality, Trade or Profession	Sponsors or (in the case of adults) Witnesses	By whom the Ceremony performed
			Christian	Surname				
Dec 13 <sup>th</sup> No. 178	Deborah Margaret Jane	1954 April 10 <sup>th</sup>	Patricia Joan Margaret Mary	Hogan	Labourer Wellington	Frances Andrew Byron	Sybil Schaeffer Hoffmann, Arthur Andrew Byron	Alan Campbell
Dec 26 <sup>th</sup> No. 181	Franklin Arthur	1954 Sept. 19 <sup>th</sup>	John Mary	Lewis	Wellington	Labourer	Michael Segole William Cameron Alec Edwards	Alan Campbell
Dec 30 <sup>th</sup> No. 182	Carl Friedrich	1951 March 25 <sup>th</sup>	Carl Wilhem Friedrich Anna Sigibeth LeGrange	De Kock	120 New Bond St. Paarl	Hotel Dealer	Alwyn Kofie Bertha Kofie The Father	Alan Campbell
Jan 2 <sup>nd</sup> No. 184	Jacqueline Wilhelmina Maria	1954 June 10 <sup>th</sup>	Roella Josephine Maria	Leggett	2 Pine St. Wellington	Mechanic	Man, Kaptein Leggett Arthur Smith Selma P. Smith	Alan Campbell

**Image 5.6 My baptismal certificate in the Anglican Church**

The entry of my baptism in the register of St. Alban's Anglican Church, Wellington. (Retrieved from the Baptism Registry of St. Alban's Church, Wellington in November, 2017.)

The baptismal registry of the church stated that my parents had no trade and were labourers. Their place of abode indicated "Wellington" which meant that they had no fixed address, which was common for Coloureds who depended on rented accommodation. My racial classification was not mentioned in the baptismal register. The exclusion of the racial classification could imply that the so-called liberal English church covertly contested the South African apartheid system. However, they still emphasised class and status by mentioning the occupation or trade of my parents as "labourers". In the same period, the children of a farmer, motor dealer and a machinist were baptised. What is significant is that their addresses were recorded in the register. The designation of "labourers" made my family working-class people with no fixed address.

#### 5.1.4 Act one: Scene four: My siblings

Music and dance, as forms of socialisation, played an important role in the Coloured community of Wellington. This was especially prevalent over weekends and during the Christmas and New Year festival season. Wellington had a vibrant *klopse*

(minstrel or coons) tradition with several troupes in existence in the town. Some middle-class Coloureds and Whites looked down on the spectacle of the *klopse* (minstrels) with their brightly painted faces and theatrical dances in the streets and referred to them as “jolly *hotnots*”. The White population generally regarded the coons as a good representation of the Coloured population. The derogatory connotation of the term “coon” was contested by the educated middle-class Coloureds and petite bourgeoisie due to its association with vulgarity, drunkards and *dagga* (marijuana) smokers. Those Coloureds who participated in it were regarded as uncivilised, uncultured and low-class Coloureds. Like the Christmas choirs, the coons musicians were self-taught. Their repertoire consisted of their compositions with lyrics in *kombuis Afrikaans* (vernacular Afrikaans) which was a mixture of Afrikaans and Dutch.

**Song: Spectacle of the *klopse***

*With colourful faces  
White, red, black  
In shining satins  
And pyjama-like outfits  
Dancing through the streets  
From door to door  
Greeting the new year  
Singing their self-composed comics  
Strumming the banjos and guitars  
On the beat of the ghoema drum.  
(Own composition)*

**Narrator:**

My father and my brother, Alban, were involved in the *klopse* tradition. My father played the banjo and my brother, who dropped out of school at an early age, was a singer in the Gold Dollar Coons Club. At midnight the *nagtroepe* (night troupes) would take to the streets to announce the New Year. They would continue making music throughout the night until the dawn of the New Year.

My eldest brother, Joseph, was one of the first Coloureds to matriculate at the secondary school in the town. He was the only one in the family who achieved this qualification. Unlike my brother, Alban, who dropped out of school, he did not participate in the male-dominated *klopse* tradition. However, he used his musical talent to establish a male singing group, the Nightbirds, who sang African-American

music in the 'doo-wop style'. He and his friends imitated the American singing groups with their spontaneous and crude and unsophisticated vocal harmonisation of American popular music. Their a cappella vocal ensemble had a countertenor solo, and the rest of the group formed the backing singers who accompanied the soloist in *doo-wop* style which often imitated instruments with vocal riffs (repeated motives) such as 'doo-wop-wop, doo-whap'. What was significant was that their repertoire did not consist of traditional South African music, such as the Zulu *isicathamiya*<sup>16</sup>, but they rather sang popular music genres which originated in the late 1950s and early 1960s American soul, gospel, dance and jazz music which reflected the experiences of the American Blacks. Their repertoire included hits by the famous *The Platters*, one of the most successful African-American vocal groups, such as *Only You*, *The Great Pretender* and *Twilight Time*.

**Chorus: In doo-wop style**

*Tenor solo: Oh-oh, yes, I'm the great pretender*  
*Backing voices: Doo-wop; doo-whap*  
*Tenor solo: Pretending that I'm doing well*  
*Backing voices: Doo-wop; doo-whap*  
*Tenor solo: My need is such I pretend too much*  
*I'm lonely but no one can tell*  
*Backing voices: Doo-wop; doo-whap*  
 (Words and music: The Platters, 1956)

**Narrator:**

The a cappella groups had no formal training in music and could not read music. They learned the music and lyrics by listening to recordings from the collection of long-playing records for the gramophone, which gradually made its way into the homes of Coloured families. My mother helped them with the pronunciation of the English lyrics. In typical rock 'n roll American style, they performed in their black trousers and white shirts, white jackets and shining black shoes. On occasions, females were allowed to join the group. For example, my brother and his friends would employ the resonant mezzo-soprano voice of my eldest sister, Monica to augment their singing.

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<sup>16</sup> *Isicathamiya* is a type of a cappella which originated in the 1920s and 1930s in Zululand.

The singing groups also had a competitive element. The groups would participate in local and regional competitions. They drew their supporters to the local town hall and other venues in neighbouring towns until the non-Whites were barred from the White venues with the introduction of petty apartheid laws in terms of the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, Act No 49 of 1953. The Act made it illegal for the integration of races in public spaces such as government buildings, beaches, trains, buses, halls, bars, hotels, except for public roads. Hence, the use of halls specifically demarcated for the use of White people became inaccessible for the Black, Coloured and Indian population. In 1965 the municipal town hall, which was a popular performance venue, was closed for the non-White population, although all the population groups contributed towards the maintenance of the facility. The group singing became less popular due to the unavailability of performing venues.



**Image 5.7 My sister, Monica and brother, Joseph**

**Narrator:**

Although one of the objectives of the coons was to keep youngsters off the street, parents did not encourage their sons to join the coons troupes and the vocal groups due to the negativity associated with it. The middle-class Coloureds regarded this type of music as “street music” suitable for “corner boys” and “loiterers” under the lamp poles. It was not music to be taken seriously. Hence, I was not encouraged to participate in those non-formal music activities.

### 5.1.5 Act one: Scene five: The forced removals

**Narrator:**

In 1960 the 'slums clause' of Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950a declared our house in *Verlatekloof* a slum building and unsuitable for living. We experienced the effects of the forced removals of the Group Areas Act and the Slums Clause, which had the objective to racialise all residential spaces.

**Recitative: Commissioner of Coloured Affairs to the Wellington Municipality:**

*I want to strongly appeal to your Council  
To attend as early as possible to the establishment of  
separate residential areas where the Coloureds could be  
properly accommodated*  
(Rust, 2013: vii).

**Narrator:**

This letter of the Commissioner of Coloured Affairs had as its purpose to relocate the Coloureds from the White declared residential areas. It formed part of the administrative and law enforcement machinery of the apartheid regime to roll out the Group Areas Act to segregate the population groups. The forced removals were met with little resistance from the Coloured community. It was as if they accepted their fate.

**Song: Forced removals**

*Sad, sad, sad.  
We were raised not to hate  
Or to protest  
Against the evil of the law  
Sad, sad, sad.  
New beginnings,  
All in the name of apartheid,  
Silent acceptance,  
Sad, sad, sad.*  
(Adapted from Rust, 2013)

**Narrator:**

Political organisations led by academics and professional teachers attempted to express their opposition to the Act and other segregationist laws. These organisations included the Teachers' League of South Africa, established in 1913, the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) Movement, the National Liberation

League (NLL), the Train Apartheid Resistance Committee (TARC) and the Non-European United Front (NEUF) (Adhikari, 2005b; Du Pré, 1994). However, any form of resistance and protesting were met with the state's draconian laws, such as detention without trial, which could include solitary confinement of up to ninety days.

When I was four years old, the Group Areas Act with its slums clause took our family to a three-roomed municipal (council) scheme house in 20 Jardine Street in the newly established Coloured area of Wellington, known as Ghost Town where the municipality had erected semi-detached houses as part of the apartheid project. The scheme was earmarked for Coloured families who had been moved from the White-declared areas and slums.

Ghost Town got its name from the nearby old graveyard where it was believed ghosts would come out at night to walk through the area. The municipality used the cheapest design and materials for the three-roomed council houses, such as block bricks, one entrance, cement floors, unplastered walls, no inter-leading doors to the rooms. One room was the kitchen and sitting-room: the other two other rooms the bedrooms. Curtains separated the three matchbox sized rooms. There was no electricity, but the black coal and wood stove was an improvement on the Primus stove that we had in the previous house. There was no bathroom, and the toilet facility was outside in the corner of the yard. These facilities were considered to be good enough for Coloured people.

**Song: The council house**

*In a dusty street  
Wall to wall in council seat  
There my sojourn shall be  
White and unplastered division  
Though met with derision  
Bare feet on cold cement  
In the morning my mother ascend  
To pray for the meeting of the new day  
(Own composition)*

### 5.1.6 Act one: Scene six: The music lessons

#### Narrator:

Our short stay at 20 Jardine Street ended abruptly. In 1960 my maternal grandmother, who was staying with my aunt Rebecca (Nana), had a stroke which paralysed her. My mother's two sisters, Violet and Rebecca decided that my mother would become my grandmother's full-time caregiver. We moved in with Nana, a spinster and kindergarten teacher, in her recently built house in Schoongezicht Street, Wellington. This arrangement would enable her to continue with her teaching career. The move from the council house to the self-owned property meant an upgrade for our family. In 1960 we moved from the council house into a flat attached to the house.

As a teacher, Nana lived out her Coloured elitism by having friends from the Coloured "high society" and "selects" who were successful businessmen, principals, teachers and their families. She was inspired by the principles of the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), established in 1913 and the Anti-Coloured Affairs Department (Anti-CAD) Movement, which opposed segregation and the apartheid structures created by the National Party. These two movements, together with the National Liberation League (NLL), the Train Apartheid Resistance Committee (TARC) the Non-European United Front (NEUF), opposed and obstructed the establishment of apartheid and segregationist structures that would separate the Coloureds politically from Whites (Du Pré, 1994) and undertook not to collaborate with the government on the principles of segregation. The middle-class and professionals frequented her house either for socials or fund-raising in the form of *bop-hops* (house parties) and curry sales for the local TLSA.



**Image 5.8 My mother' sister,  
Rebecca (Nana) Segole**

The photograph was probably  
taken in the early 1960s.  
It was given to me by my sister,  
Elizabeth

**Narrator:**

My aunt's house was frequently visited by liberal Whites who covertly opposed apartheid and regarded educated Coloureds as their equals, such as the Jewish community and even some Afrikaners. She did not drink *vaaljapie* (cheap wine) but enjoyed good wines. She never went into public spaces where apartheid signs were displayed. Since I had known her, she refused to visit White shops, the post office and banks with their separate entrances for Whites and non-Whites. She never used the train with its separate coaches and waiting rooms and benches for the races. She made use of *mailers* (messengers) to do her banking and obtain articles for her personal need. She never went to church and always said that the white churches were full on Sundays because they prayed for apartheid to remain. To her, it was the "National Party at prayer" (Sparks, 2016: 152). The Dutch Reformed Church, to which the majority of White Afrikaners belonged, was regarded as the co-author of apartheid by rejecting *gelykstelling* and equality of all races before the eyes of God (Sparks, 2016). Their rejection of equality and their support of racial separatism was Biblically supported. She detested poor and uneducated Whites for having the privileges which she did not enjoy, and despised bad behaviour from us, and referred to us as being uncouth and uncivilised. She encouraged us to strive towards

high achievements and to be twice as good as the Whites to receive recognition. However, despite her non-collaboration principles, she was a devoted and well-known kindergarten teacher with a Standard 6 (now Grade 8) level of schooling, plus two years of teacher training. She taught at St. Alban's Primary School in Wellington.

St. Alban's Primary School became the school where I received my primary school education. In January 1962, in the year that I turned seven years old, I had to go to St Alban's (English Church) Primary School due to my mother's association with the school. The school originated out of the missionary work of the Anglican Church. According to the records of the school, an Anglican missionary school existed as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Wellington, but it was closed in 1888. It started as a mission school at the back of the town hall in the centre of town. A school inspection report showed evidence that the English missionary school was revived in a schoolhouse in Pentz Street in 1906.

Since 1934, the school has experienced continuous accommodation problems, because teaching has taken place at various community halls and even in the projector room of the local cinema. Despite its English name, and its association with the English Anglican Church, the medium of instruction had always been Afrikaans. By the time that I had to go to school, it had moved from the White area to the Coloured area in 1957 due to the Group Areas Act of 1950.



**Image 5.9 The front entrance to St. Alban's Primary School, Wellington**

The photograph was taken when I visited the school in November 2017.



**Image 5.10 The South eastern part of St. Alban's Primary School**

The photograph was taken by me when I visited the school in November 2017.

**Narrator:**

The single storey building in Front Street had two wings which formed a quad between the three rows of buildings. Our Monday morning assemblies were held in the open-air quad because there was no hall and the principal, Mr Levendal, led the assembly from the *stoep* in front of us. We stood in our rows according to classes. Sometimes the principal invited the old white-haired Anglican priest, who was also the manager of the school, to lead the assembly. The priest read some prayers from the Book of Common Prayer that was used in the Anglican Church. We sang two or more appropriate Anglican hymns from the *Ancient and Modern Hymn Book*.

**Chorus: All things bright and beautiful**

*All things bright and beautiful  
All creatures great and small  
All things wise and wonderful  
The Lord God made them all*  
(Words: Cecil Frances Alexander, 1818-1895)

**Narrator:**

During singing classes, we learned English and Afrikaans folksongs as well the usual dose of sacred songs and hymns. Most of the songs were taken from the *FAK Volksangbundel* (People's Songbook), an anthology of songs published by the conservative White Afrikaner cultural organisation, the *Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge* (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations). The *FAK Volksangbundel* promoted Afrikaner popular songs but at the same time foster the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner political unity through music. The Department of Education provided all Coloured and White schools with a copy of the songbook. As part of the National Party's indoctrination ideology, we were also required to sing the National Anthem of South Africa, *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika* (The Call of South Africa).

**Song: The Call of South Africa**

*Uit die blou van onse hemel,  
Uit die diepte van ons see,  
Oor ons ewige gebergtes  
Waar die kranse antwoord gee.  
Deur ons vêr verlate vlaktes  
Met die kreun van ossewa.  
Ruis die stem van ons geliefde,*

*Van ons land Suid-Afrika.  
Ons sal antwoord op jou roepstem,  
Ons sal offer wat jy vra:  
Ons sal lewe, ons sal sterwe,  
Ons vir jou, Suid-Afrika.*

Translation:

Ringling out from our blue heavens,  
From our deep seas breaking round,  
Over everlasting mountains,  
Where the echoing crags resound,  
From our plains where creaking wagons,  
Cut their trails into the earth,  
Calls the spirit of our country,  
Of the land that gave us birth.  
At thy call we shall not falter,  
Firm and steadfast we shall stand,  
At thy will to live or perish,  
O South Africa, dear land.

### **Narrator**

We were further indoctrinated by the song which honoured and pledged allegiance to the South African flag and country, namely *Die Vlaglied* (The Flag Song).

### **Song: *Die Vlaglied* (The Song of the Flag)**

*Nooit hoef jou kinders wat trou is te vra:  
Wat beteken jou vlag dan Suid-Afrika?  
Ons weet hy's die seël van ons vryheid en reg  
vir naaste en vreemde, vir oorman en kneg;  
die pand van ons erf'nis, geslag op geslag,  
om te hou vir ons kinders se kinders wat wag;  
ons nasie se grondbrief van eiendomsland,  
uitgegee op gesag van die Hoogste se hand.  
Oor ons hoof sal ons hys, in ons hart sal ons dra,  
die vlag van ons eie Suid-Afrika*

Translation:

Cradled in beauty forever shall fly  
In the gold of her sunshine the blue of her sky,  
South Africa's pledge of her freedom and pride  
In their home by sacrifice glorified.  
By righteousness armed, we'll defend in our might  
The sign and the seal of our freedom and right,  
The emblem and loyalty, service and love;  
To our own selves true and to God above,  
Our faith shall keep what our hearts enthrone –  
The flag of the land that is all our own.

**Narrator:**

The teaching of the two anthems was done with great repulsion by my teachers, especially my aunt Rebecca, due to their rejection of apartheid and texts which stressed White superiority and the servitude of others who were not White. However, the teachers did not raise their objection for fear of the principal and the education authorities, as well as the security police.

St. Alban's Primary School, like most Coloured and Black schools, did not offer any lessons in instrumental music. This curriculum item was reserved for privileged White learners. Our music curriculum restricted us to class singing, often taught by a non-specialist. Hence, Coloured, Black and Indian children who wanted to play a musical instrument had to take private music lessons, provided they could afford it. My aunt Rebecca was one of the few people in the Coloured community who owned a piano. In the 1960s the piano was an uncommon item in Coloured households. It was regarded as prestigious, grand and elitist, to have a piano in your house. It was perceived to be possessed only by the *seleckies*<sup>17</sup> and 'high society' among the Coloured population in Wellington. The piano distinguished my aunt from the working-class Coloured population. She never played the instrument, and we did not enquire what her intentions were for buying the instrument. Could it be that she wanted to make a political point by buying a piano that would merely gather dust? Well if Whites could do it, why not? It is also possible that she bought the upright *Hoffmann* piano at a good price at the piano factory owned by the German family, Dietmann in Bain Street, Wellington. The piano factory made the Wellington famous because it was the only place in the country where pianos were manufactured.

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<sup>17</sup> The Coloured people referred to the upper middle-class people as *seleckies* derived from the English word, selected.



**Image 5.9 My first piano**

My piano in the lounge of my aunt Rebecca. It is currently in the Wellington house of my sister, Elizabeth. The photograph was taken by me in November 2017.

**Narrator:**

My sister, Elizabeth and cousin, Magdalene started to take piano lessons with Ms Moses, who was a primary school teacher in Wellington. After a short stint of piano playing, they lost interest and were taken out of the piano project. Miss Moses later moved to Port Elizabeth in the eastern part of the Cape Province. At the age of nine, when I was in Standard 2 (now Grade 4), I started fiddling with the white and black keys and taught myself to read the staff notation and play the pieces with which my sister and cousin had struggled. I asked my mother if I could take piano lessons, unaware of the financial implications. She had to pay two rands per quarter for my piano lessons with Mr Denzil April, a primary school teacher in the town. The piano became mine, and I was introduced to the literate and Western classical music tradition.

**Song: The piano**

*Playing the well-tempered clavier  
The queen of instruments  
Speaks of cultural nobility and grandeur  
Demanding virtuosity and sentiments  
Warm timbre of hammered strings  
Bourgeois instrument par excellence  
(Adapted from Bourdieu, 1984)*

**Narrator:**

I became the odd one out walking with my music books to my music teacher in Park Street for my lessons every Tuesday and Thursday afternoon, while my friends were playing rugby or cricket in the street. I was seen as gifted, enthusiastic and a fast learner. I spent more time at the piano than with my school work. The piano lessons made me one of the privileged Coloured children in Wellington. Three things count in my favour. One was that I had a piano at home. Secondly, my mother was prepared to pay the two rands per quarter fees for my lessons. Thirdly, I had a natural gift and disposition for music.

My music talent was also spotted at primary school when we had a visit from the music inspector. My class rehearsed a song by Felix Mendelssohn, *On wings of song* for this visit. My Standard 2 (now Grade 4) teacher proposed that I accompany the class in the singing of the song when the music inspector would visit us. The music inspector showed surprise that I could accompany my peers and commented: "This boy will get far in life." This gave me the confidence to accompany the singing of hymns in the church at the age of twelve. My mother bought me the music notation version of the Anglican *Ancient and Modern Hymnal*. I was introduced to the Anglican Church music and started playing some of the favourite English hymns to the delight of my family, especially my mother. My father also beamed with pride and wanted to show me off. When we had visitors, I had to perform for them whether they listened or not. He regarded me as the wonder child in our secluded Coloured world.

My mother bought me an *Ancient and Modern Hymnal*. She had already earmarked me for the music ministry of the Anglican Church. Mr Gordon Matthee, who was also my Standard 4 (now Grade 6) teacher, was playing the *traporrel* (harmonium) in church. He was part of the Coloured elite of the town and had faithfully played the organ for many years and was somewhat reluctant to give up his position as organist. The old master allowed me to play at the Sunday Mass at the young age of twelve years. In a way, this changed my life because I developed a love for church music. Mr Matthee, who was near retirement age, slowly made way for me for him to have a freer life. As a church organist, I sacrificed the normal life of a teenager.

While my friends were kicking their self-made rugby ball in the street, I had to play at church services, funerals and weddings over weekends.



**Image 5.10 St. Alban's Anglican Church, Wellington**  
The photograph was taken by me in 2017.



**Image 5.11 The harmonium at St. Alban's Anglican Church**  
The photograph was taken by me in November 2017.

### **Narrator:**

I had no choice about being included in the church and community concerts because I seemed to belong to the church and community. These concerts were the only opportunity where I could celebrate my musical talent. The concerts also exposed the Coloured community to Western classical music. I did not participate in sports, although at some stage, I attempted to play tennis at the local tennis club. I soon lost interest in the sport. Boys taking music lessons and not participating in sports such as rugby were often regarded as being *moffies*<sup>18</sup>, but in my case, my piano

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<sup>18</sup> *Moffie* is a derogatory Afrikaans word for a person, normally a male, who is effeminate or gay.

playing drew my friends around me. When my school friends came over in the evenings, we had sing-along sessions with hymns and songs in my aunt's lounge.

I befriended a lot of girls who perceived me as being arty, gentle and decent and different from the rough boys in my class. They regarded me as cultured, civilised and a 'safe guy' who was not one who only thought and talked about sex or indulged in alcohol and *dagga* (marijuana). Music made me a good model of civilisation, which was the dream of many middle-class Coloured parents. They looked past my blackness and *kroeskop* (curly hair), which were important physical features for colour-conscious Coloureds. According to one of my friends, Edmond de Vries:

**Recitative:**

*"Frank(lin) you kept us together with your music.*

(Conversation, Edmond de Vries, 2016)

**5.1.7 Act one: Scene seven: My secondary school**

**Narrator:**

I started my secondary school journey at Berg River High School in 1968. The school was established on 26 January 1949 through the initiative of community and church leaders to provide secondary education for Coloured children in the town which started as early as 1926. Hence, it took the Coloured Community longer than twenty years to secure secondary education for their children. Representatives of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Church, *Hollandse Kerk* (Dutch Reformed Church) and Anglican (English) Church took the initiative and wrote to the local school board and the education department to plead for the provision of secondary education for Coloured children. Their request was considered favourably by the department. Mr Morris Friedling, qualified with the degrees of B.A. and M.A. (University of South Africa) and B.Ed. (University of Cape Town), was appointed as the first principal of the high school.

Berg River High School started without a school building, books, furniture and stationery. The first lessons were given in the local Friendly Society Hall. As the school grew in numbers, additional accommodation was obtained in the hall of the Independent Order of Tue Templars (IOTT), an organisation which fought against

liquor abuse and the tot system which was a practice that was promoted through colonialism when farm workers were paid in the form of liquor. Classes were also held in the Unity Society Building, the A.M.E Church and even a shop. Initially, the school only went up to Standard 8 (now Grade 10). After the school had attained 'high school' status in 1951, it could produce its first matriculants. After many requests for a school building, the teachers and learners moved into a wooden structure in 1953.

I did Afrikaans (First Language), English (Second Language), General Science, Mathematics, Woodwork in Standard 6 (now Grade 8). I also did "non-examination" subjects such as Singing, Guidance, Religious Instruction and Physical Education. The teacher who taught General Science was also our class singing teacher. He had no formal or specialist training in music or the methodologies of the subject. He taught the subject because he came from a musical family and presumably would have had some exposure to music. With our puberty voices breaking, we struggled through the weekly thirty minutes of song singing. One of our favourite songs was a Neopolitan song, *Santa Lucia* which we tried to sing in three parts:

**Song: Santa Lucia**

*Now 'neath the silver moon Ocean is glowing,  
O'er the calm billows, soft winds are blowing.  
Here balmy breezes blow, pure joys invite us,  
And as we gently row, all things delight us.*

*Refrain:  
Hark, how the sailor's cry joyously echoes nigh:  
Santa Lucia, Santa Lucia!  
(Neopolitan folksong)*

**Narrator:**

Although Berg River High School was one of the oldest secondary schools for Coloureds in the country, there were no music resources such as a piano, songbooks, and percussion instruments. We never listened to music recordings, because the school did not have sound equipment. There was no school hall. We eventually used the time allocated for music to catch up with other more important subjects, such as Mathematics and Science. Somehow, I did not like school. I sometimes hated it. When we arrived there on the first day, we were told that the good grades that we received in primary school were useless that we would soon

be brought down to earth by our first test marks. I found the teachers, especially the male teachers arrogant and intimidating. Some of them were even abusive and sometimes verbally insult learners. I was a star learner at primary school. I continued my performance at secondary school by being among the best performing learners in my class.

### **5.1.8 Act one: Scene eight: My music examination**

At secondary school, I made up my mind to study music after matric and to become a music teacher, although my best subject was Accounting. Hence, I had to take serious and structured music lessons which were not offered at my secondary school. I heard that Mr Michael Balie, who was the organist of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Wellington, prepared his music learners for the music examinations. His students played the examinations of the Associated Board of the Royal Schools (ABRSM) which was a recognised and accredited music examination which conducted examinations across the globe. My time with Mr April had come to an end, and I had to move on because I wanted to take my music more seriously. I wanted my music to be recognised. It had to be more than fun.

When I met Mr Balie in his West Street house, he was conservatively dressed in a half-ironed white shirt and creased grey suit. He was a bachelor in his mid-forties “married to music” (Conversation with one of his choristers, 2017). He sounded unfriendly and curt and talked in a mumbling tone. I could hardly hear what he was saying. As part of my audition, I had to play several pieces while he observed me through his thick black-framed spectacles. He listened to my piano playing and found me good enough to be his student.

He was going to introduce me to the music syllabus of the ABRSM). I had to get my performance technique to a standard through the consistent practising of scales, arpeggio’s and other technical exercises which I did not do before. I had to learn graded classical pieces and spend hours learning the notes. Whereas I was previously playing for fun, I was going to work towards perfection. The repertoire of pieces for the Royal Schools was prescribed and played by all the candidates over the world. There was little room for freedom, and I was prepared to do precisely what was required of me.

### **Song: The piano teacher**

*With staccato instructions  
Over and over the same thing  
Until you get it right  
Up you go:  
Doh re, mi fah soh lah te doh  
And down:  
Doh te lah so fah me re doh  
Perfection in sound and execution  
Over and over until you get it right!  
(Own composition)*

### **Narrator:**

There were two other music examination bodies which conducted examinations in the country, namely the Trinity College of London (TCL) and the University of South Africa (UNISA). Mr Balie did not consider the more affordable local UNISA examinations due to its apartheid policies where the examinations were conducted on racial lines. All their examiners were White and predominantly Afrikaners, who could not, in his view, be trusted. The ABRSM examiner travelled from England to conduct the music examination. We had to do the “international examination” in a room at my teacher’s house in West Street in the Coloured area of Wellington because we could not do it at the White centre. Although it was an international examination, the White candidates did their examinations at a separate venue, due to the apartheid legislation. In later years, my music learners were quickly moved to write their theory examination in a bedroom in the house of the White invigilator when the ABRSM mistook my learners as White. They were scheduled to write their examination at the White Wellington Teachers’ College. Alternative arrangements were quickly made to save the invigilator from the political embarrassment of allowing White and Coloured children to be put in one room to write an international music examination in the 1970s.

My music examination of the ABRSM was a nerve-wracking experience for our teacher and his students. Mr Balie was wearing his usual grey suit. He was sweating more than normal, although it was during the winter month of August. He had his house cleaned for the occasion, and the books that were normally lying around were neatly packed away. I could smell the fresh floor polish on his wooden tiled floor. When I entered the examination room, I was confronted with the aloofness of the

music examiner who hardly talked to me and only uttered the English instructions to which I had to respond like a machine. It was a very secret examination. No comments were made, and we had to wait patiently for the examiner's report and results until he or she had left the country.

#### **5.1.9 Act one: Scene nine: My music teacher as a mentor**

##### **Narrator:**

Apart from being my music teacher, Mr Balie was also my mentor. He wanted something special to come out of me. He detected music talent and wanted the best. He hated inferiority, and I had to walk tall. He did not accept "no" or "I cannot do it" for an answer. You just had to do it over and over until you got it right. No other activities could be put forward as an excuse for not being available for music. It was my first preference, and I had to handle my school work amidst the practising. He often picked me up in his Ford motor-car and took me to neighbouring towns and Cape Town to show off my musical talent to other middle-class families whom I assumed were teachers. It served to motivate other children in their communities. He also introduced me to church and community organisations. I had to accompany their choirs and soloists at music festivals and competitions, a duty that he had faithfully fulfilled all his life as a music teacher.

Mr Balie played the 'king of the instruments', the pipe organ in the Dutch Reformed Mission Church in Wellington. In the Coloured community, he was also regarded as the 'king of music'. The Dutch Reformed Mission Church was the only church in the Coloured community in Wellington that possessed a pipe organ which was normally found in the White churches. My teacher introduced me to the real pipe organ in his church. On several occasions, I had to substitute him when he was not available to play the organ. Through this, I was drawn into the church music tradition at a young age.

Mr Balie established a choral music tradition at his school and the church as part of the cultural and musical upliftment of the Coloured community. His educational objective was to develop the musical abilities of the Coloured children and adults. Hence, he involved me by introducing me to his music projects. In a way, he was

the 'music icon' in the Coloured community. My secondary school friend, Edmond de Vries, who sang in his school choir and junior church choir, described him as follows:

**Song: The choir master's song I**

*With staccato instructions  
Balie boem, boem, boem<sup>19</sup>  
Over and over the same thing  
Until you get it right  
Up you go:  
Doh re, me fah soh lah te doh  
And down:  
Doh te lah so fa me re doh  
Our mouth round when you sing doh!  
You do not sing like a Cape Coloured.  
Afrikaans must sound like whites  
All those English songs  
With our round mouths:  
Daffodils...  
Swaying blossoms decked with sunlight,  
golden and gay ...  
Good night to you all,  
And sweet be your sleep,  
May angels around you their vigils keep,  
Goodnight, goodnight, goodnight, goodnight....  
On the beat: taa, tate taa  
Tafatefe, tate taa  
The language of music.  
Over and over until you get it right!  
(Conversation, Edmond de Vries, 2017)*

He accepted anybody in his choir, whether you had a good singing voice or not. According to Edmond he landed in the church's children choir and hated it from the first day. However, he could not find a reason to quit, because his father, who was an elder in the church, forced him to be part of the choir as part of his Christian and moral upbringing. Mr Balie saw the choir as part of the Christian and Western upbringing. He taught the pronunciation of the rounded English language in contrast to the flat vernacular Afrikaans spoken and sung by most of us. His choristers began to understand the language of music.

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<sup>19</sup> *Balie Boem* was the nickname for Mr Balie.

## **Song: The choir master's song II**

*He taught me the love for singing and music  
Mr Balie - the foundation,  
My ability to sing,  
To understand music.  
When I listen to choirs today,  
I look out for the same qualities,  
That he cultivated in me,  
And of the same calibre as him.  
(Conversation, Edmond de Vries, 2017)*

### **Narrator:**

Mr Balie gave challenging musical works to his predominantly working-class choir members. The choral works ranged from church anthems and oratorios by Handel and Mendelssohn. They sang demanding solos pieces and choruses. He and his choir participated in regional church choir festivals and competitions which were well supported by the Coloured communities of the neighbouring towns and villages. He drew the young children together in a junior choir. It kept them off the street, and they were encultured into Western classical music in the church. This was in contrast with the coon culture of the town. The coons were regarded as the uncultured and uncivilised lot of *jolly hotnots*. If you sang in a choir, you were regarded as cultured and refined. If you told Mr Balie that you were singing in the coons, he would regard you as un-Christian and being on the wrong path of civilisation and morality.

### **5.1.10 Act one: Scene ten: The audition**

I was invited to an audition to the South African College of Music (SACM) at the University of Cape Town (UCT) in my matric year. The receptionist directed me to the office of the administrator. He was regarded as the 'gatekeeper' and in control of the institution.

### **Duet: The college administrator (A) and I**

A: *"It will be a pleasure to accept you as a music student."*  
I: *"I will be honoured."*  
A: *"You will have to apply for government permission to study here?"*  
I: *"Why do I need permission?"*  
A: *"This is an open university."*  
I: *Why do I need permission?*  
A: *"Open universities admit non-White students only if the Minister of Internal Affairs gives his consent."*

- I: *"When does the minister give permission?"*  
 A: *"If the ethnic university does not offer the course?"*  
 I: *"What will happen if I do not have a permit?"*  
 A: *"It's a crime to admit non-White students to this institution."*

**Narrator:**

The dean of the faculty, Professor Gunter Pulvermacher, wearing a snow-white shirt, bright coloured bow tie and small spectacles hanging on his nose He had a heavy German accent. He invited me to sit on an antique chair (almost like the one in my priest's rectory). I was requested to play one piece on the German-made grand piano - the bourgeois instrument par excellence.

**Duet: The dean and I**

- Dean: *"I notice that you have not done music as a subject at school".*  
 I: *"My school did not offer the subject".*  
 Dean: *"What is your music background"?*  
 I: *"I have taken private piano lessons since the age of 10 years and am now preparing myself for the examinations of the grade 7 Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music".*  
 Dean: *"When will you play the grade 7 music examination?"*  
 I: *"I will play it in August this year (1972)".*  
 Dean: *"This college sets high standards".*  
 I: *"I know Sir".*  
 Dean: *"We will consider you as a student if you pass the grade 7 Royal Schools of Music examination".*

**Narrator:**

Despite the Extension of the University Act of 1959 which prohibited Black, Coloured and Indians to study at White universities, UCT accepted them, provided the Minister of Internal Affairs would grant permission. Permission was only granted if the proposed course was not offered by the racially designated 'bush colleges' such as the University of the Western Cape for Coloureds established by the government. The Minister of Internal Affairs granted permission that I could study at the White UCT. Music became my permit course.

**Recitative: Permission to study music:**

*Consent has been granted to you  
 to attend the University of Cape Town  
 in terms of section 31 of Act 45 of 1959.  
 The consent is valid only at the University of Cape Town  
 and or the degree and the subject indicated above.*

**Narrator:**

The permit, and the condition of passing the ABRSM music examination, left me with the prospect of becoming a student at the SACM, UCT in 1973. I played the grade 7 examination in August in my matric year. I was successful and would soon leave Wellington to register at UCT for the Bachelor of Music degree. I was the first of my family to receive tertiary education and the first Coloured person in Wellington to study for a music degree.

## 5.2 ACT 2: PREPARING MYSELF AS A MUSIC TEACHER

### 5.2.1 Act one: Scene one: Home in the city

#### **Narrator:**

When I arrived at UCT in 1973, I did not expect to live on campus because accommodation for non-White students in the White suburb of Rondebosch was not available. Only White students could live in the student residences on and near campus due to the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Separate Amenities Act of 1953. I had to find private accommodation in an area designated for Coloureds. Areas for Coloureds were on the Cape Flats. My mother's sister, Aziza and her Muslim husband, Ismail Rylands, offered to take me in as a boarder in their number 42 Canterbury flat in Constitution Street, District Six, Cape Town.

I never dreamed that I would live in Cape Town, which was first the Mother City of the Cape Colony, then of the Union of South Africa and finally of the Republic of South Africa. Cape Town was the city where the peace of the San, Khoi and Balck hunter-gathers and the pastoralists, was disturbed by the greedy and violent acts of the Dutch colonists who landed in the Cape in 1652 (Le Roux & Wasserman, 2016; Sparks, 2017). Cape Town became the home of the freed slaves in 1834. District Six was within walking distance from the centre of the city. Coloureds, Cape Malays, Afrikaans and English speaking Whites, Indians, Xhosa speaking Blacks, immigrants, merchants and artisans shared the cosmopolitan space of the area before it was declared a White area by the National Party on 11 February 1966. Rasool (1996: 55) describes the heterogeneous group of people who inhabited District Six as follows:

#### **Song: District six**

*“Kris (Christian) and Slams (Muslim);  
Straight hare (hair)  
and kroeskop (curly head);  
English and Afrikaans;  
High society and worker...”*  
(Rasool, 1996: 55, paraphrase)

My aunt and her husband stayed alone in their two-bedroom flat. They were part of the more than 60 000 people who were affected by the Group Areas Act. The Act

implied that they were illegally occupying their rented council flat in which they had lived since their marriage. When I arrived at their two-bedroom flat, I sensed their hopelessness and uncertainty of where they would be relocated. The Canterbury Flats were already showing signs of being demolished. The remaining families were aware that they were the next group of people who would have to move out of the city to the sand and wind of the Cape Flats, away from their places of work, worship, education. The new “fabricated neighbourhoods” (Simone, 1994: 167) established through the Group Areas legislation would not have the historical, institutional or organic framework of cultural practices, social networks and urban inventiveness that had kept the heterogeneous group of people together, culturally, religiously, and educationally.

I found District Six an unsafe area, especially for somebody who came from the more peaceful rural area. I had to be careful that I was not at the wrong place at the wrong time, especially if I came from campus at night. Many nights I heard the breaking of a bottle of which the top was used to stuff *dagga* (marijuana). Soon there was the sweet smell of smoke coming from nowhere. There were the occasional gunshots as the gangs clashed with the police or fought among themselves. The southeasterly wind blew the dirt all over the place, and a nasty smell hung over the courtyard. The Cape Town Municipality did the bare minimum to maintain the building because they wanted the Coloureds inhabitants out of the White City.

### **My song: The city**

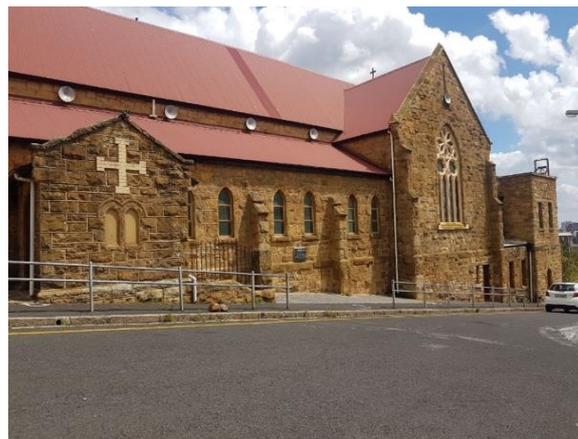
*New and strange is the city to me  
Country boy I am  
As I find my feet in the city at the sea  
Scared as hell for there I am  
The noise of the unemployed and young  
In every corner of the council space  
Where the southeastern leaves its dung  
As it comes to rest at the end of our brace.  
(Own composition)*

### **Narrator:**

As part of the extra income I needed to add to my Coloured Affairs Department bursary to pay for my university fees, I took on a post as organist at St. Mark's Anglican Church in District Six. The stone church on the hill, one of the country's

oldest Anglican churches, was designed by Bishop Gray<sup>20</sup> and his wife, Sophie, in 1867. I reported to the church on the first Saturday in 1973. Walking up Constitution Street towards the church, I passed the painted faces and colourful satin clothed coons on their way to the coon parade which started on the Grand Parade in the city centre. I was on my way to the 'highbrow' music of the Anglican Church, and they on their way to the 'lowbrow' Coloured coons culture. In a certain manner, I was walking away from the culture that was associated with my race.

When I arrived at St. Mark's Anglican Church on the first Sunday of 1973, the Group Areas Act had emptied the pews. The few faithful people who attended the three Sunday services, two Masses in the morning and Evensong, were old. Some of them travelled by public transport from the Cape Flats to attend the services in the church which their ancestors had built. St. Mark's Church initiated me into the 'high church' style of traditional Anglican music and worship. I loved the liturgical movement, which was not present at the church where I grew up. I sensed resistance to change because the congregation was still using the old Book of Common Prayer although the Anglican Church in South Africa had introduced an experimental liturgy since 1969. The members of the congregation were English. I had a lonely life at the church because I was not a member of the congregation and was merely performing a liturgical duty. I occupied the post for one year.



**Image 5.12 St. Mark's Anglican Church, District Six, Cape Town**

I took the photograph when I visited the site in November 2017.

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<sup>20</sup> Bishop Gray was the first Bishop of Cape Town in 1847. As part of his episcopacy in the Cape Colony, he and his wife, Sophy designed several church buildings, including the first Anglican cathedral, St. George's Cathedral in Cape Town.

## 5.2.2 Act two: Scene two: The music conservatoire

### Narrator:

UCT, the oldest university in Sub-Saharan Africa, was established as the South African College (SAC) in 1829 (Phillips, 1993). At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Professor W. Ritchie (1918), who gave an account of the first years of the SAC, wrote that the SAC could not be compared with the ancient history of the famous European universities and colleges, but that it already had its own “respectable antiquity” (Ritchie, 1918: 5). The founders of the SAC had as its mission the transfer of European antiquity and ideologies to South Africa.

### Song: The colonial university

*We have not had the laborious task  
of evolving a new civilisation for ourselves  
but have brought with us,  
and had continually before our mind's eye,  
the models of the ways of life  
and of the institutions of Europe  
(Ritchie, 1918: 5).*

### Narrator:

When the SAC gained official status as UCT in 1918, thanks to the bequests and financial support from mining magnates, it became the natural home of the middle-class English and Jewish communities in Cape Town (Phillips, 1993). The SAC's initial mission, especially before 1948, was the establishment of a white middle-class coupled with the principles of “broad South Africanism” and a “united white South-African nation” (Phillips, 1993: 114) with restricted access to other races. Due to the presence of a large number of Jewish students on the campus, the rival Afrikaans University of Stellenbosch conferred the name *Ikey*<sup>21</sup> on UCT students in 1919.

Within the political and racial context of South Africa, the perceived political consciousness and liberalism of UCT had often been regarded as anti-patriotic and in opposition to the Christian Nationalist ideology of separatism of the South African government (Phillips, 1993). The restriction to other races was particularly enforced

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<sup>21</sup> *Ikey* is the derogatory name for Jew derived from the name Isaac. UCT was the natural home for Jewish students.

in the medical and fine arts faculties where non-White students would come in contact with White patients and models.

The music faculty, also known as the South African College of Music (SACM) which was established in 1923, had a music education programme for school children from the middle-class White community of Cape Town. These children, mostly girls, enrolled for instrumental music lessons on a part-time basis. Their enrolment artificially inflated the undergraduate figures of the faculty. By allowing school learners to receive lessons at the SACM, the transition from school to tertiary education was made smoother. These children could enrol for music degree courses after they had completed their basic schooling and feel less challenged by the demands and intimidating environment of the culture of the tertiary institution.

Soon after the proclamation of apartheid the racist National Party proclaimed the Extension of the Universities Act No. 45 of 1959 which prohibited non-Whites from attending White universities. Through the Act separate tertiary institutions, called university colleges, commonly called 'bush colleges', were created on the lines of race and ethnicity. Separate tertiary institutions were established for Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. In defiance of the Act, the perceived liberal council of UCT declared the institution an 'open' university. Although the UCT administrators seemed to be progressive and liberal, they stuck to the rules and regulations of the apartheid government in fear of victimisation of the Afrikaner dominated government and possible decrease of government financial support. Hence, the perceived openness of the university was controlled by the apartheid government and not by the supposedly liberal council of UCT.

In 1973 I arrived on the campus beneath the slopes of Devil's Peak on the Groote Schuur Estate which was donated by the arch colonialist, Cecil John Rhodes. The music faculty was housed the Strubenhalm building on the lower campus, away from the hustle and bustle of the main campus which was also known as 'Moscow on the hill' due to the political consciousness of the UCT Student Representative Council who often clashed with the authorities. UCT was known for its liberal stance and opposition to apartheid by admitting Black, Coloured and Indian students against

the wishes of the apartheid government. Due to its presumed Marxist stance, it was commonly referred to as 'Moscow on the Hill'.

In the 1970s leftist UCT student leaders through the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) were vocal against the apartheid laws and several clashes took place between protesting students and the South African police. The leftist students were mostly in the minority, and the majority of students were not concerned about the political situation in the country and went on with the business as usual. (Phillips, 1993). Hence, political activities were restricted to a minority of politicised and energetic students versus an inert majority (Phillips, 1993). This was in contrast with the Black and Coloured university campuses where clashes between the authorities and the police, combined with class boycotts as part of the fight against apartheid education, were at the order of the day, resulting in many Coloured and Black students not completing their studies.

I was admitted to the fifty-year-old music institution which could compare itself to some of the best music institutions in the world. I found myself among the best of music students from across the country and soon realised how little I knew about music. There were no Black students at the college. The Coloured students came from middle-class families who were conscious of the importance of music, especially classical music, as a means for social mobility and possible escape from apartheid and integration into Whiteness. I also met the middle-class of the Coloured community. This became apparent when I had a conversation with a Coloured student.

### **Duet: My encounter with the middle-class Coloured**

*Student:* "So Ou Gees (Old Ghost)! From where are you?"  
*I:* "I am from Wellington."  
*Student:* My father is the principal of a school in the town."  
*I:* "Did you learn your music there?"  
*Student:* "Yes, with the nuns at the convent. And I did music as a subject."  
*I:* "How did you get it right seeing that a selected few Coloured schools offered the subject?"  
*Student:* "Ou Gees, my father applied through the Department of Coloured Affairs for special permission to allow me to do music as one of my matric subjects, even though my

*school did not offer it. The sisters at the Catholic convent prepared me privately for the exams.”*

*I: “Oh! So it can be done?”*

*Student: “Yes, of course. You must just apply through the right channels. My father knew the Coloured Inspector of Music who approved it.”*

*Student: “Well, it turned out good for you, because you don’t have to do the elementary courses.”*

*Student: “Ja ou Gees! And my father said: You must treat these Whites as your equals.”*

*I: “So true. It means I have to work twice as hard.”*

*Student: “For now, I must only think about my music studies and forget about the problems out there.”*

*I: “Yes. I must also learn to say no to the community and the churches who want me to accompany their choirs.”*

**Narrator:**

The student was fully informed of the procedures and how to overcome the apartheid hurdles. He had the support of knowledgeable and educated parents, which I did not have. Besides, his parents knew the right people who could assist him. Although he came from a rural and Afrikaans speaking community, he spoke English fluently and confidently. He was not going to be intimidated by the apartheid laws and the Whites. He was going to play a safe game which he knew he could win against all the odds.

I selected the ‘music education’ stream of the music degree. I knew I was not good enough to be accepted for the ‘performance stream’. The Bachelor of Music (Education) degree was a four-year qualification that was a combination of a degree and a teacher’s diploma. Both the requirements for the degree and diploma had to be fulfilled to graduate with the degree and diploma. In the first year, I had to do the elementary (beginner) courses in aural and harmony due to the lack of prior training in these components.

All the students in my bridging class were Coloured, which meant that Coloured schools did not prepare us adequately for university. A Catholic nun, who was teaching part-time, was assigned to be my piano lecturer because I needed ‘special attention’. She had to see to my ‘music backwardness’ and ‘initiate’ me into the music conservatoire mode. She regarded me as a Coloured *chappie* and *boytjie* (small boy). This resulted in her treating me like a primary school child. I felt as if I

was not progressing musically. I did not develop the flair and virtuosity in my performance, which was needed to be 'musically civilised'. In my second year of study, I had the courage and dared to request the college to change my teacher. I left my teacher for one who had immigrated from the United Kingdom. My new teacher exposed me to the more challenging repertoire of Western classical music. Under her supervision, I entered for my first piano competition organised by the Peninsula Eisteddfod, an organisation that promoted the arts among Coloureds in the greater Cape Town area.

### **5.2.3 Act two: Scene three: A double consciousness within the White space**

The language of instruction and communication was English. White Afrikaners, Blacks, Coloureds and Indians were in the minority on campus. The White university exposed me temporarily to the different levels of White privilege based on language, religion, and class. The English-speaking students, who were in the majority, regarded themselves as the 'chosen lot.' The English students viewed the White Afrikaners as a *minderwaardige klomp* (inferior lot). We, the permit students, were regarded as *indringers* (invaders) to be treated with caution and tolerance. The administrator of the faculty ensured that he had the government permit to allow non-White students in the lecture halls.



**Image 5.13 Staff and students of the SACM**  
The photograph was taken in my third year (1975) at the SACM.  
I am standing at the back, second from right.

**Narrator:**

The SACM was a 'closed community'. Music students seemed to be 'in their own world'. I experienced an aloofness from the White students, and my contact with them was business-like. There was little time for socialising with fellow students in normal student life on campus because I did not live on campus and had to travel by train or bus in the morning and evening. Socially the Coloured students tended to 'stick together' and took a 'back seat' at the college extra-curricular events. I, for example, joined the official college photo for the first time in my third year. Previously I found an 'excuse' to not to be present on the all-White photo.

I found a natural affinity with the Afrikaners with whom I shared a language. My best friend on campus was an Afrikaner female student whose father was a high-ranking official in the South African navy. Our friendship was looked upon with suspicion due to the Immorality Act. Both of us felt the subtle discriminatory institutional culture based on race and language. In the second year of my studies, the stark and violent reality of apartheid and the possibility of being criminally charged struck me when I was unable to have a close relationship with my White girlfriend. I became attracted to a White female student in the Afrikaans –Nederlands class. At the English-dominated university, this was one of the smaller classes. Our relationship had to be kept a closely guarded secret with extreme caution due to the possibility of imprisonment that would descend upon us through the Immorality Act.

I could not visit her at her house, which she shared with fellow White students in the posh area of Sea Point on the Atlantic beach. Our interracial relationship was watched with suspicion due to the Immorality Act of 1957 and the Sexual Offences Act of 1957, which prohibited sexual intercourse between a White person and anyone who was not White. Our relationship took place when the apartheid government would censor any printed and film material that depicted interracial sexual relations. White supremacy and the fear of miscegenation emphasised the vulnerability and protection of the White female body. Black men were regarded as oversexed (Fanon, 2008). In the same year the Afrikaans novelist, André P. Brink's, novel *Looking on Darkness* (1974), originally published in Afrikaans, was banned by the censor board because it was based on interracial sex between a White woman

and a Coloured male. Jane<sup>22</sup> looked past the colour of my skin and saw my special qualities - something that my own racial group found difficult to do. Our relationship broke up when she left the university to return to her home city of Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape, leaving me with the following message:

**Recitative:**

*“To you, because you are special to me.”*

**Narrator:**

At UCT, I developed a ‘double consciousness’ of not always knowing where I belonged. I experienced the two worlds of South Africa, namely that of privilege and the one of rejection. The college of music created an ‘ivory world’ of opportunities, acceptance and equality. The “ebony” world of apartheid outside of the university sphere represented the darkness of apartheid. UCT afforded me honorary White citizenship. My world at a White institution was like the “ebony and ivory”. I was in the ivory tower of the *larney* (smart or prestigious) White university, but I also experienced the ebony of life when I returned to the real world of apartheid and discrimination outside the confines of the integrated campus. I could easily sing the song of Paul McCartney and Stevie Wonder:

**Song:           Ebony & Ivory**

*Ebony and ivory live  
together in perfect harmony  
Side by side on my piano keyboard.  
Oh Lord, why don't we?  
We all know that people are  
the same where ever you go.  
There is good and bad in ev'ryone  
We learn to live, when we learn to give  
Each other what we need to survive,  
together alive  
Ebony and ivory  
Live together in perfect harmony  
(Words and music: Paul McCartney, Stevie Wonder)*

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<sup>22</sup> A pseudonym is used here.

#### **5.2.4 Act two: Scene four: Requiem for my mother**

**Narrator:**

I was in my second year of study. On the evening of Friday, 26 July 1974 I returned to my boarding place and found my two cousins waiting for me in the lounge who came to fetch me because my mother had had a stroke which had caused her death. There was no suffering, something that she always prayed. She never had the opportunity to see me winning a special gold award in the upcoming Peninsula Eisteddfod. My mother never had the privilege to see me receiving a music degree and my subsequent achievements in music and education. I felt that I had lost my pillar of strength. I was devastated because I had always believed in her immortality.

It was customary to bury the bodies of non-Whites from home due to the absence of morgue facilities for them. We buried her with the respect that she deserved from us, the church and the community.

**Chorus: Requiem eternam**

*Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine  
Et lux perpetua luceat eis.  
Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine  
(From the Latin Mass for the Dead)*

Translation:  
O may your perpetual light shine on them.  
Grant them eternal rest, O Lord

#### **5.2.5 Act two: Scene five: Experiencing political resistance**

**Narrator:**

In 1976, I found myself in the secluded and safe space of UCT when I heard about the student uprising that occurred in Black and Coloured schools across the country after the outburst of the Soweto Uprising<sup>23</sup> on 16 June. On my way to the UCT campus on the hill in the suburb of Rondebosch, I had to pass the nearby Alexander

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<sup>23</sup> In June 1976 students in Soweto, a Black township in Johannesburg, started to protest against the compulsory requirement of Afrikaans as a subject for matriculation. The unrest and violence spread to other towns and cities across South Africa, resulting in the death of several students when the police reacted with brutal force.

Sinton High School and the Hewat Teachers' College in Belgravia Road, Athlone where students were stoning vehicles and clashing with the riot police. On visiting Wellington, where I grew up, part of the Berg River High School, the institution where I had received secondary school education, was gutted in a fire presumably caused by arson. Students were contesting the curriculum on the streets of the country. History was in the making while I was continuing with my studies. The country was on fire while I was completing my music degree and preparing myself to become a teacher in an unstabilised and politicised education system.

During the uprising, I was staying in the middle-class Coloured suburb of Penlyn Estate, north of Cape Town, where the middle-class Coloureds, commonly referred to as *glampies*, lived. The homeowners in the upmarket Coloured area were teachers, nurses, artisans, business people, office clerks and other professionals. We were in a relatively privileged position because we were shielded from the stoning, petrol bombs, burning tyres, police casspirs<sup>24</sup>, teargas and brutal attacks by the riot police which were mostly confined to the poor townships. The people in the townships who were experiencing poor living conditions had several reasons to protest. The school uprising was a catalyst for their grievances.

#### **5.2.6 Preparing for the classroom**

At the end of my third year, I succeeded to complete the requirements to be admitted to the Post-Graduate Higher Diploma in Education (HDE) in secondary education. In 1976, as I entered the final year of my studies, I spent most of my time in the faculty of education on the main campus of the university where was prepared for the skills needed to teach in a secondary school and to acquire an understanding of teaching methodologies. I also had to be taught the professional skills required for the classroom, such as moral education and the history of education.

I was looking forward to doing most of my courses on the main campus. The main campus was a freer place than the College of Music. The new faculty would also be a new environment and would pose new challenges to me. My education courses

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<sup>24</sup> A casspir is an armoured vehicle which is used for the detection of mines. It can resist mine explosions. It was used by the South African riot police during riots during the 1970s and 1980s.

included the methodology of Music and Afrikaans, as well as the essential teaching skills needed for the classroom, such as how to communicate in English. I was introduced to fundamental pedagogics and moral education, based on Christian values, as required by the Christian National Education ideology of the South African education system. I learned about the great European masters in the history of Western education, Rousseau, Pestalozzi and Dewey, and their contribution to education. The history of education in South Africa, as well as the making of the new educational history that was made on the streets, were ignored.

As part of my practice teaching, I was deployed to secondary schools in the Cape Peninsula. My first school was Harold Cressy High School in District Six where I stayed for six weeks. The English medium school was established in 1951 and named after the first Coloured to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree in South Africa. The school was housed in a prefabricated timber building in Roeland Street opposite the old Cape Town prison<sup>25</sup>. It was one of the few secondary schools for Coloureds that offered music as a subject.

Apart from being a prominent landmark in Cape Town, the school was renowned for the substantial part it had played in the fight against apartheid and fighting for the curriculum, educational and societal reform during the 1976, 1980 and 1984 student uprisings. Mrs Helen Kies was assigned to me as my mentor teacher. She introduced me to the professional behaviour of a teacher. She was a political activist who, together with her advocate husband, Benny Kies, played an important role in the resistance to apartheid. Her husband was one of the most prominent advocates of the Bar in the Cape. He was also jailed on Robben Island. In 1985 she was imprisoned under the Terrorism Act due to her stance against apartheid and the role that she played in the school boycotts. She commanded respect from her learners through her stance against the apartheid regime. I ensured that I was well prepared for my Afrikaans and Music lessons because she did not tolerate unprepared

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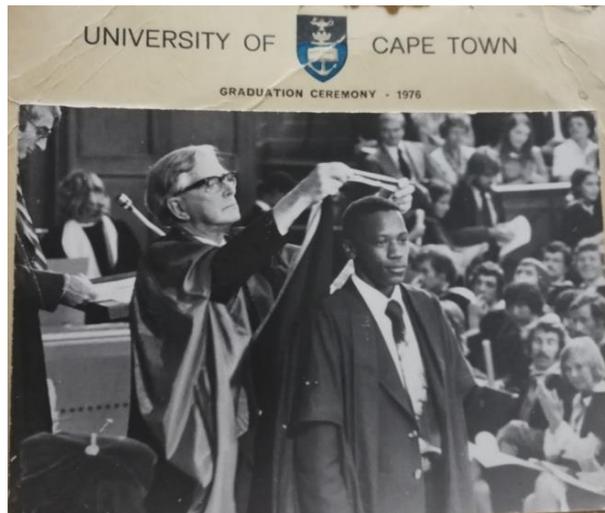
<sup>25</sup> In September 2014 the Heritage Commission of the Western Cape declared the school a heritage site in terms of Section 27 of the National Heritage Resources Act. The school is protected under the South African heritage law.

lessons and only wanted the best for her learners based on her principles of equal and quality education for all. It was significant that a progressive school such as Harold Cressy High School did not want to take students from the Coloured University of the Western Cape for teaching practice. They preferred to take the students from the White UCT.

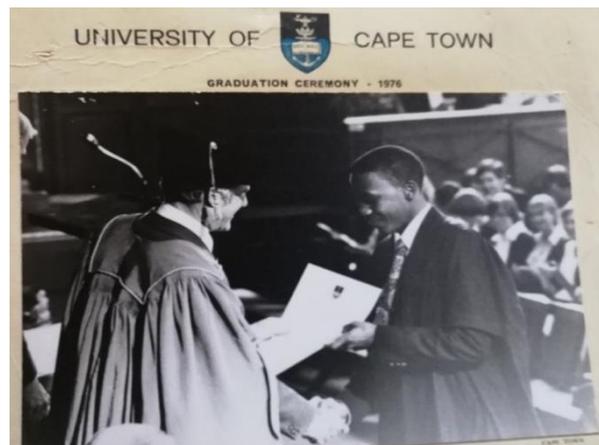
I graduated with a Bachelor of Music degree on 7 December 1976. I was also awarded the post-graduate Higher Diploma in Education (HDE) at a second graduation ceremony. My proud father left his factory overalls for the day to accompany me and my eldest sister, Monica and my aunt Rebecca (owner of the piano), to the Jameson Hall on the main campus of UCT. It was an impressive and solemn ceremony with an academic procession, organ music, the university choir and a guest speaker honouring the event. The National Anthem, which we despised, was sung as part of the proceedings.

When my name was read out by the dean, and I ascended the stage the hall, filled with mostly White parents and guests, the audience erupted in applause that was significantly louder and longer in comparison the white students. I was unsure whether their applause signified a celebration of a Black man's achievement or whether they were expressing White guilt or an acceptance of me into the White group. Academically I qualified to be integrated into the dominant White group. As we left the hall with our academic gowns and certificates, we were congratulated by our family and friends.

After the graduation ceremony, a White lady came up to me and said: "*You black people are good in music.*" She was unaware that although Black people were regarded as naturally musical, many Black musicians in South Africa were denied the music educational opportunities that I had been afforded. As the White students and their parents continued the graduation celebrations in the restaurants in the suburb of Rondebosch, we drove to Wellington for a small celebration at home, because the Europeans-only restaurants were closed for non-Whites.



**Image 5.14 My graduation at UCT**  
I received my degree from the registrar of the university at the graduation ceremony in the Jameson Hall on 7 December, 1976.  
Photograph: Akkersdyk



**Image 5.15 Receiving the Higher Diploma in Education from Sir Louis Luyt, Principal of UCT**  
Photograph: Akkersdyk

## **5.3 ACT THREE: ENTERING THE MUSIC TEACHING PROFESSION**

### **5.3.1 Act three: Scene one: Teaching music in the primary school**

#### **Narrator:**

A music degree and a professional qualification as a secondary school teacher equipped me to teach music at the secondary school level. However, I decided to apply for a post at a primary school in my home town, Wellington, with the intention to make a difference in music education. I was equipped with a prestigious qualification that would have allowed me to teach at a secondary school or even at a teachers' training college, but I preferred to start at a primary school. I was also influenced by the solid Christian upbringing that I should serve other people and plough back into the community that had contributed to my success. In January 1977, I walked into my first real job at St. Alban's Primary School in Wellington. The school was also the institution where I had received my primary school education ten years previously.

When I arrived at the school, I realised that the post to which I had been appointed, required me to teach a Standard 4 (now Grade 6) class and not Music. Although I expected to teach music, I had to work as a generalist teacher instead of as a specialist music teacher, for which I applied. I felt as if I were in the wrong post. The school did not make provision for proper music education, such as specialist tuition in piano. I would not be able to live out my love for music education at the school. I realised that music education provisioning and the curriculum were not equally treated for the various racial groups. It confirmed my perception that a subject such as Music was reserved for the White population and the few privileged elites. The hard realities of Coloured education struck me. To accommodate my specialist qualification, the principal, Mr Clyde Droomer, had decided that I had to teach class music (commonly called class singing) to all the Standard 1 to 5 (now Grade 3 to 7) classes. The school had no facilities for music teaching. Without a designated music room, I had to teach Class Music in general classrooms without any musical instrument, such as a piano.

The 1970s showed great demand for education in South Africa, especially among disadvantaged communities. Due to the increase in learner enrolment, and the

resultant overcrowded situation, St. Alban's Primary School made use of the 'double shift' system where one group of learners would attend classes in the morning and the other group in the afternoon. There was barely space to teach the essential curriculum of the school. Teaching took place in any available space, even under the trees! Besides, we made use of two community halls, with three to four classes accommodated in one hall, with learners crammed onto the stage and dressing rooms to receive lessons. The community used the same venues for meetings, dancing, parties and church services in the evenings and over weekends. The idea of a dedicated music room was a far-fetched dream under the abnormal circumstances of Coloured education.

The accommodation problem caused stress for the principal and my new colleagues. Mr Droomer and the White school inspector were behind closed doors, and when the inspector left, the principal was even more stressed, although there was the prospect of new extensions to the building. There was also a 'taken-for-granted' attitude among us and an acceptance of the normality of unequal education. The Coloured Affairs Department (CAD), which controlled and managed education for the Coloured population, expected teachers to carry on with business as usual and shut up.

Class Music was a compulsory subject for all learners in primary and secondary schools. However, I realised that this 'compulsory' subject was regarded as an 'add-on'; a 'luxury', and as non-essential. It was not a 'learning subject'. It was seen as a 'nuisance' because the noise coming from my music classes disturbed the teaching programme of the other classes. There were no facilities for listening to music, because the school did not have a record player or any records, nor a tape recorder. The small collection of Orff percussion instruments consisted of a xylophone, glockenspiel, triangles and tambourines. Although singing formed the core activity of the subject, there were a few songbooks, mostly English folk songs and the Afrikaans *FAK Sangbundel*.

At university, I was trained in the *Orff Schulwerk* (Orff percussion) technique by my methodology lecturer, Dr Millicent Rink. I had to do the best under the abnormal circumstances of the school. I could pull out some lessons that were thoroughly

enjoyed by my learners. They found the improvisation on the instruments fascinating and were surprised by their hidden musicality and creativity. My presence at the school indeed made a change to music education. My school was most probably the only Coloured primary school that had a graduate music teacher. However, my stay at the school was temporary, because my expertise was needed elsewhere.

I had been at the school for two weeks when the CAD wanted to second me to a secondary school in Paarl, the neighbouring and bigger town approximately ten kilometres from Wellington. I was called to the office of the principal to meet with the CAD music inspector (now subject adviser) who wanted to second me to a secondary school in the neighbouring town of Paarl.

**Trio: The music inspector, principal and I**

*Inspector: Mr Lewis, your services as a music graduate, are needed at a high school in Paarl.*

*Principal: Mr Lewis was a pupil at this school. His family formed part of the school. This school needs his expertise.*

*I: What does the new post at Noorder Paarl High School entail?*

*Inspector: You will be teaching music as a subject, for which you are qualified.*

*Principal: This school needs him more. Paarl has enough music teachers.*

*Inspector: The secondary school needs his knowledge and skills. He is one of a kind among Coloured music teachers. The school needs his music expertise at the secondary school level.*

*Principal: Find somebody else. We need him in here.*

*I: Do I have a say in the matter?*

*Inspector: Yes, we will not force you, but consider to be seconded.*

**Narrator:**

The music inspector knew that I was in the wrong curriculum space and that I would be able to apply my knowledge and skills much better in the secondary school environment. With my 'scarce' music qualification, it was logical that I should be seconded to the secondary school. Deep down, I knew that my knowledge and skills would make a difference where it was needed most, considering the unequal music educational dispensation in South Africa. I would also 'live out' my music skills in the more structured secondary school music curriculum.

My principal was reluctant to release me because he knew that I would make a difference in the smaller town of Wellington. I also had a sense of loyalty to the Wellington community. It was arranged that I teach at St. Alban's in the morning and the afternoon at Noorder Paarl High School. However, this arrangement did not last long. After seven months of teaching at two schools, I loved what I was doing at the secondary school and requested that I be seconded to Noorder Paarl High School.

### **5.3.2 Act three: Scene two: Teaching music in the secondary school**

#### **Narrator:**

Paarl was more industrialised' had more schools as well as a teachers' training college. The Coloured people from the bigger town of Paarl people also tended to look down on the smaller town of Wellington. To most of them, Wellington was an insignificant *klein dorpie* (small town). They regarded themselves as more cultured and civilised and referred to the people of Wellington as a *klomp rou mense* (a lot of raw people), *plaasjapies* (country cousins), *klipgooiers* (stone throwers), coons and street fighters. The community of Paarl regarded themselves as having a history of education, sports and cultural achievements. They were politically more active, bearing in mind that already in 1904, forty years prior to apartheid, 23% of the total eligible 14 836 Coloureds who had the franchise to vote in the Cape elections, based on their qualifications and property ownership, lived in Paarl (Lewis, 1987: 21). Hence, the Coloured community were educationally and economically better off than Wellington Coloured community.

I came to the school when the community was still recovering from the pain of being uprooted through the Group Areas Act. Noorder Paarl High School had just gone through the traumatic forced removal from the White area due to the Group Areas Act No 46 of 1950. The apartheid project of the National Party did not spare the churches and educational institutions which were built in the White area of Paarl. The educational and religious institutions were built through community initiative, creativity and self-generated funding. Noorder Paarl High School bore testimony of a proud heritage of further and higher education among the Coloured community stretching from the 1920s.

Noorder Paarl High School was located in a double storey building with six impressive Roman pillars in Breda Street in the northwest part of Paarl. The building originated out of the need for higher education in the Coloured community of Paarl in the 1920s. The building was earmarked for the training of teachers. The community built the teachers' training institution through own initiative and fundraising by the Anglican, Congregational and Dutch Reformed Mission Churches of Paarl in 1926. When I was a young teacher in the 1970s, my Anglican priest, the Reverend Alwyn Lloyd, told me how his father, the Reverend William Lloyd, the then secretary of the Athlone Board, sent him on his bicycle to have the cheque of £5 000 signed by the chairperson of the Board, the Reverend Paulus Joubert of the Dutch Reformed Mission Church. The new teachers' training college, Athlone Teachers' Training College, was named after the Governor-General of the Cape, the Earl of Athlone. In 1953 Noorder Paarl High School was established and the teachers' training college moved to a new building in Sanddrift Street at the back of the high school. The high school moved into the existing building in 1956.



**Image 5.16** The entrance to Noorder Paarl High School  
Photograph: Facebook

**Song:**

*Our own high school  
Past leaders did provide  
Is now and ever shall be  
Our everlasting pride.  
When trials beset us here and paths  
Seem hard and most unclear  
We'll think of those great pioneers  
And then we shall not fear.*

*We'll trust in God's great guiding hand  
To lead us ever on our way  
Then we shall feel safe and happy,  
While at work or play  
When through our portals we shall pass,  
Well-equipped and trained to face our task.  
We the students of this High School  
Will play our part.*

*Our own High School  
VIRTUTE ET LABORE!  
That is our great aim  
to work and not complain.  
And may our labour when we leave,  
Yield fruit from day to day.  
We praise the name of our own High School  
of our beloved school.  
Our own High School  
VIRTUTE ET LABORE  
(Words: D. Paulse    Music: David Samaai)*

**Narrator:**

As part of the CAD's plan to provide music education to Coloured learners, a few schools were provided with special music posts, provided there was sufficient interest from the learners and parents. Schools were to have available teaching space and a suitably qualified music teacher to qualify for a music post. Noorder Paarl High School was one of the few selected Coloured schools to offer music as a specialist subject.

The western part of the town was declared White, according to the Groups Areas legislation. The apartheid government made all attempts to relocate the Coloureds from the White western part of Paarl across the Berg River to the east of the valley which had been declared Coloured. The Noorder Paarl area was declared White. In 1975 the school became a victim of the Act when it was destined to move out of the White area to the eastern part of the town and be relocated in a prefabricated asbestos structure in Lantana Street, Paarl East.

The move physically and socially demolished a culture of self-determination and robbed the Coloured people of Paarl of a rich history of education and ownership. The relocation of the school with its six Roman columns to the Coloured eastern

part of the town ended in a catastrophe when the second rated prefabricated structure in which it was to be accommodated in the Coloured area, was destroyed by a freak wind storm after the learners had been in the school for less than a month. There was the general perception that it was God's hand that forced the apartheid government to allow the learners and teachers to return to their "own school" in the White area where they could again lustily sing:

**Narrator:**

Noorder Paarl Secondary School was one of a few secondary schools for Coloureds in South Africa that offered music as an elective and part of the curriculum offering for the senior certificate which is the exit qualification for learners in South Africa. I taught music in a 3.5m x 4.5m office that was converted into a music classroom. My classes were small, with a maximum of four learners in my Standard 9 (now Grade 11) class. Space was big enough to accommodate a piano, four learner desks and a teacher's table. The room was not soundproof.

The school population was composed of learners coming from all class strata of society. They came from the Coloured areas in the eastern part of the town and farms near the school. Some learners lived in owner-occupied or rented properties. Many of the learners lived in the densely populated sub-economic council flats in the housing schemes which were erected by the apartheid government after the government forced Coloured people out of the White declared western area across the Berg River to the eastern part of Paarl. The overcrowded council flats created the breeding ground for social evils, such as gangsterism, violence, alcohol and drug abuse, teenage pregnancy, murder and rape.

My music learners came from middle-class families living in the 'better' areas of Paarl, such as Charleston Hill and New Orleans. Most of the parents of my music teachers were in the teaching profession. My learners had pianos at home because this was a requirement to be selected for music. This requirement enhanced the elitism of music education. Music was not a popular choice at the school due to the selection process and the emphasis on classical music. Through auditioning only a few musical learners qualified to take the subject, even though many of the learners at the school were involved in non-formal community music activities, such as bands

and choirs. The school only offered piano, an instrument that did not lend itself to group teaching. Few households possessed pianos. The curriculum provided by the Department of Coloured Affairs was structured around the solo performance and knowledge of Western classical music. The repertoire that my learners played were pieces selected from the music curricula of the external examination bodies, Unisa, ABRSM and TCL.

My colleagues with the larger classes always envied me, because they were under the impression that I was not teaching like them. I did not have challenges that they were experiencing, such as disciplinary problems. I did not even have to deal with social problems because my learners were part of the middle-class. I was teaching the selected and those who wanted to do my subject. However, my colleagues were always conscious of the specialness of my subject. My subject was not only special in itself, but also made the school special and unique within the South African educational context. I was also an extraordinary teacher who possessed special talents, knowledge and skills.

### **5.3.3 Act three: Scene three: Liberation before education**

#### **Narrator:**

Teaching secondary was complemented with political challenges which I did not experience as a student and primary school teacher. UCT made me politically inert. The university excluded me from the political debate. The administration of the university, although regarded as liberal, found the political activities of the student leaders who dared to take part in it, a distraction and irritating (Phillips, 1993). Hence, I like the majority of students, was never involved in political activity and kept ourselves to our studies. Hence, I was politically ignorant.

My political experience at Noorder Paarl High School was different. In 1980, I experienced political activism for the first time with the explosion of the national school boycott in Black and Coloured schools. In the Western Cape, most of the secondary schools were affected by the total standstill in teaching and learning. I experienced the resistance to apartheid and oppression coming from the youth. I was confronted with the concept of 'gutter education' and the demand for equal education.

There was a demand for power to the oppressed people of South Africa. The apartheid curriculum was contested for promoting apartheid, subjugation and inequality based on race. I heard the singing of freedom songs by the eight hundred learners and their leaders echoing through the school as they engaged in a non-violent protest against 'gutter education', but most of all, being regarded as second-class citizens based on the colour of their skin. The stance of the students was clear when they sang their slogans of freedom and equality:

**Chorus: Amandla**

*Leader: Amandla! Amandla!*

*Choir: Awethu! Awethu!*

*Leader: Power! Power!*

*Choir: Power to the people!*

**Narrator:**

Yes, the young people were just fed up with a system that promoted White privileges at all spheres of society. They also accused adults that they had accepted oppression and subjugation without doing anything to change it. And in some way, they were right. I thought to myself that I had a good post-school education, which enabled me to maintain a middle-class lifestyle. The fight of the middle-class Coloureds was to be assimilated into the White culture and to be treated equally with Whites. The fight of the students was different. They were looking for equality in all respects between all races. Equality to them meant getting the same education and other social privileges as Whites. They rejected the second class education that was offered to the Black, Coloured and Indian populations. They were prepared to sacrifice their educational opportunities for this ideal.

**Chorus: Liberation before education**

*Liberation before education!*

*No more subjugation!*

*Equal education!*

*Amandla!*

*Awethu!*

**Narrator:**

I was struck and amazed by the unexpected and nature of the student uprising against apartheid and unequal education by the secondary school learners in the country. The 1980s student uprising changed the education and political landscape and paved the way for the total dismantling of apartheid. It came with no warning and the teachers, parents, community and the authorities were caught unawares. Learners refused to go to class and shut down Black and Coloured secondary schools to have alternative programmes of learning which they called 'awareness programmes'.

Following in the spirit of the 1976 Soweto Uprising, the 1980 school boycotts which followed could be regarded as the demand for the decolonisation of the racist curriculum. The mass mobilisation towards inferior apartheid education and the demand for a 'People's Education' were a united rejection of the White-controlled and racist Christian National Education based curriculum. We, as teachers, were stunned at the determined and non-violent way the students were making their demands for a better education system. The mobilisation of the students was combined with intimidation. Hence, those who wanted to attend classes were forced to participate in the strike to get full mass action. In the days, weeks and months that followed, I became aware that the school programme would not return to normality and that the curriculum delivery would never be the same.

The school boycotts occurred in a climate of distrust among ourselves. We as teachers were constantly aware of the ever-present 'surveillance' by the state authorities in the form of secret policing, infiltration of *fifth columns* (collaborators), and *pimpers* (informers for the police) among the struggling students. We were afraid to overtly support the actions of the students and become passive onlookers. The state retaliated with the full might of the law. One teacher and two of our student leaders at Noorder Paarl High School were detained without trial by the security police.

**Chorus: Senzenina**

*Senzenina; Senzenina?*

Translation:  
What have we done?

**Narrator:**

The school boycotts derailed the long-cherished goal of the educated middle-class to use education as a criterion to be assimilated into the dominant White group (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). Hence, the action of the students was regarded as detrimental to their development. The students would sacrifice their education for the sake of something that was a 'political thing'. The moderate Coloureds also feared the reaction of the apartheid state. Government workers, such as teachers generally maintained a low profile in fear of a possible backlash by their employers.

In June 1980, before the June vacation, the school inspector called an urgent staff meeting to bring us the shocking news that the Department of Coloured Affairs had decided to formally close the school due to dysfunctionality created by the school boycotts. We were ordered to vacate the premises immediately. The education department would inform us of the reopening of the institution. There was no protest from our side and that of the community. The government closed Noorder Paarl High School for the second time without protest. The reopening the school required that students undertook that they would refrain from participating in political activities.

The school boycotts brought permanent instability to the school environment. Disruption of classes occurred anytime without notice. Teachers and parents experienced increased defiance of any form of authority. It became a challenge to maintain discipline. Students were fully aware of the power of the mobilised masses. It seemed as if the individual voice did not count anymore. Meritocracy became unimportant. There was no striving for individual excellence. It was more important to be part of the masses than to be an individual in your own right. It was challenging to teach a subject such as Music that required consistent and long hours of practising from learners. This disciplined manner of teaching and learning Music to

which I was used could not take place in the unstable educational environment in which I found myself.

In 1983 I applied for a post as Head of Department at the new secondary school that was built in the east part of Paarl. The school was unique because it would cater for the creative arts, one of the first Coloured school of its kind. I applied for the post because it offered a promotion from teacher to Head of Department level. It also allowed me to break from the dysfunctionality that I was experiencing at my current school. My application was successful, and I left Noorder Paarl High School at the end of 1983.

#### **5.3.4 Act three: Scene four: Getting married over the class line**

##### **Narrator:**

In 1983 my personal life took a joyous turn, but also exposed the racial and class undertones of Coloured society. In 1983 I married a widow, Joy Martin. Joy had lost her husband in a car accident and was left to raise her two-year old son, Dale, as a single mother. The Martin family formed part of the petite bourgeoisie Coloureds in the town. Their Cape-Dutch house was in the better residential area of Charleston Hill. The style of building was uncommon in Coloured residential areas. The house was filled with antique furniture made from teak which reminded of the furniture in my English priest's rectory in Wellington and the office of my South African College of Music professor.

My wife's family was influential in the church, education and business in Paarl. Joy, a kindergarten teacher, was the youngest of three children. She lived a protected life in a closely knit family. She qualified as a teacher after doing a two-year teachers' certificate after Standard 8 (now Grade 10). As a Coloured female in apartheid South Africa, she had limited career choices. She could become a teacher or a nurse, or she could do clerical work. Her eldest brother, a teacher, and very dominating, decided that she should end her schooling after Standard 8, against her wishes, and enrol for the two-year Lower Primary Teachers' Certificate at the Athlone Teachers' Training College in Paarl. Her second brother was a prosperous business man and the first Coloured chartered accountant in South Africa. The family had also suffered under the cruel Group Areas Act, which resulted in her

parents be relocated from the White western to the Coloured eastern part at an advanced age in 1976. Her father father suffered a severe stroke and was semi-paralised for the rest of his life.

Skin colour and hair, including class, were important aspects among Coloureds in Paarl. Hence, our relationship across the colour and class line created tension among the family and close friends. One of the big concerns was the future offspring that would be born from such a “mixed” relationship which prompted one of the older relatives to make the following comment to my wife’s father:

**Recitative:**

*“Your grandchild will have a kroeskop (curly hair)”.*

**Narrator:**

My wife, Joy, had a will of her own and was not going to be distracted by these racial undertones. She protected me at all costs and tried hard to incorporate me into her closely knit family. Her son, Dale would often tell people:

**Voice of a child:**

*That man with the brown face will become my father.*

**Narrator:**

The family eventually looked past my skin colour. My musical ability and my involvement in the church convinced the family that I had some class and status in the race conscious community. I passed the race and class test. The marriage ceremony took place in Holy Trinity Church on 26 September 1983. Contrary to the traditional wedding music, the choir sang the anthem by the English composer, Sir Charles Hubert Parry (1848-1918) with the entry of my bride:

**Chorus: Psalm 122**

*I was glad when they said unto me,  
we will go into the house of the Lord.  
Our feet shall stand in thy gates,  
O Jerusalem  
Jerusalem is builded as a city  
that is at unity in itself.  
O pray for the peace of Jerusalem,  
They shall prosper that love thee.  
Peace be within thy walls,*

*and plenteousness within thy palaces.*  
(Psalm 122)



**Image 5.16 Our wedding day**

The photograph was taken at my wedding with Joy Martin in Holy Trinity Anglican Church, Paarl on 26 September 1983. Her son, Dale is in front.

**The narrator:**

After the marriage service, as we were walking down the aisle through the admiring congregation, my newly adopted son, Dale, who had been starving throughout the day because of the excitement of the day, called out:

**Voice of a child:**

*Daddy, I am hungry.*

**5.3.5 Act three: Scene five: Teaching at New Orleans Secondary School**

I started the 1983 academic year at New Orleans Secondary School. The school was named after the area in which it was located. The Municipality of Paarl named several Coloured areas after American cities and towns, such as Chicago, New York, Lantana, New Orleans and Charleston Hill. The Department of Coloured Affairs built a new secondary school for Coloureds in the New Orleans area of Paarl. Apart from addressing the increased demand for secondary school education in the Coloured community, the new school would also make provision for the teaching of

the performing arts subject, namely Music, Drama and Ballet. The school was equipped with the required facilities, such as dance floors, music rooms and drama studios, as well a general assembly hall which could also be used for concerts. I became the Head of Department for these arts subjects.

In contrast to Noorder Paarl Secondary School, which was located in the White area, New Orleans Secondary School was bordered by the densely populated council flats which persuaded some middle-class Coloured parents not to send their children to the new school. Middle-class parents preferred the older schools in better areas. I had the challenge of drawing children from the middle-class to music at a school located in a sub-economic area.



**Image 5.17 The school hall at New Orleans Secondary School, Paarl**

New Orleans Secondary School in Paarl that was specially built for music and dance performances was opened in 1984. The photograph was taken in November, 2017 during my visit to the school.

**Narrator:**

While I was establishing the new performing arts department at New Orleans, political activism intensified in South Africa. Following the 1980 school boycotts, educational institutions had remained politically active and were epicentres where apartheid was fiercely contested. In 1984 the National Party, as part of its ideology of separatism, introduced a new Constitution whereby three Houses of Parliament based on race would be established for Whites (House of Assembly), Coloureds (House of Representatives) and Indians (House of Delegates). This system of governance became known as the Tri-cameral Parliament. The 'own affairs' of the

three racial groups would be governed by separate Houses of Parliament. Own affairs were identified as education and culture, social development and housing. The House of Assembly would look after 'White affairs' and 'general affairs', such as finance and security. This new political dispensation would ensure White superiority and control over other races. The Coloured and Indian population obtained semi-privileged status by governing their own affairs. The new political dispensation would also solve the 'Coloured and Indian problem' through upward social and economic mobility and create a middle-class of Coloureds and Indians.

The Tri-cameral Parliament dispensation could be regarded as the White supremacist response to the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) which started post-1976. BCM was meant to break the emerging united Black front against apartheid. The Black population would be ostracised by being excluded from the separate development project of the racist National Party. The government regarded the Bantustan homelands as the demarcated areas for Blacks to develop themselves. Through the homeland plan, the Black population would become visitors and migrants in their own country. The Tri-cameral Parliament provided semi-privileged status to Coloureds and Indians. The new dispensation infuriated the BCM and led to the further mass mobilisation and the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983 and the rejection of the Tri-cameral Parliament by most citizens who were not White. The UDF was a non-racial movement founded on the principles of the BCM ideologies.

The Western Cape with its Coloured majority became the epicentre of political activism as well as a rejection of Colouredness (Adhikari, 2005b). The Coloureds who participated in the Tri-cameral Parliament as politicians or state officials were despised and regarded as collaborators, *gatkruiers* (toadies) and *jabroers* (yes men). The race-based elections were boycotted. The government succeeded to get especially the under-class and working-class Coloureds and those living on White owned farms to participate. A dismal turn-out of 16% of Coloured voters was recorded in the first Tri-cameral Parliament elections.

The rejection of the Tri-cameral Parliament by the mass democratic movement gained momentum through the mobilisation of learners, teachers and the broader

community. 1985 became a disruptive academic year, characterised by student protests, mass meetings, marches, economic boycotts and class boycotts. For the first time, primary schools were also involved. The school boycotts displayed an unprecedented solidarity among the students of all social classes which was uncommon in Paarl with its distinct social class structures. The upper, middle-and low-class students displayed a solidarity that did not exist before. The struggle against oppression knew no race, gender, status or class.

The school boycotts were perceived as civil obedience against an illegitimate and racist government. It had as its aim the breakdown of racist structures and making students aware of institutional racism and a curriculum based on the ideologies of White patriarchy and the subjugation of Black people. Hence, students refused to accept a curriculum that was based on White supremacy and nationalism with the purpose to oppress and promote social injustice. In all this I was confused and bewildered. I did not see the deeper meaning of the school boycotts. Like most teachers and parents I was hoping for normality to return to the school and community.

The state retaliated brutally with tear gas, rubber bullets, water cannons. This culminated in the declaration of a State of Emergency (SOE) in thirty-six of the country's 250 magisterial districts by the President of South Africa, P.W. Botha on 25 July 1985. This led to the killing of 575 people in political violence, either by the police or through political factionary in-fighting. It also legalised the detention of thousands of political activists without trial and access to legal representation. Although Botha lifted the SOE after eight months on 7 March 1986, he had to declare a country-wide SOE on 12 June 1986, four days prior to the 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising. This SOE lasted for four years until it was lifted by President F.W. de Klerk in 1990 when he unbanned Black political parties such as the African National Congress, Pan African Congress and the South African Communist Party and released their leaders who were in prison and allow those in exile to return.

During this time I was teaching a music curriculum that focused on Western aesthetics through classical music. The formal curriculum did not make space for the political expression of the people, whereas songs were created at funerals,

illegal political meetings and other gatherings where the normality of racism and oppression in South Africa was contested.

### **5.3.6 Act three: Scene six: Teaching the informal music curriculum in the community**

#### **Narrator:**

Following in the footsteps of my music teacher when I was a child, I extended the music curriculum outside of the school walls, by becoming involved in community music projects. During apartheid, Western classical music in schools was in the hands of the White population. This occurred through the institutionalised and government funded music education and the formal curriculum in White schools. Black, Coloured and Indian people had to contend with their forms of informal music created by themselves through community and church music projects.

In Coloured communities, music projects were often organised by musicians who were informally trained. Music teaching was done aurally. Musical skills were transferred from generation to generation, for example, the coons tradition. In their aspirations to be integrated into the dominant White group, the educated and Coloured elite identified music, art and ballet as important because these art forms were often associated with Whiteness (Adhikari, 1993). The ability to perform the intricacies of Western classical music, and to appreciate work of art, would convince Whites that Coloureds possess the qualities of Western civilisation (Adhikari, 1993). Hence, several community music projects were established to promote the performance of Western classical music, as it was the case with the Eoan Group (Pistorius, 2018; Roos, 2014; 2015).

Music outside of the formal curriculum provided access to the cultured and civilised 'White world' of which the Coloured population did not have access. The community initiatives were primarily funded through fundraising by teachers and parents. The association with the government was avoided because the acceptance of government funding was regarded as a condonation of apartheid. Hence, these music initiatives were mostly teacher-driven and supported by the parents.

Besides my love for music, I also had a love for community development, which started at a young age. Hence, my music education was not confined to the classroom. As a novice teacher, I was involved in music education outside of the formal curriculum through the communities that I had served. I assisted schools in Wellington and other towns to develop their choral music tradition. Few people could play the piano, and I accompanied school and community choirs at local and regional eisteddfods, music festivals and competitions. With the help of my accompaniment, schools and community choirs excelled in these music events. In 1978 the Pauw Gedenk School Choir, Wellington, won a special gold award at the Peninsula Eisteddfod, an eisteddfod organised for the Coloured community in Cape Town. This was uncommon because although though the school was from a rural and Afrikaans context, they won their category in an eisteddfod which was dominated by urban and English schools.



**Image 5.18 The school choir of Pauw Gedenk Primary School, Wellington**

The choir won a special gold award at the Peninsula Eisteddfod in 1978. I was the accompanist. I am sitting in front, fourth from the left.

### **Narrator:**

My transfer from Wellington to Paarl did not leave a leave a music vacuum. I remained a member of the Wellington Schools' Music Association. In this way, I could continue to provide my musical expertise to the school community. The association established a music school for the town. Coloured children from the

town and farm schools received lessons in choral music, recorder and percussion instruments, after school. Four teachers assisted me on Friday afternoons when learners came from various schools to St. Alban's Primary School, where we presented the lessons. The teachers, including me, were not remunerated for services because it was part of community work.

When I moved permanently to Paarl, I became actively involved in the music activities of the town. The Coloured music elite in Paarl was a distinct group of people. The elite consisted of well-known families, making it difficult for outsiders to be accepted in the closed group. They held powerful positions in the educational institutions, as well as cultural, sports and church organisations. Several of them had a taste for Western classical music and were well on their way to being assimilated into the desired White middle-class. For them, Western classical was associated with Whiteness and civilisation. Hence, they encouraged their children to acquire the same musical taste by taking music lessons, in the hope that their descendants would have access to the privileges of Whiteness. Their aspirations were extended to the broader Paarl community through community initiatives that promoted Western classical music. It was through these community initiatives The Paarl schools established the Paarl Schools' Cultural Association, as part of the acculturation of the Coloured community. The association organised an annual eisteddfod in which schools participated in a performance of choral and instrumental music, dance, choral verse, and poetry annually. The eisteddfod was exclusively Coloured.

I arrived in Paarl, relatively unknown. As it was the case with many small towns, I was initially regarded as an *inkommer* (intruder). I did not meet the requirements of the appropriate social class and skin pigmentation, but my classical music abilities were recognised and captured in the formal and informal music curriculum. Through my involvement in community music projects, I became a successful and well-known music teacher and musician.

### 5.3.7 Act three: Scene seven: The informal music curriculum in the church

#### Song:

*Make a joyful noise unto the Lord,  
All ye lands.  
Serve the Lord with gladness:  
Come before His presence with singing.  
Know ye that the Lord He is God:  
It is He that has made us,  
And not we ourselves;  
We are His people and the sheep of His pasture.  
Enter into His gates with thanksgiving,  
And into His courts with praise:  
Be thankful unto Him,  
And bless His name.  
(Psalm 100)*

#### Narrator:

Church music is my passion. I have lived for it for almost my whole life in a non-stipendary capacity alongside my full-time career as a teacher. Although I was not formally trained in church music, I have been able to reach the souls of many through the playing and singing of hymns, anthems, and psalms while I was a church musician for more than fifty years. An old lady came to me after a church service, and said to me:

#### Voice of a woman:

*You touch my heart with the simplest of music.*

#### Narrator:

In Coloured communities, the church played an important role in the development of music. In many instances, it did not only add to the musical knowledge that children acquire in formal education, but also filled the gap of music education that existed in the school. The Dutch Reformed Mission Church, where most of the Coloured community of the town practised their religion, had a vibrant choral music life with adult, youth and children's choirs.

My Anglican parish never had a choir or any form of music development programme. The gap created an opportunity for me to establish an adult and children's choir at my parish. I had to convince ordinary working class people that they were able to sing. I could sense their fear of music. They were aware that the music that I would

teach them would be different. The music that I would teach them would be English and European and would demand a 'special literacy' which was difficult and 'foreign' to them. Hence, I struggled to sustain a music programme at the church.



**Image 5.19 My junior choir at St. Alban's Anglican Church in Wellington. The photograph was taken in 1978.**

In 1980, I decided to make Paarl my home. As a good Anglican, I had to seek a place of worship. I decided to join Holy Trinity Anglican Church in the Main Street of Paarl. The church was housed in a Neo-classical style building, was the oldest Anglican Church in the Drakenstein valley. It formed part of the legacy of the British missionary work which started in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and consecrated in 1883. The congregation could be described as unique with to race, class and location. The majority of the parishioners lived in the eastern part of the town, although the church was located in the western part. The Group Areas legislation had also dislocated several of the parishioners. This did not deter most of the Coloureds to travel long distances to attend services regularly.

I was reluctant to make myself available as an organist. However, my love for music, and particularly church music, made me decide to become one of the organists and the choir director at Holy Trinity Church in 1981. Anglican churches, in general, did not pay their organists a stipend. Hence, I played the organ and directed the choir for free, unlike other professional musicians.



**Image 5.20 Holy Trinity Anglican Church in Main Street, Paarl**

I was music director at the church for for more than thirty years. The photograph was taken by me when I visited the church in November, 2017

**Narrator:**

A photograph, hanging in the vestry, revealed that there was a Whites-only choir in existence in the 1960s and 1970s when the White parishioners still had full control over the church matters, and the Coloureds played a back-seat role. I established a small choir consisting of young female singers – the first predominantly Coloured choir at Holy Trinity. For most of them, it was their first experience of choral music. Most of my singers were between the ages of twelve and eighteen and joined the choir because they loved singing. They could not read music, but they were willing to sing and learn music. Only one White girl, who was a student at the Van der Walt School for delinquent girls, wanted to join the choir which consisted only of Coloured females. I interpreted her action as a way for her to find a fellowship that was absent among her fellow White delinquent students at the school. The choir provided her with a safe space which she did not have at her school.

I found it challenging and frustrating to establish a choral tradition at the church. I was conservative in the choice of music. I selected Anglican traditional music, such as English anthems, hymns and psalms. This scared non-traditionalists and those who could not read music. My frustration increased when I felt that the parishioners were not supporting me. The 'old English' music was incomprehensible to most of

the Coloured Afrikaans speaking members of the congregation. However, the White priest and the English-speaking Whites in the congregation found it appealing, and I received encouragement from them. They were happy that I stuck to the traditional English music. Meanwhile, I was making music that was outside of the cultural framework of 'my people'.

In 1993, a friend of mine, Lennie Davids, approached me to bring together several church choirs in a mass choral festival. The two hundred and fifty singers eventually came from along the west coast of the Western and Northern Cape. The composition of the choir was predominantly people from the working-class community. They were teachers, artisans, factory workers, housewives, and fishers who attended the annual weekend workshop of choral music which culminated in a concert and festal service of music. Their ages ranged from twelve to ninety years. I introduced them to challenging choral works the Western classical music repertoire.

The festival was not merely a musical highlight for most of the choristers, but also an achieving moment. They could perform music that was generally regarded as 'high-brow' and typically associated with 'high education' and possibly Whiteness and Western civilisation. I had taken them out of their Colouredness through music. The ordinary folk from the West Coast transcended their marginality within the racial and classed society in which they were living. The festival also provided me with a performing stage on which could live out my passion for choral music. Within the

One of the choir members, John Liedeman, told me that his eighty-nine-year-old mother planned for the event a year in advance and would talk about it for weeks afterwards. Lennie Davids, the chairperson of the association, described me as follows:

**Song: In the community**

*You are a talented musician amongst our people.  
You know the heartbeat of our people.  
You are a master and expert in music.  
You are the obvious choice to make a difference  
It is in my objective to improve the quality of choral music in our  
churches and to make something bigger come out of it.*

*With you we have drawn together diverse cultures,  
coming from the West Coast with its fishermen  
as far as the Namaqualand mining towns  
in the Northern Cape,  
through choral music  
I wanted people to go beyond the one- page songs  
to more advanced works.  
You were the man  
who could pull the wagon through the drift.  
(Conversation, Lennie Davids, 2016)*

**Narrator:**

I directed the festival for twenty-one years before I relocated from the Western Cape to Pretoria to take up a lectureship in music education at the University of Pretoria in 2015.

## **5.4 ACT 4: PLANNING THE CURRICULUM**

### **5.4.1 Act four: Scene one: The bureaucrat and music in the classroom**

#### **Narrator:**

In 1984, the social engineers of apartheid replaced the failed Coloured Representative Council (CRC) with the Tri-cameral Parliamentary system whereby Whites, Coloureds and Indians governed their 'own affairs', such as education, culture, health, social development and housing. However, the National Party ensured that the general affairs, which included the finances and safety and security of the country, were entirely in the control of the White Parliament. The Black population was relegated to the margins, as the National Party government pursued its policy of independent states for the Black African whereby they would 'govern' themselves in the Bantustans.

By giving a perceived preferential political treatment to Coloureds and Indians, the social engineers of apartheid were in effect attempting to destabilise the united mass mobilisation against apartheid which was created by the Black Consciousness Movement of the 1970s and 1980s. The Coloured and Indian populations rejected the divisive and racist Tri-cameral Parliament through mass action, protest marches, school boycotts, workers' strikes, petitions which turned out to an eventual low turnout at the election polls in 1984.

Being a music teacher at a secondary school in the 1980s was regarded as occupying a post that required 'soft skills'. The promotion of music teachers was often a distant reality because there was the perception that music teachers did not possess the administrative skills required for the management of a school. Their creativity was disregarded. Hence, teachers who were qualified in the 'hardcore' subjects, such as mathematics, science and the languages were often given preference when promotion posts were filled. I did not stand a chance to be promoted to a post level above my current one.

The preferential treatment of the Coloured population, whereby they could govern their own 'Coloured affairs', meant that they could move closer to the dominant White group in term of material wealth by creating government positions for

teachers, nurses, clerks and administrators. It also implied that a strong Coloured middle-class of educated individuals were created. The Coloured community would also be further removed from the perceived inferior Black population. The Administration of the HOR created a post structure for state employees, such as teachers, nurses and other administrators that compared favourably with their White counterparts. Hence, the Tri-cameral system put the Coloured population, primarily the educated middle-class, in an ambivalent position to apply for vacancies. I was in an ambivalent position to apply for the post of Subject Adviser: Music, which was advertised in 1987.

The vacancy for a subject adviser for music in the Administration of the House of Representatives (HOR) provided me with an opportunity to be promoted to a higher level. The requirements of the post suited my academic and professional profile. I qualified for the position because I had the appropriate qualifications as well as experience of both primary and secondary school music which were needed for the position. Being successful, I had to leave my secondary school post and take up the post of Subject Adviser: Music in the Administration of Education of the HOR in 1988. I was removed from the often intense political battles against apartheid that occurred at the Coloured educational institutions and on the streets during the 1980s.

I joined the subject advisory services which were established to improve the quality of teaching and learner performance, especially where there was a scarcity of qualified teachers, such as in Mathematics and Science, in Coloured schools. My subject was music. In January 1988, when I reported to the head office of the HOR: Education in Cape Town, I was initiated into the bureaucracy of the government, which consisted primarily of Coloured males. The atmosphere was intimidating, aloof and hierarchical. The male officials looked formal in their dark suits and kept their distance from the new appointees. I was introduced to the political structure and line managers and the state bureaucracy of power. Everybody jumped up from their seats with the entry of the Chief Executive Officer, who was the head of education.

I, together with the other new incumbents, was put through a week of training at the head office which included an introduction to the state protocols of communication, cost-saving measures, the use of state property and inspection report writing skills. My principal subject adviser trained me in the procedures of school visits and regulations of how not to misuse government property such as the vehicles. The message of 'not yet white enough' was made clear to us. I became part of an administration that did not have sufficient funding to provide Coloured children with equal music education to that of White children. The restricted budget did not allow that to happen. Music education was not a priority.

My duties as a subject adviser were the 'surveillance' of teachers and to ensure that the music curriculum and other educational policies were implemented. I had to do this by visiting schools to observe music lessons. Hence, I was a pseudo school inspector and not supporting curriculum implementation. I represented the state by ensuring that policies were implemented. My position was that of a bureaucrat and administrator, instead of a music educator. I had the mandate to protect the curriculum of the apartheid state.

As a subject adviser, I encountered Coloured music education in various contexts, namely urban, rural, townships, farms and villages in the Cape Province (now Western Cape). The class music curriculum comprised singing of secular and sacred songs, reading of music staff notation, creative activities and listening to music. The music curriculum emphasised articulated singing of songs with proper diction, intonation, breathing, and phrasing, based on Western classical music principles. Precise musical articulation and diction meant clear consonants and rounded vowels which resembled English pronunciation and vocalisation. Coloured children had to sing like White Europeans.

The prescribed repertoire of 'standardised' Afrikaans and English folksongs, classical songs and hymns were in line with the European missionaries' perception that classical music would civilise the African child. Western classical music and sacred songs would also, convert and enculture learners into Eurocentric and Christian thoughts. Furthermore, singing from the *FAK Sangbundel*, a songbook published by the White Afrikaner cultural movement, the *Federasie van Afrikaanse*

*Kultuurverenigings* (Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations), would enhance White Afrikaner supremacy through choral music. The repertoire of songs would sometimes include Dutch, German, and even Latin works.

The noble aims of the music curriculum were thwarted by the lack of teaching expertise in the classroom. Few schools had trained musicians with music performance and literacy skills. Unqualified teachers could hardly manage the curriculum because they did not have the musical knowledge. Most teachers were 'thrown' into the music class because their time-tables had space for an extra subject on their time-table. My 'inspection' frustrated both the teachers and myself. I was often confronted with the usual comment:

**Recitative:**

*"Sir, I love music, but I cannot sing.  
I cannot read music"  
I could do nothing.*

**Narrator:**

As a subject adviser, my political stand, as well as my authority, were sometimes overtly and covertly tested. This happened through non-compliance, especially among politically conscious teachers. At one urban secondary school, the mandatory subject, class music, was allocated to fifteen teachers. I knew that I was faced with a challenging situation because of the possibility of finding such a high number of teachers to teach a specialist subject was unusual. Class music was allocated to these teachers because nobody was qualified to teach the subject at the school. As I was visiting the school, I had to listen to unmusical renditions and versions of the then banned hymn that later became part of the post-1994 National Anthem (*Nkosi sikelel i Africa*). I was powerless in the situation. I kept my cool because I knew that the subject received no serious attention. I was conscious of the fact that the teachers were confronted by a music curriculum that could not work in their school's context. They were also mindful that the subject was not an examination subject and therefore, non-essential. Class music was not to be taken seriously. Their response to the class music curriculum was a political contestation.

My role as a subject adviser also included the supervision of the teaching of specialist music, an elective subject which formed part of the secondary school

curriculum. Subject music was generally regarded as an elitist subject reserved for a selected group of White, Coloured and Indian secondary school learners. No Black school offered specialist music before 1994 (Van Niekerk, 1997). The learners for specialist music were selected based on their musical talent and previous lessons at the primary school. The subject at the secondary school level focused on learners who wanted to further their music studies after school.

In its endeavour to provide education to Coloured schools that would compare favourably with what was offered in White schools, the Administration of the HOR extended specialist music education to carefully selected Coloured schools. In most cases, music posts were allocated to schools at the request of principals and the school communities who were convinced of the value of music as a form of acculturation into Western traditions and taste. The Administration of the HOR laid down strict regulations concerning the provision of this specialist curriculum in schools. Schools were approved to introduce the subject as part of their curriculum package based on learner interest, available classroom space and teacher qualification. Most schools found open teaching spaces in the form of unused sick bays, offices, storerooms and regular classrooms. The schools offering music were all located in the urban areas and big towns in the Cape Province (now Western Cape).

The purpose of the music curriculum was the solo performance of Western classical music, complemented with a theoretical and historical understanding of music. The music teachers were faced with similar challenges that I had encountered as a young teacher. They could not retain learner interest, and learner enrolment was continually decreasing. Music was not a favourite subject at secondary school. Various reasons other factors contributed towards its unpopularity. It always had to compete with the perceived 'academic' subjects, such the languages, mathematics and science compounded by budgetary constraints. Music was also perceived to be too complicated and preserved for the talented. A significant reason had been its uselessness for a future career and employment.

I found that learners' experience of music in the classroom was in stark contrast with what they experienced outside of the school walls where music played an essential

role in their lives. To them, Western classical music lacked the free spirit which they experienced in popular music, R&B, jazz and gospel music. School music did not allow them to create and improvise freely. To them, Western classical music was all about perfection and flawless performance.

**Song: The spirit of music**

*What's in classical music?  
Making no sense of the masters  
No vibe in the air  
Let's pop ... jazz ... R&B... gospel  
Jam together,  
That's how we groove.  
No perfection, but spirited.  
Dig deeper into the chords...  
Let's improvise and create.  
(Adapted from Lewis, 2014).*

**Narrator:**

The 'surveillance' tactics of the Administration of the HOR did not allow me the freedom to adapt the curriculum according to the of the learners. I regarded Western classical music as the only form of legitimate music. Hence, my conceptual knowledge and skills of jazz and popular music was minimal. My acculturation into classical music not allow me to 'groove' and improvise freely. Both the curriculum and my training did not accommodate the musical needs of the learners. My supervision of the curriculum was more than the curriculum implementation in schools. It was also part of the perceived civilisation of the Coloured child and integration into Whiteness and Western aesthetics through music. The coon culture, jazz and popular music were regarded as being uncivilised and associated with Colouredness and not Whiteness to which the Coloured elite was aspiring.

**5.4.2 Act four: Scene two: Experiencing resistance**

**Narrator:**

Since the Soweto Uprising in 1976, education in South Africa had never stabilised. The Soweto Uprising stirred hate for the government and all its apartheid structures. The hate for the government had turned into hate for Afrikaans, even though the majority of the Coloured population spoke Afrikaans at home, in their schools,

churches, and places of recreation. There had almost been a fearless contestation of apartheid and its structures since June 1976.

The demand for People's Education intensified, especially since 1980. School inspectors and subject advisers in Black and Coloured schools became the target of the contestation. The stigma attached to school inspectors and subject advisers was often related to *baasskap* (supremacy), government lackeys and collaborators with the regime. Being part of the subject advisory services of the Administration of the HOR, I was covertly perceived as an endorsement of apartheid its ideologies.

Historically inspectors had been associated with officiousness, authoritarianism, bullying and pompousness. Even though most of the officials of the HOR were Coloureds, there was the perception that the Coloured inspectors had been unable to shake off the authoritarian and sometimes racist behaviour associated with the apartheid era school inspectors. Teachers, together with the teacher unions, regarded class visits by these officials as an act of intimidation and a threat to teacher professionalism. They perceived the subject advisory process as mere policing and a surveillance tactic of the state.

An increased militancy characterised the early 1990s through rolling mass action against the Tri-cameral Parliament and its structures. Teacher unions, such as the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) clashed with the education authorities across the country and rejected the apartheid education through civil disobedience, mass mobilisation, sit-ins at head office and regional offices, removing subject advisers from school premises, damaging of government property and vehicles. I became a victim when my government car was vandalised while I was visiting a secondary school in the northern suburbs of Cape Town. It sent out a message to me that I was unsafe in my work environment. The curriculum and its implementers had to be contested openly and even violently. Subject advisers, including me, were told in no uncertain terms that:

**Recitative:**

*"You are not welcome at this school and in my class  
We can manage the curriculum on our own  
We do not need you!"*

**Narrator:**

I was not welcome at schools, because I was representing the oppressive and apartheid government. I did not have access to classrooms and teachers. I could not promote the music curriculum which I loved. I had lost the authority and respect. Apartheid was soon to collapse when President F.W. de Klerk announced the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and the unbanning of all political parties in Parliament on 2 February 1990. This brought new hope to Black and Coloured South Africans. We were convinced that apartheid would soon be something of the past. The struggle for freedom would be ended. However, the Coloured population, became aware that their relative privilege between the dominant White and inferior Black majority could not be left untouched due to the non-racialism stance that the government was to take.

The Coloured population were conscious that their relative privilege would be sorely missed. The Coloured community had failed to complete its task to uplift the masses of lower class before the collapse of apartheid. The middle-class that was established during apartheid would benefit from the envisioned non-racial society. They would soon be integrated into the dominant White group because they had acquired the necessary social skills and material wealth associated with Whiteness and Western civilisation. Hence, Coloured people, like me, would be easier accepted in the non-racial South African society. However, the Coloured population also had a large group of people who were still in the lower strata of society. They were uneducated and not ready to be assimilated into the new non-racial South African. This was the concern of assimilationist Coloured professional organisations, such as the Teacher League of South Africa when they proclaimed:

**5.4.3 Act four: Scene three: Coordinating the new music curriculum****Narrator:**

In 1997, I was promoted as the Principal Subject Adviser: music at the newly established Western Cape Education Department (WCED), which was an amalgamation of the racially segregated education departments, which administered the education of Whites (Cape Provincial Administration), Coloureds (House of Representatives), Blacks (Department of Education and Training) and

Indians (House of Delegates) in the Western Cape. As a principal subject adviser, my duties included the coordination of music education in all former racialised schools in the Western Cape.

South African education, in general, was going through challenging times as the government was moving towards a more equitable educational dispensation for all races. Various policies had to be changed in the drive towards equity. One of them was the revision of the post provisioning model for schools. I experienced a reconstruction of education, especially music education through the rationalisation of posts and the retrenchment of a large number of music teachers in White and Coloured schools. The special allocation for music posts on the staffing model that White and Coloured schools enjoyed, was regarded as an advantage and privilege to a specific section of the population. At the time of my appointment, no Black secondary school offered the music as a subject.

Music teachers were generally concerned about who would be appointed in the vacant post of Principal Subject Adviser: Music. With the collapse of apartheid, there was also uncertainty among music teachers whether the African National Congress (ANC) government would give recognition to music in the secondary school. There was the perception that the Black dominated ANC government would regard the subject as elitist and Eurocentric and would scrap it from the secondary school curriculum. I had to put many concerned teachers at ease. Music teachers, especially those in White schools, put their hope in me. One day, as I was walking in the centre of town in Paarl, a White lady walked up to me and congratulated me on my appointment. I heard the concerned tone in her voice when she said that her prayer group would daily pray for me.

**Song: A prayer for me**

*We meet daily for prayer  
We will pray for you  
For guidance  
For fairness  
For wisdom  
For the responsibility  
Placed upon you  
We will mention you by name.*

**Narrator:**

I was not sure whether she expressed her fears that music education might be at a disadvantage in the new political dispensation. I was conscious that White teachers knew that I was sharing their concerns about music education. I was trained in Western classical music and would, therefore, promote and protect its values and principles. She wanted me to defend the long history of music education in White schools. This became clear to me when I had a discussion with a music teacher:

**Duet: Subject adviser (SA) and music teacher (MT)**

*SA: How long has the school offered music?*

*MT: Since the establishment of the school.*

*SA: How are learners selected?*

*MT: We have auditions.*

*SA: Where did they obtain prior music knowledge and skills?*

*MT: All the feeder primary schools offer music lessons or some learners had private lessons before they came to me.*

*SA: What other requirements do they need?*

*MT: They must have passed grade 3 of the ABRSM, Unisa or TCL music examinations to be admitted. They must have a musical instrument at home.*

*SA: What other music activities does the school offer?*

*MT: We have a choir, instrumental ensembles and a symphony orchestra. If we do not have these activities, we will not draw the best learners to our school.*

*SA: You are lucky to have this.*

*MT: Yes! We are lucky to have parents who support their children and pay extra for music lessons.*

**Narrator:**

I was entering the world of musical privilege that was politically and educationally established over a long period. It would be hard to change it. In a way, it did not need my protection. It already had the protection and support of the custodians of music education. This was done through learner selection based on strict entrance requirements as stipulated by the international music examination boards. The institutional culture of the school also ensured that the best music learners are attracted to music education. The things that mattered about the music curriculum were in place and tightly controlled by stable structures. A variety of instruments was offered, ranging from piano, organ, recorder to orchestral instruments. The schools had extra-mural music activities, such as choirs, ensembles and orchestras.

The schools had excelled in local, national and international music festivals and competitions.

I was experiencing a set of White norms which I had experienced during my studies at UCT. I came face to face with what I had been trying to achieve in my personal and professional life. For the second time, I was confronted with White supremacy and superiority and its influence on the music curriculum. I was also faced with the dedication and passion that White music teachers showed towards music education. They had a desire to produce quality music education against all the odds. I experienced this in the classes I visited and the music examinations that I had conducted.

#### **5.4.4 Act four: Scene four: We were more important than your position**

##### **Narrator:**

I left my house at 07:30 and drove through the Winelands from my home in Paarl to the neighbouring town for the music examinations at one of the oldest Afrikaans schools for girls in what was now the Western Cape Province. White areas, their schools, churches, restaurants, bars and sports fields were no-go areas during apartheid unless you had to go there to do cleaning or deliver something. I was on my way to examine six White girls for their matric music examination. I had arranged my visit to the school weeks in advance. Therefore, they expected me.

I did not have the opportunity to enjoy the beautiful scenery of the Cape Winelands, which flashed past me as I embarked on the forty-minute drive in the morning traffic. Entering the school grounds, driving under the trees, I passed the learners' hostels. I found a parking space reserved for visitors close to the entrance of the snow-white building. Although I had visited many schools over the eight years as a subject adviser, I was nervous about being in a new environment. I composed myself, took out my briefcase, pulled myself together, ensured that the middle button of my jacket was fastened, and walked slowly, but confidently through the teak and glass doors into the reception area. This was unusual to the Coloured schools which I had visited for the past ten years.

I announced myself in Afrikaans to the receptionist. She showed me to the waiting area. I first had a look at the oil painting hanging on the wall. The original oil paintings and photographs of past headmistresses and academic achievers hanging from the walls represented a rich history of culture and success, which was cultivated over many years. I smelled, observed and felt the accumulated pride and privilege of White education by past and present learners, teachers and parents. The school's contribution to education, arts and culture, the church and economy shone on the walls of the school. Some paintings were created by one of the past learners who became a renowned artist.

It spoke of the I took my seat in one of the genuine leather comfortable chairs. Johann Sebastian Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto No.3* was playing softly through the speakers hanging from the roof. The familiarity and beauty of the music calmed me down. Bach is my favourite composer. I paged through the photo albums and school magazines on the imbuia coffee table. The photos and newspaper clippings proudly announced the long history of the academic and sports achievements of the school.

I was met by the friendly, but professional, head of the music department. I would meet the headmistress later because she was busy with other urgent matters. The head of music took me through the polished wooden framed doors into the school hall with the baby grand piano on the stage. She told me that Freurich piano was, donated by one of the businessmen in town whose daughter studied at the school. I was looking forward to a feast of music over the two days.

I took my seat at the long table, and I sat at the end of the row with the three teachers at the other end of the table. There was a physical and psychological distance between us. I felt in control and relaxed because I had been performing this procedure for seven years. The examination continued with the individual performances by each learner. As the morning went on, I became impressed with the high standard of performance. For the short duration that I listened to the performance of the individual learners, I assessed the quality of education. There was excellence founded on reliable teaching.

I allowed an in-depth discussion about the performance of each learner. I sensed that the teachers were not used to this democratic manner of conducting the examinations. They were not used to democracy because the previous autocratic 'inspection' system did not allow them to voice their opinion. By challenging them with critical questions, I wanted to hear their voices. I deliberately differed from them to provoke alternative responses from them. Through the discussions, I did not only learn about their fears for the future but also about their aspirations for music education in the new South Africa. There was a discomforting and tense atmosphere when I left the school at the end of the first day.

On the second day, the calm, peaceful and melodious *Andante* of the second movement of Mozart's *Piano Concerto No. 21*, sounded from the speakers in the foyer. I was not going to spoil this welcome. I requested the head of music to take my seat and perform my role as the leader of the group of examiners. Through this, I handed over my power and authority to her. The switching of roles allowed her to be critical of her colleagues and herself. Through her engagement with her colleagues, she had to interrogate her own practice. She later confided in me that it was one of the best learning experiences as a music teacher and examiner. I had won her trust and respect. She was going to protect me within the dehumanising White environment in which I had to work. This incident confirmed the respect I experienced from music teachers who had to deal with me who was not of the same race that they were. One of the teachers described me as follows:

**Song: My White colleague**

*When I met you  
I was afraid of you;  
I had respect for your position  
as my senior,  
as a subject expert.  
I was scared to make mistakes.  
Of not being good enough.  
You showed warmth and empathy  
towards my learners and I.  
You cared for us.  
We were more important than your position.  
(Conversation, Berna Pretorius, 2017)*

**Narrator:**

I had to appease the fears of Whites. I affirmed their self-worth even though they were not conscious of it. I saw their vulnerability in the new non-racial situation in which they found themselves. They were fearful, but sometimes also stubborn and rebellious. For some good reason, I could deal with all those situations. I could even deal with a case when a White teacher slammed the door behind her as loudly as possible when she went to make tea for me. She was not happy with the decision that I had made. Fortunately, she did not poison me.

**5.4.5 Act 4: Scene five: Imagine a Black man speaking Afrikaans**

The majority of Coloureds in the Western Cape spoke Afrikaans. Thereby, I shared a common language with the White Afrikaners. We also shared our fears of the new Black-dominated government, especially their policymaking about education. The White Afrikaners and surprisingly, the Coloured community, showed a concern that the perceived language of oppression, Afrikaans, would be relegated to a lower standard in the new South Africa. The dominant Black population did not speak Afrikaans. Hence, Afrikaans was associated with White Afrikaners and Coloureds. When I visited an Afrikaans school in the northern suburbs in Cape Town after 1994, the principal took me to the staffroom and introduced me to the staff with the following words:

**Recitative:**

*“Hy praat Afrikaans!”* (He speaks Afrikaans)

**Narrator:**

The principal, who was near to his retirement, was visibly relieved. By speaking Afrikaans, I had allayed his fears for the new political dispensation. He was looking forward to his retirement on his farm in the Eastern Cape. There was hope for his Afrikaans teachers and learners in the new South Africa. His language was accommodated. Black people' like me, also spoke Afrikaans. The principal could retire at peace.

The journey to a conservative West Coast town, 300 kilometres from my home, took me three hours. The agricultural and business community consisted of

predominantly Afrikaans speaking White and Coloured communities. There were two primary schools and two secondary schools in the town. Two White schools were in the centre of town and two schools for the Coloured community in the northern part.

The White Afrikaans medium secondary school, in the centre of the town, offered music as a subject. At my first visit to the school, I introduced myself in Afrikaans to the receptionist. Although it was post-1994, Black subject advisers, especially for music, was still an abnormality in White schools. The principal, Lodi van Deventer, who had an Afrikaans surname, greeted me in English. I greeted him in Afrikaans because I assumed that he would be more comfortable in his mother tongue. However, he continued the conversation in halting English, and I continued to respond in my mother tongue, Afrikaans. Our dual medium conversation continued into the first break when I requested him to speak Afrikaans to me. Years later, when the two of us got to know each other as colleagues in the curriculum planning directorate of the amalgamated Western Cape Education Department and working in offices across each other, he confessed to me:

**Recitative:**

*“Franklin, I did not even hear that you were speaking Afrikaans to me, because I could not imagine a Black man speaking Afrikaans.”*

**Narrator:**

This language incident always stayed with us, and in a certain way, strengthened our interracial friendship. The two of us were part of the enthusiastic team of curriculum planners who rolled out Curriculum 2005 and Outcomes-based education (OBE) across the Western Cape. Due to the controversial nature of OBE, the media were keen to cover our district presentations and the responses of teachers. One of our workshops was visited by the Afrikaans division of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. They interviewed my English speaking colleague, Gail Weldon, but when they realised that I could speak Afrikaans, the producer and crew immediately turned their attention to me. I had my doubt about whether I had the ideal colour and face to tell the sceptical South African nation about OBE in Afrikaans on national television.

Crossing borders in the new non-racial South Africa was not always smooth. There were also signs that some White music teachers found it difficult to accept me or any other Black person to intrude their White space. Their rejection was subtle. I was often referred to in the third person. White teachers often referred to me as *He* or *Him* when they spoke to their learners or colleagues about me. During apartheid, it was common for White people to expect Black and Coloured people to call them *baas* (master), madam or missus. They would reprimand you if you called them *meneer* (mister). They regarded the title of *meneer* as a *kaffir predikant* (Black pastor). Their reluctance to address me appropriately could be interpreted as a reluctance to accept authority from a Black person.

### **A Fanonian Song**

*Understand, my dear boy,  
colour preference is something I find utterly foreign...  
But of course, come in sir,  
there is no colour prejudice among us...  
Quite, the Negro is a man like ourselves. ...  
It is not because he is black that he is less intelligent than we are...  
(Fanon, 1986: 85)*

#### **Narrator:**

The English schools in the southern suburbs took me back to my studies at UCT where I had experienced the White middle-class and English at the South African College of Music. The English schools, which were predominantly in urban areas, articulated an inherent superiority. I found them aloof and distant and displaying a sense of being “God’s children” and the “superior race”. Arriving at one of the big English medium schools in the suburbs of Cape Town for the first time, the principal asked me the following question while I was standing in his office because he refused to offer me a chair:

#### **Recitative:**

*“Are you one of those new subject advisers?”*

#### **Narrator:**

Informed by colour-blindness and meritocracy, he was referring to the perception that affirmative action appointed Black, Coloured and Indian subject advisers possessed no experience and expertise and were not appointed on merit. He was

unaware that I had been a subject adviser for almost a decade. I seldom saw the principal, or headmaster as they are called at English schools. You needed to arrange an 'audience' to see them in their exquisitely furnished offices which carried the evidence of the history of middle-class and English White education. I left me with a feeling that they were not interested in what you had to say about music education their schools. My knowledge did not carry sufficient value.

#### **5.4.6 Act four: Scene six: Transforming the music curriculum**

##### **Narrator:**

1997 signalled an essential period in my professional life. The Department of Education embarked on the radical transformation of education after the adoption of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). I had also been appointed as Principal Subject Adviser for Music in the Western Cap, which exposed me to several key curriculum transformations in South Africa. The year introduced the most exciting but also frustrating period of my career. I discovered that it was not business as usual for me. As a teacher and subject adviser, I had to implement a curriculum that was based on race. Since 1995, I had been working with an interim syllabus which accommodated the subject content of all the previous racially syllabi. The new national curriculum had to accommodate the principles of transformation towards non-racialism and inclusive society as stipulated in the Constitution.

With the collapse of apartheid, the eighteen race-based departments of education in the provinces and Black homelands had been amalgamated into one national Department of Education with nine provincial departments. My position as Principal Subject Adviser meant that I had to become part of the transformation of music education. I represented the WECD in these transformational processes at national curriculum strategic meetings. I was the voice of teachers and learners in the province.

The negotiations for the new non-racial and national curriculum were inspired by organised labour and the national department of education. At the meetings, we were addressed by several stakeholders of labour and education. Christian National Education (CNE) ideologies, deeply rooted in Calvinism, White Afrikaner nationalism and segregation had to make way for the new national curriculum,

Curriculum 2005, based on the critical transformational principles of OBE the principles of the Constitution which would form the basis for social transformation and address the legacy of apartheid.

**Song: Aims of the Constitution:**

*We shall heal the divisions of the past  
We shall establish a society based on:  
Democratic values  
Social justice  
Human rights  
All citizens shall have the quality of life  
We shall be one  
United as a nation.*

(From the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996))

**Narrator:**

The national curriculum would be underpinned by fundamental principles and values to achieve the goals of the Constitution. The curriculum had to contribute towards the transformation of the South African society with learners becoming “imbued with the values and act in the interests of a society based on respect for democracy, equality, human dignity and social justice” (Department of Education, South Africa, 2003:).

**Song: Principles of the national curriculum**

*Social transformation to address the legacy of apartheid  
Learner at the centre through outcomes-based education  
High expectations and standards  
Integrating knowledge and skills  
Moving from simple to complex  
Access to higher learning  
Working towards social justice and inclusivity  
Celebrate indigenous knowledge  
Striving towards quality and value in all of this  
(Department of Education, South Africa, 2003)*

**Narrator:**

My conceptualisation of transformational Outcomes-based Education was limited. The language and terminology that I heard were foreign to me. It was not what I had been trained for at UCT and through the international music examination boards.

The ideologies that were proposed did not articulate with what I had aspired to achieve throughout my career as a teacher and subject adviser. Throughout the deliberations, it became clear that music, as it was currently practised, was regarded as a Western art form. The transformation agenda was directly opposed to the 'pure' and distinct arts and saw music as too Eurocentric. The music curriculum had to be Africanised through the integration of indigenous knowledge. Music in its present form, was regarded as too White. It epitomised White privilege. The music curriculum had to be changed drastically to fit into the indigenous conceptualisation of the arts. Indigenisation of the music curriculum meant that music had to be integrated with the other art forms. This notion was in stark contrast with what I was trained. The new curriculum was a rejection of Western knowledge systems. Music lost its Western purity in Curriculum 2005. It became part of the Arts and Culture curriculum in which music, dance, drama and visual arts would be integrated into the general education and training (grade R to 9) phase. The integration of the arts was in line with the Africanisation of the curriculum.

Throughout all of this, I found it challenging to find the universal credibility, high knowledge and skills standards amidst the demand to acknowledge Afrocentrism and indigenous knowledge. I was confronted with myself and my views about music education, my training and the music curriculum that I had aspired. I was challenged by international meritocracy, which demanded Eurocentric quality in the music curriculum. Throughout all this, music, as a discreet art form, lost its privileged position.

All this meant that I was going to lose my privileged position as a music educator who possessed the knowledge of Western classical music. Deep down, I was African, but skin deep I was Westernised through the music education that I had received and the curriculum that I had promoted throughout my professional life. The curriculum that I promoted was able to produce world-class concert pianists, orchestral performers and composers. Throughout my music teaching career, I was striving towards a Westernised curriculum which promoted exclusivity and privilege. I was shocked and disappointed in the way that these transformational principles would influence the curriculum that I had aspired. I was not convinced that the envisaged curriculum would be able to achieve the envisaged successes.

#### **5.4.7 Act four: Scene seven: Designing the curriculum**

##### **Narrator:**

I formed part of several provincial and national core training teams that orientated teachers, principals and other stakeholders in the curriculum. They came in large numbers to hear what we had to say. The academics, teachers and opposition party politicians did not support Curriculum 2005 and painted a negative picture of the transformational journey that the country was about to undertake.

As expected, the perceived controversial, transformative, and anti-Christian National Education (CNE) nature of the curriculum was met with fierce resistance, especially from the conservative White and Coloured teachers. The principles of the new curriculum were regarded as directly in conflict with the *saligmaking* (salvation) of the Bible and Calvinist principles of life and Christian morality. This adverse situation was compounded by the integration of music with the other arts. Music teachers, including me, were not trained to teach music in an integrated manner. The integration of the art disciplines elicited an unprecedented and often unpleasant response from music teachers towards me. Teachers regarded Curriculum 2005 and OBE as senseless and having no educational logic. After a workshop where I presented OBE in a district, a female teacher with more than thirty years of primary school teaching experience said to me:

##### **Recitative:**

*You should be ashamed to sell such a lot of shit to us.*

##### **Narrator:**

In 2001 I was appointed by the Minister of Education to form part of the team that would write the new curriculum for the Further Education and Training (FET) Phase. The transformation of the curriculum was extended to the FET phase, where learners usually specialised according to subjects. The subject, in my case, was music. I was excited about being included in the writing team. I regarded it as an honour because my expertise was recognised at a national level. My colour was not taken into consideration. I was selected based on my knowledge and skills of music which I had attained over several decades.

The multi-racial writing team of eight specialists consisted of experienced subject advisers, music teachers, and practitioners, each with a speciality in either Western classical music, music industry, jazz and African music. The individuals in the group did not only work in educational institutions but were also active in the music industry. I regarded it as a balanced team, taking into consideration the expertise, racial, gender and age that each member of the team represented. Hence, each delegate attempted to influence the curriculum to accommodate the views of their specific stakeholder focus.

We were acutely conscious of the historical context of music education in which the subject was preserved for White, Coloured and Indian learners in the previous dispensation. The challenge that faced us was whether we would retain the status quo or divert radically from the race-based and Western classical music curriculum of the past. We could design a music curriculum that would perpetuate racial inequality or meet the aspirations of the Black child who was at the margins of music education.

At times, our deliberations were emotional, intense and contradictory. Our contradictions and fears were often based on the needs of the existing group of White, Coloured and Indian learners, in order to retain the standards of the previous curriculum. Our focus tended to shift to the acculturation of the Black child into Western classical music. We had to adopt a new way of knowing when we had to deal with African music and popular genres. These genres, according to us, lacked the 'academic' knowledge that was needed for a specialist subject, such as music. Also, we had to recognise the needs of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Hence, the scope of the subject was extended with the inclusion of music technology and the music industry.

### **Song: The music learner**

*Perfect in music performance,  
African, but Western and global dominance.  
Let us free you through music creation,  
As part of your communication.  
Reading, writing form the basis of it all,  
As history is recalled.  
(Own composition)*

**Narrator:**

We identified four essential learning outcomes for the subject, namely music performance, creating music, music literacy and an understanding of the historical development of music. The curriculum avoided the aural and orate nature of African music. Hence, the literate Western music obtained a dominant position above the indigenous practices.

Our writing process was closely monitored by a team of human rights specialists who ensured that our curriculum product was inclusive and addressed human rights issues, as required by the critical (general) outcomes of the NCS. Despite this oversight, our process became a 'veneering' of the previous curriculum as we ensured that Western classical music, with its principles, retained dominance. The curriculum became policy when it was implemented in Grade 10 in 2003 (Department of Education, 2003).

**5.4.8 Act four: Scene eight: The curriculum rage**

My curriculum knowledge and experience were put to the test when I had to introduce the National Curriculum Statement and OBE to secondary school teachers in 2002. The Grade 10 to 12 teachers sacrificed their June holiday to attend the weeklong orientation session in the curriculum in Cape Town. They came from both public and independent schools in the Western Cape. Most of the teachers were White except for a few Coloured teachers and one Black teacher. All the teachers graduated in Western classical music.

The majority of them, like me, received their music education at White Afrikaans and English universities. Their primary focus was to get a music degree. The untransformed South Africa and apartheid had little to do with them, as it was the case with me when I was a student at UCT. I had to introduce the supposedly transformed curriculum to politically inert music teachers. Music seemed to have little to do with social transformation. Hence, from the start, the music teachers found it frustrating and irrelevant when the presenters introduced the transformational principles of the NCS to them. The politicising of the curriculum infuriated them. Their anger was turned onto us as presenters. As Principal Subject Adviser, I had to intervene with authority and diplomacy when delegates threatened to leave the workshop.

However, the relationship which I had with teachers prevented them from leaving. They seemed to have some respect for me and did not want to break their relationship with me. They were also fully aware that I shared most of their concerns due to the music education that I had received from an established White English university where I acquired the same values that they had.

I also suspected that the teachers were hoping that I was influential enough to bring some musical sense in the minds of the national curriculum designers. They were aware that I was one of the designers of the NCS for music. Hence, there was also a feeling that I had betrayed them by not guarding their interests during the writing process. I also felt powerless in the situation because I was unable to fight their cause. I had to be loyal to the government. My loyalty demanded that I had to protect the curriculum even though I did not fully agree with it.

Some substantial changes were made to the curriculum. One of them was the lowering of solo music performance standards. There was also the gradual introduction of 'other' music, such as popular music and indigenous African music in the curriculum, to make the subject culturally inclusive. The rage that erupted from the music teachers about the new curriculum was unspeakable. The big complaint was the lack of standards in music performance. There was a lack of articulation with the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music, University of South Africa and Trinity College of London, the three music examination bodies which had benchmarked music performance standards in South Africa and globally for many years. The music curriculum was flawed because it did not meet the required Western standards.

**Song:**

*How do I deal with the rage that surrounds me?  
The anger and fear of those around me?  
The wishes of those who make no noise,  
Of those who have been deprived,  
Who have no voice,  
Only aspirations for a better life.  
(Own composition)*

#### **5.4.9 Act four: Scene nine: A home and voice for all**

##### **Narrator:**

The rage and fear of White music teachers gave way for the aspirations of Coloured teachers when music education was extended to the townships on the Cape Flats in 2005. The collapse of apartheid meant a restoration of educational institutions which had suffered both social and educational damage during the 1980s and 1990s. Post-1994, the political battlefields had to become centres of education and excellence. The human and social capital of the Coloured people had to be restored through education.

In 2005 the ANC government in the Western Cape launched the *iKapa Elihlumayo* (Cape a Home for all) campaign, which focused specifically on the human and social development of the disadvantaged Black and Coloured people of the province. The emphasis was on growing the Western Cape Province, poverty alleviation, job creation and making the province 'a home for all' (Western Cape Education Department, 2006: 2). The *iKapa Elihlumayo* strategy could also be regarded as the restoration of the dignity of the Coloured and Black communities who were dislodged from their permanent homes in the Western Cape during apartheid. More than 60 000 people lost their permanent homes in District Six when they were moved to the Cape Flats due to the Group Areas Act. One hundred thousand Black Africans were also denied permanent residency when they were relocated to the Bantustans during apartheid. The *iKapa Elihlumayo* strategy inspired the musician and songwriter, John Pretorius to compose this song:

##### **Song: Ntshona Koloni Ikapa**

*Ntshona Koloni Ikapa  
Is a home for all  
Dis 'n tuiste vir almal  
Likhaya le thu sonke  
From Mitchells plain to Gugulethu  
From Khayelitsha to Khayamandi  
From Wellington to Stellenbosch  
George and Knysna to Mosselbay  
(Western Cape School Songbook, unpublished)*

**Narrator:**

The Human Capital Development strategy emanated from The *iKapa Elihlumayo* initiative. The strategy had as its objective the increase of social welfare through the expansion of educational opportunities of poor Black and Coloured children. Education was regarded as the primary vehicle to alleviate poverty. Human capital would also increase if poor children had access to limited knowledge and skills (Western Cape Education Department, 2006). The strategy targeted Black and Coloured youth in the Western Cape. The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) was identified as the driver of this campaign.

An amount of R49m was allocated for the establishment of twenty-eight schools dedicated to a specific subject field (Western Cape Education Department, 2005). The focus areas were Arts and Culture, Engineering and Business, and Commerce and Management. Ten secondary schools for the arts were established across the province. School management teams embarked on an infrastructure development programme by converting existing classrooms into soundproof music studios and practising rooms, dance studios with dance floors, visual arts and design rooms. They appointed qualified music, dance, drama and visual arts and design teachers who were professionally supported by the WCED subject advisers. The arts and culture focus schools had to become centres of excellence within deprived communities.

Music education in the townships was new to me. It posed me with unique challenges which I did not experience in the middle-class White and Coloured schools. The appointment of suitably qualified music educators was a challenge because teachers were cautious about venturing into the townships. The focus school concept was also met with some cynicism and regarded as a political strategy by Coloured leaders in the music world.

**Recitative:**

*What good can come of out the township?  
You are wasting money.*

**Narrator:**

When I had to support one of the arts and culture focus schools in Mitchells Plain,, approximately thirty-five kilometers south of Cape Town, I had to prove the sceptics wrong. It was challenging to convince them that classical music could flourish in the township that was established for middle-class Coloureds after the forced removals from the city in the 1970s due to the Group Areas Act. The township, was one of the largest in the Western Cape, lost its middle-class status and became an area plagued with gangsterism and drug abuse in the 1980s and 1990s. Coloureds comprised 91% of the population, and the township had an unemployment rate of 24% (City of Cape Town, Census 2011). The township needed the human and social development strategy initiative.

I had to introduce the formal music curriculum to Coloured learners who had been exposed to the informal curriculum in their communities through gospel music, community jazz bands, coons, Cape Malay choirs and Christmas choirs. These music informal styles and genres were generally associated with Colouredness. The learners were practising music in a vibrant informal curriculum. Most of them were either self-taught or introduced to music by their family members and other music practitioners in the community and the church. The music knowledge and skills were mostly aurally acquired.

The formal curriculum, which primarily focused on the solo performance of Western classical music, did not work for them. Learners found the content of the music curriculum irrelevant and not addressing their musical needs. The classical music was “foreign” to them. The individualised and soloistic nature of Western classical music was intimidating. The informal curriculum made provision for spontaneous playing and singing. When they jammed with their friends, they felt the music. R&B soul, jazz and gospel had the spirit, whereas classical music was seen as spiritless and containing little meaning for them. The learners described the formal curriculum in the following manner:

## **Song: The spirit in music**

*What's in classical music?  
We are making no sense of the masters  
No vibe in the air  
Let's pop ... jazz ... R&B soul... gospel  
We jam together,  
That's how we groove.  
No perfection is needed, but it's spirited.  
It speaks of love, hate, sex, violence,  
When we dig deeper into the chords...  
Let's improvise and create.  
(Adapted from Lewis, 2014).*

### **Narrator:**

The music in the township needed a different kind of support from me. Hence, in 2012, I brought in the music industry and the Cape Town International Jazz Festival (CTIJF) into the classroom. The CTIJF, the biggest annual music event of its kind in the Southern hemisphere, staged more than forty international and local artists and drew more than 34 000 patrons to its two-day festival in Cape Town. As part of their community outreach programme, the Chief Executive Officer, Rashied Lombard, involved schools for the arts in their development programme. Through this initiative, the Mitchells Plain learners were introduced to the informal curriculum of the music industry, whereby they learned the skills of music performance, music production, lighting, sound, event management and marketing. In this way, my curriculum development expanded beyond the Western classical genres and practices in which I was educated since childhood. The informal curriculum provided a voice for the marginalised Coloured child in music education. The dignity of the Coloured population was restored through music

### **5.4.10 Act four: Scene ten: Social cohesion through music**

I drove into the campus of the Western Cape Sports School on a cold misty morning in Cape Town in May. My car was the only vehicle in the parking area which would soon be filled by buses which would transport the more than 1500 learners from the Black townships of Khayelitsha, Langa, Crossroads, Nyanga and Phillipi. I looked through the fog and hoped for a sunny and warmer day. The provincial coordinating

committee of the South African Schools' Choral Eisteddfod (formerly, the Tirisano<sup>26</sup> Schools' Choral Eisteddfod) had prepared the stage for the choristers who would fill the venue with their operatic arias, English, African and Afrikaans songs, and end three full day festival with their Black bodies in indigenous music and dance. As the first choir ascended the stage, the enthusiastic audience erupted in song to encourage the young singers:

**Song: Kwangena thina bo**

*Kwangena thina bo  
Kwashy'umoya  
Kwangena thina bo  
Kwashy'umoya  
Mandingene endumisweni  
Mandingene endumisweni  
Kwangena thina bo  
Kwashy'umoya  
(Traditional isiXhosa)*

Freely translated:  
Here we are, we will sing for you.

**Narrator:**

When I heard the song I had a strange but satisfying feeling – something that I did not experience at the previous festivals that I attended with Coloureds and Whites. This festival was about showcasing what had been at the margins for many years. This song invited choirs on stage to render their competition song at the South African Schools' Choral Eisteddfod (SASCE), the flagship music event of the Department of Basic Education. SASCE was more than a choral event. It was about community, participation, dignity, pride, emotion and politics. This was indeed a new curriculum for me, which was in stark contrast with what I knew. Over the following fourteen years of my professional life, I had to learn a new way of knowing.

As a curriculum planner for music, I represented the WCED on almost all provincial and national committees related to music. My principals regarded me as an expert in music education and trusted my judgement at various meetings where I

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<sup>26</sup> Tirisano is the Xhosa word for working together.

represented them. In 2000 the Minister of education, Mr Kader Asmal, called a national meeting of stakeholders and roleplayers of South African school choral music competitions and festivals in Durban. The brief of the minister was clear:

**Song: Unity in song**

*Black, White, Coloured, Indian  
Must sing in unity  
No more fragmentation  
As they sing and play along  
In unity...  
Pride, honour, morality  
Music in unity.  
(Own composition)*

**Narrator:**

The minister wanted the children of the 'Rainbow Nation' to sing together in one big choral competition and festival. During apartheid, South African choral music competitions and festivals were racially and culturally divided. Besides, choral competitions were often politically and ideologically inspired through the involvement of teacher unions, cultural organisations and other interest groups. During apartheid teacher unions such as the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU), the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA), National Professional Teachers' Organisation (NAPTOSA), as well as the black South African School Music Organisation (SASMO), organised choral competitions for Black schools on district, provincial and national levels. At a national level, the *Afrikaanse Taal and Kultuurvereniging* (ATKV) organised a national choral music competition for predominantly White Afrikaans schools. Also, regional eisteddfods and festivals were organised on a racial and language basis. The unifying mindset brought about by the mass democratic movement since the 1980s, and the subsequent magic of the post-democratic government failed to transform the racially fragmented school music events in South Africa. We were mandated to change this situation.

Our objective was to draw all the race-based music competitions, eisteddfods and festivals into a national, non-racial eisteddfod and festival. This national eisteddfod and festival had to be coordinated and managed by a national steering committee which represented the role players and stakeholders of music education,

irrespective of their race. After several consultative meetings, the commission conceptualised a protocol that would serve as a guideline for the organisation, management, coordination and monitoring of national music competitions and festivals for all public schools in South Africa. The protocol was gazetted in the Government Notice No. 21697 by the Minister of Education, Mr Kader Asmal, on 27 October 2000.

The protocol and the programmes emanating from it formed part of the social cohesion programme of the Department of Basic Education. The dignity of especially the Black township schools had to be restored through music and the arts. Through music festivals, learners would also develop respect for their own and others' cultures. The protocol recognised the transformational power of music as a tool to turn schools into functionality and to create a culture of teaching and learning. It had to uncover and promote the wealth of indigenous music and dance. Most of all, the projects that would emerge from the protocol, had to discover the raw musical talent of Black learners which had been unnoticed in an educational system which had previously provided almost exclusively for White learners.

All of this changed my personal and professional life. My curriculum management became more than merely coordinating the subject music. For the next fourteen years, my personal and professional life would revolve around the hope and aspirations of the Black teacher and child. I came to the project with a wealth of experience because I had been involved in several schools and community music festivals, competitions and eisteddfods, such as the Wellington Schools' Music Association and being the chairperson of the Paarl Schools' Cultural Association. My experience with regional children's choirs would also contribute towards the success of the project. I had been an adjudicator at various regional, provincial, national and international eisteddfods, competitions and festivals across all racial, cultural and age groups.

The National Coordinating Committee decided to name the first eisteddfod the Tirisano Schools' Choral Eisteddfod (TISCE) – an appropriate name because the intention was for all to work and sing together. My painful experience started with the roll-out of TISCE in the Western Cape. The provincial authorities did not support

the project financially for various reasons. It was not a priority for the WCED. Hence, I was managing a politically mandated project which was unfunded by the provincial government.

The Coloureds and Whites were equally sceptical and cautious. They perceived TISCE as a political mechanism to destroy local race-based choral music competitions which had been successfully organised over many years. As I was promoting TISCE in the province, I was confronted with several negatives around the eisteddfod, such as the standard of music, rules of participation, disorderly planning, Black exclusivity, and the safety of learners and teachers within the multi-racial context. The 'working together' and 'unity through singing' goals became insurmountable for me, as I had to deal with the non-musical aspects surrounding the eisteddfod.

### **Chorus: Singing together**

*Where are the standards?  
We don't like the music,  
It's too "old", English and English.  
SASCE will lower the standard of performance.  
It's too African in its planning  
There is too much festivity  
It is loud  
There is too much politics.  
TISCE is black-controlled.  
We do not feel welcome.  
It is not inclusive!  
(Own composition)*

### **Narrator:**

In 2003, the name of the eisteddfod name was changed to the South African Schools' Choral Eisteddfod (SASCE) to draw other races to the event. It was significant that SASCE generally promoted Western classical music ranging from operatic solos, duets, trios, and ensembles to art and folk songs. However, it also included indigenous African music in the form of folklore and indigenous dances.

I realised that choral competitions were highly politicised in South Africa. Choral competitions and eisteddfods were used to promote specific ideologies of race and

culture. Pre-1994 activists, teachers and communities used the arts to express their disapproval of apartheid through non-collaboration in government-driven arts projects. I came to SASCE with my own experiences of racialised music competitions. I wanted to enforce my own cultural and political ideas upon the eisteddfod. Through this, I became a threat to both the Whites, Coloureds and Blacks.

I needed new skills to let this thing work for the racially integrated cohort of teachers and learners. I was not only not White enough and not Black enough to deal with this thing, but I also did not have the political clout to be trusted or the skills to pull it off. In a way, I was politically naïve and only saw music and the informal curriculum and not the bigger political picture. I spoke a different political language, and I did not know enough of “Black” music competitions. The Black conductors who controlled choral competition pre-1994 felt that I was taking away their power. Equally, so did the White and Coloureds, because they were not willing to be controlled by the majority of Black conductors.

**Chorus: Music belongs to us**

*Who is this malua telling us  
what to do with our choral music tradition?  
We have not done it like this before  
for many years  
and he wants to change it.  
Music belongs to us.*

**Narrator:**

I did not understand the Black choral culture, which was highly competitive and sometimes associated with individual conductors who were seeking prestige and status through winning choral competitions. There was also the general perception among administrators in the WCED that choral music was a distraction and a waste of school time in Black schools.

**Recitative:**

*“Black teachers and learners use school time to practise choral music. They are never in class, because they practise for choral music competitions”.*

**Narrator:**

The perception was that Black teachers did not know how to strike a balance between choral music competitions and academic work. It was common for the so-called dysfunctional former Black schools to do well in choral music competitions because they had rehearsals during school time and disrupted the academic programme.

The eisteddfod exposed me to racist attacks by principals, teachers and conductors who suspected that I deliberately provided Black teachers and learners with the cheapest transport, accommodation and meals. I could not do better because I had a limited budget. A Black teacher from Gugulethu, a township on the Cape Flats, reported me to the provincial Minister of Education. I was labelled a racist.

**Recitative:**

*Mr Lewis would not have treated me like this if the pigmentation of my skin was different.*

**Narrator:**

In 2012 SASCE received the Premier Excellence Award, a bronze medal from the Premier of the Western Cape Province, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, for the management and coordination of the SASCE. It received the recognition because it was regarded as a community project which gave hope to disadvantaged communities in the Western Cape. It made a difference in the lives of young people. It restored the dignity of marginalised people. In 2014 the national steering committee of SASCE awarded me the prize for the best-organised province at the national championships. I had been part of the SASCE for fourteen years at that time.



**Image 5.21 The South African Schools' Choral Eisteddfod**

I received the award for the best organised province at the national championships of the SACE championships held in Durban in 2014.

## **5.5 CODA**

At the end of 2014, after thirty-eight years of teaching music, supporting music teachers and planning the music curriculum, my life took a turn when I retired at the WCED. This brought to an end my career as a music teacher, subject adviser and curriculum planner in the apartheid and post-apartheid structures of South African education. My life had started in Wellington as a child, where I received my primary and secondary education, and first piano lessons. I had lived in a racialised society which displayed both external and internal racism. As a dark-skinned Coloured, I was subjected to the racism of the Coloured population with whom I lived and later worked. My lived experiences also display White supremacy as I entered the space of White schools.

I had transcended the barriers of race and class by being privileged to study music at a former White university. My teaching career at a primary school was short-lived when I was seconded to a secondary school in Paarl, where I could teach the subject for which I was trained. My school was one of a selected few secondary schools for Coloureds that offered the subject Music, which was preserved for White children during apartheid. I was assimilated into the music teaching fraternity as well as the middle-class strata, which existed in the Coloured community.

I quickly moved through the ranks of Coloured education and was appointed as a subject adviser for music in the racially divided education system. I was subsequently promoted to the position of senior curriculum planner for music in the WCED, which made me part of the provincial and national processes of curriculum transformation in the post-1994 era. I had to coordinate music within all secondary schools which offered the subject in the Western Cape. Through the state bureaucracy, I was exposed to the dynamics of the mass democratic movement and the ensuing democratisation of education. I experienced the aspirations of the marginalised Black population, and the fears of the privileged White, and semi-privileged Coloured population, coupled with explicit and implicit racism. I experienced the resistance against separate education and the bureaucracy of the state as the democratic movement of the 1980s and 1990s intensified their non-collaboration with the government.

I was not only involved in the formal curriculum but also in the informal curriculum through community-based music projects as well as the church and choral music festivals for schools. Race and racism were embedded in both the formal and informal music curriculum as White people were privileged concerning access. It was through the informal music curriculum that integration of the races became almost impossible. Racial groups made clear choices with whom they wanted to make music informally, making my task of integrating choral music competitions almost insurmountable.

After I had retired from the WCED in 2014, I was appointed as a lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria. I took with me a wealth of experience of music education and the music curriculum into my new post. At the University of Pretoria, I lectured the methodology of music to both undergraduate and post-graduate students. Through this, I moved from teacher development to teacher preparation.

## 6. CHAPTER 6: ANALYSING AND INTERPRETING MY AUTOETHNOGRAPHY

### 6.1 Introduction

The purpose of an autoethnography is to make sense of culture through the analysis and interpretation of the behaviour of the self, who is the bearer of culture and intimately linked to others in a societal and cultural context (Chang, 2008). Chapter 5 provided the thick autobiographical data of my study. However, data cannot stand alone, but can only gain meaning and become real evidence when it is analysed and interpreted to make a point and to prove a research argument (Hofstee, 2011). Analysis and interpretation are closely linked but do not necessarily have the same meaning in qualitative research. Chang (2008) distinguishes between interpretation and analysis in qualitative research. According to her, data analysis entails the identification of the essential features of the autoethnography. It also involves the systematic description of the interrelationships between the identified features. Data interpretation, on the other hand, is about looking deeper into the autoethnographical text to uncover the hidden cultural meaning of a story.

My narrative in chapter 5 could be described as analytic-interpretive because while I was writing my story, I did not just provide stark details of my experiences, but I was already analysing and interpreting my experiences within the social and cultural context in which they occurred (Chang, 2008). Hence, the autobiographical component of my narrative should not be regarded as just raw data because it contains meaningful and analytical data that had been constructed through an interpretive and analytical process.

The crafting of my narrative could be conceived as the first level of analysis and interpretation. It entailed creative as well as analytical thought processes. In this chapter, I move to the second level of my analysis and interpretation through in-depth thinking about my narrative to obtain a more profound and philosophical understanding of my lived experiences (Jarvis, 2014). At this level, I deal with the process of data analysis and interpretation to transform the 'thickness' and 'messiness' of my autobiographical and cultural data, to become "culturally

meaningful explanations” and a "narratively engaging" autoethnography (Chang, 2008: 126).

In an autoethnographic study, moving to the next level does not mean that the first level of data analysis and collection is discarded. The autoethnographer continues to collect data along with data analysis and interpretation to fill the silences and provide richer cultural and symbolic meaning to the data (Chang, 2008). The analysis and interpretation of my narrative initially entailed a holistic overview of my story, which required several readings of the text in its entirety. Through deeper immersion into the autobiographical text, I was able to identify the key features and details of my narrative and to relate it to the focus of my study, namely race, music and curriculum in South Africa.

Building on my theoretical framework, which I discussed in Chapter 3, I now utilise the theory of contestation, critical theory and CRT as lenses to analyse and interpret my narrative. Through these lenses, I adopt a critical-interpretative and a contestation mode of analysis and interpretation of my narrative. In making meaning of my narrative, I also draw on the existing scholarship on my topic. I draw strongly on the analyses of Coloured identity by Adhikari (2005a; 2005b; 2006; 2008; 2013) and Erasmus (2001; 2011; 2017).

My personal narrative shows a strong interrelationship between race, racism, class and music which are deeply embedded in my lived experiences. Physical blackness, coupled with a Coloured classification through the apartheid racial classification, as well as internal racism among the Coloured and Black population groups, are robust features in my story. My narrative does not only display a contestation of my Coloured identity and cultural practices through music during apartheid, but also a resurgence of my Coloured identity after the collapse of apartheid. My narrative also reveals the influence of Whiteness in my adoption of White aesthetics and values through music education. Hence, the contestation of race, class coupled with the music curriculum, is a strong focus in my analysis and interpretation of my narrative.

My narrative displays active elements of collaboration and compliance with the Eurocentric music curriculum. Collaboration or compliance is in contrast with a

“contestatory practice” (Wiener, 2017: 3), whereby the norm is rejected to gain freedom. Rejection or objection occurs when there is non-compliance with the status quo. From an analytical-interpretative perspective, contested collaboration and compliance are about the conditionality and conformity to the normative, but it is also effectively a practice of critical engagement with the norm (Wiener, 2017). In order to engage critically with the norm is not an open contestation, but requires some form of collaboration and conformity.

Contested compliance, as a legal and political science concept, has always been at the core of the negotiations for a better dispensation for the oppressed populations of South Africa. This is especially the case with the Coloured population who had shown resistance to apartheid more collaboratively than open rejection (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). In their effort to be assimilated into the dominant White group the better educated Coloureds, through organisations such as the African Political Organisation (APO) and the Teachers’ League of South Africa (TLSA), took a reconciliatory position when they negotiated for a better dispensation for the Coloured people. There was fear from the educated Coloureds that open resistance and confrontation with the White government would worsen the position of the Coloureds, and that they could be treated worse than the Black African population (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). For example, Coloured teachers tolerated the bullying tactics of White school inspectors in fear of being rebuked through disciplinary action by the dreaded White controlled Coloured Affairs Department (Adhikari, 1993)

My narrative articulates the fine line between contestation and collaboration. Bueger (2017) and Wiener (2017) perceive contested collaboration to include deliberation, contention and justification. In other words, my engagement with the music curriculum was often intentional and purposeful. In the first instance, I had to comply and collaborate with the Eurocentric music curriculum because of my love for music. I had a musical talent that few people possessed. Secondly, I collaborated with the institutions which I attended because I was conscious that Western classical music would improve my life chances in an oppressive South Africa. I also had to collaborate with the apartheid government to allow me to study at a White university. Thirdly, my collaboration was based on the opportunities for personal development in terms of the accumulation of material wealth and social status. In all of this, I had

to deliberate with myself and others even if there was disagreement which I had experienced in various contexts of my personal and professional life. Finally, my justification of my contested collaboration with the curriculum is not only based on personal needs but also the development of those whom I had to serve as a teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist.

## **6.2 Contesting Colouredness through music**

In my theorisation of Coloured identity in Chapter 2 the theme of rejectionism and reticence among the Coloured population emerged strongly. The identity is also unique and complex by differing from racial mixedness in countries, such as Brazil, Angola and Mozambique (Simone, 1994). Therefore, the complexity of the identity requires a unique interpretation and analysis, which often contribute to discomfort and awkwardness to the middle-class and educated Coloureds, including me. This complexity and resultant tension are often based on the notion that the identity originated out of slavery, rape, and miscegenation between White settlers, the Khoi San people, indigenous Black races and the imported slaves (Erasmus, 2001). The discomfort is compounded by the reductionist analyses of Colouredness based which are based on racist and stereotypical conceptualisations of the identity, which was clouded in shame, sexual promiscuity, impurity, drunkenness and immorality (Erasmus, 2017). The heterogeneous group of Coloured people are regarded as a nation without a collective identity and culture (Adhikari, 2005b).

In contrast to other ethnic groups, Coloured identity has not been fixed since the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Adhikari, 2005b). Its fluidity was even stronger after the collapse of apartheid, when Coloureds became disillusioned with their perceived marginality within the Black-dominated South African society in which they were perceived to be not Black enough to enjoy full citizenship ((Adhikari, 2005b; Adhikari, 2008; Alexander, 2001, Erasmus & Pieterse, 1999; James, & Caliguire, 1996; Johnson, 2017). This instability of Colouredness contributed to an ideological, sociological and political contestation of the identity, which started at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is still active in the post-apartheid era.

Race and racialisation were deeply embedded in my lived experiences as Coloured. In my narrative, race and racialisation became a reality in the “web of socio-political,

cultural and historical relations” (Erasmus, 2017: 53) in which I experienced my personal and professional life. Racialisation, as a process, makes race meaningful in a particular context (Garner, 2010). From a Fanonian perspective, racialisation was meant to dehumanise and make some people inferior by the dominant White group (Garner, 2010).

To be inferior, meant to be different and be the other (Hall 2001b). In the South African context, my difference did not carve an easy path for me within the music curriculum spaces in which I had to move. Within the web of social, cultural and historical relations, I was different by being Coloured in the first instance. Hence, I had an intermediary status within the racial hierarchy of the South African society during apartheid. My difference and otherness were animated through music, whereby Western classical music was presumed to be associated with European-ness and Whiteness, the Coon Carnivals were linked to the negativity of Colouredness.

When Hall (2001b) writes about difference and othering, he bases his interpretation on the linguistic, social, cultural and psychoanalytical. He explains that difference has an ambivalent and contradictory nature, in that it is both positive and negative. For example, in order to make meaning of language, culture and social identities, one must distinguish between binary oppositions, such as Black and White. The positive in my case was the music associated with Whiteness and civilisation, whereas my Blackness contained the negative of inferiority and being uncivilised (Mbembe, 2017). My difference was also augmented in the way I spoke. For example, I was not speaking the vernacular Afrikaans that most Coloureds spoke.

Hall (2001b) postulates that difference and otherness are generally communicated by the person who bears them. For example, the White audience member who looked at me playing the piano expressed his disbelief in seeing a Black person playing classical music. My performance became suspicious because there was not enough qualifying evidence to substantiate what he was seeing and hearing. He saw Blackness but heard Whiteness. This resonates with Erasmus’s (2017) notion that physical appearance determines whether a person is a “rights-bearing subject” (Erasmus, 2017: 79). In other words, the rights of people are based on race.

Through racialisation, the physical 'look' is a management and negotiation tool which racist White and Coloured people use in their interaction and dialogue with people who are different (Erasmus, 2017). My physical Blackness made me different from the normative Colouredness which motivated others to humanise or dehumanise me in dialogue through racist aggressions directed at me, either overtly or covertly.

Colonialism and apartheid in South Africa occurred in terms of the unequal accumulation and possession of material and cultural goods, based on perceived racial, cultural and class difference (Erasmus, 2017; Mbembe, 2017). The racial policies of the apartheid government ensured that people who were classified other than White would generally be excluded from the consumption of what was regarded as legitimate cultural capital, such as Western classical music and the fine arts. The attainment of the knowledge and skills of Western classical music would provide them with some power which was preserved for the dominant White group in South Africa

Music, particularly the literate Western classical, according to Bourdieu (1984), represented the most radical and absolute form of the negation of the world, which the bourgeois ethos tended to demand of all forms of art. The informal music curriculum that I observed as a child was eclectic. Different music activities took place in the rural community of Wellington, such as Christmas bands, Coon Carnivals, ballroom dance bands, brass bands, Cape Malay music, Church Lads Brigade bands, as well as church and community vocal and choral groups. The music was primarily of an aural and oral nature, and the musicians were self-taught. The musical skills were transferred from generation to generation. For example, my father played the banjo, an instrument generally associated with the 'lowbrow' orate Coon Carnival music of Coloureds. He taught himself and was unable to read music.

My siblings performed crude 'doo-wop' vocal music in *isicathamiya*<sup>27</sup> style that could be described as creole music because of the mixing and borrowing of various music styles, such as jazz, popular music and African music, and the fertilisation of local

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<sup>27</sup> *Isicathamiya* is a type of a cappella which originated in the 1920s and 1930s in Zululand.

genres in such a way that new genres emerged (Martin, 1999; 2006; 2013). The music making of my siblings was self-taught and depended on their natural and crude musicianship and creativity. In most instances, the music making was inspired by the notion that it kept idle Coloureds off the street (Martin, 2006; 2013). The educated middle-class Coloureds stigmatised their music as "boorish, disreputable, and even depraved" (Adhikari, 2005b: 16). Some White people regarded it as mere Coloured entertainment associated with a slave culture (Martin, 1999).

However, those who participated in the Coon Carnivals and Christmas choirs regarded the music activities as avenues for creative music making. It was also a form of socialisation, especially during the Christmas and New Year season when factories and building sites were closed for work. Drunkenness also increased during this idle period. Coloureds did not have access to places of entertainment, such as restaurants and pubs. Coloureds were not to be seen drunk in the street. They were arrested if they were drunk in public. Shebeens<sup>28</sup>, which were regarded as illegal places where liquor smuggling was taking place, were popular and often ran under the pretext of the Coon Carnival clubs. Over weekends men would congregate at the shebeens for drinks. Their drinking often led to violent acts in the community and their families. Hence, some Coloured people, like my mother, regarded the Coon Carnivals as un-Christian because of the drunkenness and barbarity associated with it.

The music making of my father and siblings could also be linked to creoleness. Mixed races, like Coloureds, were regarded as having no culture or identity and ancestral roots, and therefore, unable to form a nation and have full citizenship (Erasmus, 2011). Through their Afro-American vocal style, combined with Zulu *isicathamiya* features, my siblings contested the normative manner in which they were racially classified as Coloured, as well as the normative definition and conceptualisation of racial purity (Erasmus, 2017). Through their music making, they demonstrated that the Coloured people did have a unique culture which was different from the White community.

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<sup>28</sup> In South Africa, shebeens were illegal bottle stores which sold alcohol after hours and weekends when the shops were closed.

Through their creolised music making they rejected the negative and stereotypical conceptualisation of Coloured identity. Their Afro-American singing could be regarded as “cultural creativity under conditions of marginalisation” (Adhikari, 2008: 95) through which they constructed a unique Coloured identity which drew from both the White dominant class and Black African culture. The creolised music genres through the Coon Carnivals, Christmas choirs and dance bands established a unique Coloured culture from which I was dislodged. By borrowing from African and Afro-American music styles and fusing it into Coloured music, they contested a Coloured identity and classification imposed upon them by the apartheid government.

However, insensitivity to Western classical music was regarded as a ‘material coarseness’ (Bourdieu 1984). The ‘boorishness’ and crudeness of the Coon Carnival music, as well the type of music that my father and siblings practised, gave my mother and the formally educated family members reason to encourage me not to be involved in this ‘lowbrow’ music. Instead, I was destined to practise the ‘highbrow’ Western classical music with the understanding that it would provide me access to respectability, and possible Whiteness to which most middle-class Coloured had aspired during apartheid.

My rejection of Coloured music, which was associated with material coarseness, and my aspiration to Western music and Whiteness put me in an ambiguous and ambivalent position. There was the long-held belief among the educated Coloured elite that ‘White achievement’ was linked to the proficiency in art, music and culture (Adhikari, 1993; Pistorius, 2018; Roos, 2014; 2015). Hence, the ability to perform Western classical music served as a passport to Whiteness and the attainment of the privileges associated with it.

My narrative reveals a formal music curriculum that did not equip me with the esoteric and virtuoso skills which were required for the performance of Western classical music. Instead, my formal music curriculum was restricted to sacred choral music, hymns, English and Afrikaans folksongs. My formal curriculum also required the singing of Afrikaner nationalist songs as a form of compliance and the celebration of national festivals which formed part of the indoctrination programme

of the state. The social engineers of apartheid, informed by White supremacy, did not see it necessary that Coloured learners should be exposed to the music curriculum that was reserved for Whites children. Hence, proficiency in Western classical music was not associated with Colouredness, but with Whiteness. Music education was used to maintain White superiority and privilege. Music, especially Western classical music, was regarded as a valuable commodity which reflected the hegemonic nature and unequal power relations of society (Boyce-Tillman, 2014).

My narrative reveals my contestation of the exclusivity of formal the formal music curriculum. In contrast with the rejection of the 'White' curriculum, my story instead reveals an intervention with the curriculum (Wiener, 2017). This intervention of the music curriculum occurred when I was introduced to the noble, 'grandeur' and 'bourgeois instrument par excellence'. It was unusual to have a piano in a Coloured home in the 1960s. The piano belonged in the houses of middle-class White people or the Coloured petite bourgeoisie.

My aunt bought the piano, epitomised by the fact that she could not play it. My aunt was a member of the Teachers' League of South Africa, a progressive teachers' organisation which represented the interests of the emerging Coloured elite since 1913 (Adhikari, 1993). The piano, as a symbol of cultural nobility, could be construed as my aunt's contestation of the enforced racial and class structure at that time. The piano disrupted the essentialist notion of Colouredness and its association with the banjo, Coon Carnival music and doo-wop singing style. It symbolised Whiteness and Western civilisation. The Eurocentric history of the piano and its association with virtuosity, nobility and elegance, elevated my aunt, and later me, above the ordinary Coloureds, even if she could not play the instrument. The piano affirmed her middle-class status and her contestation of apartheid.

My aunt's reaction to apartheid, through her membership of the Teachers' League of South Africa, and buying a piano, resonates with Adhikari's (1993) analysis of the educated Coloureds during apartheid. According to him, the Teachers' League of South Africa regarded the acquisition of the artistic skills and knowledge of literature and music as paramount to be accepted into Whiteness (Adhikari. 1993; 2005b). The League and the group of petty bourgeoisie Coloureds had a firm belief that the

demonstration of the intricacies and virtuosity of music would serve to integrate a small group of artists and arts-loving Coloureds into the White aristocracy. The assumption among White supremacists was that inferior races were not able to execute these artistic procedures (Adhikari, 1993). Hence, those Coloureds who proved themselves to possess the knowledge of Western art forms stood a better chance to be integrated into the dominant White group.

A second intervention was the start of my piano lessons with Mr April, and later Mr Balie, who introduced me to Western classical music genres. I was initiated into the literacy of Western classical music and its assessment agencies, such as the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music. This was in stark contrast to my father's aural music making. Western classical music did not form part of the lifestyle of the Coloured individual. It was generally associated with the upper class and Whiteness. This further compounded to my difference and otherness within my community. The celebration of my music achievement was confined to my family and a small group of Coloured people who showed some appreciation for classical music. Their appreciation was also based on the fact that I was 'making it' out of Colouredness.

My difference was observed by the school music inspector, Mr Frank Pietersen, who visited the school when I was in primary school. After listening to me playing the piano, he said, "This boy will get far in life". In other words, according to him, I stood a good chance to rise above Colouredness. The music inspector identified me as one of the Coloureds who might successfully integrate into the dominant White group through music. Both him and I were unaware at that stage that he would come years later to the same school to request me to teach at a secondary school where my musical knowledge and skills were desperately needed due to a shortage of specialist music teachers. His vision was realised when I occupied the position of a subject adviser (formerly inspector) twenty-four years later.

My narrative reveals that my first piano lessons were encouraged by the educated female members of my extended family. They included my mother, her sisters and the educated individuals in my family. My music making also contributed to my parents' partial transcendence of apartheid and their shortcomings as Coloureds. In

a significant way, my father, who was oppressed by apartheid, which contributed towards his illiteracy, valued my music literacy even more than the other family members. The knowledge and skills of the literate Western music that I acquired was somehow a restoration of his dignity. For example, it was a proud moment for him to see me performing in the Cape Town City Hall.

My mother found her spiritual and religious expression in the Anglican Church, which was controlled by the Church of England. Ackah (2017) postulates that African communities are inherently spiritual, no matter where they may find themselves. Like most people from Africa, my mother was a person of the spirit and infused with the belief that stretched beyond secular rationality (Ackah, 2017). Although she did not reach a high level of education, the class-conscious church accepted her, based on her heritage. The church also accepted her based on her father's prominent role in the school, church and sports.

Social status played an important role in the Anglican Church, which was widely regarded as a non-racial religious institution. The church generally looked past skin colour, and acceptance of individuals was often based on family lineage. The baptism register at the Anglican Church did not specify my race but classified me as being part of the working-class. This could be ascribed to the Anglican Church's covert opposition to the segregationist policies of the country. However, the church retained its links with the hierarchical class categorisation of the Anglo-Saxon society with its reference to my parents being part of the working-class.

The prominent role that my mother played in the church, by being sacristan, member of the church council and the multi-racial Anglican Women's Fellowship, afforded her a higher social status and respect in the Coloured community, even though she was a domestic servant in the houses of White families. When I started to play the organ in church at the age of twelve, my organ playing went beyond music. It became moments of contestation of apartheid for my mother because I demonstrated the skills that a few Coloureds could perform.

My acculturation into Western classical music was further consolidated when I became a student at the prestigious South African College of music (SACM) at UCT

in 1973. As a professed liberal university which opposed apartheid, UCT admitted non-White students to identify courses which were not offered at the "bush colleges". The SACM, through its meritocratic system, valorised the experiences of those students who were exposed to White privilege through better schools that offered specialist music lessons. Hence, Coloured students were generally perceived as academically incompetent, based on the inadequate music education that they had received at Coloured secondary schools.

The SACM, through the notion of the "legitimacy gap" (Wiener, 2017:115) and academic incompetence, identified me to receive individual attention and care through introductory modules, combined with patronisation and Catholicism. Based on our academic incompetence, most of the Coloured students were placed in the elementary and bridging classes. The fact that I was assigned to a Catholic nun teaching part-time at the SACM was an indication that my knowledge and skills in music had a legitimate gap and backwardness.

The SACM taught me to be resilient and focused, barring the fact that I could not live on campus, because the residences were reserved for White students. In the second year of my study, I contested the legitimacy gap and requested that I be assigned to a full-time piano teacher. I also built more confidence and was able to win a bursary awarded by the now-defunct Peninsula Eisteddfod, a cultural organisation which organised cultural competitions for Coloured schools and communities in Cape Town in the 1970s. I obtained a degree in music and a post-graduate diploma in education within the prescribed four-year period of study. This was an exceptional achievement as I had seen many Coloured students not succeeding and had to leave the college.

Western classical music could be described as a cultural project. I did not only do music because I had an inherent love for music but I also I acquired a taste for classical music and consumed it for my upward social mobility (Nuccio, Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018; Peterson & Kern, 1996; Tampubolon, 2016; Van Eijck, 2001). My music education through the British music examination system, the music conservatoire, as well as the Anglican Church, made it easier for me to be integrated into the dominant White and Western culture under apartheid and later post-

apartheid. Western classical music positioned me into what Bourdieu (1990) refers to as *habitus*. He explains the sociological concept of habitus as follows:

The habitus is not only a structuring structure, which organizes practices and the perception of practices but also a structured structure: the principle of division into logical classes which organizes the perception of the social world is itself the product of internalization of the division into social classes (Bourdieu, 1984: 170).

My cultural capital project was also a knowledge construction project. Through acculturation, I obtained an alternative form of power as a marginalised person within the racialised and class context of South Africa. Knowledge is not neutrally constructed and has a relationship with power (Hall, 2001a; Foucault, 1977). Hence, the interplay between knowledge and power is intentional, direct, repressive and brutal (Hall, 2001a; 2001b). Global knowledge, such as Eurocentric classical music, and the legitimacy given to it above any other form of music, is a deliberate unequal power creation. Hence, my accumulation of universal music knowledge was a disruption of the brutality of inequity. By obtaining the universal knowledge of classical music, I contested, through intervention, the notion of White superiority and the unearned privileges associated with it (Steyn, 2001).

Critical pedagogues view acculturation as a rejection of one's own culture (Abrahams, 2007). However, my intervention with the music curriculum contested this notion. Instead of rejecting Western classical music, I was willing to collude with it for my transformation and emancipation, not only during apartheid but also after the dismantling of apartheid in 1994. My acculturation into Western classical music enabled me to be integrated more smoothly into the non-racial and multi-cultural post-apartheid South Africa. Music education, though Eurocentric in nature, empowered me professionally, socially, materially, spiritually and psychologically. This, in turn, equipped me to empower other marginalised teachers and learners as a teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist.

My acculturation into cultural nobility was not only an objection to Bourdieu's theorisation of being acculturated through birth and background but also a contestation of the racialised and classed exclusivity of classical music. My

enculturation in music nobility required a contested as well as a collaborated engagement with the music curriculum which did not entail an objection, but rather a contentious engagement with what was regarded as a Eurocentric and exclusive curriculum. My music studies were not only a culmination of my acculturation into Western aesthetics but also intentional and wilful tailoring of myself to fit into the so-called educated middle-classness. My acculturation into the nobility of Western classical music also contributed to my upward mobility into the middle class of the Coloured population. I discuss my upward social mobility into the Coloured upper-middle-class in this chapter.

Teaching at politically unstable secondary schools during the 1980s made me conscious of my Coloured identity through the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), which started in the mid-1970s. The instability at the schools where I taught contributed to my tension as I had to make sense of my Coloured identity and ideas of non-racialism. I was faced with the overt racism promoted by the state, but I also had to make sense of the “internalised racism” (hooks, 1994: 202) and the way Coloureds have internalised their own oppression (hooks, 2009). Coloureds tended to treat white-skinned Coloureds better than those with darker skins. In this manner, they were promoting White superiority, even though they were oppressed based on them not being white enough within the racial hierarchy.

The emergence of the Coloured rejectionist movement in the 1980s created a schism between those who accepted and those who eschewed it (Adhikari, 2005b). Vollenhoven (2016) in her book *The Keeper of the Kumm*, expresses her own emotions about her Coloured birth and identity as follows:

With a birth certificate that says simply ‘mixed’, I have grown up in the damaging reality of being ‘coloured’. A nowhere South African. A people who don’t matter because they are not really a people. Nations have land and language. South Africa has taken hybridity to a level of cruelty that erases people from the national discourse (Vollenhoven, 2016: 242)

Colouredness as an ontology is “somewhere between the undeserving and supposedly backward bottom social layer who were tribal subjects, and the deserving tutored top, its full citizen.” (Vollenhoven, 2016: 6). Colouredness meant

that I was not positioned in either of the hegemonic binary of Whiteness and Blackness within the social ordering of apartheid. The BCM which critiqued and dismantled the colour caste hierarchies never really won ground among Coloureds. The ideology was mostly centred in the educated Coloured population. In the BCM of the 1970s and 1980s, I encountered tension because I was subscribing to Whiteness through music.

My acculturation into Western classical music was perceived as a rejection of Blackness as well as an objection to my Coloured identity and its associated music practices. I was not Black enough through the music that I was practising. My racial identity was disrupted at birth and became ambiguous due to my mixed- race identity. Firstly, I did not belong to an African tribe, which meant that I could not be described as Black or Native in the South African population register. I was classified as Coloured or Mixed.

Vollenhoven (2016: 241) articulates her contention with Black Consciousness (BC) when she says:

BC, is deeply embedded in me as an adult but at the back of my mind there is always a question, a deep discomfort. Something I silence out of the need to belong, the need to identify with a fight for justice. But the nagging is always there. My friends are Xhosa and black, Nama and black, Venda and black. A richness of identity that speaks to their history. I am just black. BC has rescued me from colouredness but does not contain the potential for an identity linked to my history.

My physical Blackness was as precarious as my Colouredness (see Cook, 2017). My Black appearance made me different from the normative Colouredness which motivated racists to humanise or dehumanise me in dialogue through racist aggressions directed to me, either overtly or covertly. My Blackness was associated with *Matebele* porridge together with other disparaging names to depreciate my humanity and make me a second-class citizen.

The negativity about Colouredness was further entrenched through the basic education that I had received. My basic education at primary and secondary school emphasised Whiteness as superior through the curricular activities by reading,

singing and creating stories, songs and hymns about the beauty of and privileges of Whiteness. Blackness and Colouredness were silenced as if they were distant humanities. My autoethnography is silent about my ancestral Blackness. On my mother's side, there were features of Blackness because my grandfather had a Black African surname, Segole. He could probably speak Tswana, one of the South African indigenous languages. These characteristics were intentionally not spoken among the family, and I thus found it difficult to engage with it in this study.

Within the South African racial hierarchy, it was better to be Coloured than Black. This was especially so in the Western Cape due to the Coloured Preference Policy, which secured the Coloured population more respectability and job security above the Black group (Du Pré, 1994). Being born Black or dark-skinned made me different from other Coloureds in a society where internal racism was even worse than the racism, which was legalised by the apartheid government. My physical appearance was a management and negotiation mechanism which some racist White and Coloured people used in their interaction and dialogue with me.

My narrative reveals how I had to deal with the complexity of Colouredness. The new non-racial democracy demanded the inclusion of Black Africans into the broad-based social, cultural and economic non-racial society. Democratic South Africa allowed for free association and opportunities for ethnic mobility that was inconceivable during apartheid (Adhikari, 2005b). It also required that I had to compete on all levels with the Black population who had been left on the periphery during apartheid. With the collapse of apartheid, the Coloured population found it difficult to accept citizenship within the so-called Rainbow Nation, because in a society which had a long history of predominantly White and Black binary, Coloured, as an identity became idiosyncratically liminal (Farred, 2001). Within the White-Black binary we were now not only 'not good enough to be White', but also 'not good enough to be Black'.

I had lost my intermediary and preferred status, based on my racial classification. I came to believe that Black people indeed possessed the cultural capital to qualify for civility. They were indeed highly cultured through their knowledge of both the literate Western classical music and orate indigenous African music as displayed in

the rich choral tradition in their schools and communities. They left me with a feeling of being without culture and class.

My narrative also reveals my protection from the lower class Coloureds and the Black population. Through apartheid policies and spatial planning, I was physically separated from the lower class and the Black community who lived outside the borders of the town. I moved from a municipal house in the sub-economic area of Wellington to a more upmarket part of the town where I was surrounded by teachers, artisans and business people who owned property. When I was a student at UCT, I stayed in the dilapidated District Six and later relocated to a suburb in Cape Town where the upper-middle-class Coloured families lived. The separation of classes played into the hands of the apartheid regime who wanted to neutralise the BCM. Hence, the BCM did not win ground among educated middle-class Coloureds like myself. Neither did it succeed to attract the lower class and unskilled Coloureds who regarded the Black population as a threat in their search for employment.

The Black Africans lived in an informal settlement on the periphery of the town where I grew up. My father worked in the canning and dried fruit factories and often brought some of his Black colleagues to our house. Their presence at our house was watched with suspicion by our neighbours. I was also taken back to my student years when I worked as a casual labourer in a cotton factory in Wellington during the university vacations between 1973 and 1975. I was shocked to hear the derogatory names, such as *kaffir*, that the Coloured workers called other Black workers. The Coloured workers who were in the majority in the factory were mostly unskilled.

During the university vacations, I worked with a Black labourer, Madala, who would just shake his head when he heard the Coloureds calling him racist names, or he pretended that he did not hear them. Although I worked closely with him, I never knew his real name or enquired about his family, his wife and children. He was just another Black individual to me. It always puzzled me that he had to carry a passbook on him, although he was an adult and born in South Africa. Although I was also physically black, I was not subjected to such humiliation based on the fact that I was classified Coloured.

As a Coloured child, I was made to believe that Black people were uncivilised, uncultured and uneducated. I was indoctrinated through literature, songs, stories and the school history textbooks that Whiteness was associated with material wealth, prosperity, culture and civilisation. The literature taught me that Black Africans were evil and violent and prone to practise witchcraft. I only saw Black people doing menial work, such as garbage collection and hard labour on the streets of the town. Through this indoctrination, I became ignorant of race (Steyn, 2012). In my narrative, my racial ignorance comes through strongly as I was fighting my childhood demons when I had to deal with Black people. BCM did not appeal to the majority of Coloureds because they were fighting their social demons and their negative perception of Blackness.

Due to my racial ignorance, I was unaware of the aspirations of the Black population. I became conscious of the undignified way in which Black people were treated by the apartheid government when I, as a senior subject advisor, launched the Tirisano Schools Choral Eisteddfod (now the South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod) in 2001. The South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod (SASCE), the flagship choral competition of the national Department of Basic Education was meant to draw all school choirs together through choral music. The objective of the Eisteddfod was to build social cohesion through music. The project was based on research findings that showed that music could have a positive impact on the fostering of a sense of well-being, social inclusion and improvement on learner performance (Crawford, 2017). The Eisteddfod, it was argued, would serve to celebrate diversity through music. However, it remained an event that was generally popularised by Black schools

The selection of the songs did not appeal to the Afrikaans-speaking White schools because the repertoire was mostly in English and African languages. There was also a concern about the safety of learners. The Eisteddfod differed from the ordinary festivals. It was a full day event with dancing by both the participating choirs and members of the audience. At times the proceedings were noisy and rowdy as the audience members broke out in song as they encouraged their favourite choirs. Coloured and White learners and teachers found this vibrancy strange and chaotic.

White and Coloured schools also regarded the exposure of White learners to a large crowd of Black learners and singing in Black townships as unsafe I failed to convince these schools to participate. Hence, the Eisteddfod remained a Black entity. I failed to fulfil my mandate to build unity through song.

My racial ignorance and physical isolation from Black people made me unaware of the existence of a class structure among Black people. However, Nyquist (1983) confirms that a Black African middle-class elite existed during apartheid. Like middle-class Coloureds, they had a European style of living concerning clothing, music, liquor, education and housing. Their middle-class status was also established through education, occupation, monetary remuneration and their organisational leadership (Nyquist, 1983). In my interaction with Black people, I became conscious of their knowledge of their culture and music but also of their ability to perform Western classical music.

My narrative depicts a contestation of the normativity of a Coloured identity and the music curriculum associated with that identity. I contested the Coon Carnival culture, which was associated with my father and siblings and regarded Western classical music as a vehicle out of oppression. Most of all, I regarded the acquisition of cultural capital, which was commonly associated with Whiteness, as a vehicle for my integration into Whiteness. In my narrative, my appointment in this senior disrupted the notion of race and class, and, power. It was especially race and power that posed challenges to me, which I will discuss in the next section.

### **6.3 Contestation and collaboration with the formal curriculum**

My contestation with the music curriculum is revealed in the actions of my first piano teachers who collaborated with the Eurocentric curriculum. Through their collaboration with the Eurocentric curriculum and examinations, I was introduced to a music curriculum which promoted the literate Western classical music tradition. My literate curriculum of Western classical music was in opposition to the informal curriculum of my father and siblings, and the Coloured community, which generally emphasised the orate music tradition.

My contestation of the music curriculum continued when I was invited for an audition by the South African College of Music (SACM) of UCT. My audition to be admitted to UCT could also be regarded as a form of deliberation with the university authorities. Deliberation as a form of contestation meant that I had to contend with the idea that I had to apply for government permission, but I had a strong motivation and justification for enrolling for a music degree. A music qualification would benefit not only me but also my marginalised community. I had to collaborate with the SACM by doing a bridging course to overcome my perceived academic incompetence. I was initiated into the academe through individual attention, old-fashioned teaching styles and patronisation, which compelled me to request a change of lecturer.

I needed the university to obtain a music qualification. I did not participate in the extra-curricular activities offered by the institution because I did not stay on campus due to the Group Areas Act. My non-participation in extra-curricular activities and not posing for some of the college photographs could also be construed as contestation from my side. I had to collaborate with the system because I had a love for music and would acquire the knowledge and skills that were needed for a teaching career.

My contestation went further in that I could my actions within the curriculum based on what I deemed to be solid arguments. In the first instance, my actions had the objective to empower myself professionally through music education. It contributed to my liberation. It was as if I were shaking off the yoke of apartheid. Secondly, my empowerment contributed to the liberation of others as I performed my duties as a teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist. My contestation of the curriculum was on another level when I entered my professional career as a teacher. Although there were undercurrents of political contestation and outright rejection of unequal education, I, like most Coloured teachers, generally tolerated the circumstances of overcrowded classes, and limited resources while I was teaching at a primary school in the late 1970s. Hostility and rejection of the education system and racialisation emerged more openly when I started teaching at the secondary school. My teaching career at the secondary school was deeply affected by the socio-political unrest and education instability along with state and student violence during the 1980s.

I found myself in a complex political and social context which portrayed a period of contradictions and hostility coupled with contestations and rejection of apartheid. I was confronted with the notion of liberation before education. Although the school boycotts were politically motivated, there was also an overt contestation of the curriculum and European knowledge generation. Students and teachers openly contested the unequal power relations based on race through non-compliance and civil disobedience. The school boycotts, worker strikes and consumer boycotts of the 1980s were expressions of dissatisfaction against the unfavourable, “unethical and egregious acts” (Hahn & Albert, 2017: 509) of the South African government. The motive of the school boycotts was that the sacrifice of education would benefit the students as well as the broader society. The prospective advantages were the liberation of the oppressed in conjunction with the loss of education. In contrast to the notion that education was the vehicle to freedom and personal emancipation, the message of liberation before freedom came through much stronger during the ensuing years of political, social, economic and educational struggle.

Students many a time walked out of classrooms and seized control of their schooling by replacing teacher authority with democratic control and a counter-curriculum. What was significant was that the students were not boycotting schooling *per se* but suspending Coloured Education (Molteno, 1987). Hence, they would come to school and engage in an alternative curriculum, which they called an ‘awareness programme’. Their alternative curriculum focused on the rejection of ‘gutter education’ and Coloured Education and relocating their schooling in relation to a future as exploited workers and part of the Black oppressed (Molteno, 1987). The students contradicted the notion that education was the vehicle to Whiteness and Western civilisation. To them, the ‘gutter education’, in their case Coloured Education, was merely a preparation for servitude and ‘cheap labour’.

There was general panic among the Coloured community that the school boycotts would derail the assimilationist mission of most of the educated and middle-class people. This was compounded by the dominant theme in the discourse of the lack of skills training among especially Black learners, as identified by the De Lange Commission of Inquiry on education and training as part of the renegotiation of the

racial component of the state ideology in education (Chisholm, 1983). The commission paid attention to the education and training of the Black working class.

In all of this, I was again in an ambiguous and ambivalent position by either rejecting or condoning the actions of students. As a committed teacher, the ideology of 'liberation before education' was concerning to me. There was a general fear among us as educational leaders that the school boycotts would contribute to the already high dropout rate of Black and Coloured secondary school learners. We were particularly concerned about the idleness of the learners and the consequential evils of society, such as alcohol and drug abuse, crime, teenage pregnancy and unemployment. It was mainly the increasing unemployment rate among Blacks that was a severe concern to educational leaders. With a struggling South African economy at the time, the unemployment rate of Blacks escalated from 11.8% in 1970 to almost 21% in 1981 (Chisholm, 1983).

Although there was a return to school in 1987, education in South Africa never regained its stability until 1994. Attending school was "no longer a routine, accepted matter in many areas" (Hartshorne, 1988: 15). With the transfer of power to the students, school going became a matter that students themselves could negotiate. This disrupted the notion that education was the vehicle to freedom from oppression and the ultimate integration of the Coloured community into the dominant White group.

Education lost its power as a liberation tool for the Coloured population. Disrupted and abnormal schooling became the norm. I had also lost my authority and often my dignity during the school boycotts as I had to deal with the militancy of students. I was in an ambiguous situation where I could not overtly contest the curriculum because I was employed by the oppressor. Through my silence, I was, in fact, promoting the hidden curriculum and condoning inequality (Marsh, 2013; Milner, 2010b).

My appointment as a subject adviser for music could be regarded as a critical moment in my professional and personal life when I moved out of the confined space of my classroom environment to the extended curriculum space of other teachers. I

was going to experience the curriculum as it was enacted by other teachers in various contexts of Coloured education. My role as an educator changed from that of the implementer of the curriculum to of enforcing it, and my role as adviser was often viewed about power.

My appointment in the structures of the own affairs government was construed as a collaboration with the apartheid government and an endorsement of the separatist ideology. Compliance with the state also served as an endorsement of the “artificial categorisation” (Adhikari, 2005b: 6) of Coloured. However, it could also be interpreted as a form of contested collaboration which I could justify. I based my justification on my love for music and education. I could also justify my decision was based on my professional growth and promotion. I was skilled and had the experience of teaching music at the primary and secondary school level. My appointment would, so I hoped, contribute to the extension of the subject to more Coloured schools.

Some teachers and their unions saw Coloured subject advisers as a replacement of the former White school inspectors who policed curriculum implementation, sometimes with bullying tactics. Subject advisers were also seen to be contributing to the de-professionalisation of teachers. Apart from seeing me as a subject specialist, teachers also tended to regard me as an agent of the state who possessed bureaucratic power. I was often labelled as the other. Hence, I experienced covert objection and often an outright rejection of the music curriculum which I represented and oversaw.

Coloured teachers often found it difficult to “take orders” from their own racial group. Coloured subject advisers were consequently often treated differently and with less respect than their White colleagues. As a result, I had to exert myself more than my White colleagues to convince teachers of my subject knowledge. There was also the overt and sincere acceptance of my authority when I had convinced teachers of my subject knowledge and my professional behaviour towards them. I perceived myself as an enabler of the music curriculum, which was enforced within the context of unequal education. Inequality was articulated through the types of buildings, resources, teacher training, overcrowded classrooms, and the disparity in music

education provisioning between Coloured and White schools. Also, the climate of political hostility and instability of Coloured education that prevailed during the 1980s and 1990s left me with a seemingly insurmountable task to convince teachers of my good intentions. I experienced resistance to the system as well as the music curriculum as I had to 'advise' teachers who hardly had any training in music.

The year 1997 also marks the rationalisation of almost five hundred music posts at schools in the WECD. Many music teachers lost their posts at former White and Coloured schools. One of the reasons for scrapping the special music posts at schools was the unequal distribution of resources among formerly racially classified schools. Schools had few options to retain their special music posts, and many schools preferred to privatise music education. However, this could only happen where parents could afford private lessons. Hence, music education in most schools in poor Coloured areas was abolished under my watch. The reality was that in this process I was, despite my position as senior curriculum planner, powerless and in front of my eyes, the music education landscape was transformed radically and ostensibly to create a more just society.

The rationalisation of music posts in former White and Coloured schools often placed me at the centre of fear, anger and disappointment of music teachers as I was seen as the public face of music education at the WECD. The rationalisation of music posts was compounded by the fear of the eminent curriculum transformation that was required after the dismantling of apartheid. Curriculum transformation disrupted the privileged position in which White music teachers, and to a lesser extent, Coloured teachers, had found themselves during apartheid. Curriculum designers questioned the powerful presence of Western classical music within the curriculum, and there was a call, along with the abolishment of positions, for the indigenisation of the music curriculum. Hence, music teachers were anxious that they would be incapable of teaching a curriculum that would require knowledge and skills for which they, like me, were not prepared.

White anxiousness could be interpreted as being "race-based stress" (DiAngelo, 2011: 54) because curriculum transformation was affecting their privileged position. Based on the principle of interest convergence, Whites were critical of the music

curriculum because it was a threat to their isolation from other races. It was threatening to privileges and needs of Whites through the principles of inclusivity, human rights and equality. However, the real transformation could only be achieved if there was equality between all races (Baffoe, Asimeng-Boahene & Ogbuangu, 2014).

I had to coordinate the so-called elitist subject, music, that White Afrikaners previously controlled. In the South African racial hierarchy, Coloureds occupied an intermediary position between the dominant White groups and the Black majority (Adhikari, 2005b; Lewis, 1987). The new democratic dispensation had brought new possibilities for ethnic mobilisation that was inconceivable during White rule. There was also the expectation that authority would either remain with the dominant White group or would be transferred to the majority Black population. My appointment could also be interpreted as a disruption of the normative. It could also be construed that I was fully integrated into Whiteness through the appointment in this senior position.

Both Coloureds and Whites cautiously welcomed my appointment. The White lady had the courage to congratulate me, but also to assure me of her support and prayers for the challenges that I would face in my new job. Some Coloureds and Whites also regarded me as an affirmative action appointment based on colour-blindness and meritocracy. I had to face and deal with the fears of Whites and Coloureds who seemed to feel powerless in the new dispensation.

There was the perception that the Black-dominated ANC government had taken away privileges from the Whites and Coloureds. Soon after my appointment as a principal subject adviser in the Western Cape, I had to deal with the rationalisation of music posts that were mostly located in White and Coloured schools. I was confronted with the anxiety of White and Coloured teachers who were about to lose their jobs or would be reskilled to teach other subjects than music. Most of them were only trained as music teachers.

I had to break through the walls of White education built on a solid historical foundation supported by apartheid. The inviting Baroque music and oil paintings

spoke of White culture, Westernisation and sophistication to which I was not used. The staring faces of past leaders hanging from the walls let me feel as if I was intruding the long institutional history of the schools. I was confronted by English aloofness, which reminded me of my student days at UCT, where I often felt like an outsider in the White middle-class environment. I had to act like a White man in a White environment. It could also be said that the White teachers found my refinement and knowledge of Western classical unusual. I often felt like the creole and British musician, Coleridge-Taylor, whose black skin coexisted with his English identity and Western classical music. Although he was Black on the outside, he was able to reconstruct his identity employing Western classical music (Cook, 2017).

My narrative depicts me as a middle-class Coloured, who had studied at a former White university and carried the “normative baggage” (Wiener, 2017: 113) of Coloured and White education. In many ways, I shared the fears of White and Coloured music teachers because just like them, I was only educated to understand and teach Western classical music. I was also educated to regard Western classical music to contain legitimate knowledge for musicianship. Within the English and White supremacist environment to which I was accustomed I found it easier to integrate with the Afrikaner students, as it was the case at UCT, and later as a subject adviser working in former White schools. This was the case because both the perceived *minderwaardige* (inferior) Afrikaner and I were carrying the dormant contestation of the norm of language which separated us from the English-speaking students.

Through border crossing, I encountered White supremacy through institutional racism coupled with White privilege, meritocracy, and insensitivity to racism often articulated through guilt, fear, anger, denial and a defensive disposition (Jason & Epplen, 2016). Institutional racism took place through processes and attitudes that communicated “unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtfulness, and racist stereotyping” (Garner, 2010: 102) that often directed to me. Denying specific ethnic groups access to quality music education and their indigenous knowledge systems could be regarded as institutional racism. Institutional racism is usually supported through meritocracy and colour-blindness and resistance to affirmative action and transformation. Hence, my presence both at UCT and later in former White and

Black schools was regarded with suspicion unless I could prove that I could speak their language or had knowledge of their culture as expressed through either Western classical music or indigenous African music.

My narrative reveals my reconciliatory approach to White and Coloured fear and anger. I could relate to them and build a trust relationship because we shared the Afrikaans and Western culture. My visit to a White principal in the northern suburbs of Cape Town, where the majority of people spoke Afrikaans bears testimony of the sharing of culture among Whites and Coloureds. The principal was delighted and relieved when he discovered that I could speak Afrikaans, although I was black in appearance. He had to share the discovery, and his relieve with his staff by introducing me to them and specifically mentioned that I could speak Afrikaans. It could be construed that he felt safe with me, and less threatened in the new Black-dominated political dispensation.

The White principal of Vredendal in the West Coast and I shared the language of Afrikaans which was regarded as the language of the White oppressor. Afrikaans sparked off the Soweto Uprising in June 1976 when the hate for the apartheid state turned into hate for Afrikaans (Vollenhoven, 2016). It was ironic, and also inconceivable that I had the command of the language of the oppressor and the Afrikaner was speaking English. My ability to speak Afrikaans disrupted and undermined the notion of Blackness in the South African context. I was not only able to speak the principal's language, but I could also relate to his desires and aspirations for music education in his Afrikaans and White community as the school was struggling to retain the music posts with the rationalisation process. He shared with me his concern that the music curriculum did not address the Afrikaner culture and the needs of his learners in the rural context. My ability to speak Afrikaans and to share our views about Afrikaner culture carved a lasting friendship between the principal and me.

My narrative shows evidence that I had done sufficiently well enough to be assimilated into the dominant White group. My knowledge of Western classical music, as well as the curriculum, made me be viewed as an extraordinary Coloured and contributed towards a partial acceptance into Whiteness. I was acculturated into

the Western and White culture, aesthetics and values through education and classical music. However, physiognomy is still significantly linked to knowledge, culture and power, making Whites the bearers of legitimate knowledge and power. If you are not White, you are intentionally and unintentionally ignored, disrespected and perceived to be corrupt and suspicious. For example, my narrative reveals the undercurrents of racism and suspicion when a White principal enquired when I was appointed because he was curious whether I was an affirmative action subject adviser. As a subject adviser at the White school, I was undermining and invalidating the assumption of that power and authority should be in White hands. My black appearance left the principal with suspicion and doubt. I was not White enough to be fully integrated into his Whiteness. The majority of principals, although I was a senior official of the education department, ignored me and tended to be busy in order not to meet me and deal with their suspicion and doubt.

My right to bear the knowledge of classical music was disputed. When I attended a meeting where most of the delegates were White, the chairperson who was also White ignored me and preferred to consult with my White colleague whom I then regarded as my junior. It could be interpreted that he had more respect for her, based on the colour of her skin or she had more clout because it was presumed that she was the knowledge-bearing subject. It could also be interpreted as individual racism which is not only about racial prejudice, but that a logical reaction to prejudice which leads to the exclusion of inferior groups by the superior group (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). In all of this, I sometimes experienced a sense of isolation and disrespect based on race.

I was oblivious about the general educational needs and the specific music education of Black people. The music curriculum, through SASCE, exposed me to the real problems and the disempowerment which the Black population experienced during apartheid and after the collapse of apartheid. Before 1994, Black schools have been at the margins of formal music education, especially in secondary schools. Hence, music as a subject was non-existent in former Black secondary schools. Despite their marginalisation in music education, Black schools had a robust extra-curricular choral tradition on which I could build my relationship with them. As such, my SASCE involvement exposed me to the undiscovered richness

of African culture, which ranged from the operatic and choral tradition of the Western world to the symbolic nature of indigenous African music.

Through SASCE, I had to cross the racial walls and inhabit the Black spaces from which I was legally debarred during apartheid. As Wiener (2017) explains, border crossing causes tension and conflict as one carries the “normative baggage” (Wiener, 2017: 113) into unknown racial spaces. Although the new South Africa held the prospects of diverse and inter-cultural norms, individuals found it difficult to shed the baggage of separatist ideologies into which I was cultivated. As a result, my border crossing caused conflict and tension and led to my confusion about my Coloured identity, which seemed to have become a stumbling block with my interactions with Black people.

What especially made me stumble was to understand their lack of patience for change. There was the feeling that the government, including me, was not doing things quickly enough. I also stumbled because I took some things for granted as if Black people should react in the same manner as Coloureds and Whites. Hence, a teacher once said that I would not have treated him in a particular manner if he was not Black. He accused me of racism. This resonates with Adhikari’s analysis of Colouredness, which was clouded by fragmentation, confusion and uncertainty after 1994 (Adhikari, 2005b).

In some way, my music education made my border crossing smoother because the Black teachers and I could share the aesthetics of classical music. Consequently, Black teachers tended to regard me as the one who would realise their aspirations for music. They had been on the periphery of music education during and after apartheid and had received little support from the government to develop the subject. I discovered that choral music was a significant aspect of music education in Black schools. Music education, through choral music, was passionately supported by the communities in which these schools were located.

However, the choral competition was heavily politicised by the conductors and teachers and often driven by the teacher unions and conductors. When I introduced the SASCE to schools in the Western Cape, I discovered that the choir conductors

had significant control over school choral music. They decided how it should be funded, organised and coordinated. Hence, my presence as a WECD official was questioned and treated with suspicion. There were fears that I would take control of choral music away from the conductors and teachers. This was often coupled with the undercurrents of racism and undermining of my authority. My Coloured racial and cultural heritage precluded me from having sufficient knowledge of indigenous music. I was regarded as being an outsider in the Black dominated cultural event. I was sometimes regarded as not being Black enough to control the predominantly Black popularised choral event, leading to me being accused of racism. In summary, the Eisteddfod laid bare my ignorance of race and the deep suspicions of the people I had to serve.

My racial ignorance was entrenched through the repertoire of songs and hymns about White supremacy associated with its values and achievements. I sang about “all things bright and beautiful” which gave the image of Whiteness and purity. The music education that I had received at school and university had created blank spaces and omissions by ignoring the contributions that the Coloured people had made. These blank spots were created through an epistemology of ignorance (Steyn, 2012). The normative of separateness restricted my knowledge of Black people and their cultures. This was shown-up post-1994 when I had to work in an ‘unprotected’ non-racial space. I was exposed to the reality of race when I had to work with Whites and Blacks from whom I had of been spatially separated. Through racial ignorance, I was not aware that Black people had the same needs that I had.

My narrative displays a contestation of conforming to the normative of ignorance. In the racial reality of the time, I generally experienced White people in powerful positions in society. Whites, commonly males, controlled the public sector, such as the police, post office, railways, municipality and other public spaces. The school inspectors were mostly White Afrikaners whom we suspected were not good enough to be appointed in senior positions in the White Department of Education. Even the priest in the supposedly racially mixed Anglican Church which I attended was White. It was the norm that Whites should be in control of the essential things of society. Black people were regarded as being unable to take political control of the country. This perceived notion was carried forward when Coloureds voted in favour of the

previous racist National Party to win the provincial elections in the Western Cape in the first democratic elections in 1994. This pointed to the internalisation of the idea that Whites should be in a position of authority and have the skills to govern. There is the perception that Black people are useless and corrupted and that Coloureds suffer from a mentality of slavery.

My autoethnography is also a contestation of the normative of power and control associated with Whiteness. I contested Whiteness by entering the powerful curriculum space of UCT, which exposed me to the educational privileges that White people enjoyed. I adopted the Western culture and aesthetics whereby I grew culturally nearer to Whiteness in terms of education, language, music, food, clothing and even religion which, in a way could be interpreted as taking away some of the power from them. In short, I 'had arrived', despite the realities of apartheid. The conformity to the norm was disrupted by the music education that I had received, ironically enough under the apartheid system. My music education ensured that I was empowered to enable me to occupy a senior position in the curriculum management process for Coloureds, a position that was generally occupied by Whites. The irony being again that I was being rewarded for a position that would have been given to a White individual.

My position as Principal Subject Adviser also allowed me to move past the "walls of whiteness" (Jason & Epplen, 2016: 584). In my work, I was confronted by the sophistication of White education, contrary to what Coloured and Black schools had. I was also met with the fears and anger of White music teachers who were reluctant to relinquish their position of privilege and power and accept education transformation. As a subject adviser, I experienced White supremacy as I entered the sophisticated White education space, which I could not enter during apartheid.

Apart from representing a Black-dominated government, I was also physically Black. I did not represent the ordinary to what White people were used. I was regarded as an *indringer* (intruder) in their privileged space. My Blackness devalued my authority. I was confronted by meritocracy, but also colour consciousness. I had to collaborate with White teachers through a give and take strategy. My ability to speak Afrikaans gave them with whom I shared this language a sense of trust in me.

However, the same could not necessarily be said of former White English schools which portrayed the aloofness and considerable suspicion.

In my position as a subject adviser, my mode of contestation of the curriculum had to change because I had to shake off the normative baggage that I had accumulated as a student and teacher. The border crossing into a new profession also meant that I adopted an ambiguous identity by colluding with the discourse of apartheid and re-inscribing White supremacy through compliance with the norm. To move from one point to another in search to make meaning of the experiences of marginalised individuals who crossed borders in racial spaces are often painful and traumatic.

Through my exposure to Whiteness at UCT, and in a certain way in the multi-racial Anglican Church, I knew more about the cultural achievements of White people and also adopted their lifestyle and cultural taste. However, I was ignorant of the cultural and creative practices of Black people. My Black ignorance was enacted through the spatial planning of residence, school and church locations according to racial groups. I was further regulated on racial grounds through omissions and silences in the curriculum. The terms of the curriculum contract were set according to White values and interests. I received an education which contained intentional and unintentional blank spaces of races other than White through the formal curriculum that emphasised White superiority and correctness.

#### **6.4 My graduation into the middle-class**

Kimberlé Crenshaw (2011), one of CRT's pioneering legal scholars, who coined the term "intersectionality", posits that there is a strong link between race, class and gender. This intersectionality is reflected in the distinct racial and class structure in South Africa, with Whites at the top, of Coloureds and Indians in the middle and Blacks at the bottom (Simone, 1994). Race played a significant role in the stratification of class in South Africa. White people were supposedly civilised, and non-White people were presumed to be uncivilised. Marxist theorists emphasise class as the reason for inequality and a repressive labour force. hooks (1994) avers that class was central to the construction of contemporary Black identity and that it

determined how Blackness was commodified and how political standpoints of solidarity to end racism were shaped.

Class, coupled with material possessions, was perceived to free oppressed people from the stereotyping of poor Blacks and racial aggressions (hooks, 1994). Hence, there was a general desire among the oppressed to be classified as middle-class. Class shielded oppressed Black, Coloured and Indian people from apartheid. Middle-class people were always acutely conscious that the acquisition of education would liberate them from apartheid (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). The acquisition of education, material wealth and a taste for Western classical music became significant markers of class (Byrne, 2006). Hence, the boycotting of classes during the 1980s, as a form of resistance and liberation, unsettled the Black, Coloured and Indian middle-class because a lack of education would derail the journey towards middle-class status and eventual integration into Whiteness.

My parents were labourers without permanent housing, partly due to the dispossession projects of the colonial and apartheid governments. My paternal ancestry mainly shows characteristics of working-class status associated with the shame and negativity of Colouredness, such as illiteracy, banjo playing, jollity, Coon Carnival activities and drunkenness. Growing up in a better area, studying at a prestigious White university, equipped with a music degree and a post-graduate diploma provided me with a passport to the middle-class. A music degree granted me access to privileges through my intimate socialisation with the Coloured and White middle-class during apartheid and post-apartheid. My education and the appropriation of cultural capital allowed me to pass the assimilation test, which granted me access into the Coloured, and later White, middle-class (see Guerzoni & Katz-Gerro, 2018).

My narrative displays my ambiguity and ambivalence as I entered the South African education system of the Own Affairs Department of Education. When I entered the teaching profession, I possessed the cultural nobility and taste for classical music, which qualified me to be integrated into the Coloured middle-class. Refined taste and consumption were generally regarded as the most critical criteria to form part of the elite (Bourdieu, 1984; Van Eijck, 2001). The refined taste was supplemented

with the accumulation of what Bourdieu termed cultural capital. Bourdieu (1984) who coined the term “cultural nobility”, defined it as,

... the stake in the struggle which has gone unceasingly, from the seventeenth century to the present day, between groups differing in their ideas of culture and of the legitimate relation to culture and to works of art, and therefore differing in the conditions of acquisition of which these dispositions are the product (Bourdieu, 1984: 2).

I was the first Coloured in Wellington to study towards a scarce qualification at the oldest university in South Africa, which was established for the English middle-class (Phillips, 1993). I was exposed to the middle and upper class White and Coloured student. I was confronted with the aloof English- speaking Coloured elite and White middle-class, who made me aware that tertiary education at a White university was an escape from apartheid and poverty (hooks, 1994). Speaking English and not vernacular Afrikaans, together with the knowledge and understanding of Western classical music, made me a candidate for the bourgeoisie performance stage. I had the educational qualification that befitted the upper middle- class White. However, as an educated and middle-class Coloured person, I could never be treated equally with Whites within the South African racial hierarchy.

As a professional, I was integrated into the small group of middle-class Coloured teachers, principals, entrepreneurs and other professionals who distinguished themselves from the lower class through material possessions, better residential areas, home ownership and level of education. I became part of the group of middle-class Coloureds who were generally employed by the government as teachers, police officers, social workers, nurses and clerks which in a certain way made them complicit with the apartheid system.

The small group of educated middle-class Coloureds, which included me, were conscious of the negativity of Colouredness associated with a low level of education, drunkenness, crime, poverty, together with the jollity of the coon culture (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). This negative perception of Colouredness jeopardised the chances for racial integration and the respect of Whites. In their desperation to be recognised by the White population, the Coloured middle-class blamed the low-class Coloureds

for their marginalisation and low-class status (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). For example, the negative trajectory of the Coloured identity was articulated by the *Educational Journal*, the official mouthpiece of the Teachers' League of South Africa (TLSA), a professional association for Coloured teachers which was founded in 1913. The journal described the low-class Coloured group as:

...a backward, lazy, debased people for whom it was better to build strong jails and that they lack sincerity of purpose, are too easy-going, poor in determination and possessing no stamina. In addition, rowdiness, drunkenness, criminality, and the whole gamut of immoral and delinquent behaviours were sufficiently common among the Coloured working classes to embarrass so-called respectable Coloureds acutely (Adhikari, 2005b: 83).

The views of the group of educated Coloureds reflected the social experiences, values, frustrations and aspirations of the Coloured petite bourgeoisie. The leading intellectuals of the Teachers' League recognised three types of Coloureds, namely the sunken, the sinking, and the uprising classes. The sunken class was described as an "accumulation of filth, vice, dissipation and crime!" (Adhikari, 2005b: 81). The uprising class regarded education as pivotal for the advancement of the moral and intellectual development of the sinking Coloureds and the creation of a middle-class (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b).

The achievement of middle-class status empowered the small group of Coloureds, to which I belonged, with economic status, primarily through government employment. It protected them from Black African domination, especially in the western part of the Cape Province (now known as the Western Cape). Being part of the middle-class status put me in an ambiguous and ambivalent position where my class status gave me superiority over the Black African and the neglected poor Coloured working-class, but still inferior to the White middle-class. Coloured social status made me "not only not white, but less than white, not only not black, but better than black" (Erasmus, 2001: 13).

The Coloured middle-class to which I belonged was also strategically and politically supported by the racist NP who reasoned that an exclusive Coloured middle-class would contribute towards a Coloured population that would ideally be pro-apartheid

or at the very least would not overtly contest apartheid (Simone, 1994). Inspired by separatism, the apartheid state also wanted to develop a Coloured middle-class that would be capable of providing intellectual and economic leadership for a separate Coloured nation (Simone, 1994).

The apartheid government's strategic engineering of a class structure in the Coloured community comes out strongly in my narrative as I moved up in the education hierarchy. Firstly, I entered Coloured Education as a primary school teacher. My music expertise was needed at a secondary school, after which I was promoted as Head of Department at a new secondary school where I took up a leadership role. My appointment as a subject adviser in the Own Affairs Department of Education made me an intellectual and educational leader among the Coloured community. All this did not only contribute to my graduation into a Coloured middle-class, but it also supplemented and enhanced the political goals of the apartheid government to establish a solid middle-class of Coloured intellectuals and leaders.

My relocation from the small Wellington to the bigger town of Paarl, which had an established middle-class, and a group of influential Coloured individuals and families, posed other challenges for me. Paarl had an illustrious history of education rooted in the community itself. Education in Paarl had a history of achievements associated with political struggles. The Group Areas Act had a devastating effect on the Paarl community when a large number of families were uprooted from the west to the east of the Berg River. The removal of the Coloured community also meant that new schools and churches had to be built.

The middle-class Coloureds from Paarl generally viewed the people of the smaller town of Wellington as backwards and associated them with coons, gangsterism and being culturally underdeveloped. The influential group of Coloured individuals occupied essential decision-making positions in education, music, sports, the church and other cultural organisations. They were regarded as an exclusive group of people and entry into their circle demanded a specific level of education or economic wealth, such as music education.

Initially, it looked like an insurmountable task to be accepted into the hegemonic Coloured society of Paarl where race and class were regarded as essential factors. A music degree provided me with a professional status, which meant that I had social status, but not necessarily class and race status. A music qualification provided me only with a professional status, which meant that I did not readily qualify to be taken up into the middle-class of the small and exclusive Coloured community. This became more apparent when I was confronted with the undercurrents of racism when I wanted to marry a light skinned middle-class woman from the town. The rejection was based on class, status and pigmentation.

Social class is based on the visible and the audible, such as race, material wealth and in my case music (Platt, 2016). In the more significant Paarl area, Western classical music was regarded as a powerful tool for specific individuals which they exploited in the fields of education and the church. Music was a powerful gate-keeping tool which the musically educated middle-class Coloureds were reluctant to relinquish or have corrupted by classless individuals without the required professional status. Middle-class parents, just like my own, believed that music would contribute to social mobility, especially in the class-conscious Coloured community. Hence, my piano learners were predominantly from the middle-class community of Paarl, even though they did not always have the affinity for music or even like the instrument.

I was taken up in the educational fraternity and community of Paarl and became part of a group of influential people. I had an influence not only in my school but also in the community and church. During my stay in Paarl, I was elected as chairperson of the Paarl Schools' Cultural Association, an organisation which promoted the arts in the schools and community. I was a director of music at Holy Trinity Church in Paarl. These positions, supplemented by my music skills, allowed me to be integrated into a selected group of middle-class Coloureds in a town where race, class and education were regarded as essential criteria for social acceptability.

The establishment of the Own Affairs Departments in 1984 created job opportunities for Coloureds, such as administrators, school inspectors, subject advisers, principals, teachers, health inspectors and clerks. Appropriately trained individuals

were needed to fill the 'preferred Coloured' positions within the Own Affairs Departments of Education, Culture and Social Development. Hence, the emphasis shifted from Whiteness to Colouredness as Coloured professionals were appointed in posts in the own affairs departments.

The own affairs department created ambiguity and ambivalence, especially among the Coloured professionals, including me. Although we rejected the Tri-cameral Parliament, we had to work within the system for improvement of our professional status and material benefits, such as being promoted within the educational hierarchy combined with financial advantages. The own affairs system created a broader middle-class among Coloureds, as part of the social engineering of the NP who wanted to establish a Coloured middle-class to divide Coloureds and Blacks, especially in the Western Cape where the Coloureds were in the majority. More Coloureds and took up government positions despite the rejection of the 'own affairs' concept. Above all, teachers and principals had to report to Coloured officials instead of Whites. Through my appointment, I was not only firmly integrated into the broader middle-class, but I also became an influential figure in the schools and communities which were assigned to me.

The ambiguity was further increased by the fact that the Coloured population identified education as essential for the upliftment of the Coloured community. The educated middle-class regarded the uneducated Coloured as an embarrassment and a deterrent for their integration into Whiteness (Adhikari, 1993; 2005b). This was further compounded by the lack of skilled Black and Coloured workers and the high unemployment rate, as exemplified by the De Lange Commission (Christie, 1983). Hence, the 'hated' and 'dreaded' own affairs departments had to be used to reach the long-cherished goal of an educated Coloured. The own affairs department would also replace the White inspectorate who was often regarded as intimidating and oppressive.

My appointment as a subject adviser for music in the Own Affairs Department of Education of the HOR cemented my middle-class status within the Coloured community, coupled with material wealth. My professional status afforded me the respect of the Coloured community, even though the Coloured population rejected

the 'own affairs' system through a low voter turn-out at the polls. I took on a position of authority that was previously occupied by White Afrikaners. My position as subject adviser made me part of the broader Coloured middle-class in the Western Cape where I was working.

The collapse of apartheid created ambiguity and fluidity in Coloured identity and class structure due to the freedom of association and opportunities for social mobility (Adhikari, 2005b). In 1997, I was appointed as the Principal Subject Adviser (now senior curriculum planner) for music in the racially amalgamated Western Cape Education Department of Education (WCED). My appointment in this senior post did not only make me a respected leader of my subject, music, but I also became part of the elite of the new non-racial South Africa.

I concur with hooks (1994:169) that my graduation into the Coloured middle-class could be construed as “an escape from class”. I had succeeded to be integrated into the Coloured and White middle-class through music education and the professional demeanour that I had displayed in my life. My middle-class status increased my chances of economic and social success in the South African racialised context during and after the dismantling of apartheid. My music studies and professional life contributed to the realisation of my middle-class status and shedding the shackles of my working-class status, namely my studies at a White university, becoming a teacher, and being appointed as subject adviser and curriculum specialist for music.

My narrative displays how I substituted race with class, long before the collapse of apartheid in 1994. Through music education and especially my adoption of the Western music curriculum, I was able to replace my racial identity with class identity. This links to Terre Blanche's (2006: 73) notion of “racial apartheid” being replaced with “class apartheid” post-1994. In some manner, music education provided me with the freedom to cross racial as well as class boundaries in the race and class conscious society in which I have lived.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have analysed and interpreted my narrative through deep reflection. My analysis and interpretation focused on my engagement with the music

curriculum as a learner, student, teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist. Using the lenses of contestation, critical theory and CRT; and drawing on the existing scholarship and Bourdieu's theory on cultural capital I was able not only to obtain an insight of how I had engaged with the curriculum but also why it happened in the manner I did it. My analysis of narrative serves as a contestation as well as a justification for my actions when I had to deal with the injustices of the past and present music curriculum.

My narrative displays how the literate Western classical music tradition was encouraged and nurtured to influence my life, which led to my alienation from the culture in which I was born. This process of enculturation was encouraged by my female family members, my music teachers and lecturers. My music education at a former White tertiary institution equipped me with the knowledge, skills, and values to understand the music curriculum and to work in hostile and racial spaces during apartheid and the post-apartheid era.

My actions in the society in which I have lived were the product of contestation, which took place through my intervention and arbitration of the music curriculum. Although I did not always agree with the curriculum, I chose to collaborate with it in order to reach my own personal and professional goals. I justified my interventionist contestation in order to empower myself. Though my contestation, I had to create my critical race consciousness. Racialisation forbade people other than White to be critically conscious of themselves. Freire (2000) defines this critical consciousness as spiritual growth and to be the "owner of one's labour" (Freire, 2000: 101). This spiritual growth was inculcated into me at an early age through music and religion, but also through my mentors. My deep spirituality caused that I was often passive to react to racial aggressions directed to me. I never talked back against the micro-aggressions directed overtly and covertly towards me. I did not demand respect from the White teacher who refused to use my name or title when she referred to me in the third person. This could also be interpreted as psychological maturity when one has to deal with difficult issues of life.

My reflection on the Black encounter revealed that I was not Black enough. Neither did I carry the cultural capital, such as language and music to be identified as Black.

This made me an outsider, unsuitable to address their musical and cultural needs. My Colouredness became a deficit within these unprotected spaces. I became unprotected when a teacher accused me of racism by saying that I would not have treated him in a specific manner if the pigmentation of his skin was different. Did he mean that I would have treated him differently if he was Coloured or if I were Black? We could do nothing about our historical racial classification although we were in a non-racial post-democratic South Africa.

Although the racial classification of Coloured was imposed upon me through apartheid legislation, I partially transcended the oppressive and derogatory classification of Colouredness through music education. Music education made me different from the negative associative attributes attached to Colouredness. My engagement in the curriculum did not allow apartheid to brutalise me fully. This links to Fanon's perception that every human being can resist domination in any form. Neither can domination suppress, contain or eliminate the human being (Mbembe, 2017). My narrative does not only articulate a transcendence of the suppressive spaces of apartheid, but it also reflects my emancipation despite the oppressive and discriminatory spaces in which I have lived.

Through Western classical music, I became a Black man regarded as a Coloured with White taste and values. I have succeeded to construct my knowledge of the music curriculum. Music made me transcend the imposed deficit of Blackness and the apartheid project by being Black outside, but equal to Whites (Cook, 2017). A taste for Western classical music, but also the ability to perform and understand it in churches and concert halls, enabled me to partially transcend the oppression of apartheid and issues of class and Colouredness. Through this, I was able to at times enter the White world and transcend the racism which was prevalent at the institutions where I had studied and worked as well as the society in which I had lived.

## **7. CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

### **7.1 Introduction**

The concluding chapter of my thesis provides an overview and a reflection of my study. I will also propose an answer to my research question, namely how I engaged with the South African music curriculum and why I did it like that. My study, which adopted an autoethnographic genre, was inspired by my own lived experiences of the South African music curriculum. It focused on my personal experiences in music education in a racialised and classed society and showed how I have engaged with the music curriculum as a student, music teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist. The purpose of my study was to critically interpret how race, racism and class informed my curriculum engagements in various contexts. Apart from analysing and interpreting my lived experiences, I also wanted to uncover the forces of power which perpetuated privileged knowledge positions through racism and unequal power relations in the South African music curriculum.

In this chapter, I reflect on my research methodology by focusing on the appropriateness of the autoethnographic genre and the challenges that it has posed to me. I adopted the autoethnographic genre as a “testimony as both personally and socially redemptive” (Hamera, 2018: 359) to share my engagement with the music curriculum. My contestation of, and engagement with, the curriculum was both ambiguous and ambivalent as I was strongly influenced by the marginal position of my Coloured identity within the South African racial hierarchy. Hence, my contestation is not a total rejection of the normative, but rather a contested collaboration whereby I had to collaborate with the institutions to achieve my personal and professional goals.

This chapter builds on my analysis and interpretation of my autoethnography, which I did in chapter 6. It focuses on how race and class have shaped my personal and professional engagement with the South African music curriculum. I reflect on the impact of the research process on me personally and professionally. Finally, I motivate why and how my study contributes to the research field.

## 7.2 Overview of my study

In Chapter 1 of my thesis, I introduced my study and provided an overview of my thesis in which I contextualised my study historically, socially, politically and musically. I explained the rationale for my study and motivated why it would benefit me personally and professionally; and also considered how it would contribute towards the research field. This informed the focus of my study as well as the research question. I introduced my research design and methodology and explained how I went about to analyse and interpret my data.

In Chapter 2, I have discussed the importance of the review of the existing literature. I have explored the scholarship on autoethnography in order to have a deeper understanding of autoethnography as a research method. The literature contextualised my topic within the local and global context. My literature review provided an understanding of the workings of race, music and the curriculum in society through the theoretical lenses of Critical Theory and CRT. I used CRT as an analytical lens to study the existing scholarship.

I organised my literature review in four themes. I drew on the narratives, self-studies and autoethnographies of other researchers and the challenges that they had encountered. I studied case studies and ethnographies that focused on identity formation and how music and music education played a significant role in how individuals identified themselves in terms of race and class. The scholarship also emphasised the impact of race, music and class on how societies are structured through cultural capital and musical taste. Through the literature review, I was able to determine what had been researched on my topic and whether my study would make a significant contribution and bring new perspectives and knowledge to the existing research field.

Chapter 3 provided the theoretical framework which underpinned my autoethnography. I explained the concept of contestation drawing on Wiener's (2017) writing on contestation as a social practice, as well as a mode of inquiry. I emphasised the criticality of my research by grounding it in the critical theories of the Frankfurt School. I selected CRT as a lens to craft, analyse, and interpret my

narrative. Therefore, I traced the origins of CRT and explained the tenets on which CRT is built. I argued that the power of race does not reside in the biological and physical but that it is a social and historical construct which, though the invention of Whiteness and Blackness, perpetuates inequality, domination, oppression through explicit and implicit racism.

I highlighted CRT research paradigms and epistemologies and the power relations that emerged in the research process. CRT focuses on counter-stories and the augmentation of the voices of marginalised people such as Blacks and females. I concluded my theorisation of race by focusing on the concept of mixed race identity and the marginality, intermediary status, and negativity associated with mixed identity due to interracial sexual relationships during colonialism. I argued against an essentialist analysis of such identities, focusing specifically on Colouredness in the South African context. I then approached mixed racial and Coloured identities from a sociological and constructivist perspective by arguing that Colouredness is not an imposed political and racial identity that was cemented in colonialism and apartheid, but that the Coloured population formed their own identity through creolisation in the form of cultural borrowing and cultural creativity over a long period of time.

In Chapter 4, I explicated the research design, methodology, and methods that I had used in my study. I justified research design and methods based on my ontological and epistemological assumptions. I motivated my research paradigm and the critical social stance that I took. The chapter extended on the methodology of autoethnography as a process and a product. I explained the methods of collecting data for my narrative, and how I ensured that my story could be regarded as valid, trustworthy, and credible. The chapter concluded with an explanation of how I would analyse and interpret my narrative and the ethical procedures that were followed to ensure responsible and ethical research.

In Chapter 5, I presented my narrative in the form of a libretto for a musical in four acts. My narrative was interspersed by reflexive poetry and songs which were inspired by various epiphanic moments in my life. The analysis and interpretation of my narrative were presented in chapter 6. Through a holistic insight into my story

and a deep immersion in the autobiographical text, I was able to interpret and analyse my lived experiences (Ellis, 2004; Chang, 2008). I identified key features and details of my lived experiences and related it to the focus of my study, namely race, class, music, and curriculum. Building on my theoretical framework, which I discussed in chapter 3, I utilised the theories of contestation, critical theory, and CRT as lenses to analyse and interpret my narrative. I also drew on the existing scholarship on my topic in order to give deeper cultural meaning to my autoethnography (Chang, 2008).

In chapter 6, I took my narrative to a higher level through in-depth reflecting on my story and giving it cultural and philosophical meaning. Through the process of data analysis and interpretation, I transformed the 'my autobiographical and cultural data into "culturally meaningful explanations" and a "narratively engaging" autoethnography (Chang, 2008: 126). My analysis and interpretation focused on my engagement with the music curriculum as a learner, student, teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist. I used the lenses of contestation, critical theory and CRT; and drew on the existing scholarship on Colouredness to make sense of my lived experiences in the curriculum.

### **7.3 Methodological reflections on my study**

The departure from traditional research methodologies poses various challenges concerning rigorous academic standards and the assurance of trustworthiness. It requires the researchers to deal with their vulnerability, which is revealed continuously during the research process as well as in the final product. Secondly, the trustworthiness of autoethnography is tested within the policy framework of the academia. De Vos, et al. (2011: 11) cautions researchers about subjectivity, because of the researchers' own beliefs, values and personal experience that may influence the validity and reliability of the data and findings. I was conscious of the risks of over-emphasising my subjective personal experiences as a mode of social and scientific ontology. However, my research paradigm contests and rejects the "heteronormative, patriarchal, white" (Chin, 2007: 336) positivism, which sets standards for research.

As a woman of colour, Chin's (2016: 336) purposeful use of autoethnography is an expression of her rejection of traditional and contemporary consumption of academic and scholarly conventions. Instead of perceiving the autoethnographic genre as a mere autobiographical exercise, she views it as a political intervention and an ally to critical race scholarship. Likewise, I do not view my own autoethnography as a mere generalisation and universalisation of my lived experiences, but it is focused on the extraordinary nature of my experiences with music and the curriculum in a racialised and classed context.

I took on the challenge to embark on an autoethnographic study when I was introduced to the research methodology by my supervisor, Professor Johan Wassermann. He recognised my personal and professional history with the South African music curriculum, which embedded me within the topic that I wanted to study. As an academic who came from a Western epistemological background, where I was accustomed to observing others and listening to them in order to make sense of their lives and their culture, self-study initially seemed queer and unscientific to me. It appeared to me, as Sikes (2015) avers, that autoethnography was "atheoretical, uncontextualised, airy-fairy, self-indulgent, narcissistic, onanistic nonsense" (p. 414).

Furthermore, the autoethnographic research genre seemed "non-analytical, self-indulgent, irreverent, sentimental and romantic" (Denzin, 2018: 184). However, my initial reticence about writing about my own experiences was overcome after I had studied the literature on autoethnography as a method (Denzin, 2014; Ellis, 2004; Ellis, Adams & Bochner, 2011; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). I was also inspired by the autoethnographies and autobiographies of other scholars and writers, such as Clardy (2010), Jarvis (2014), Moseneke (2016), Vollenhoven (2016) and Dawjee (2018). Through their testimonies, I became conscious of how I could learn from my lived experiences and how my story could inspire others and validate their similar experiences.

My consideration of a research design and methodology was also influenced by the methodological revolution of the 1980s which caused the "triple crises" of authority, representation and praxis" (Lincoln & Denzin, 2003: 3). The validity and ethical

practices of qualitative research were increasingly questioned under a new interpretive regime as researchers were creating realities through representational, textual, and interpretive practices (Conquergood, 2003; Lincoln & Denzin, 2003; Richardson, 2003). There was a general perception that research was unable to represent the reality of lived experiences and the world through objective texts. The praxis of research, and the resultant action from such research, were regarded as lacking sufficient interpretative and analytical thinking. Linking a text to specific actions could also be construed as being biased and advocating a particular paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003). Objective research brings about little social change and improvement in the lives of those who are researched.

The research literature reveals that autoethnography as a research genre is relatively new and is often perceived with suspicion (Holt, 2003). Researchers who study themselves are often accused of lacking academic rigour, being narcissistic, self-indulgent, and subjective (Denzin, 2018). Scientific reasoning, rationality, order and clarity are embedded in Western ontology and epistemology. In the scientific reality, there is little place for chaos, subjectivity, creativity, imagination and obscurity (Boyce-Tillman, 2012: 10).

Autoethnography as research methodology seemed an easy option because I was not going the long and tedious interviewing and observation route of traditional ethnographic research. I was proven wrong by the literature on autoethnography and the commentaries that were written by other autoethnographers. As with all research designs and methodologies, autoethnography, as a research method, posed challenges which at times seemed insurmountable to deal with. I was confronted by my own doubts about whether autoethnography was an appropriate research method for me. As a middle-class Coloured male, I was in some way in a semi-privileged position during apartheid, especially in the Western Cape, where Coloureds were in the majority and had preferential treatment above Black Africans.

Based on my privileged middle-class status, and my acceptance of White cultural values, I could have fallen into the trap of merely crafting a self-study or an autobiography which did not link my lived experiences to the unequal society in which it had occurred. Autoethnography forms part of self-study (Ellis & Bochner,

2000), is more than writing about the self, in that it draws on the historical, cultural and political context in which lived experiences occur (Ellis, 2004; Hamilton, Smith & Worthington), The selection of autoethnography as a methodology was based on my philosophical assumptions and how I saw culture and society. Finding myself in a privileged middle-class status, and already been assimilated into White and Western values, I could have been tempted to omit a call for justice. Hence, my research methodology sometimes left me with an “epistemic discomfort” and “methodological awkwardness” (Spry, 2011: 627) with which I had to deal during the research process.

My epistemic discomfort was overcome by the fact that the purpose of my autoethnography was to make meaning of my life through a systematic personal and sociological introspection of my lived experiences in the music curriculum (De Vries, 2012). I was inward-looking, but at the same time, I also looked critically at the society and culture in which my experiences occurred. I have done this by presenting a layered account of my lived experiences through a performative text in the form of a libretto for a musical in four acts. The layeredness of my story contributed to the intrigue that I wanted to create through the libretto. Creators of art communicate with their listeners and readers through various genres. However, they also call for a response, whether emotional, socially or politically.

Autoethnographic writing freed me from the restrictions of traditional academic writing by providing me with the opportunity for creative writing. However, my research required sufficient evidence of scholarly rigour in order for it to be regarded as valid and credible within the research domain. Hence, I used multiple data collection methods, such as memory work, archival visits and critical conversations to share my memories with family members and peers and raw on their memories.

Building on the research rigour, I also drew on the existing scholarship and other autoethnographic studies which focused on my topic. I did this by situating my autoethnography in the theoretical literature on the articulation of race, racism and class. Through theorising, I was able to situate my autoethnography within the scholarly domain of empirical research (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014; Creswell,

2013). My autoethnography was theoretically reflexive in that I had to think about myself within a complex and racialised South African society (Denzin, 2018).

My study was underpinned by CRT as an ontological and epistemological understanding of how race and racism affect the lives of marginalised people (Parker & Lynn, 2008). As Garner (2010) argues, one is never 'just' a human being in a racialised and classed context. Individuals are, for example, middle-class Black females, or upper-class Coloured professional males. In Chapter 3 I have explained that race and class are deeply embedded in my lived experiences. Hence, I am unable to 'deracialise' and 'declass' myself in a racialised and classed context.

Given the history of South Africa and its racial classification, persons are still described in terms of race, class, status and gender. Using the lens of CRT, my study contested the unequal power relations in the research regime through counter story-telling. Hence, I selected to ground my research in critical race methodology, which challenges dominant ideologies and calls for the voice of the marginalised to be augmented in the research process (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009). Critical race methodology is transformative and contributes towards the liberation of the marginalised and those on the periphery.

While I was writing my autoethnography, I became aware of the challenges that my selected methodology posed within the academe where traditional and objective research is valued above the subjectivity of autoethnography. I soon realised that autoethnography was not for the "faint-hearted" neither the "copout" (Forber-Pratt, 2015: 2). Instead, autoethnographic writing demanded from me "a compassionate and lionhearted will" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 499) to write politically, critically and evocatively, and to display deep personal emotions and artistic aesthetics to keep my reader intrigued as I dramatised my music curriculum experiences (Denzin, 2018; Ellis, 2004; Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Most of all, I had to write with integrity and honesty and ensure that I was ethically responsible.

Autoethnography, as a research genre, was met with scepticism by the academics at my institution. A critical reader of my research proposal commented that I should instead consider writing a two-page account of my personal experiences with the

music curriculum in South Africa. At that stage of my professional career, I had almost forty years of music teaching experience and curriculum development. Also, I had been involved in national music curriculum processes since 1994 when South Africa underwent the transition from apartheid education to desegregated education. I was unconvinced that my engagement with the curriculum could be adequately captured in a two-page essay as part of a PhD research study. My engagement with the music curriculum could best be shared with others through an autoethnographic research study.

Autoethnographers such as Brown (2014) and Forber-Pratt (2015) describe their uphill battles to have their research accepted as they struggled to find their voice within the research and negotiate the policies and procedures of universities and address the validity concerns. Brown (2014) writes about his frustration to have his PhD thesis proposal accepted when he decided to opt for an autoethnography as a research method which was rejected by his supervisor and university causing him to change the institution. Through self-study, he has input evidence and contributed to his history, making the final thesis a qualitative phenomenological reflexive autoethnography. He was convinced that his own voice would be more persuasive than the objective voice of someone else telling his story. Also, his case study serves as a guide for students to undertake autoethnography and avoid the pitfalls of self-study.

From a CRT perspective, I had to ask myself the question whether I, as a middle-class Coloured professional male was sufficiently marginalised and Black enough to qualify to tell a counter-story and use autoethnography as a research methodology. My story could also be easily regarded as self-confessional and emotional writing inspired by guilt. However, I did not select an autoethnographic genre to write a confessional account of my life, but my autoethnographic writing experience was about embarking on an analytical-interpretive research process. I wanted to analyse myself and reflect on my life and how I have engaged with the music curriculum in complex situations. In analytical discourse, I identified essential autobiographical details of my life and how they connected with my culture and the culture of the broader society. Through interpretive writing, I transcended the

autobiographical data analysis through probing and deep thought and making cultural meaning out of it.

Autoethnography provided me with new perspectives of my personal experiences in the music curriculum as I created my story and reflected on and analysed it. Through it, I was able to invite other people into my life but also to provide me with the opportunity to explore my history from a personal perspective and relate it to the social and cultural events that had impinged on my life (Harris, 2005: 36). It was especially challenging to deal with issues that would implicate those near to me, such as my family members. Hence, my autoethnography contains silences, which I am convinced, do not affect the completeness and validity of my story.

My autoethnographic writing was more than the reflecting on the self, but it also involved the cultural richness for self-reflection and meaning-making (Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008: 4). My autoethnography was performative because it was embodied, situated and occurred within a specific time-frame. My performing body and embodied knowledge became the raw data for reflection. My embodied research was a “praxis of evidence and analysis through time and place” (Spry, 2011: 501). Through embodied research, I could “place myself in history” (Denzin, 2018: 131) I could re-invent my life story as a re-representation and a historical object which has been ripped and torn out of its political, historical, cultural contexts (Denzin 2008).

Writing performance autoethnography required that I had to adopt a new role, namely that of a scriptwriter, performer, poet and social justice proponent. Autoethnographic writing provided me with the opportunity to reflect on events that happened in my life, including the things I had done to others and what was done to me. By becoming an autoethnographer, I acquired an intellectual and philosophical framework for my exploration of my memories of my personal and professional lived experiences (Behar, 2008). I could also analyse those happenings that I had taken for granted to realise how they had influenced me to become the person that I am today. Through my autoethnography, I was able to critique the culture in which these happenings occurred.

#### **7.4 My research findings**

In Chapter 6, I have analysed and interpreted my autoethnography. I now link my analysis and interpretation to my research question:

**How did I engage with the music curriculum in South Africa, and why did I engage with the music curriculum in the manner I did in South Africa?**

The key finding of my study is that my engagement with the music curriculum could be perceived as both ordinary and extraordinary. If I consider my race and class, it could be expected that my engagement with the music curriculum would have been different within the historical, social and political context of my life. Heaton (2011) argues that some people have a paradoxical urge to be both ordinary and extraordinary. In my case, I merely wanted to play an ordinary role as a music student, music teacher, subject adviser, and curriculum specialist. Ordinary people are not concerned about being just ordinary. Hence, they do not compulsively make comparisons between themselves and others and merely want to get on with their lives; and their uniqueness is unspoken (Heaton, 2011).

Our personal life experiences and our actions are seldom without a cultural, historical and political context. Hence, I do not interpret my engagement with the curriculum without taking a stance against the oppressive culture and society in which it was enacted during apartheid. I responded to apartheid oppression and racism by making a difference to myself (personal) and others (professional), and I did not get mired in the mundane things of life. I cannot profess that I became actively involved in the organised and mobilised struggle against apartheid. Some people might even describe me as an 'onlooker' of the unfolding history of our country before 1994. I do, however, contest such a simplistic and non-analytical perception of myself within the historical, sociological and political context of South Africa during apartheid and post-apartheid.

In my narrative, my response to society was about seeing mundane things as temporal and distracting. According to Sandywell (2004), the concept of 'ordinary' has been systematically disparaged by being theorised as everyday life, mundane,

familiar and deprecatory. Being ordinary often sustains the myth of an ahistorical, apolitical and unmediated everyday life (Sandywell, 2004). There is the perception that the ordinary person is unaffected by historical and political events. This is a simplistic analysis of the concept of ordinary. In my narrative, my ordinary response to the curriculum was personal because of my love for music and education. I also ordinarily responded to the curriculum through my interaction with learners, teachers, the church and community. Both of my responses did not occur in a historical and socio-cultural vacuum. My narrative reveals that the historical and socio-cultural context influenced my engagement with both the formal and informal curriculum

My extraordinary story originated in and meanders from a two-bedroom house in Verlatekloof in the rural Wellington, born from two ordinary working-class Coloured parents. They did not have a high level of education, which would have given them access to material wealth and social status. Their primary concern was the well-being of their children through education - in my case, music education. They did not have a distant dream that the youngest of their seven children would rise out of apartheid, which they saw as permanent and taken-for-granted, to become an influential figure in music education in a non-racial country. My mother did not have the privilege of seeing her dreams being fulfilled in me graduating at UCT, an institution where the sons of her Jewish bosses had also studied. Her sister, Rebecca Segole, who bought a piano as an act of defiance of apartheid, could not imagine that the acquisition of such a 'furniture piece' would make a difference in my life, and would later influence the music curriculum decisions of a liberated nation. My father, the nominally literate and self-taught musician who beamed with pride, would have been astounded with his *sonny boy's* achievements in music education.

My story became more extraordinary when I started to play the piano at a young age, making me different from other Coloured children around me. I inhabited the music curriculum from a young age in contrast to what was expected in a society in which agency was often inculcated on the grounds of race and class. My school friend aptly articulated this agency and my influence in the music curriculum when he said: "You kept us together with your music" (Edmond de Vries, 2017).

A key finding of my engagement with the music curriculum is the ambiguous and ambivalent position in which I found myself within the historical and socio-cultural context at the time. The ambiguity and ambivalence became prevalent when I studied at UCT. My adoption of Western classical music gave me access to the world of Whiteness at UCT. Apart from being displaced from my rural background, I experienced a sense of being an outsider and onlooker and isolated from my society. This separation was compounded by the fact that I could not live in the Whites-only residences on campus, making it challenging to participate in music and social events which were organised by the university. Hence, I did not form part of the university community. However, my narrative reveals that I stay connected with my community through the church and community music projects. I did this, although I was conscious that my music studies required all my attention. My engagement with the church and choral projects in the community ensured that I was not completely dislodged from my culture.

My ambiguity and ambivalence are further displayed in my engagement with the music curriculum in my collaboration with the oppressive apartheid system, which enabled me to gain cultural capital to enhance my social and status mobility. Although cultural capital was generally associated with “non-economic forms of wealth distributed unevenly throughout society” (Garner, 2010; 120), the accumulation of cultural capital also afforded me material wealth through my appointment as a music teacher and later in a senior position in the education department.

UCT, in some manner, shielded me from the turbulent situation of education that was prevailing in Black and Coloured schools and universities during the late 1970s after the Soweto Uprising. I found myself in an ambiguous and ambivalent situation as I was studying at a White university that was relatively stable and unaffected by the student unrest on Black and Coloured campuses. I was divorced and from the political debate that was active in my community. Education at UCT was regarded to be ahistorical and apolitical. Political activity irritated the administration of the university, which left the majority of students of politically inert (Phillips, 1993). This apolitical stance of the university contributed to my political ignorance and made me

unaware of the needs of the oppressed society and left me to carry on with my studies. I was faintly aware of the trauma of the residents of District Six who were to be relocated to the Cape Flats, although I was staying in the area.

My stay at UCT was temporary because legally, my permit did not allow me to enjoy White privileges beyond the four-year term of studies for the degree and teachers' diploma. My ambiguity and ambivalence were compounded by the fact that at the time of my studies at UCT, I focused on my struggle to obtain an academic qualification. I knew that if I did not commit myself, the system would throw me out and send to the apartheid created 'bush college'. Based on the notion of meritocracy, I would be blamed for my failure.

Simultaneously, I became isolated from my society in terms of language and culture as I adopted the urban and English middle-class lifestyle that was promoted by UCT (see Phillips, 1993). My stay at UCT was culturally, linguistically, and musically associated with Whiteness and Westernised manners and aesthetics. I acted like White people through my speech, clothing and taste of music. My acculturation into Whiteness allowed me to inhabit a privileged knowledge space, which was generally reserved for Whites. However, I could only occupy this space temporarily as a 'squatter'. My temporary middle-class status became permanent when I entered the teaching profession. A music degree and a post-graduate diploma in education provided me with professional status and permanent occupancy in music education which was afforded to a few Coloureds in 1976.

My permanent occupancy in the curriculum resonates with Erasmus's (2017) theorisation of knowledge. She distinguishes between occupant knowledge and inhabitant knowledge. She contends that colonialism and apartheid had led to what she calls "occupant knowledge" versus "inhabitant knowledge" (Erasmus, 2017: 135). According to her occupant knowledge is a genealogical way of knowing, which is based on a categorical distinction between the mechanics of movement and the formation of knowledge. This genealogical way of knowing is cumulative and "*upwardly integrated*" (Erasmus, 2017: 135, italics by author) as it builds upwards from and on existing information which it collects from the world in which lived experiences have taken place. In other words, occupant knowledge is influenced by

a point of power from above. It is controlled by a powerful group who regard themselves as the custodians of a particular body of knowledge based on privileges afforded by race and class.

Contrary to occupancy knowledge, I came to know the music curriculum from a permanent inhabitant knowledge perspective which was “*alongy* integrated” (Erasmus, 2017: 135, italics by author) as I moved along from point to point in my life. I inhabited the complex fabric of the curriculum permanently as a teacher and later as a designer of the curriculum.

My engagement with the primary school curriculum was short-lived. I was exposed to the real context of Coloured education through overcrowded classrooms, lack of music equipment and facilities. Most of all, I became a generalist by teaching other subjects than music. My secondment to the secondary school allowed me to teach a subject for which I was trained. Moving to secondary school also provided me with the opportunity to extend my social boundaries and move to a bigger town and face new challenges. I was soon taken up into the middle-class of Paarl and earned the respect of the community due to my music knowledge and skills. I also experienced racism among Coloured people as I was not brown enough to marry a light-skinned wife.

My engagement with the curriculum took a dramatic turn when I was personally and professionally challenged during the turbulent 1980s when schooling at my secondary school came to a standstill. The ordinary and mundane way of teaching music was completely changed in 1980 when I found myself in a deepening educational and ideological crisis as the school boycotts were not only undermining the authority of the apartheid state but also my authority as a teacher.

Throughout the turbulent conditions in schooling during the 1980s, I had to ensure that my music students were better prepared for tertiary music studies than myself. Besides, all cultural events that had an ‘own affairs’ tag were boycotted by schools. This cultural boycott hit several arts projects which were regarded as ‘too Coloured’ and colluding with the apartheid government. Normal cultural and sports events could not be supported under abnormal circumstances. Concerned educated

people expressed their fear that we would not be ready to participate in cultural and sports initiatives if normality or even a new non-racial dispensation would dawn on us.

My narrative reveals more ambiguity and ambivalence when I became a subject adviser in the Own Affairs Department of Education of the HOR. In 1987, I was placed in a situation where I had to decide between staying at my school or extending my knowledge and skills to other schools where my expertise was required. It also placed me in an ambiguous position in which I had to collaborate with the Tri-cameral structures which were overwhelmingly rejected by the Coloured population through a low turnout at the election polls.

Teaching a 'practical' and not an 'academic' subject at a secondary school, where the emphasis was on mathematics and science, impeded my opportunities to be promoted at the school. Music, although being elitist, was regarded as a non-essential subject at most secondary schools. The only option for promotion was subject related. The post of subject adviser fitted my academic and professional profile because I qualified for the post based on my qualifications and ten years of experience of music. Being a subject adviser was perceived as colluding with the bureaucratic apartheid system which was rejected by the majority of the Coloured population through a low turn-out at the election polls. This left me in an ambivalent situation because I could be perceived as accepting the 'own affairs' system.

As a subject adviser, I could also support music teachers of which the majority were generalist teachers who had to teach a specialist subject like music. I could become part of the development of music in Coloured schools. Most of all, I could apply for the post because I had a love for music and education. This made me look past the political considerations. As as a subject adviser, my engagement with the music curriculum took me into various contexts of Coloured education, such as urban, rural and farm schools. Schools ranged from large numbers of teachers and learners in urban areas to small numbers at farm schools in the Western Cape.

Teaching and learning took place in various types of buildings, bearing a specific educational and political history of the Coloured population. They ranged from

structures erected by various missionaries in the 1950s before the institution of the Coloured Affairs Department (CAD). I also visited schools that were housed in cream painted prefabricated buildings dating from the same era. Most areas in the 1980s showed population growth. Mobile units perching from the ground were popular sights in these developing and overcrowded areas. In these areas, especially on the Cape Flats, schooling took place in prefabricated precast concrete double-storey buildings which were erected in the late 1960s.

Each school had its unique challenges, but the lack of subject expertise was prominent in most schools. Most of the schools were under-resourced in terms of music teachers. I had to sympathetically deal with those who did their best to teach a subject for which they were inadequately prepared about subject content and teaching methodologies. For most of them, music only received attention when I gave notice of my visit to the school. I could visit most of the schools only once in a three-year cycle. Hence, music education was regarded as non-essential.

A few Coloured schools had qualified music teachers and music programmes that compared favourably to what was required from the curriculum. There was a desire to reach high standards, despite a lack of resources. The formal curriculum was extended through extra-curricular activities, such as the participation in choral music festivals. This compelled me to look beyond the classroom and support extra-curricular music through the presentation of workshops in choral conducting and the upskilling of music teachers. These workshops formed part of the acculturation of the broader Coloured population.

I came into the subject advisory services during a turbulent time in the 1980s and 1990s. My position as subject adviser was often politicised, and I was seen as a representative of the apartheid government and a replacement of the previous autocratic White inspectors. Teachers did not see the supporting role I that I played. Instead, they regarded me as an intruder and government agent. This led to overt and covert non-compliance and the eventual neglect or rejection of the curriculum that I was advocating.

In my narrative, my engagement with the music curriculum became more complex and even disruptive after the collapse of apartheid. Post-1994 exposed me to the sophistication of White education. It brought back memories of UCT with its privilege, exclusivity and meritocracy. However, my preparation at UCT and the experience that I had gained in the music curriculum equipped me to deal with the sophistication that was created by segregated education over many years.

I learned to know about the fears of Whites and Coloureds within the new democratic dispensation. The transition was painful and even traumatic for music teachers, and similarly for me. I, together with White teachers, had to shake off our “normative baggage” (Wiener, 2017: 113), which I had accumulated through my acculturation over a long period. We feared that the perceived elitist subject, music, would be scrapped from the curriculum by the Black-dominated ANC government. In their engagement with me, White and Coloured teachers often felt betrayed by me and the curriculum, which was not addressing their needs. In all of this, I had to deal with their vulnerability and insecurity through my leadership, as articulated by a teacher: “You showed warmth and empathy towards my learners and me. You cared for us”.

Since 1997 South Africa experienced a spate of curriculum transformation initiatives, which included the first democratic national curricula for the General and Further Education and Training phases based on Outcomes-based education principles (Chisholm, 2004). In my narrative, my engagement with the curriculum became influential when I formed part of the writing team for the National Curriculum Statement for Music in 2001. I regarded my role as influential and a privilege because I was deprived of it during apartheid. In this way, my complicity with the curriculum moved beyond mere implementation, compliance and enforcement. I became part of the process of transforming education through the national curriculum that was underpinned by nation-building, democratic values, social justice, human rights and the restoration of the dignity of the people of South Africa (Department of Basic Education, 2003).

Based on the principles of the National Curriculum Statement, I, as a curriculum specialist, had to promote equality in terms of race, gender, ability, class and location. I had to break through the hegemonic nature of the music curriculum, which

had prevailed over many years. I also had to contribute to bringing stability to education through a transformed curriculum. My engagement was also meant to contribute to my credibility as a curriculum specialist.

When the team of music subject advisers and I introduced the new music curriculum to the majority of White and minority of Coloured teachers at a provincial workshop in the Western Cape, we were confronted with their fears, hostility and anger. I was confronted by the conservatism of music teachers who held meritocratic Western orientated beliefs about music education. The new curriculum seemed to be too unsophisticated for the music teachers. It did not meet the standards that had been firmly in place for many years. The NCS did not meet the Western normative, and classical music interests were insufficiently covered in the content and assessment standards.

The inclusion of other musical styles was regarded as compromising international European and global standards and quality. The NCS was perceived as an indigenisation of the curriculum. There was even a suggestion that the new curriculum should be reserved for the backward learners and that talented music learners should have a separate curriculum. In other words, teachers wanted two music curricula for the country, one for the talented few and one for the backward majority. The undertones of racism were present in this type of motivation.

My engagement with the curriculum changed when I had to deal with the aspirations of Black teachers and learners who had been on the music education periphery during apartheid. I had to coordinate the highly politicised provincial choral eisteddfod that was popular among Black schools. It was highly politicised due to its history of teacher union involvement. It was meant to replace the fragmented competitions which were organised by teacher unions and Black music organisations which sometimes differed ideologically.

When I was introduced to the South African Schools' Choral Eisteddfod (SASCE) in 2000, I became aware of the wealth of neglected talent in the Black community. I also became conscious that choral music was more than a musical performance. It

was about the dignity of the Black communities. Hence, SASCE was not only a project but also a process of restoration.

SASCE was also about my transformation in an extraordinary manner, although I regarded my engagement with it as ordinary and routine. Even the accusation of racism did not deter me from my engagement with the choral eisteddfod. I was not set back when I received insignificant support from Coloured and White schools.

I was always positive that I could achieve the seemingly insurmountable goal of all racial groups singing together. Although the Black teachers were aware of my 'normative baggage' of Colouredness, I was able to break through racial walls and build a trust relationship with principals, teachers and conductors over the fourteen years that I had coordinated SASCE in the Western Cape.

My engagement with the music industry was sparked by the needs of the demands of the vibrant performing arts industry. These needs were not adequately addressed by the music curriculum. This was especially the case with the focus schools for the arts which the WCED established in Black and Coloured townships. In most cases, the learners at these schools were self-taught musicians who felt alienated from the formal curriculum due to its emphasis on literacy and conservatoire style teaching. Learners were also used to group music making instead of the solo performance, which was demanded by the formal music curriculum.

I involved the Cape Town International Jazz Festival (CTIJF) in the focus school for the arts. The CTIJF drew more than forty international and local jazz artists and more than 34 000 patrons to the annual jazz festival. Through their involvement, I was able to create an international stage for learners coming from disadvantaged Black and Coloured townships in Cape Town. Learners were also involved in workshops focusing on stage management principles, such as event management, stage lighting, music production, sound technique and performance. This could be regarded as contestatory and revolutionary because it diverted from the linear and literate Western classical music tradition of knowledge generation.

My engagement with the music curriculum in the church started at an early age. It was encouraged by my mother when she bought me my first Ancient and Modern

Hymnal soon after I had started with my piano lessons. I had to be involved in the church and other music projects in the community that were promoting music literacy as part of the social upliftment of Coloureds. My engagement with the music in the church did not only contribute to my musicality but also towards a profound spiritual growth and an appreciation of my humanity and those of others.

Being a young and enthusiastic choir director who had recently graduated from the prestigious South African College of Music, I had to encounter people from different social status. In my choir at St.Alban's Anglican Church in Wellington, I had an old female member, Nakka, who was nominally literate. I was convinced that she did not make a musical difference to my choir, but she sang because it took her away from her oppressive home conditions where she was devalued by her family because of her age, poverty and illiteracy. She regained her dignity in my choir.

Throughout my professional life, I worked towards the emancipation of the marginalised people in, especially Coloured communities. Through choral music, I contributed towards the improvement of their lives. I did this because I was equipped with the gift of music. My contribution to choral music in the church and community was succinctly articulated by a community leader when he said: "You are a talented musician amongst our people. You know the heartbeat of our people. You are a master and expert in music. You are the obvious choice to make a difference".

## **7.5 Personal and professional reflection on my study**

My study occurred within a critical interpretive paradigm which focused on making meaning of my lived experiences. It also called for societal change and the transformation of the music curriculum. When I reflected on my study, and particularly on my personal narrative, I identified epiphanies in my life that influenced me personally and professionally. These critical moments in my life contributed to my personal and professional growth and emancipation. I have foregrounded race, racism, class and the music curriculum in the interpretation of myself and critique of the culture in which my experiences occurred.

My study took a deconstructive turn towards autoethnography by problematising my experiences, voice and presence and seeing my myself as a racialised self (Denzin,

2018). In the deconstruction of my study, I discovered a deeper philosophical meaning in my story. I had to reflect on how this research process, through an autoethnography, has influenced me as a racialised person and professional. I had to think whether I was better off after I had told my story or whether I merely had a satisfying feeling by telling others about my racialised lived experiences. Some of my experience occurred a long time ago and might be regarded as irrelevant, romantic, nostalgic, self-indulgent, sentimental, biased, boring and irreverent (Denzin, 2018). I was also conscious of the fact that memory is fallible and that I might have felt differently about these events to what I currently feel about them.

The first question that I asked myself when I reflected on my study was: What do I know better and more about myself? By answering this question, I had to stand back and look at myself to see how I have grown over more than sixty years as a person and music professional in a culture and society embedded in race, racism and class. My reflection also required a second question: How does my study evoke ethical action from my reader in a continued racialised South African context? Thirdly, I had to ask myself: How could the music curriculum be transformed to eradicate inequality based on race and class?

The research process through which I have moved over the past four years allowed me to look back over more than sixty years of my life. Through my study, I could reflect on my personal growth as a child and adult in the context of apartheid and post-apartheid. My birth certificate confirmed my Coloured classification, as required by the apartheid South African racial classification system. My autoethnography was also provoked by the internal and external racism by racist Coloureds and Whites based on the notion that light-skinned people possessed legitimate knowledge and should earn respect above dark-skinned people (hooks, 1994).

My study was influenced by the race- and class-conscious Coloured society in which I have lived, studied, married, raised my children and worked as a music teacher and curriculum specialist. My birth into a working-class family was regarded as a stumbling block towards upward social mobility within a society where class and material wealth often shielded Coloureds from apartheid. In my case, I had possibly transcended race and class because I had the non-economic cultural capital of

music and qualified to be taken up into the Coloured middle-class. My social status also isolated me from the Coloured working-class.

My study was particularly influenced by the political instability and turbulence of education and society, which I had experienced as a teacher and subject adviser during the 1980s and 1990s. I came into the bureaucracy of the government at a turbulent period characterised by civil disobedience articulated through school boycotts, teacher strikes, destruction of government property and non-cooperation with government officials. The resistance to apartheid education was coupled with a critique of the Eurocentric nature of school curricula, which were regarded as not promoting the aspirations of the marginalised people of South Africa.

When I reflected on my study, I had to interrogate my complicity with the curriculum. As with most South Africans, I wanted to get on with my life to make a difference in my life and that of others. I obtained a prestigious qualification which was needed at the time in the history of the country. My reaction to the curriculum took on a form of contested collaboration, which was not an outright objection or rejection of the curriculum. In the first instance, I collaborated with the curriculum because of my love for music. Secondly, I wanted to obtain a music qualification, which would enable me to be employed as a teacher. Thirdly, a music qualification would make me part of the Coloured middle-class possible access to White values and Western culture.

As a subject adviser, I could use my scarce skills to the advantage of more teachers and learners, even those living on the edges of society. Working as a subject adviser took me outside of my familiar classroom and racial group. My narrative reveals my empowerment of other teachers through the choral projects that I coordinated in disadvantaged Black and Coloured townships.

My study made me conscious of my psychological fears of my Rainbow Nation citizenship within the newly democratic country in which I was not Black enough to be acceptable to Black people to address their needs. On the other hand, I lacked the credibility to allay the anger and fear of Whites and Coloureds who resisted the transformation of the curriculum, because it was threatening their privileged and

semi-privileged positions, respectively. My right to bear the knowledge of classical music was disputed. When I attended a meeting where most of the delegates were White, the chairperson who was also White ignored me and preferred to consult with my White colleague whom I then regarded as my junior. It could be interpreted that he had more respect for her, based on the colour of her skin or she had more clout because it was presumed that she was the knowledge-bearing subject. It could also be interpreted as individual racism which is not only about racial prejudice, but that a logical reaction to prejudice which leads to the exclusion of inferior groups by the superior group (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). In all of this, I sometimes experienced a sense of isolation and disrespect based on race.

I was at the peak of my career as a subject adviser, and bureaucrat in the new Western Cape Education Department, which had been established after the four previously race-based education departments had amalgamated. A number of my colleagues in the subject advisory services took early retirement packages soon after the establishment of the non-racial education department in the Western Cape. The management of the WCED declined my application for early retirement without giving me reasons. When I shared my intended early retirement with my former music methodology lecturer at UCT, Professor Millicent Rink, she remarked: "Don't be stupid! You have a good job, and you have the ability to influence many music teachers and learners." She suggested that I took sabbatical leave to attend a music education conference in order to meet other music educationists and academics in order to obtain a broader perspective of music and regain my enthusiasm for education. I followed her advice. The following year I was appointed as a principal subject adviser with the responsibility to coordinate the music education in the province.

My study was mainly influenced by the curriculum reforms that occurred after 1997. My involvement as a co-designer of the NCS for music made me conscious of the hegemonic nature of curriculum development. Oppressive and powerful regimes have always control the music curriculum with pre-set ideas based on Western ideologies. My participation in the curriculum processes contributed to my emancipation.

My knowledge of Western classical music made my integration into the Black and White binary easier. I accepted the new democracy and was able to understand the need of those at the margins and to work consciously for the restoration of their dignity through music. On the other hand, my association of the Eurocentric aesthetics made it easier to understand the fears of White people.

When I reflected on my story, I had to contend that the music curriculum that I had studied contributed significantly to my partial transcendence of race and class. Indeed, I could have become proficient jazz or popular music practitioner. However, I preferred to study the literate Western classical music genres with the knowledge that it contained the power which a few people possessed even though it was criticised for this. I came to know that it was not the power of classical music itself that created the presumed inequality, but the selfishness of a group of people, irrespective of race and class, who abused this power and excluded others from it.

My study allowed me to analyse and interpret my actions within the music curriculum, which I have inhabited for more than fifty years. My study provided me with the opportunity not only to stand back but also to look deeper within myself. Firstly, to see me physically in the world as a picture that others have seen daily for over more than sixty years. My autoethnographic study challenged me to an in-depth analysis of myself as I emerged from it as a vulnerable human being. It also provided me with the opportunity to critique culture. In my case, I could look anew at Colouredness and how it is constructed in a post-apartheid context where the racialised selves continue to be subjected to racism and discrimination. I could also look at the music curriculum, which has excluded learners based on race and class.

## **7.6 The scholarly contribution of my study**

In 2015, when I was appointed as a lecturer at the University of Pretoria, I became part of the academe that was previously controlled by White Afrikaners. My introduction to the research field inspired me to register for a PhD degree at an advanced age. I was convinced that through this study, I could contribute to the research domain. My thesis has highlighted my lived experiences in music education, which were embedded in race, racism and class. The purpose of my study was to uncover how race and racism informed my music curricular decisions

and design as a student, teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist. I did not only re-experience my personal life, but I have also linked it to society and culture.

At the outset of my study I was inspired by the research on Coloured identity by Mohamed Adhikari (2004; 2005a; 2005b; 2008; 2013) particularly by his book *Not white enough, not black enough*, in which he focuses on the history of the Coloured population and its identity within the racialised context of South Africa. A central theme of the book is the historical and political marginalisation of the disempowered Coloured population and being in a “blind spot” (Adhikari, 2005b: 1) in the South African historiography.

Apart from its historical and political marginalisation, Coloured identity is often essentialised and degenerated due to its association with miscegenation and the Coloured population being regarded as a heterogeneous group without culture. Secondly, Colouredness has often been regarded as an imposed identity through legislation and White domination. Thirdly, my study contributes to the notion that Coloureds have constructed their own identity through cultural borrowing and creolisation over a long period (Erasmus, 2017). The emergence of a renewed recognition of their existence within the current sociological and political arena requires in-depth research and theorisation of Colouredness.

In this thesis, I have argued that autoethnography, as a method, can address social and cultural issues. As a blurred genre of research which uses story-telling and performance techniques, it has provided me with the creative space to put myself at the centre of my research which focused on music, curriculum, power, race, racism and class. My study contributes to the role that race plays when curricular decisions are made. It provided me with the opportunity to criticise the culture and society that surrounded me, namely Colouredness. I argued that race intersects with class and gender. Through an autoethnographic genre, I have argued that race is a social construction that creates unequal relations. My study opens the door for more rigorous scholarship and legitimate methodological articulations of the value of autoethnography (Pathak, 2013: 606). My study also opens the space for a rich and diverse, complex matrix of scholarship and research for radical change in music education.

I do not profess that my lived experiences in music education are unique. Other people could have experienced similar moments in their lives. Lake (2015) posits that autoethnography is not an exercise in common-sense or self-indulgence, but that it instead provides researchers opportunities to publicise their concerns and to assist others through their reflexive processes. Through my autoethnography, I could see more profound meaning in things that I have taken for granted. I have gained a greater appreciation for the people who have been part of my formation, even if they have offended me. They have contributed to my growth as a human being and a professional. The reflexive nature of an autoethnographic study I also helps other music educators and me to become better reflexive practitioners. The purpose of my autoethnography was not to provide clear-cut answers and solutions to the challenges of the music curriculum (Anderson & Glass-Coffin, 2013). My autoethnography evokes further reflection and action.

The nature of my study was reflexive, analytical and interpretive. I reflected on my own lived experiences in music, but simultaneously, I critiqued the culture in which I have experienced the music curriculum. Hence, my autoethnography attempts to evoke ethical action from readers in order to build a just society in which our humanity irrespective of our race, class and gender can only flourish.

My autoethnography is a representation of my crises and successes in life. It calls for the creation of spaces for dialogue and to provide a voice to those who have been silenced or ignored to “write their lines, write their script, perform their lives” (Denzin, 2018: 191). My story calls for action which focuses on deracialising society and transforming the music curriculum. The songs and poems of my libretto evoke reflexive reading and invite the reader to become part of the text. It wants to move my readers to write and act out their own stories to let their racialised and classed voices be heard as an intervention for better living.

## **7.7 Epilogue: The future**

When I was born in Wellington, a small rural town in the Cape Province (now the Western Cape) I did not have the faintest idea that my life would turn out the way it did. While I was walking through the dusty and untarred streets with my friends in

the Coloured part of the town, I had no idea that I would inhabit music education and become an influential figure in the determination of the South African music curriculum. Neither did I imagine that my first piano lessons would contribute to my liberation and emancipation in the manner that it did.

My study used an autoethnography as a methodology to re-experience and represent my engagement with the South African music curriculum, but I also linked it to the societal and cultural context in which it occurred. I wrote my autoethnography in the form of a libretto for a musical in four acts. I drew my autobiographical detail from my experiences as a child, music student, music teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist, which spanned over more than sixty years. However, our experiences never occur in a spatial and temporal vacuum. Hence, I have presented my autobiography, but at the same time have critiqued the culture and society in which it occurred. Using the lenses of contestation, critical theory and CRT; and drawing on the existing scholarship and Bourdieu's theory on cultural capital, I was not only able to obtain an insight of how I had engaged with the curriculum, but also why it happened like that.

Through an autoethnographic genre, I looked inwardly through my story (*auto*), but also outwardly, by analysing how the broader context (*ethno*) has shaped my life. I contested the music curriculum within the South African racial categorisation context, which was shaped by race, racism and class. In contesting the music curriculum I took cognisance of the colonial and apartheid powers which established a corrupt state in order to disrupt, distort and eliminate the material and cultural capacity of people who were not White and thereby created a "black space" and "degeneracy" (McClintock, 1992: 84) through which non-White people were brutalised, humiliated and subjugated.

My autoethnography, presented as a libretto to be performed, could be perceived as a performance of contestation in which my engagement with the music curriculum is performed in various contexts. Hence, my story is performative, political, radical and disruptive (Adams & Holman Jones, 2008; Denzin, 2018; De Vries, 2000; Spry, 2000; 2001). I admit that my story contains silences. I have chosen to do so in order to retain the dignity of others and myself.

Though it seemed insurmountable to triumph over Blackness and a racial classification that was meant to degenerate, dehumanise, dispossess and exterminate, my story has proven the opposite. Through the music curriculum, I was able to break through the walls of race and racism and class extraordinarily, although I was just an ordinary human being. I was richly blessed with family members, mentors, colleagues, peers and students who identified something special in me, namely music. I was given the gift of music which dignified and liberated me. I have argued that this gift does not belong to a specific nation, race or class. Neither does the knowledge of any music provide unearned privileges or the right to dehumanise other people. Hence, liberation and humanity belong to everybody.

I confess that my interest in music and education is deeply personal. I do not profess to be a political activist, but I believe I had a remarkable duty to fulfil as a teacher, subject adviser and curriculum specialist. I believe that I had performed this duty with diligence at the times when I had the opportunity to do so. I had the privilege to serve other people in their various contexts. Most of all, I had the joy to nurture ordinary people, irrespective of their race, class, gender, age, sexuality and ability.

Through my knowledge and skills of music, I was granted the opportunity to restore the humanity and dignity of those at the margins of society, even if it meant that I had to endure personal pain, adversity, suffering and humiliation. I have refused to live with anger and bitterness and did not allow the micro-aggressions of racism to take away my humanity and dignity. Instead, my experiences have given me a better perspective of myself, the music curriculum and society. This autoethnography did not only allow me to tear apart my life, but it also contributed to my healing and strength, which are required for the building of a better future for all.

Through my autoethnography, I have also discovered that an identity formation process includes the socially constructed element of ascribed identity, that is, the identity that others give to an individual or group, as well as an achieved identity, that is, the identity that an individual or group construct for themselves (Brisk, Burgos & Hamerla, 2016). The tension between having a fixed or pinpointed identity

ascribed by others often represents only one portion of an individual's often complex achieved identity, and a more dynamic achieved identity can have a significant impact on one's overall identity formation.

Often, histories are evoked or play an integral role in the creation of these identities and the tension between them. For example, a "specific identity" as an "ultimate reality" (Geschiere & Meyer, 1998: 606) is often invoked by state regimes or socio-political movements in various ways, such as "fixing the population by censuses, tax measures, and so forth, and thus hardening the boundaries of communities that used to be much more diffuse and permeable" (Geschiere & Meyer, 1998: 609). This was especially the case in South Africa, which through its racial classification system wanted to impose a specific identity onto its citizens.

Constructions of identity can, however, change over time, as it was with me, as I was 'Westernised' and formed an allegiance with Whiteness through my experience with and contestation of the South African music curriculum. My allegiance with Whiteness happened despite the barriers that were created to make racial and class crossing difficult in the race and class context in which my lived experiences occurred. I contested the fixedness of the imposed Coloured identity by breaking down the walls of Whiteness. However, my contestation was not an outright rejection or an objection of Colouredness. Neither was it a rejection of Westernisation and Whiteness. Instead, I collaborated with Whiteness and the South African music curriculum within a complex racial and class context through processes of deliberation, arbitration and justification through which I retained my Coloured identity.

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## **9. ANNEXURES**

### **9.1 ANNEXURE A – LETTERS OF VERISIMILITUDE**

#### **9.1.1 Letter of verisimilitude from my wife, Joy Lewis**

633 Edwin Street

Moreleta Park

Pretoria

0181

25 February 2019

Dear Franklin

#### **LETTER OF VERISIMILITUDE**

I hereby acknowledged that I have read your autoethnography and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I have been married to Franklin for thirty-five years. His story is a good reflection of his life in music education. I have seen him growing from being a teacher to senior curriculum planner. Although he had a busy life supporting other teachers, he made time for his community and was an organist and choir director in the Anglican Church all his life. Through his music he has shown a commitment to social justice and great passion to support marginalised communities, but he also has the ability to work with all racial groups.

Although he is very humble with what he has achieved, I have witnessed very proud moments. In a concert, a professor of music at the University of Stellenbosch was in awe of his musicality and mentioned it to other people in the audience. On another occasion when Franklin was performing at a concert of which I was an audience member, I overheard a White person mentioned: "If you look at that man, you would never say that it is him playing that piano". The man was probably surprised that a Black man could play classical music at that high level.

I wish him good luck with his PhD studies which he has postponed for many years while he was busy developing music education in the Western Cape.

**Joy Lewis**

### 9.1.2 Letter of verisimilitude from my son, Lloyd Lewis

12 Rosewood Village

Chelmsford Crescent

Parklands

Cape Town

7441

17 March 2019

#### LETTER OF VERISIMILITUDE

I hereby acknowledged that I have read the autoethnography of Franklin Lewis and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

Having known my father for the past 35 years, one becomes aware of his passion for music, his work ethic in delivering the gift of music through education and performance quite easily. However, I was not always aware why he followed this path in life.

His autoethnography gives one a clear representation of how his humble beginnings, friendships, mentors and societal influences shaped the way he approaches tasks in life. Personally, it reminded me that one's living experiences cannot be viewed in isolation, as it has a definite correlation to how one approaches other parts of life. He describes the links of his personal and professional career quite well and prepares the reader well in that sense.

I particularly found the section concerning his involvement with the eisteddfod, his determination to provide music a platform void of racial barriers quite interesting considering the strong opposition he faced from the different races. If your vision is strong, you can persevere to achieve your goals through the various obstacles and barriers put in your way.

The autoenography is a very informative, inspiring and motivating story.



Lloyd Lewis



### **9.1.3 Letter of verisimilitude from my daughter, Veda Lewis**

633 Edwin Street

Moreleta Park

Pretoria

0181

25 February 2019

#### **LETTER OF VERISIMILITUDE**

I hereby acknowledged that I have read the autoethnography of my father, Franklin Lewis and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I have always been very proud of my father, but after reading his story I developed a greater level of respect and admiration for him. I was never aware of all the sacrifices he made and stumbling blocks he had to overcome through this journey and what it took to be where he is today. He is not one to speak of it. He has always been a very humble man.

After reading his autoethnography it also gave me some perspective of where his passion to help the talented youth to pursue their dreams came from. He is especially passionate about assisting and motivating young people that wish to pursue their career in the field of arts. The field of arts has always been seen as a “risky” career move resulting in a lot of young people giving up on their dreams.

It is an inspiring and motivating story.

**Veda Lewis**

#### 9.1.4 Letter of verisimilitude from my sister, Elizabeth Lewis

82 Pentz Street  
Wellington  
7655  
20 February 2019

Dear Franklin

#### LETTER OF VERISIMILITUDE

I hereby acknowledged that I have read your autoethnography and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I am Elizabeth Lewis the older sister of Franklin Lewis as referred to in the autoethnography. I can confirm that we have very little knowledge of our family grandparents. I can remember that the grandfather (Jacob Segole) from our mother's side (Mercy Segole) was a chauffeur for the manager of the South African Dried (SAD) fruit company.

Our father John Clifford Lewis could not read and write, but he could play many different instruments like the violin, banjo, guitar and piano to name a few. Franklin was the only child who really took after him in pursuing a musical career.

I remember that myself and cousin Magdalene started piano lessons when our aunt Rebecca Segole bought her first piano. I became bored of going to piano lessons after school and soon learned that Franklin was more enthusiastic about playing and I simply gave all my music books to him. I also encouraged him to go for the piano lessons instead.

The family all loved music and encouraged Franklin to continue his musical journey and master his talents as a pianist. He was truly a natural musician and we provided him with music lyrics of the most popular songs of the time so that he could accompany our singing at functions, home parties and in church. He was the pride

of our whole family. Eventually he ended up being the organist of our church which made our mother very proud. I remember he was so small, his feet couldn't even reach the pedals of the organ but it did not deter Franklin. He was unlike other boys whom played sports like soccer, rugby and tennis. His weekend was spent playing the organ at wedding, funerals and functions, where he accompanied choirs.

His first music lessons was with Mr Denzil April at the age of ten. As he was gifted and enthusiastic, he was a fast learner and continued his music lessons at secondary school. Mr Mike Bali introduced him the international Associate Boards of the Royal Schools Music (ABRSM) examinations. The ABRSM is a recognised and accredited music examinations which conducts examinations across the globe. Franklin was now working towards perfection as a pianist.

Franklin completed his matric at Berg River Secondary School in 1972 with full distinctions. He embarked on his journey to study Bachelor of Music (BMus) at UCT, the first one in the family to study at such and esteemed institution. While studying at UCT he was the organist at St. Marks Church in District Six. He completed his studies in 1976.

**Elizabeth Lewis**

### 9.1.5 Letter of verisimilitude from my school friend, Edmond de Vries

33 Johanna Sibella Street  
WINBURG  
Free State  
South Africa  
9420

Dear Franklin,

#### LETTER OF VERSIMILITUDE

I read your autoethnography and would like to confirm some experiences which I had with you. I was born in the same year as you and a few streets away in Verlate Kloof, Wellington. Many people from that area as well as Pelonie dorp were moved due to the Group Area's Act. Most of our school years your family lived one street away from each other and our parents were friends. I remember where you lived in Schoongezicht Street.

You attended St Alban's Primary, while I went to Pauw Gedenk School. During those days already, you were very active with music training. After school while we played in the streets, you went to Mr April and later Mr Balie for piano lessons. We admired your diligence in training but later when you started earning money from teaching other kids, we were quite envious. In 1968 we both went to Bergrivier High and spent the next five years together doing the same subjects in the same class. During that time there was not an option to study Music as a subject. This was due to the curriculum policy of the then South African government. We had to work hard to pass at school, but I admired you for also doing your music studies on your own after hours. Even then, you excelled at school and I and others often copied your homework. Due to your hard work you always passed at the top of our standard. All of us envied you, because the girls competed for your attention because of your good results. Your dad, whom we knew as Uncle Barrow was also talented and played several music instruments. I remember him playing his favorite 'Danny Boy' on his violin and how he loved it when you accompanied him on the piano.

Over week-ends we often gathered at your home. Since there was no boarding school in Wellington at the time, there were many learners boarding at private homes in the area. I remember the girls who stayed next to you regularly spending time with we and our friends. We would gather around the piano in your aunt's living room and sing anything from hymns to popular songs from the LM Radio Top 20 hit parade. You could play any song just by ear. We would spend whole afternoons with you accompanying us with the piano. Sometimes we would just sit on the carpet and listen to you playing classical music. We did not understand it, but enjoyed your rendering of Bach, Mozart et al. Nobody wanted to leave, and we always looked forward to our time together in the upper room. Your parents and your aunt never complained about the room full of friends gathering in their home. You brought and kept us together with your music. The songs we were taught in church and school by Mr Balie en Mr Samaai, gained new meaning when we sang them from our hearts at your home. Sometimes when the two of us were alone, I always pressed you to play the Death March for me. You always resisted until one day you gave in and played it. I enjoyed it until your aunt rushed in and

scolded you for playing the piece. Sometimes on Sunday evenings I attended St Alban's Anglican church with you where you played the organ. I could sit with you at the back with you because I had to turn the pages of the songbook for you.

When we completed school, you unlike me, knew what you wanted to study. I remember how you had to battle on your own to gain entry to UCT to start your music studies. First you had to meet the entry standards set by the university and then battle with the government which strictly prescribed where the different race groups could study. This did not deter you and you successfully completed your studies. We met during 1973 when you stayed in Walmer Estate while studying. At the time you played the organ at St Marks Anglican church in District Six.

Today I have fond memories of our time together. In hindsight I can see how you influenced me and my friends' lives with your music. I know that you earned many accolades in music and leading choirs, but for me our time together around the piano will always be special.



(Our Standard 8 class in 1970.)

Edmond de Vries

### 9.1.6 Letter of verisimilitude from Dr Schalk Fredericks

Letter of verisimilitude from Dr Schalk PK Fredericks

PO Box 356  
Eldorado Park  
1813  
8 Khan Street  
Eldorado Park, Ext 9  
1811

Email: [schalkpfredericks@gmail.com](mailto:schalkpfredericks@gmail.com)

[sfredericks@absamail.co.za](mailto:sfredericks@absamail.co.za)

Tel. (H) 011 342 3966

Cell: 074 250 4968

Dear Franklin

I hereby acknowledged that I have read your autoethnography and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I declare this in my capacity as a former peer at the South African College of Music, University of Cape Town and provincial colleague and Music subject advisor in the House of Representatives.

I further add the following that will contribute to the trustworthiness of your story. I can relate to and corroborate nearly all of what you describe in Act 2 with regard to acceptance at the University of Cape Town and Music studies at South African College of Music. My brother and I both went the route of applying for special dispensation to attend the University of Cape Town for music studies since the 'bush college' for us, the University of the Western Cape did not offer music in the 1960s and 1970s. We opted to apply to the University of Cape Town because the SACM was considered to be the best at the time for music studies. Mr Parsley was also the administrator at the time, and I concur with your description of him and Prof Gunther Pulvermacher was also the Director at the time of my studies.

Like your fellow student and classmate from Oudtshoorn I also received music lessons from a nun at the Roman Catholic boarding school that I attended. Music was not a high school subject at the school and I therefore also went for music lessons privately. My background in the history of music and orchestral music was poor due to our social exposure and cultural environment. I can relate to your experiences at the SACM I recall not being assigned to the foremost teachers and that there were no Black lecturers. Although I did not personally participate in the Peninsula Eisteddfod for Coloureds a friend referred to having my brother as a piano adjudicator. Music

Education was the only real career option for us. Careers as orchestral musicians or conducting were closed to us because of job reservation. Although one of our peers broke through the orchestral racial barriers and was appointed as a violinist in the Cape Town Philharmonic Orchestra shortly after graduating.

The option of accommodation in the university hostels or in the vicinity of the university, Rondebosch, a white area, was not even a consideration for us. Accommodation or boarding with families, as we referred to it, was the normal route for students even at the University of the Western Cape because of the lack of facilities for Black students at universities. My brother, five years older than I am had found accommodation in Athlone on the Cape Flats and I followed suit. In my third and fourth years (1972/1973) I found accommodation in District 6, on the recommendation of a friend, with a Muslim family. At that time the forced removals to the Cape Flats had begun, houses had been razed and businesses and entertainment areas closed.

Being from Johannesburg and not being able to travel home during the Easter break, Franklin invited me home to Wellington where we travelled by train. I was welcomed into a warm, sociable home and family unit.

The backdrop to our studies and worklife was the 1976 Soweto uprising. In the year that you graduated I had just started teaching. I remember not being able to go to work on June 16 1976 because the roads were unsafe, the city council buildings along the road had been set alight and good people saved us from rushing into the turmoil by warning us and advising us to turn back. The Rand College of Education where I served as a music lecturer was closed for weeks on end during the coming years because of violent student protests, incarcerations and damage to the institutional property.

Franklin describes the subject advisory service in Act 4 with a depth of understanding that he experienced at the core of the administration, the Head Office of Coloured Affairs and he was at the very heart of the transformation in the Ministry of Education as Senior Curriculum Planner. The authoritarian approach and Separate Development in schools and in music education; the political atmosphere and attitudes of teachers though similar to my own experience in the northern provinces of the country and at provincial offices was much more intense from the Head Office. The tensions in formulating and implementing the new curriculum are all described with historical and political accuracy touched with emotional and personally lived experiences and adds much value to your autoethnography.

The use of the libretto format is a masterstroke that integrates and gives credence to your life and career through artistic and musical expression.

I fully endorse your autoethnography that brings to life vivid memories of our past.



Signed

Date: 02 May 2018

### **9.1.7 Letter of verisimilitude from Walter Johan Mercurur**

12 The Oaks,  
Pin Oak Crescent,  
Glenwood,  
Goodwood.  
7460

Dear Franklin

I hereby acknowledged that I have read Act 4 of your autoethnography and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I declare this in my capacity as an educationist, who worked at all levels of education, and retired as the Chief Education Specialist in the Directorate: Further Education and Training (Grades 10-12) at the Western Cape Education Department. Franklin Lewis reported to me while he was employed at the WCED as a Senior Curriculum Planner: Music.

I have the distinct honour and pleasure to write in favour of the lived experience of Franklin Lewis while being employed as a subject inspector in the previous education dispensation as well as post 1994 in the WCED. I wish to add the following to underscore the authenticity of his narrative.

Franklin, was brutally honest in dissecting the inequalities that existed in education and in particular Music Education in a divided race-base society. Sadly, this inequality still pervades the schooling system in a democratic South Africa. He quite eloquently described this incongruity by comparing Music Education in privileged schools with previously disadvantaged “township” schools. This situation is, however, improving albeit rather sluggishly with initiatives like the South African Schools Choral Eisteddfod (SASCE), the “Big Band”, School’s Jazz festival and many others. These initiatives are beginning to find traction with both teachers and learners, despite issues of funding still being a challenge.

I am encouraged by your efforts, Franklin, to document the ideological history of Music Education in schools in South Africa.

Best wishes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'WJ Mercuur', with a long horizontal line extending from the end of the signature.

Signed: WJ Mercuur

Regional Director: Anglican Board of Education (Western Cape)

Date: 1 August 2018

### 9.1.8 Letter of verisimilitude from Berna Pretorius

#### Letter of verisimilitude from Berna Pretorius

Soopjeshoogte Private Nature Reserve  
PO Pox 91  
Lamberts Bay  
8130

Dear Franklin

I hereby acknowledged that I have read your autoethnography and that I am satisfied that it fulfils the requirements of verisimilitude.

I declare this in my capacity as a former colleague in the subject advisory services and curriculum planning unit of the Western Cape Education Department as well as considering myself a close friend of yours.

I was deeply moved and ashamed when reading through "Act 4" for the first time.

During our years together at WCED you often spoke about the hardships you encountered as a young/new curriculum/subject advisor although I never heard you complain, you were just sharing facts. While reading "Act 4" I was overcome by sadness. Is how we as white Afrikaans South Africans treated you, our fellow colleagues and countrymen? I am ashamed that I could ever have thought "you were different to us".

I was in awe of you, your knowledge, your opening of a new world to me. Never ever did you look down at me, a mere teacher. I will never forget your words: "ag Berna, kyk maar na ons kindertjies".

You introduced me to a new curriculum, of which I was so critical being one of those who thought music was only for the privileged. You gave me the chance to work in our townships, you changed my world! I was so enriched by being exposed to fellow South Africans and their traditional music and way of thinking and doing. I had to adapt my way of thinking, changing methodologies to help learners to understand, especially the theoretical side of music, because of not being privileged enough to have started music classes at an earlier age. Where once less than 70% was not acceptable in the music class, I now felt so proud of a learner achieving a 40% and less.

I believe you have so much more to tell of the fight to get music education open to all races, taught in all schools as well as converting the so-called purists who still believe music is only for the privileged.

Thank you for the privilege of being able to work with you, getting to know you, becoming your friend, but most of all for opening my eyes. For teaching me that God created all of us to sing in His choir.

Walk tall my friend, I salute you!

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Berna Pretorius". The signature is written in a cursive style and is followed by a solid horizontal line.

Berna Pretorius

Date: 24/03/2018

### 9.1.9 Letter of verisimilitude from Joseph Jacob Moses

16 Punt Street,  
Punts Estate,  
Diepriver,  
Cape Town  
7945

Dear Franklin

I hereby confirm that I have read Act 4 of your autoethnography and concur with your narrative. I was part of most of the processes outlined and the accuracy and the detail can only be complimented.

I started my career as an instrumental music teacher at a primary school in Grassy Park, and as you clearly pointed out my class room was a converted store room. You stood for the upliftment of people and even took me by the hand and revived my music teaching career which have reached a cross road.

For a period of time you were my supervisor in the curriculum services and I could draw from your vast experiences in order to provide curriculum support to the schools that I am responsible for. We together managed the rather challenging SASCE project, and you unselfishly contributed to the success and growth of the project.

When you retired from Western Cape Education Department you knew that those that you have trained and guided were capable of continuing to make music a success in WCED.

Best Wishes



Senior Education Specialist: Music  
Western Cape Education Department  
2019-03-26

### 9.1.10 Letter of Verisimilitude from John William Theodore

PO Box 1294

OUDTSHOORN

6620

313 Buitekant Street

West Bank

OUDTSHOORN

6625

Email: [dillonlaurensdad@gmail.com](mailto:dillonlaurensdad@gmail.com); [John.Theodore@westerncape.gov.za](mailto:John.Theodore@westerncape.gov.za)

Phone: 0442725037

Cell: 0823745792

Dear Franklin

I acknowledge reading Chapter 5 of your autoethnography and can corroborate and concur with most of what you have detailed. I do this as a former peer at the SA College of Music at UCT, a colleague both as Music Advisor in the House of Representatives and later you being the Senior Curriculum Planner (SCP) for Music in the Western Cape Education Department (WCED).

At first I was filled with deep emotion as I started reading it and at one stage did not even wish to confront the realities we were faced with. Your personal reminiscences, reflections and experiences brought back feelings which I had also tried to bury a long time ago and the retelling of your own life story struck a raw nerve as the similarities in observations and influences, corresponded to my own life, albeit in a total different context.

I will comment on a few of your experiences which will also serve to corroborate some of the narrative in your story.

In the Prologue you referred to the 1995 Finnish Youth Choir which you hosted and I was privileged to meet the leader when they performed in my home town. The story of the “Matebele mealie-meal” was personally related by him at the social function afterwards, referring to your outer appearance. In Act 1, I can vouch how your father proudly sang the Al Johnson Song “Sonny Boy”, when I first visited your family one weekend as a student. The kind of songs your eldest brother sang as member of “The Night Birds”, reminded me of my eldest brother’s group “The Future Favourites” as part of the social norm during that era. Furthermore your introduction and involvement with Church music was similar to mine, showing the influence and stature our teachers had in the society. I also felt very much a loner as a music pupil with the Nuns who taught me at both Primary and High Schools. The Holy Cross Convent in Oudtshoorn was the only institution willingly providing us with Instrumental tuition and also entered us for the Trinity College of Music (London) examinations with no restrictions attached. During my final two school years at High School, I was allowed to do Music as a Subject, on provision I dropped one of my academic subjects as only white pupils were allowed to do more than six school subjects. Our forced removals from Vaaldrain, Wallace Town and North End in Oudtshoorn under the Group Areas Act, also left me with a deep sense of loss, as all our cultural heritage like schools and churches were demolished.

Like yourself, I also had to stringently follow the route year by year in applying for the special permit to enable me to do the BMus (Performance)-degree at UCT. During my additional year for the Higher Education Diploma (HDE), Prof. Michael Brimer, the Dean by then had to write to the Coloured Affairs Department to explain my situation which was slightly different from the BMus (Education)-degree which included the HDE. I was under pressure to enroll at the “Bush College” as they offered the Diploma in Education. The reason I combined both Courses was that my father felt there was more career risk due to a lack of opportunities for performers of colour then. This was rather prophetic as I faced various uphill battles as a Pianist to perform at the major venues and Orchestras later.

The pervading atmosphere, social structures and influence on us at the College of Music you aptly described during those years and the “comradely bond” especially during June 1976 and afterwards, due to our shared and painful circumstances,

pulled us through. I only felt “noticed” by the rest of the students a year after the “Soweto uprising” when I appeared at Performance Class and my Debut Recital jointly with Leonard Loebenstein in C7 – Chisholm Recital Room which attracted a Review by the Composition Lecturer, Peter Klatzow in the Cape Times of 26 July 1977. Previously our participation in the Peninsula Eisteddfod was the only platform available and when I was requested to pose for a cover photo celebrating their tenth year, I needed the advice of my father who was an ardent Teachers’ League (TLSA) member. Supporting the Alpha Magazine, a propaganda tool of the Coloured Affairs Department, promoting Coloured excellence under the Apartheid Policy, was then not favourably viewed.

Our ways did not part since you ventured in your Teaching career and I became your colleague a year after you being appointed a Music Subject Adviser in the previous dispensation and during your tenure as Music Senior Curriculum Planner for the WCED. I concur with Act 4 of your narrative, your analysis and critique of the Education System and Curriculum and the challenges we faced in the establishment of a new vision for Music in our schools. The initiatives you implemented to promote social cohesion and broadening of the curriculum, is growing and still bear fruit today whilst the SASCE and Schools’ Jazz Festival are considered to be amongst the flagship projects of the WCED.

The Libretto format is unusual but very fitting, also serving to coherently unifying the story of your life interspersed with appropriate songs, dialogue and own compositions.

I am indeed grateful for you sharing these experiences and memories with me. I fully endorse your autoethnography as fulfilling the requirements for verisimilitude.

Signed: 

Date: 30 March 2019