# Surveying Post-Apartheid Decolonisation of the BMus Curriculum at Four South African Tertiary Music Departments

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**Declaration** 

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#### **Abstract**

This thesis surveys post-apartheid curricular decolonisation at four South African tertiary music departments: Nelson Mandela University, Stellenbosch University, the University of Cape Town (South African College of Music) and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Data for this survey were obtained through systematic analysis of archival material, focusing on yearbooks and module outlines between 1994 and 2020. This data is supplemented and contextualised by 27 interviews with current and former staff members at the included music departments. The result is a critical curriculum history which, this thesis posits, has the potential to act as a mechanism for change, drawing on Agbedahin and Agbedahin's (2019) argument for the need for critical university histories. Eurocentrism and coloniality are found to be pervasive in the hidden and explicit curricula of each of the departments, albeit in varying degrees. Chapter one broaches this stubborn tenacity of coloniality and Eurocentrism in the broader context of the university and the discipline of music. The embeddedness of these notions in institutional curricula and the accommodating rapport between coloniality and neoliberalism are demonstrated in chapter two, which provides an account of institutional crisis narratives to understand the institutional environments in which curricular change takes place. Amongst other things, the survey of curricular changes taken from yearbooks and interviews in chapter three points to the sustained presence of hegemonic terminology, the continued positioning of non-traditional musics as optional and marginal and the reduction of curricular change to bureaucratic procedure. Chapter four makes sense of the survey materials of chapter three through a classification of the surveyed changes, followed by a consideration of positions on decolonisation drawn from my interviews. Taken together, this categorisation and the insights from interviews on decolonisation point to an overwhelming reliance on superficial additive strategies for curricular decolonisation that will, at best, leave intact a Eurocentric centre. In closing, the thesis urges researchers, scholars and students to "stay with the trouble" (Haraway, 2016) of decolonisation in their efforts to make "a world just a little better" (Stengers and Despret, 2014:165).

# **Opsomming**

Hierdie tesis onderneem 'n oorsig van post-apartheid kurrikulum-dekolonisering by vier Suid-Afrikaanse tersiêre musiekdepartemente: Nelson Mandela Universiteit, Universiteit Stellenbosch, Universiteit van Kaapstad (Suid-Afrikaanse Musiekkollege) en die Universiteit van KwaZulu-Natal. Data vir hierdie oorsig is versamel deur sistematiese analise van argiefmateriaal, met 'n fokus op jaarboeke en moduleraamwerke vir die tydperk 1994 tot 2020. Hierdie data word ondersteun en geplaas binne konteks aan die hand van 27 kwalitatiewe onderhoude met huidige en voormalige personeellede by die ingeslote musiekdepartemente. Die resultaat is 'n kritiese kurrikulumgeskiedenis wat, so argumenteer hierdie tesis, beskik oor die potensiaal om te dien as 'n meganisme vir verandering, na aanleiding van Agbedahin and Agbedahin (2019) se argument vir die noodsaaklikheid van kritiese universiteitsgeskiedenisse. Daar word bevind dat Eurosentrisiteit en kolonialiteit tot mindere of meerdere mate deurslaggewend is in die departemente se eksplisiete en verskuilde kurrikula. Hoofstuk een beskou hierdie problematiese voortsetting van kolonialiteit en Eurosentrisiteit in die breër konteks van die universiteit en die dissipline van musiek. Die ingesetelheid van die genoemde konsepte in die institusionele kurrikula en die akkommoderende verhouding tussen kolonialiteit en neoliberalisme word uitgelig in hoofstuk twee, wat bestaan uit 'n beskouing van institusionele krisis-narratiewe gemik daarop om die institusionele omgewings waarin kurrikulumverandering plaasvind, te begryp. Die oorsig van kurrikulumveranderinge volgens jaarboeke en onderhoude in hoofstuk drie, wys onder andere op die voortgesette teenwoordigheid van hegemoniese terminologie, die volgehoue posisionering van nietradisionele musieke as opsioneel en gemarginaliseerd en die reduseer van kurrikulumverandering tot burokratiese prosedure. Hoofstuk vier interpreteer die oorsigmateriaal in hoofstuk drie aan die hand van 'n klassifikasie van kurrikulumverandering, gevolg deur 'n oorweging van beskouings van dekolonisering in die onderhoude. As 'n geheel dui hierdie klassifikasie en insigte uit die onderhoude daarop dat dekolonisering oorweldigend steun op oppervlakkige byvoegingstrategieë vir die dekolonisering van die kurrikulum wat, ten beste, 'n Eurosentriese sentrum onaangeraak laat. Ter afsluiting, spoor hierdie tesis navorsers en studente aan om "die ongemak te handhaaf" (Haraway, 2016) van dekolonisering in 'n poging om die wêreld selfs net 'n klein bietjie beter te maak (Stengers and Despret, 2014:165).

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If raising a child takes a village, so, too, does the writing of a thesis. A few words of thanks are necessary.

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# **List of Interviews**

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Interview 23 26 August 2020.

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Interview 26. 26 August 2020.

Interview 27. 6 July 2020.

# **Chapter One: Opening Moves**

## **Introduction**

In 2015, tension surrounding student funding and decolonisation at South African universities reached boiling point. The resulting #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall movements that jolted the country and its universities exposed not only what Jonathan Jansen (1998:109) has called the "Achilles heel of [formerly] white institutions: the kind of knowledge (and therefore authority)" that was passed (and is still passed) on to African students as "unquestionable truth and inscrutable value" but also the inherently colonial nature of South African universities. Students' arguments echoed Walter Mignolo's (2011a:11) statement that universities in previously colonised countries are so "embedded in colonial histories" that they have become the "West's colonial surrogates". Additionally, students widely criticised the tertiary sector for what they felt was a lack of institutional will to transform.

Music departments at tertiary institutions were not immune to these critiques. At the University of Cape Town (UCT), a group of students from the South African College of Music (SACM) formed the Inkqubela movement and demanded the urgent decolonisation and transformation of music studies at the university.<sup>2</sup> In a now-infamous interview, UCT student activist Athabile Nonxuba charged that "white lecturers teach students African music and [that] the base of music studies is classical European music" (Evans, 2016).<sup>3</sup> Music student and activist Larissa Johnson took to Facebook in October 2015 and declared the SACM a "nice strong bastion of white supremacist capitalist patriarchy".<sup>4</sup> At Nelson Mandela University's Bird Street Campus, music lectures that continued during the 2016 #FeesMustFall shutdown were halted by student protestors from within the music department. Student protestors at Stellenbosch University (SU) occupied the music library and demanded free, decolonised education. Taking a different tack, the Africa Open Institute for Music, Research and Innovation (AOI) that resides in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at SU, jointly organised the #YoureInChainsToo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> From the disproportionate coverage accorded them, events such as protest actions at South African universities would appear to be more noteworthy when they occur at historically white universities (HWUs) (Langa, 2016:6; Lange, 2019:80). At historically black universities (HBUs), students were protesting about fee issues long before the advent of the #MustFall movements in 2015–16. It was only when such protests disrupted HWUs such as Wits and UCT that the nation (and its media) took notice. This underscores the historical biases that still favour HWUs and demonstrates their inherently privileged nature.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This thesis uses decolonisation rather than transformation as conceptual frame, although transformation will be evoked as a related term to decolonisation. For an extensive consideration of transformation in the context of music, see Oladele Oladokun Ayorinde (2018:21–50).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Whether this is truly the case is debatable. At the time of Nonxuba's statement, of the three staff members working in African Music or Ethnomusicology at the SACM, two were persons of colour and one was white. Nonxuba, at the time, was a public policy and administration student. It is not clear whether his observations were made in reference to the (mainly white) body of SACM teaching staff, or whether he was making a statement on the situation in general at South African tertiary music departments.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> According to my personal e-mail correspondence with Johnson (7 June 2020), the post was reported to and subsequently removed by Facebook.

concert in 2016 "in solidarity with victims of violence resulting from the student protests" (Interruption: You're in Chains Too, 2018:53).<sup>5</sup>

Scholars have pointed to a perceived lack of transformation in the curricula of music departments in post-apartheid South Africa (King, 2018; Mapaya, 2016; Stolp, 2015, 2016a) as well as the hegemonic superiority that Western art music has enjoyed and how the university system further enforces this hegemony (Venter, Fourie, Pistorius and Muyanga, 2018; Viviers, 2017).<sup>6</sup> As Stephanus Muller (2017) states, "the link between the ideological assumptions of Western art music in its colonial iterations and assumptions of white (cultural/musical) supremacy, ha[s] ... become a rich field of investigation and critique for South African music scholars".<sup>7</sup>

Despite these critiques levelled against South African tertiary music departments, curricular decolonisation at South African music departments has yet to be the subject of systematic scrutiny. To my knowledge, no systematic study has been done to measure the extent, or lack, of curricular change at tertiary music departments in post-apartheid South Africa. Existing critiques are based on informal observation and personal experience (King, 2018; Stolp, 2012, 2015; Walker, 2019), 8 consider aspects of the curriculum such as its valorisation of musical autonomy and performance (Viljoen, 2014) as well as its separation from African musical practice (Mapaya, 2016), or offer fairly brief overviews that do not take a longer view of curricular change (Devroop, 2014; Johnson, 2018; Pauw, 2017; Stolp, 2019). Notwithstanding the importance of this work, I believe that a consideration of curricular change through systematic inquiry, interviews and critical reading of the relevant literature will fill an important gap in these debates. With this in mind, the present study constructs a critical curriculum history that traces a post-apartheid trajectory of content taught to BMus students at four South African music departments at historically white universities: Nelson Mandela University, Stellenbosch University (SU), the University of Cape Town's (UCT) South African College of Music (SACM) and the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). In arguing for the importance of such a critical curriculum history, I draw on the work of Adesuwa Vanessa Agbedahin and Komlan Agbedahin (2019) regarding the need for critical histories of South African universities and the potential of such critical university histories to energise the decolonisation of curricula.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> AOI is an interesting example of a research institute with a specific focus on decolonisation. Part of its vision is to "work amidst the collapse of promise that pervades the exhausted state of music as a colonial academic discipline" (Africa Open Institute, 2019). The focus of my particular research on the undergraduate curriculum places AOI somewhat beyond the purview of this work, although I recognise that centres such as these play an incredibly important part in the shaping of thought on decolonisation in music discourse.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Some critiques pre-dated the student protests (Ballantine, 1984; Devroop, 2014; Lucia, 2007; Mngoma, 1990; Stolp, 2012; Viljoen, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Regrettably, as Muller (2017:2) observes, some critiques have been "met with fierce resistance, including institutional censure and legal threats".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Mareli Stolp (2012), for example, acknowledges that most of her statements regarding the lack of transformation in tertiary music institutions are based on personal experience rather than formal analysis or investigation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Existing critiques of South African tertiary music education will be elaborated upon further in this chapter.

## **Rationale**

The present study is born of the desire to address the absence of a systematic, comparative enquiry into post-apartheid curricular change at South African music departments. It reflects on curricular decolonisation since 1994 at four institutions – Nelson Mandela University, Stellenbosch University, the University of Cape Town and the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

The primary research question is the following:

 What has taken place in terms of curricular decolonisation at the four included music departments since 1994?<sup>10</sup>

This question opens onto several secondary questions:

- How do individual staff members at the music departments included in this study think about and approach (curricular) decolonisation?
- How, if at all, did #RhodesMustFall, #FeesMustFall and their call for the decolonisation of the curriculum and universities affect these departments?
- How do the four departments included in this study compare to one another, and what insights (shared problems and innovative pathways forward) might stem from this comparison?

## **Methodology and Research Design**

#### **Choice of Institutions**

The four departments were selected specifically with a view on engaging a variety of underpinning institutional backgrounds and values. South African tertiary institutions generally fall into one of two broad categories – historically white universities (HWUs) and historically black universities (HBUs). HWUs can be further divided into historically Afrikaans-medium and English-medium universities. As noted by Ian Bunting (2006:39), it is not the language of the institution that is the main differential but rather that Afrikaans universities supported the National Party government and its apartheid higher education policies (especially that of universities being "creatures" and "servants" of the state), and the English universities generally did not. As a result, the latter referred to themselves as liberal universities to indicate "their refusal to adopt the apartheid government's view that universities are simply 'creatures of the state'" (Ibid.:42).

The councils and executives of Afrikaans universities not only accepted the ideology of being "creatures of the state" but actively supported the apartheid government and its educational policies by considering "acting in the service of government" to be their main role (Bunting, 2006:40). As a result, they had

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Although this thesis is particularly concerned with the post-apartheid era (i.e. post-1994), significant changes predating the official demise of apartheid will also be mentioned, as they fundamentally inform the institutional cultures that embed each of the four music departments under consideration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Apartheid legislation further divided HBUs into Indian, coloured and African universities (Hendricks, 2018:24).

explicit ideological links with the apartheid government, with intellectual agendas generally determined by their perceived "duty to preserve the apartheid status quo" (Ibid.:41). In other words, these institutions "were specifically oriented towards buttressing the ideology of the apartheid state" (Hendricks, 2018:24).

The classification of English institutions as liberal is itself not without problems. As noted by Bunting (2006:42), the liberal classification is "highly ambiguous". Although the liberal universities argued that the concept of academic freedom and their very nature as universities meant that they were not "servants of the state", they happily accepted funding from the apartheid government (Ibid.). Franklin Arthur Lewis's (2019:164) remarks, although made with regards to UCT, can be taken as paradigmatic: "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." Cheryl Hendricks (2018:24) notes another reason for the ambiguity of the term liberal in this context: "The supposedly liberal institutions ... were [are] steeped in their own racism", which went beyond "denying and/or limiting black academic appointments, discrediting their credentials if they challenged the status quo, or limiting black student entry. It was embedded in the very essence of these universities, what they studied, how they studied and how they organised their disciplines – the curriculum."

# Nelson Mandela University

The University of Port Elizabeth (UPE), established in 1965, became known as the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) in 2004 upon its amalgamation with the Port Elizabeth Technikon and the local campus of Vista University. Of these three institutions, only the University of Port Elizabeth offered programmes in music, where the Department of Music was established in 1966 (N. Bosman, personal communication, 6 July 2020). In 2017, the university officially adopted the name Nelson Mandela University.<sup>13</sup>

I completed my undergraduate studies at Nelson Mandela University and since it is the particular dynamics around decolonisation and curriculum transformation in the music department there that first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> An example of indirect state control over so-called liberal universities is the "Archie Mafeje affair" in 1968 at UCT. Mafeje's appointment as a senior lecturer in the Department of Social Anthropology in 1968 was retracted by the UCT council following a request from the then Minister of National Education, Jan de Klerk. Although it was not illegal to appoint a black academic at a white university at the time, De Klerk informed UCT that, if they did not comply with the generally accepted expectation that universities would only appoint whites, "the Government will not hesitate in taking such steps as it may deem fit to ensure that the tradition referred to above is observed" (De Klerk, cited in Hendricks, 2008:432). For Fred Hendricks (2008:423), the Mafeje Affair shows "just how close some of the liberal universities were to the apartheid regime, both in their thinking about race and in their policies and practices". It also serves as a further demonstration of the ambiguousness of the term liberal when referring to these universities (Hendricks, 2018:24; Hendricks, 2008:423).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In accordance with the university's wishes, I refer to the university in full and not the acronym NMU, to not devalue "the worth" of the iconic name of Nelson Mandela which "speaks volumes around the globe" (Nelson Mandela University, n.d.).

piqued my interest in these matters, there is a certain degree of pragmatism involved in its selection for this study. Pragmatism and personal experience to one side, what makes the institution particularly interesting for this study is the specific circumstances surrounding its formation and the resultant institutional culture. At the time of UPE's establishment in 1965, "white politics ... was chiefly driven by an English liberal versus Afrikaner nationalist division" (Naudé, 2003:113). White politicians at the time believed that the Republic would only succeed if the two white races were brought together (Immelman, cited in Rautenbach, 1995:101), leading to the search for "the realisation of a broad white coalition" (Naudé, 2003:113). T.C. Rautenbach argues that this search was a significant factor in the founding of UPE as well as its bilingual nature and cites Senator Jan de Klerk to support his argument:

Since the honourable Dr HF Verwoerd has repeatedly called for co-operation between English and Afrikaans speakers – co-operation that may no longer be left undone if our Western white civilisation is to remain here at the southern tip of Africa – your city, through the establishment of a dual-medium university, now gets the unique opportunity to demonstrate that such co-operation is indeed possible.

(Naudé's translation of De Klerk, cited in Rautenbach, 1995:177)

Piet Naudé (2003:113–114) argues that this "ideological act of nation-building" rather had the opposite effect, resulting in the formation of a "more diverse and open community" than would have been the case had the university been exclusively English or Afrikaans. The Centre for Higher Education Transformation (2000:15) concurs that the bilingual policy inadvertently "created the space for a group of white dissidents, who then undermined the ideology [of white unity to further apartheid] and contributed significantly to the demise both of the founding vision and of its proponents". Bunting (2006:40) takes a more pessimistic view of the institutional culture of the former UPE, noting that it was established in the early 1960s "as a way of bringing conservative white English-speaking students into the government fold" and that the university's executive and governing body was still largely Afrikaans. Whether history sides with Naudé's account of dissent and radicalism or Bunting's more pessimistic view, or somewhere between the two, it cannot be denied that these contrasting views make a compelling case for the existence (at least in the past) of a unique institutional culture at Nelson Mandela University which subscribes fully to neither the English liberal nor Afrikaans conservative model. This makes Nelson Mandela University a fascinating institution to include in this study.

#### Stellenbosch University

Stellenbosch University has always had close ties with the Afrikaners and their political, ideological and social convictions (Brink, 2006:1).<sup>14</sup> As Muller (2017) reminds us, some of South Africa's "most notorious apartheid politicians" studied and worked at the institution. Its music department traces its foundations to the establishment of The South African Conservatorium of Music in 1905 by Friedrich

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Its establishment was enabled by the 1915 bequest of a wealthy Stellenbosch farmer, JH Marais, who bequeathed an amount of £100,000 to the then Victoria College upon his passing. The money was to be used to ensure that "the Dutch language in both its forms (that is, Afrikaans and Dutch) ... occupy no lesser place than the other official language" (Marais, cited in Brink, 2006:20).

Wilhelm Jannasch (South African/German), Hans Endler (Austrian), Armin Schniter (Swiss), Nancy de Villiers and Elisabeth von Willich (the latter both South African) (Brouckaert, 2015:16). The institution initially focused on training music teachers and church organists (Stellenbosch University, 2020b). In 1934, the Conservatorium was absorbed into Stellenbosch University as a university department and gradually expanded its academic, research and musical activities. Accordingly, the department claims to be the oldest institution of its kind in South Africa (Stellenbosch University, 2020). Evident from the nationalities of the founding members, the department has strong historical links to Germany and the Austro-German tradition. Endler's eventual remodelling of the institution on the model of the Vienna Akademie für Musik und Darstellende Kunst (Malan, 1982:20, cited in Brouckaert, 2015:28) is further evidence of this German/Austrian influence.

The SU Department of Music has a self-declared focus on art music. <sup>16</sup> According to the departmental website, art music is a "naturalised form of expression", with the department's privileging of this music declared the result of its "particular location, environment and history" (Stellenbosch University, 2020b). This is problematic in many ways. Firstly, no such statement on geography and location can be viewed as neutral in post-apartheid South Africa, since one of the main premises of apartheid was a separation and grouping of people based on ethnicity (and to some extent, culture). Second, as Viviers (2016:231) notes, there are no "institutional structures" such as professional orchestras, opera houses or even opera companies in Stellenbosch which would be expected of an environment presented as "the home territory of a national art music style". It is as if Stellenbosch is synonymous with Western art music precisely because of the department's focus and continued production of that music, and not because of some innate flourishing of Western art music in the town.

In line with the conservative, Afrikaans origins of Stellenbosch University, the curriculum in use in the SU Department of Music, as Martina Viljoen (2014:127) observes, is "more traditional" than that of many other music departments in South Africa. The explicit historical alignment of SU, together with a long history of Western art music practised in its music department, makes it especially important in the context of questions concerned with decolonisation.

The University of Cape Town: South African College of Music

The South African College of Music (SACM) was established in 1910 as an independent music education institution (Morison, 1955; UCT News, 1975:2 cited in Davids, 2018:69). In 1923, the college was incorporated into the university, making it one of the oldest music departments in the country (University of Cape Town, 2019). The SACM has had strong ties to Britain ever since its establishment. Not only were many of its founders members of the English elite at the Cape (Davids, 2018:70), but the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Rebecca Brouckaert (2015) has done important historical work regarding the early years of The South African Conservatorium of Music and the department. Further historical work has been done by Izak J. Grové (2005). Chris Walton (2007) offers a contrasting perspective to that of Grové.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The absence of "Western" is especially interesting to note and will be commented on in chapter three.

first director of the SACM, W. H. Bell, was recruited from the Royal Academy of Music in London in 1912 (Morrison, 1955, cited in Davids, 2018:70). This imperial connection was further entrenched by the appointment of successive (male) international directors of the SACM, mostly recruited from Britain (Ibid.). This "entrench[ed] an elitist colonial ethos" at the SACM along with the Conservatoire model of a music school (Davids, 2018:72). The SACM "offers a diverse range of degrees and diplomas" in various disciplines, including African Music, and proclaims to be "considered ... the leading music school in South Africa" (University of Cape Town, 2019). Its claims of a diverse offering, as well as strong historical ties to Britain, interestingly contrasts the SACM to the music departments at Nelson Mandela University and SU.

#### The University of KwaZulu-Natal

The music department at the historically white, liberal, English University of Natal was founded in the early 1970s. <sup>18</sup> In 2004, the University of Natal and the University of Durban-Westville – a HBU which was designated for "Indians" during the apartheid era (Bunting, 2006:44) – merged to form the University of KwaZulu-Natal. This merger also included the incorporation of the music department from the previous Natal Technikon, which had a very successful and vibrant music programme, into the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Interviewee 1, 2020; Interviewee 17, 2020). <sup>19</sup> Historically, the University of Natal has had a strong focus on popular music and jazz, a focus which lives on in the current department (University of KwaZulu-Natal, n.d.:a). This broad and diverse scope of offerings is well documented by external sources as well (Pauw, 2017; Stolp, 2019). The seeming contrast between its positioning and offering and that of the other selected institutions makes it another important institution to include in this study. Additionally, its inclusion means that the universities of technology (previous Technikons) and the institutional mergers that played out in the early 2000s are not wholly ignored in this study.

#### Methodology

The research presented in this thesis relies on a historical case study design as developed by Michael M. Widdersheim (2018), combining various aspects of historical study and case study research. Historical case studies can include one or several cases. The "temporal range" (time period observed) of a historical case study extends from the (distant) past (typical of historical studies) to the present (typical of case studies) (Ibid.:148). Further, historical case study research uses sources traditionally associated with both historical and case study. Archival research and other documentary sources typical

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> For a discussion on Bell as a composer in terms of settler colonialism, see Claudia Jansen van Rensburg (2018).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> It appears as if the first intake of students occurred in 1973 (Interviewee 10, 2020; Parker, 1987:19). The appointment of Michael Brimer as head of the department occurred as early as 1970 (Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1970).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The music department of the University of Durban-Westville is commonly thought of as involved in this merger. However, as the latter's music department was already defunct at the time of the merger, it was only some of its instruments and equipment that were brought to the newly formed department. For more on the merger of the two institutions, see Nithaya Chetty and Christopher Merrett (2014:48–65).

of historical studies are therefore combined with interviews, surveys and observations associated with case study research (Ibid.). The present study is an example of such a combination of source material and makes use of archival research, close reading of documents such as yearbooks and module outlines as well as semi-structured interviews with past and current staff members at the four included music departments.<sup>20</sup> Yearbooks and module outlines provide a clear paper-trail concerning broad changes in the curriculum. As module descriptions in yearbooks are frequently left intentionally vague to privilege curricular flexibility, it is difficult to determine actual module content from module outlines alone.<sup>21</sup> In addition, the formalisation of major content changes for inclusion in yearbooks demands time and often extensive bureaucratic processing. As a result, there is ordinarily a gap between what appears in yearbooks and actual taught content. Interviews with past and current staff members address this problem, in addition to creating a better idea of the true content of modules and shedding light on the presentation of certain modules, the dynamics around curriculum change in departments as well as the struggles that lecturers often face in their attempts to implement changes to the curriculum.

The research process of a historical case study as proposed by Widdersheim (2018) consists of three stages: source collection and analysis, data collection and analysis and data interpretation. Stage one produces idiographic, or case-specific, knowledge in that it generates "a general narrative and chronology of the case and a list of actors and themes" (Widdersheim, 2018:148). In stage two, the research framework is used to "describe the case[s] over time", with the help of the sources collected in stage one. The temporal units (and if multiple cases, different cases) are analysed in a "uniform way" to facilitate comparisons between temporal units and cases (Ibid.). As in stage one, stage two results in idiographic knowledge. In stage three, the descriptions generated in stage two are used to uncover patterns "in the similarities and differences of the temporal units" and cases in order to develop a theory for "why the case[s] developed as it [they] did" (Ibid.). Stage three thus produces nomothetic, or general, knowledge.

For this specific study, the first stage consisted of identifying the institutions to be included, deciding on the temporal range for the case studies, obtaining the necessary gatekeeper permission and ethics clearance from included institutions, obtaining yearbooks and archival documents, approaching potential interviewees to organise interviews, tabulating the module changes included in the yearbooks and conducting interviews. I conducted 27 interviews, taking care to approach staff, present and past, involved in several academic modules: history, theory, musicology, music education and ethnomusicology. These interviews took place in person and, later on, virtually as a result of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Yearbooks are generally the term used in Afrikaans or formerly Afrikaans universities, such as Stellenbosch. English universities, such as UCT and UKZN, refer to these books as handbooks. Another designation sometimes used is "calendar".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> In fact, Interviewee 9 (2020) who is a long-time member of their institution's committee responsible for, amongst other things, the faculty's yearbook and the processing of changes to modules, confirmed that this strategy is employed at some institutions to give lecturers a certain degree of freedom in terms of module content.

COVID-19 pandemic. In a small number of instances, interviewees opted to respond in writing to a list of questions I provided.<sup>22</sup>

Following the completion of the interviews, the second stage of the research process, data collection and analysis, involved analysing the curricular change data obtained from the yearbook tables and interviews with the help of Michael Cross's (2004) framework of affirmative or transformative remedies and Vanessa de Oliveira Andreotti, Sharon Stein, Cash Ahenakew and Dallas Hunt's (2015) framework for the classification of decolonisation strategies – the "everything is awesome" space, the "soft reform" space, the "radical-reform" space and the "beyond-reform" space.

In the third and final stage of the research process, the surveyed changes at the different institutions were compared and common traits and problems were identified. Additionally, views on decolonisation shared by the interviewees were interrogated to contextualise the presence or absence of curricular decolonisation in the ways observed, i.e. to shed light on the question of why decolonisation has unfolded in a particular manner at a particular institution. De Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*'s (2015) framework for understanding decolonisation strategies was again employed as a form of classification enabling further discussion of interviewees' views on decolonisation. Regarding both usages of this categorisation, it is important to note that this is not a normative categorisation and has not been utilised here as such. Rather, in both instances, it demonstrates and enables the examination of tensions, complexities and paradoxes prevalent in the decolonisation debate, which is, as de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.* (2015:22) note, vital pedagogical work.

Due to limitations beyond my control, most notably potential interviewees declining to be part of this study, I am unable to represent all subject areas equally within the four included departments, which means that my research might overlook important curricular innovation or stagnation in certain areas. In ten instances, individuals refused to be interviewed for a variety of reasons: I am simply too busy right now, or I cannot remember the finer details from my time at the institution. Hendrik Hofmeyr declined, stating that: "I have been the victim a number of times of the baseless accusations and wilful distortions that characterise the so-called New Musicology as practised by Stephanus Muller and his cohorts, and must decline to be part of any process, however well-intentioned, that could provide them with more fodder for their egregious self-promotion".<sup>23</sup> I mention some of these reasons, as I believe they speak, and speak eloquently, about what was not spoken, in addition to pointing to systemic challenges and perceived epistemic divisions that continue to persist.

Ethics clearance and gatekeeper permission were obtained from all included institutions and informed consent was obtained from participants.<sup>24</sup> All interviews have been anonymised and been assigned a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The interview protocol has been attached as addendum A.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> This is the only instance in my research where an individual providing comment is named. Refer to the below explanation for this decision, which was taken in consultation with Hofmeyr.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> The interviewee consent form has been attached as addendum B.

random number.<sup>25</sup> As a further measure to ensure the anonymity of the interviewees, certain interviewee statements have been translated from Afrikaans to English. Lastly, as interviewees' institutional affiliation can be deduced from certain attributed statements, in certain instances where particularly critical statements are made, I have omitted the interviewee's number to ensure complete anonymity. The reason for this is simple: my interest is not the attribution of statements to individuals but engagement with prevailing views on curricular change in the included departments. In one instance above, the identity of one individual who declined to be interviewed for this study was made known with their permission. I took this decision because the individual in question named a South African researcher as part of their reason for not participating in this study. I felt uncomfortable to extend selective anonymity and was concerned that naming individuals under the convenient cover of anonymity would be ethically questionable. I suggested to the individual one of two possible scenarios: either the name of the South African researcher is removed and the statement is retained anonymously, or the name of the South African researcher is retained, with the understanding that the name of the individual making the comment will also be disclosed in the research. The individual chose to opt for the latter.

Since the exact extent and nature of changes to the curriculum cannot be quantified, this study is qualitative in nature. When conducting qualitative research, it is essential to recognise that "the researcher is a central figure who influences, if not actively constructs, the collection, selection and interpretation of data" (Finlay, 2002:212). At the outset, it is thus necessary to be clear about my positionality in this work, since this positionality significantly influenced the way in which I collected and made sense of the data, as well as the eventual results of the study.

This study responds to a concern I had as an undergraduate student at Nelson Mandela University that decolonisation and curricular change at South African tertiary music departments lacked internal integrity. Increasingly, I felt that curricular change had become a bureaucratic exercise although, as an undergraduate student, I did not necessarily possess the vocabulary to articulate these concerns.

I believe that worthwhile research challenges and changes the researcher in the process, and this study is no exception. As I embarked on the current project in early 2019, my views on decolonisation were caught between ambivalence and interest in what I believed to be a worthy endeavour. As I conducted interviews, read works by anti-racist, decolonial and African music scholars, thought hard and grappled with my training in Western art music, I became convinced of the urgent necessity for decolonisation and aware of my complicity in what is a hegemonic status quo. The work presented here is informed by my own position as a young, female, white scholar trained in Western art music and musicology. This training and cultural background I share with many of my interviewees – something I later

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> As part of the informed consent process, interviewees agreed to have their institutional affiliation made known. Interviewees also had the option to withdraw from the study if they preferred to remain completely anonymous.

discovered both complicated and assisted this research. Assisted, because there was an unexpected rapport with many of the interviewees who perhaps felt I understood, even agreed, with their position on decolonisation on account of shared aesthetic and cultural backgrounds. Complicated, because at times I unconsciously (and in retrospect, disturbingly) reverted to an earlier, less aware and less certain version of myself. I found myself nodding along and agreeing to statements which did not at all reflect my current beliefs. Returning to interview transcripts in the final months of writing up this research, I realised they contained much more than information on modules and pedagogical approaches. What I had in front of me was enactments and re-enactments of gender, race and other rituals, stereotypes and allegiances in ways both fascinating and disturbing: the rather ambitious postgraduate, white female student conducting interviews with lecturers, senior lecturers, professors and heads of department, no longer as a student asking for instruction, but now in some way as herself a researcher with questions, agendas, concerns and vulnerabilities. There is a great deal more to unpack here, which I hope to do in subsequent self-reflexive work.

Since "research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise but an activity with stakes that occurs in a set of political and social conditions" (Smith, 2008:5), it is also important to acknowledge the contradiction inherent in conducting research on decolonisation. Research and "the pursuit of knowledge" are so "deeply embedded" in colonialism and its practices that colonialism's underlying code is said to be "regulated and realised" by these activities (Ibid.:2, 8). However, research can also be utilised to "research back" in the spirit of much anti-colonial literature (Ibid.:7).

One way in which one can "research back" is to be mindful of the politics of citation. As Sara Ahmed (2013) notes, "citation [is] a rather successful reproductive technology, a way of reproducing the world around certain bodies". This is because citation is deeply connected to the accumulation of notions of prestige and authority. By citing certain sources, we show that we "know the 'right' people to refer to" (Mott and Cockayne, 2017:961). The number of times a work is cited in turn increases its prestige – citations identify "whose work matters and has significance", "offer[ing] prestige" in higher education's increasingly prestige-driven environment (Baker, 2019). Citing regularly-cited authors boosts their "performance metrics" even further (Mott and Cockayne, 2017:961) and may unwittingly block the entry of other voices by acting as a "screening technique": "the existence of others" can be "screen[ed] out" when "certain bodies take up spaces" (Ahmed, 2013, emphasis in original). This makes the convention of citation extremely important and overtly political. Citation practices can either "reproduce the inequalities in our disciplines or scholarship, as well as the larger world" or counter and resist this inequality (Baker, 2019). When employed correctly, citation can be a "revolutionary ... intervention" that opens the possibility of a different, better world (Ibid.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> I elaborate on such an instance on page 68 of this thesis.

With this in mind, this thesis follows the suggestions of Carrie Mott and Daniel Cockayne (2017) on how to resist citation's tendency to "reproduce a white heteromasculinist neoliberal academy" and to engage conscientiously with the act of citation. Care has been taken to include a variety of voices (women, people of colour, graduate students, early career scholars and, where relevant, non-academics). A wide range of sources has been utilised – in addition to traditional scholarly formats, I have made a deliberate attempt to include sources such as conference presentations, online blog posts and dissertations by graduate students. Such a move away from the "narrow range of acceptable forums" for academic sources is crucial to "legitimate the multiple ways that knowledge is produced" (Mott and Cockayne, 2017:968). This move is particularly significant considering that many of the important debates on decolonisation and #FeesMustFall took place on social media. The adoption of such an approach therefore enables the inclusion of these vital debates.

# **Terminological Considerations**

A word on the use of curriculum in this study is necessary. Curriculum entails much more than course content set out in module outlines and yearbooks. Scholars varyingly define curriculum from encompassing solely the "course of study" (i.e. the planned content delivered to students in classroom situations) to "all learning experiences throughout life" (Breault and Marshall 2010:179). Leslie Owen Wilson (n.d.) notes as many as eleven perspectives on curriculum: societal curriculum, phantom curriculum, concomitant curriculum, rhetorical curriculum, curriculum-in-use, received curriculum, internal curriculum, electronic curriculum, explicit or overt curriculum, hidden curriculum and null curriculum.<sup>27</sup>

The societal curriculum is the all-enveloping, "ongoing, informal curriculum of family, peer groups, neighbourhoods, churches, organisations, occupations, mass media, and other socialising forces that 'educate' all of us throughout our lives" (Cortes, 1981:24, cited in Wilson, n.d.), whereas the phantom curriculum comprises those messages and themes students encounter through exposure to different types of media. In contrast, the concomitant curriculum is "what is taught, or emphasized at home", either explicitly or through familial experiences. Rhetorical curriculum refers to the ideas and knowledge offered to the curriculum by administrators, policymakers and politicians through formal policies, documents and reports. The curriculum-in-use, in turn, refers to "the actual curriculum that is delivered and presented" to students, while that which students end up taking out of the classrooms, i.e. "those concepts and content that are truly learned and remembered", is known as the received

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Another important aspect of curriculum is the different curriculum planning models. A.V. Kelly (1999) and Mark Priestley (2019) identify three main curriculum models: "curriculum as content and education as transmission, curriculum as product and education as instrumental, [and] curriculum as process and education as development". Mark Smith (2000) suggests a fourth model, "curriculum as praxis", which also advocates for education as development but makes an "explicit commitment to emancipation" not necessarily present in the curriculum as process model. Although the first two models are most prevalent in neoliberal views on education (Priestley, 2019), the decolonisation of universities and knowledge requires a view of curriculum as praxis, i.e. curriculum as emancipatory. This study therefore does not limit itself to one of these curriculum models.

curriculum (Wilson, n.d.). When this knowledge from the classroom combines with the "experiences and realities of the learner" and new knowledge is formed, the internal curriculum results (Ibid.). The electronic curriculum is that which is learnt while searching the internet for information, or through using electronic forms of communication, such as social media (Wilson, 2004, cited in Wilson, n.d.).

In this study, I follow the example of curriculum scholars concerned with the decolonisation of the curriculum, such as Lesley Le Grange (2016:7), by focusing on the explicit, hidden and null curricula.<sup>28</sup> The explicit curriculum is the actual content given to students in the form of module frameworks, prescribed readings and assessment guidelines. The hidden curriculum is not explicitly taught but is what students learn about the "dominant culture of a university" and its values, whereas the null curriculum is what is not taught at all, in other words, what is left out.<sup>29</sup> While the explicit and null curricula encompass content that is taught or not taught, the hidden curriculum does not deal with course content alone. For example, if a university does not take strong action against sexism on campus, the hidden curriculum might be that the university does not view gender equality as either a priority or a problem. Such impressions might then be strengthened by the unquestioned teaching of material developed predominantly by male academics or with sexist undertones, or a largely male professorial body.

Each of these three perspectives on the curriculum is vital to consider when one sets out to discover what the music departments under consideration value or deem insignificant. These dimensions intersect and inform each other to a considerable degree. Noting what is optional, compulsory and entirely excluded from the explicit curriculum reveals points of intersection between the explicit, hidden and null curricula. For example, if musics other than Western art music are barely taught (null curriculum) or are situated on the margins, a tacit valorisation of Western art music as superior and universal is upheld, even if never explicitly identified as such. An intersection of the hidden and explicit curriculum emerges when considering ideologies underpinning the explicit curriculum. Such ideologies, although not explicitly taught, are conveyed through the uncritical teaching of certain material and the use of hegemonic or marginalising terminology.

In addition to curriculum, it is necessary to define certain categorical terms that will be encountered in this study. "Non-traditional" is used to designate non-Western art music courses. I am well aware that this could be read as implying that Western art music is traditional and everything else is – implicitly – without tradition, a view that is epistemologically and ideologically flawed. My use of the term non-traditional is guided by the context of each department and what has been regarded in each instance as traditional. Staying with music, the plural form of music – musics – is used in this study in an attempt

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The curriculum-in-use is also relevant, as it could include curriculum innovation not included in the formal curriculum information, for various reasons already noted. The inclusion of insights gleaned from the interviews will ensure that this aspect of the curriculum is not overlooked.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Viljoen (2014) addresses the hidden curriculum in South African tertiary music departments.

to transcend the boundaries created by distinct types or genres such as jazz, classical, African and popular music (Pauw, 2015:72). The terms Global North, Europe and the West are variably used throughout the study. Whereas the meaning of Europe is self-evident, Global North and the West are interchangeably used to refer to the "so-called" modern developed societies of Europe and North America.

With reference to curricular offerings, "course" is used to designate the subject area as it is presented over one or more years of study – for example, Music in History and Society. The different iterations of this, which vary from term to term, or semester to semester, are called modules – for example, Music in History and Society: Baroque. Compulsory or core modules are mandatory for all students, whereas electives are optional modules students may select. The abbreviation BMus is used to refer to the Bachelor of Music degree, which is also sometimes referred to as a programme. Within this programme, there are often different specialisation options, which are called streams.

#### A Note on Exclusions

Like most projects of its kind, this thesis excludes as much as it includes, and it is necessary to contextualise these exclusions at the outset. Ideally, all tertiary music departments in South Africa should have been included in this study, yet the limited scope and time constraints of a master's thesis did not allow for the inclusion of more than four institutions. I believe that the findings presented in this thesis do not diminish in significance as a result of this limitation. One particular absence is a historically black university (HBU) on the list of included institutions. The decision to exclude such a university department was not taken lightly and resides in the first instance with the central concern of my research, namely those institutions that have been historically invested in the advancement of the Western academic project. Additionally, early in the study it was decided to select only institutions where curricular decolonisation is primarily driven by institutional will, rather than an explicit institutional directive from the government to address the epistemic injustices of the past. This meant that the music departments of the Universities of Fort Hare, Venda and Zululand were excluded on account of a specific mandate by the South African government in 2003 to "play a leading role in redressing these [sic] past negation of imbalances in the arts and culture of the historically marginalised people of South Africa" (Ngubane 2003, cited in Mugovhani, 2012:3).30 These specific universities were selected for their "particular expertise and interest in ethnomusicology, social anthropology, oral history and African Languages" with the intention of "stimulat[ing] interest" in these disciplines at these institutions (Ibid.). Additionally, the across-the-board downsizing and closure of music departments at

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> In the case of the University of Fort Hare, this mandate came after David Dargie, installed as HOD in 1995, had already changed the focus of the department from Western to African music, with a special emphasis on the musical instruments of the region (Bleibinger, 2008).

HBUs, as demonstrated by Ndwamato George Mugovhani (2012), make the music departments at HWUs even more important in terms of preserving the musics of Africa.<sup>31</sup>

Further, although I believe that the importance of the findings of this thesis does not diminish based on the four institutions selected, it should be noted that the institutions selected/not selected impact the results of this research tremendously. I have therefore taken care throughout this thesis to not make generalisations about South African music departments in general but rather to comment on the four included departments.

In addition to the choice of institutions, some further exclusions need to be noted. Although this study focuses largely on the addition of musics other than Western art music, I am under no illusion that decolonisation is singularly defined by the addition of materials other than those belonging to a dominant tradition.<sup>32</sup> Additionally, although the matter of curricular decolonisation cannot be divorced from issues such as student and lecturer demographics, access as well as student success, the limited scope of a master's thesis does not allow for an interrogation of these issues. Likewise, this study does not investigate government policy on curriculum and higher education transformation, echoing the view of Keith M. Lewin (2001:v) that policy rhetoric does not always translate into action.<sup>33</sup>

It should be noted that this thesis is concerned with the departments' academic offering, which means that practical music study, or what is problematically thought of as non-academic modules, are not subjected to scrutiny here.<sup>34</sup> Additionally, although this thesis notes the importance of innovative pedagogical strategies, the scope of the work does not allow for more in-depth examination of lecturers' pedagogical approaches. Similarly, the views and opinions of students on module content and lecturers' pedagogical methods, which could have acted as a useful way to confirm or contradict lecturer statements, are not included here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Of the three previously mentioned departments, the department at the University of Venda is now defunct, with the University of Zululand's music department being all but defunct, with only a small department of Creative Arts remaining which offers a singular programme - Bachelor of Arts in Drama, Theatre and Performance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> I explain why decolonisation cannot rely on such additive strategies alone in the literature review later on in this chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Chapter two of this thesis will further detail how policies and documents tend to be held up as a substitute for substantive, physical action. For more on policy and its implementation in South African Higher Education, see, amongst others, Yunus Ballim, Ian Scott, Genevieve Simpson and Denyse Webbstock (2016); Nico Cloete, Pundy Pillay, Saleem Badat and Teboho Moja (2004) as well as Yusuf Sayed and Jonathan D. Jansen (2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Practical music study does, however, offer a variety of interesting considerations and perspectives for the decolonial project, in addition to being closely linked to the academic offerings of departments. For more on decoloniality and practical music study, see the work of Marietjie Pauw (2015:108–125) and Burke Stanton (2018).

#### **Literature Review**

The terminologies covered above are not contested, at least not in this thesis; they merely provide a working vocabulary for the units of analysis that are at stake here. But definitions are not always that simple. Many of the concepts that will be encountered are rather more unstable and generate meanings differently depending on context and underlying ideologies. In what follows, I review some of these concepts. A summary of coloniality and Eurocentrism will open onto a discussion of why universities and the knowledge they teach are implicated in conversations around decolonisation. The concept of decolonisation, its problems and its application in curricula is then subjected to scrutiny. With an understanding of decolonisation and its implications for knowledge production in place, I move to a consideration of hegemonic, Eurocentric aesthetics and argue that Western art music practices are a likely exponent of such aesthetics. Additionally, I examine links between Western art music, colonisation and race to demonstrate the urgent necessity for the decolonisation of Western art music practices. This is followed by a summary of current critiques of South African tertiary music departments and their curricula.

# **Thinking the Decolonial**

The rise of postcolonial and decolonial theory has revitalised the study of history and has brought to light "the extent to which some of the great metanarratives of modernity were caught up in Europe's colonial projects", so much so that previously accepted histories of modernity are now often deemed incomplete (Taylor, 2007:17). "Postcolonial" and "decolonial" must be differentiated in their theoretical and ideological commitments.

Postcolonial theory attempts to make sense of the "meanings and consequences of the colonial encounter" (Gandhi, 1998:ix). Postcolonialism is a deeply contested category, partly because it evokes multiple and contradictory temporalities. The prefix "post" indicates a certain historicity, a past supposedly confined to history. Although ours is no longer the age of empire, to evoke the title of Eric Hobsbawm's (1987) impressive volume covering global history from 1875–1914, the degree to which the present can be characterised as truly post-colonial is highly contested (McClintock, 2013:294; Nesbitt, 2010:111; Venter, 2015:18–19). Another problem with postcolonial theory is its continued fixation on the imperial metropole. Leela Gandhi (1998:ix) notes that "postcolonial theory principally addresses the needs of the Western academy" as it "attempts to reform" its "intellectual and epistemological exclusions". Linda Tuhiwai Smith (2008:14) goes even further, noting that many scholars or intellectuals who identify as indigenous sustain from participation in post-colonial [sic] discourses as they consider it to be "the convenient invention of Western intellectuals which reinscribes their power to define the world".

In contrast to postcolonialism, decoloniality necessitates a shift in focus from the former colonial or imperial centre to the "margins" (Fourie, 2020:199; Grosfoguel, 2007:216–217; Mignolo and

Tlostanova, 2006:208). It acknowledges that although colonialism, understood as a system of direct political, social and cultural control of one country by another (Quijano, 2013:22), might for the largest part be in the past, the colonial patterns of power that shaped colonial and modern societies continue to exist and flourish (Escobar, 2004:210, 218, 2013:39; Maldonado-Torres, 2004:37; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013:333; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi, 2016:3–24; Quijano, 2000:533). For Serges Djoyou Kamga (2016:65), colonialism is maintained by "colonial masters" even in the postcolonial era. To describe the operations responsible for maintaining colonial patterns, the Peruvian sociologist Anibal Quijano coined the notion of a *colonial matrix of power* in the late 1980s. Commonly referred to as coloniality, this matrix is understood to control "culture, labour, intersubjective relations and knowledge production" far beyond the "limits of colonial administrations" and surrounds us daily as inescapable parts of modern society (Maldonado-Torres, 2007:243). Modernity and coloniality are so interwoven that coloniality and its "hidden process[es] of expropriation, exploitation, pollution and corruption" underpin modernity to the extent that coloniality can be considered the dark side of modernity (Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013).<sup>35</sup> Through coloniality, the violence of colonialism – epistemic, structural and economic - continues uninterrupted (Pillay, 2015), especially as coloniality also incorporates the delegitimisation of "certain human beings, ways of thinking, ways of living and of doing in the world" (Mignolo, cited in Gaztambide-Fernández, 2014:198).

That the "violences of colonisation" affect virtually "every dimension of being" (de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*, 2015:22) was noted by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o in 1986 when he stressed the need to "decolonise the mind":

But its [colonialism's] most important area of domination was the mental universe of the colonised, the control, through culture, of how people perceived themselves and their relationship to the world. Economic and political control can never be complete or effective without mental control. To control a people's culture is to control their tools of self-definition in relationship to others.

For colonialism this involved two aspects of the same process: the destruction or the deliberate undervaluing of a people's culture, their art, dances, religions, history, geography, education, orature and literature, and the conscious elevation of the language of the coloniser. The domination of a people's language by the languages of the colonising nations was crucial to the domination of the mental universe of the colonised.

(Ngũgĩ, 1986:16)<sup>36</sup>

Underpinning coloniality and modernity is Eurocentrism (Quijano, 2000:549). A hegemonic knowledge system, it positions Europe at the centre of the world and claims local European history and experience

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Walter Mignolo and Rolando Vázquez (2013) developed the compound modernity/(de)coloniality to describe this relationship. Decoloniality is placed between modernity and coloniality to name "an opening" which indicates that the completeness of modernity/coloniality can be overcome through decolonial acts (Ibid.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Frantz Fanon (1963) also demonstrated at length the all-encompassing impact of colonisation on the (previously) colonised.

as universal, this whilst colonising (and replacing) other forms of knowledge (Dussel, 2000:471; Quijano, 2000:549). Eurocentrism does not include all European modes of knowledge but is a "specific rationality or perspective of knowledge" that was perpetuated through colonialism and thus became "globally hegemonic" (Quijano, 2000:549). It argues that the differences between Europe and the rest of the world can be explained with recourse to racial differences (read: superiority) rather than colonisation and the deliberate production of inequality (Ibid.:542). Sabelo J. Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Siphamandla Zondi (2016:3–4) argue that the "global power structure" of coloniality maintains the production of Eurocentrism in society and the academy long after the "physical empire" has come to an end. Eurocentrism, like coloniality, is ubiquitous in human relationships, political parties and happenings, social science as well as general opinions on culture and society (Amin, 2009:179). This contributes to the maintained superiority of the Global North which, in turn, ensures the perpetual subalternity of the Global South (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012).

Eurocentrism insists on a "Western-centric idea" of human history and modernity which progressed in a supposedly linear sequence from Ancient Greece, to ancient Rome, to Christianity/Christian feudalism and ultimately modern Europe (i.e. the current European-centric global capitalism), despite historical evidence to the contrary (Dussel, 2000:498; Escobar, 2013:38; Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi, 2016:7). This Eurocentric theory of world history is supported by "Euro-North American-ethnocentrism", patriarchy, "ignorance and mistrust of non-Western people" as well as xenophobia which silenced (and continues to silence) not only Africa but all those not belonging to the so-called West (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi, 2016:7).

#### **Decolonising the University**

Universities played a crucial part in the colonial shaping of knowledge, epistemology and the disciplines (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2016b:36; de Sousa Santos, 2016:3–14). Calls for the decolonisation of universities are therefore directly linked to their origins and historical trajectories which, in turn, are bound up with the colonial project (Mignolo, 2011a:6).<sup>37</sup> As Gurminder K. Bhambra, Dalia Gebrial and Kerem Nişancıoğlu (2018:2) observe, the university is "a key site through which colonialism – and colonial knowledge in particular – is produced, consecrated, institutionalised and naturalised".

The university inherited by the colonial world developed in Renaissance Europe.<sup>38</sup> Since the founding of the first European university – the University of Bologna in AD 1088 – the European university has

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Deborah Bradley (2017:207–208) illustrates how even the commonly told history of the university as emerging in Europe with the founding of the University of Bologna in 1088 A.D. "reproduce[s] whiteness". This narrative ignores the flourishing of universities in large parts of the world in ancient times (where disciplinary orientations were remarkably similar to those at current universities) and the fact that the university considered by many to be the oldest continuously operating university in the world – the University of Karueein – is located not in Europe but Fez, Morocco. This subtly discredits the "scholarship and intellectual curiosity of people of colour" (Asante and Mazama, 2002) and maintains Eurocentrism through a "powerful rhetorical device for underscoring the superiority of the West ... to position it as 'ahead' of all others along some cosmic timeline" (Morning, 2015:193).

<sup>38</sup> For more on the development of the European university, see Mignolo (2011a) and Bill Readings (1996).

been an important site for the production and reproduction of culture in addition to knowledge in the West (Bradley, 2017:207). It was at these universities that the idea of Europe as the origin and home of all knowledge was cultivated (Mignolo, 2011a:3–4), with the result that the theories and knowledge produced were "founded in European experience and traditions" (Mbembe, 2015). The racist theories of European physical and moral superiority developed at universities "bolster[ed]" support for colonialism, provided "ethical and intellectual grounds for the dispossession, oppression and domination of colonised subjects" (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:2) and fuelled the slave trade in the age of "Enlightenment philosophies of 'universal man'" (Bradley, 2006:4). Thus, the meta-discourse of Western imperial epistemology "validates itself by disqualifying difference" and perpetuates the idea that the colonised people are "behind" and need to be civilised or modernised (Mignolo, 2011a:3–4).<sup>39</sup> This imperial epistemology promoted "knowing about Others", without fully recognising these Others "as thinking and knowledge-producing subjects" (Mbembe, 2015). "The right to judge and analyse others" thereby belonged exclusively to Europeans (Amin, 2009:177–178).

Through the process of colonisation, the university and its monopoly on knowledge were "planted" in the colonies, where together with universities in the metropoles they were often "founded and financed through the spoils of colonial plunder, enslavement and dispossession" (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:2). These universities established in the colonies advanced European knowledge and "suppressed" indigenous knowledges (Ibid.:5) through "disavow(ing) and relegate(ing) ... epistemologies not based on Greek and Latin and knowledges in non-European languages" (Mignolo, 2011a:3–4). They became training grounds for native informants and "provided would-be colonial administrators with knowledge of the peoples they would rule over, as well as lessons in techniques of domination and exploitation" (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:2, 4). The colonial university was "an infrastructure of empire, an institution and actor through which the totalising logic of domination could be extended" (Ibid.:2).

It might be argued that since the age of empire and colonialism has been replaced by one of political independence, substantial changes at universities must have occurred, rendering calls for decolonisation unwarranted. Those who argue for the decolonisation of universities say otherwise:

Calls around "decolonising the curriculum" have shown how the content of university knowledge remains principally governed by the West for the West. Disciplinary divisions, theoretical models and Eurocentric histories continue to provide intellectual materials that reproduce and justify colonial hierarchies. Subjects of Western scholarship are enduringly pale, male (and often stale); where people of colour do appear, they are all too often tokenistically represented, spoken on behalf of, or reduced to objects of scholarship. Products of university research are still strategically deployed in the pursuit of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> In this regard, discourses about the European "civilising mission" are important. See, amongst others, Mrinal Debnath (2012) and Uday Singh Mehta (1999). Western art music and its related practices, such as choralism, are also implicated in the civilising mission, as demonstrated by, amongst others, Grant Olwage (2005) and Kira Thurman (2015).

imperial projects conducted by Western states and firms in former colonies. These imperial projects – past and new – remain central to the financing of higher education in the West. Postcolonial scholars and anti-racist activists have made significant strides in bringing these issues to the fore. However, as numerous activists ... argue, the foundations of universities remain unshakably colonial; there is, as ever, more work to be done.

(Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:5-6)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi (2016:3–4) concur, stating that the current Westernised university is a "legitimate site of decolonial struggles" as it persistently generates coloniality. Achille Mbembe (2015) posits that the knowledge taught in universities is still almost always produced by "Europeans or Euro-American men" who are considered the only ones "capable of reaching universality".

Savo Heleta (2016:1) makes it clear that the above picture is also true for universities in post-apartheid South Africa:

Since the end of the oppressive and racist apartheid system in 1994, epistemologies and knowledge systems at most South African universities have not considerably changed; they remain rooted in colonial, apartheid and Western worldviews and epistemological traditions. The curriculum remains largely Eurocentric and continues to reinforce white and Western dominance and privilege.

Thus, the continuities – epistemological, structural and methodological – that operate in post-apartheid universities will continue to prolong the epistemic lingering of both apartheid and colonialism.<sup>40</sup> "Decolonising the university", as Suren Pillay (2015) states, "is then also about justice that addresses the epistemic violence of colonial knowledge and colonial thought".

Additionally, Kehdinga George Fomunyam (2019:3) observes that increasing trends towards the globalisation and internationalisation of higher education make the decolonisation of higher education in Africa an even stronger imperative. This is because these trends "significantly oppose the idea of contextual responsiveness in favour of global and borderless education". "If the shackles of imperialist thought are not broken but left to be watered by the incessantly encroaching forces of globalisation and internationalisation", Fomunyam reminds us, "the mind would remain forever colonised".

Viewed in this light, the urgency of decolonisation in South African universities is difficult to overstate. This study accepts the enduring legacy of colonialism as well as the Eurocentric nature of the university system and the knowledge it perpetuates as reasons that ultimately necessitate decolonisation.

Decolonisation has acquired different meanings, depending on the context. A post-WWII understanding of the term must be linked to the Cold War, and referred to the physical struggle (not necessarily always an armed struggle) of indigenous people to "expel the coloniser from their territory and build their own

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> To describe the ways in which apartheid is a continuation of policies (educational and racial, amongst others) initiated under colonial rule and is therefore in many ways an extension of colonialism (despite the expressly anti-English sentiment of the Afrikaner), is beyond the purview of this work. For more in this regard, see Saul Dubow (1989) and Malcolm Ray (2016:17–54).

nation-state" (Mignolo, cited in Gaztambide-Fernández, 2014:197). This understanding is consistent with the decolonial project undertaken by states after gaining independence (Ibid.). Now that this decolonial project (closely tied to political independence) is for the largest part complete, at least in a strictly geopolitical sense, more recent decolonisation debates are dominated by the search for "cognitive justice" in reaction to "epistemicides and colonisation of the minds" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi, 2016:3).

For this more recent iteration of decolonisation, no single, cohesive definition exists (Le Grange, 2019:31). Instead, decolonisation of this kind is a "messy, dynamic and contradictory process" (Sium, Desai and Ritskes, 2012:ii). A framework provided by Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu (2018:2) provides a useful starting point for unpacking current decolonisation discourse:

First, it [decolonisation] is a way of thinking about the world which takes colonialism, empire and racism as its empirical and discursive objects of study; it re-situates these phenomena as key shaping forces of the contemporary world, in a context where their role has been systematically effaced from view. Second, it purports to offer alternative ways of thinking about the world and alternative forms of political praxis.

It is important to note that within this broad framework there is a "multitude of definitions, interpretations, aims and strategies", with the result that decolonisation "remains a contested term" (Ibid.). Although the refusal to assign closed definitions and concept boundaries might be seen as a shortcoming of Bhambra, Gebrial and Niṣancıoğlu's proposed framework, it preserves a certain essence integral to the work of decolonisation, namely that decolonisation (in contrast to Eurocentric and hegemonic forms of knowledge) insists on "positionality and plurality ... and ... taking 'difference' seriously". This is achieved by "seek[ing] a plurality of perspectives, worldviews, ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies in which scholarly enquiry and political praxis might take place" (Ibid.:2). This plurality is echoed by Nelson Maldonado-Torres (2016:10), who notes that decoloniality "refers to efforts at rehumanizing the world, to breaking hierarchies of difference that dehumanise subjects and communities and that destroy nature, and to the production of counter-discourses, counter-knowledges, counter-creative acts, and counter-practices that seek to dismantle coloniality and to open up multiple other forms of being in the world" (emphasis my own).

Therefore, it is problematic to define colonialism and decolonisation in "narrow dictionary terms" as their complexity is far more than we could imagine (Kondlo, 2019). De Oliveira Andreotti *et al.* (2015:22) suggest that the urge to "suppress" decolonisation's "contradictions and conflicts" is indicative of the problematic desire to reduce decolonisation to "coherent, normative formulas with seemingly unambiguous agendas".<sup>41</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> As my reading of the #MustFall protests in tertiary music departments in chapter two will demonstrate, this urge only intensifies during times of crisis (de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*, 2015:22).

To address the lingering colonial influence on universities, Mbembe (2015) identifies four forms of necessary decolonisation: the decolonisation of buildings, the decolonisation of the classroom – deconstructing what counts as valid teaching practices – the decolonisation of management as well as the decolonisation of knowledge which involves validating indigenous knowledges and epistemic traditions other than the Eurocentric canon.<sup>42</sup> Bound in scope and size to the confines of a master's thesis, this study hones in on one of the four areas Mbembe has earmarked for decolonisation, namely the decolonisation of knowledge, which it brings to bear on the academic content taught to BMus students at four South African music departments.

Jansen (2017:159–173) identifies six different understandings of curricular decolonisation: decolonisation as the decentring of European knowledge, decolonisation as the Africanisation of knowledge, decolonisation as additive-inclusive knowledge, decolonisation as critical engagement with settled knowledge, decolonisation as encounters with entangled knowledge and decolonisation as the repatriation of occupied knowledge (and society).<sup>43</sup>

## 1) Decolonisation as the decentring of European knowledge

This version of decolonisation can be viewed as a 'soft version' of Africanisation or decolonisation of the curriculum. Proponents of this version of Africanisation argue that in Africa, the centre of the curriculum should rely on material from Africa, not Europe (Jansen, 2017:159). Crucially, this does not entail the erasure of Europe from the curriculum but rather that it is viewed as secondary to Africa, with Africa and African knowledge being placed at "the heart of how we come to know ourselves, our history, our society, our achievements, our ambitions, and our future" (Jansen, 2017:159). In other words, the addition of content from Africa could lead to what Sandile Ndelu (2016:13) calls the destabilising of Western epistemologies and pedagogies.

# 2) Decolonisation as the Africanisation of knowledge

The Africanisation of knowledge can be seen as the hard version of an approach that decentres knowledge imported from Europe and North America. In contrast to the decentring approach, this version of Africanisation argues for the "displacement of colonial or Western knowledge and its

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The decolonisation of the classroom involves the manner in which curricula are taught. As Rosalba Icaza and Rolando Vázquez (2018:120) note, "power hierarchies" and "forms of exclusion" are often reproduced in the classroom. Transforming classroom relationships from "authoritarian, one-directional forms of teaching and learning" to "open and dynamic forms of interaction" (Ibid.) is therefore an essential part of decolonisation. The work of Paulo Freire (2000) and bell hooks (1994) provide significant suggestions in this regard (I use the lowercase version of hooks's name in accordance with her preference). Despite the importance of this facet of decolonisation, it is beyond the purview of this work as it relates more to pedagogy than it does to curriculum content, which is the dominant concern of this study, even though I will attend also to transformative strategies employed by lecturers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Considerable overlap exists between these categories. The first two categories, for example, rest on the argument that "educational institutions organise curriculum content around the knowledge, values, and ideals of Europe, the site of both colonial and postcolonial authority" and that the end of apartheid did not coincide with an end to Euro-American dominance at "the centre of the curriculum", even more so in the natural and social sciences (Jansen, 2017:159–159).

associated ideals and achievements as the standard against which to measure human progress" (Jansen, 2019:159–160). In other words, "the curriculum is and must be about Africa, not about Africa in relation to Europe and the distant West" (Ibid.).

The work on decolonisation of two well-known theorists, Frantz Fanon and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, can reside under either of Jansen's first two categories. For Fanon, the struggle for decolonisation is primarily about "selfownership", to take back that which was taken or lost as a result of colonisation (Mbembe, 2015) and to create new societies that do not take their inspiration from Europe but from their own location (Fanon, 1963:311–316). For Ngũgĩ, decolonisation is a project of "recentring", rejecting not only Europe as the origin of Africa's "consciousness and cultural heritage" but also the view of Africa as merely an "extension of the West" (Mbembe, 2015). Ngũgĩ's decolonisation does not abolish European or other traditions but places Africa clearly in the centre (Ibid.). 44

# 3) Decolonisation as additive-inclusive knowledge

The additive approach includes the addition of content to the existing curriculum to be more inclusive but leaves unchallenged the basic structure of a curriculum, including the canons on which it relies for theoretical tools and knowledge content (Cross, 2004:403). The additive approach is an important part of decolonisation and often the first way in which institutions attempt to decolonise. "Attempt" is a crucial word here, as non-Western subject matter does not make a subject decolonised – the module content still maintains the potential to be full of Eurocentric or racist tropes and stereotypes. There is also the likelihood that the content that is added remains marginal to the established curriculum (Jansen, 2017:161). Therefore, as Harry Garuba (2015) warns, the simple addition of content might be akin to "adding raffia chairs to the master's living room". Heleta (2016:5) concurs that this approach maintains the curriculum's "Eurocentric worldviews" while adding to it "bits and pieces of Africa' and 'the other' previously colonised places and peoples". This leads to the "ghettoisation" of added content from existing, supposedly timeless, content (Pillay, 2015).

## 4) Decolonisation as critical engagement with settled knowledge

This form of decolonisation describes interrogating "what knowledge is and how it is constituted" as well as engaging with "how Western thought is constituted as a hegemonic form of knowing" (Sayed, De Kock and Motala, 2019:175). Jansen (2017:161) argues that this type of decolonisation empowers students to engage with the knowledge they are taught through critical questions regarding the origin of the knowledge, in whose interests it persists, what it excludes, what its "authoritative claims" are as well as what the underlying assumptions and silences that govern it are. The University of Amsterdam diversity commission (Wekker, Slootman, Icaza, Jansen and Vázquez, 2016:9) refers to such practices as practices of positionality. Practices of positionality "reveal the geopolitical location of knowledge ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Jansen places Ngũgĩ's views in the second, harder version of Africanisation; however, I am inclined to agree with Mbembe (2015) that this classification does not fully represent Ngũgĩ's argument.

even while teaching the canon", working against the tendency of institutionalised knowledge practices to claim "universal validity" (Icaza and Vázquez, 2018:119).

# 5) Decolonisation as encounters with entangled knowledge

This conception of decolonisation acknowledges that our "knowledges, like our human existences, are intertwined in the course of daily living, learning and loving" and that "even scientific discovery is the product of 'interwoven' knowledge between the coloniser and the colonised" (Jansen, 2017:162). For Jansen, it is the preferred approach to decolonisation — he argues that other conceptions of decolonisation tend to classify knowledge as "theirs" and "ours", displaying a "defensive posture … against an imposing knowledge from outside the Southern world" which is "unnecessary and anachronistic in the twenty-first century" (Jansen, 2019:71). Jansen (2017:162) finds this conception of knowledge "especially valid" in post-apartheid South Africa where former enemies live together in an entangled society and are taught "the same troubled knowledge" in universities and schools. Although Jansen's preference for entangled knowledges is by no means without merit, I will posit that such an approach cannot suffice on its own but requires an understanding of how certain forms of knowledge perpetuate biases (and therefore actively work against the inclusion of and co-operation with other forms of knowledge) in order to be a transformative means of decolonisation.

# 6) Decolonisation as the repatriation of occupied knowledge (and society)

This conception of decolonisation argues against the metaphorization and domestication of decolonisation, especially as found in superficial, additive strategies. Eve Tuck and Wayne K. Yang (2012) argue that "decolonisation is not a metaphor" because "when metaphor invades decolonisation, it kills the very possibility of decolonisation; it recentres whiteness, it resettles theory, it extends innocence to the settler, it entertains a settler future" (Ibid.:3). They insist that decolonisation is a strictly political act that should not result in anything other but the repatriation of dispossessed land as well as deliberations and reflections on settler-colonised land relations (Ibid.:7). This conception of decolonisation therefore "assigns to curriculum enormous power to disturb not only settled knowledge but also settler society" (Jansen, 2017:163).

Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu (2018:5) observe that this view reduces colonialism and decolonisation to "a historically specific and geographically particular articulation of the colonial project, namely settler-colonialism in the Americas" (in the specific case of Tuck and Yang's work). Additionally, decolonisation efforts cannot focus exclusively on one "particular articulation of that [the colonial] project: the dispossession of land", as this would ignore colonial encounters and relations that did not rely on "settler projects" – dispossession is not the entirety of colonisation (Ibid.). Following Tuck and Yang's (2012) insistence on decolonisation as a strictly political act without consideration to the mental and epistemological aftermaths of colonisation, would mean the loss of opportunities to engage with the different forms that colonialism took around the world. However, Tuck and Yang's (2012) point on the metaphorization of decolonisation is a vital one in the sense that, what they call the

metaphoric iterations of decolonisation, may come to stand for the political work of equitable land redistribution. The problem is simply that they set up these two imperatives as opposing sides of a binary which is then tilted in favour of land redistribution and settler relations.<sup>45</sup>

Although the above six-pronged categorisation provides a useful survey of divergent understandings of decolonisation, Jansen (2017:162) himself is of the opinion that decolonisation is an empty signifier which offers a "rather staid criticism of the (post)colonial curriculum". Jansen (2019:73) believes that the curriculum crisis in post-apartheid universities is being overstated for political ends. Lastly, it is important to note that Jansen's categorisation does not encompass all aspects of decolonisation – he himself admits that there are "at least six different conceptions" of decolonisation pertaining to knowledge (2017:158, emphasis mine).

One aspect omitted from Jansen's understanding of decolonisation is that the knowledge relayed in curricula should be relevant to the socio-historical conditions in which the university finds itself. His omission is particularly glaring in the context of the #MustFall protests, since protesters regularly insisted that knowledge taught in universities should deliver African solutions for African problems. It is not only South African students who insist on such accountability. The University of Amsterdam's Rosalba Icaza and Rolando Vázquez (2018:120) argue that "knowledge practices ... that are clearly related to the socio-historical and eco-historical conditions in which we are living", which they term "transitionality", are key to a decolonised university.

Another aspect absent from Jansen's six categories is the admission that decolonisation will be easier to enact in some disciplines than others. Here it is helpful to draw on Suellen Shay's (2015:433) use of various underlying principles guiding different curriculum choices and Aslam Fataar's (2018) extension of this to the concepts of semantic gravity (relation of knowledge to context) and semantic density (relationship of knowledge to concepts). All disciplines are characterised by some degree of interplay between the two dimensions. Disciplines that derive their logic from their context, i.e. that are context-driven, such as design, owe their curriculum design to the context of the discipline's application, which directly feeds back into the curriculum. Such disciplines have significant decolonial potential as they can be modified to respond to their immediate contexts. Fields such as engineering, law and agriculture are concept-driven, yet these fields also have decolonial potential as the concepts "are worked out in respect of their application in professional and vocational contexts" (Fataar, 2018). South African tertiary music studies frequently function divorced from their (African) context (Johnson, 2018; Mapaya, 2016; Stolp, 2015). As with design, music studies can easily be "conceptually informed by its external relation to people's lived contexts" and feature "active interaction with local Africa-centred

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> It should be noted that the unsettling nature of Tuck and Yang's (2012) argument is perhaps also symptomatic of the unease settler-descendants in settler-colonial societies feel when faced with critical analyses of the violence of settler colonialism (and colonialism in general) (Walker, 2020:6).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> This would likely fall into one of the first two categories of Jansen's schematic of decolonisation.

aesthetics, knowledges ... and tastes" (Fataar, 2018). This would mean that tertiary music studies possess significant decolonial potential which should not be as difficult to realise as concept-heavy disciplines lacking such direct contextual links.

Although Jansen's six categories or types of decolonisation are helpful to understand the different conceptions of decolonisation, their exclusions are problematic. For the purpose of this study, an alternative approach to the classification of curriculum change is necessary, for which I turn to the work of Michael Cross (2004) and Harry Garuba (2015). Cross (2004:402–404) mentions three curriculum transformation strategies: an add-on approach, an affirmative approach and a critical transformative approach. These approaches are then further classified as affirmative or transformative remedies. Affirmative remedies are those that do not affect the underlying frameworks and concepts, whereas transformative remedies set out from the beginning to restructure. Garuba (2015) makes a case for two approaches: a "content-driven additive approach" and analysing "how the object of study itself is constituted, what tools are used to study it and what concepts are used to frame it". His approach corresponds to Cross's first and third approaches, respectively.

The additive approach includes the addition of content to the existing curriculum. However, its basic structure and the "canon of the curriculum" is left unchallenged (Cross, 2004:403). This makes it similar to, if not the equivalent of, Jansen's additive-inclusive approach. The affirmative approach "challenges the Eurocentric canon of knowledge" and leads to the "development of inclusive curricula" (Ibid.). However, it does not necessitate "the dismantling and deconstruction" of apartheid's legacy in South African institutions and their curricula (Goduka, 1996:33). The critical transformative approach "challenges the canon, the basic structures, and assumptions of the apartheid curricula", providing a "paradigm shift" (Cross, 2004:404) which leads to "a rethinking of the theories and methods that underlie the framing of the curriculum" (Garuba, 2015). Garuba (2015) argues that this is necessary as certain "analytical tools and concepts ... marginalise some students and privilege others", continuing the cycle of injustice in our education system.

De Oliveira Andreotti *et al.* (2015) follow a social cartography approach inspired by Paulston (2009) to identify and classify different approaches to decolonisation. Their model classifies these understandings of and approaches into four spaces – the "everything is awesome" space, the "soft reform" space, the "radical-reform" space and the "beyond-reform" space (de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*, 2015:25). It is important to note that through the creation of these four spaces, de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.* (2015) are not attempting a normative categorisation but rather seeking to illustrate the complex and juxtaposed tensions at play in the decolonisation debate.

The first space sustains "modernity's shine" through a celebration of modernity's supposed "advancements in science and technology achieved within a linear notion of time, and a seamless notion of progress" (Ibid.:25). The term "modernity's shine" is here explicitly used to contrast it to the darker

side of modernity, coloniality, which remains unrecognised in this space. When acknowledged, problems are considered minor and easy to address, whereas critiques of the system are viewed as "distracting and damaging obstacles" to the inclusion and improvement of "underdeveloped subjects and collectives" (Ibid.:25). In other words, decolonisation is seen to inhibit the real transformation and development of the institution.

The soft-reform space emphasises inclusion through "personal or institutional transformation" (Ibid.:26). It argues that the unequal status quo is a result of "the failure of people or institutions" rather than a symptom of the underlying (normative and unequal) framework of modernity (and its darker side, coloniality). In typically neoliberal fashion, individuals are encouraged to "determine their own success or failure".<sup>47</sup> However, not only do "the values of the existing system" determine what constitutes success or failure (with little recognition of alternative ways of knowing, being and achieving), but structural inequalities go largely acknowledged. This space therefore "provisional[ly]" accepts "difference", yet the terms of this acceptance are determined by "those doing the including". Similarly, "those doing the including" manage the disagreements that occur through so-called "rational dialogue", albeit aimed at a "(predefined) consensus". As a result, the status quo in terms of power relations and subjectivities remains largely unchallenged. The very nature of the soft-reform space means that there is no recognition of the skewness of the debates and current power relations in favour of those currently dictating "the terms of the conversation". Interventions aimed at unsettling or even upending these unequal power relations are deemed "violent" and "unproductive" and are thus easily disregarded (Ibid.:26).

By contrast, the radical-reform space recognises the presence of "epistemological dominance" and attempts to foreground the "historical, discursive, and affective dynamics" that underlie such "hegemonic and ethnocentric practices" (Ibid.). This space therefore involves more disruption of "business-as-usual" than the soft reform spaces. Interventions focus on empowerment and "recentring … marginalised subjects" through strategies of "recognition, representation, redistribution, reconciliation [and] affirmative action" with the aim of "transform[ing] … the borders of the dominant system". Initiatives to institutionalise fields such as Indigenous, Black, Latinx<sup>48</sup> or Queer studies are prime examples of such interventions.<sup>49</sup> Although there is the recognition that violence perpetrated in the name of modernity needs to be addressed, there is rarely an acknowledgement of the different forms of violence (e.g. racism, capitalism, patriarchy, hetero-normativity, colonialism, ableism, the nation-state) and their interconnectedness. As a result, critiques and interventions born in the radical-reform space tend to hone in on only one of these violences. Coupled with their focus on "fix[ing]" the mechanisms that produce inequalities", such interventions often become normative. Additionally, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> I explain this aspect of neoliberalism in chapter two, footnote 92.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Latinx is a gender-neutral term which is often used as an alternative to the gendered terms Latina and Latino (Noe-Bustamante, Mora and Lopez, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Ronald A. Ferguson (2012) refers to these fields as "interdisciplines".

these strategies tend to focus exclusively on "fixing" one aspect of the system, they can lead to an expansion of the system (Ibid.:26–27), as the remaining components of the system move to subdue the new or radical element. For example, the inclusion of African epistemologies in the curriculum without an examination of the institutional culture that deems these epistemologies of lesser value would still result in a Eurocentric curriculum.

The beyond-reform space goes one step further than the radical-reform space by recognising ontological dominance and acknowledging not only "different dimensions of oppression" but their interlinked nature (Ibid.:27). It also rejects the idea that the system can be transformed through "the mere addition of other ways of knowing", as it recognises that "[epistemological] dominance is exercised primarily through the conditioning of particular ways of being that, in turn, prescribe particular ways of knowing". The modern system is viewed as "inherently violent, exploitative, and unsustainable" and there is thus the recognition that "even the most radical transformations … do not disrupt the underlying modern system and its grammars and logics". Although beyond-reform advocates often do value "non-ontological transformations" in the short-term, they know that such transformations of the system will ultimately be insufficient. It is suggested that this often leads to one of three main reactions: "system walk out", "hacking", or "hospicing" (Ibid.:27).

"System walk out" involves the development of "alternatives" to modernity, or the current system, that will not "reproduce its violences" through the establishment or reclaiming of "alternative communities and epistemologies" (de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*, 2015:27). The spaces created in this way will likely be "external or marginal" to established institutions and can be "supplementary [to the current institution], transitional [the space is gradually developed until it can completely replace current institutions or is used until a new institution/system can take its place], or [a] wholesale alternative [it takes the place of the current institution]". De Oliveira Andreotti *et al.* note that although system walk out can lead to "remarkably creative and generative spaces", these spaces often reproduce some of the same problems as the previous system, as they are often "still broadly situated within its teleological grammar" (Ibid.:27).

"System hacking" involves playing the institutional game, creating "spaces within the system" and using its resources to educate individuals on "the violences of the system" with the hope that they desire an alternative (Ibid.:27). This often involves bending institutional rules "to generate alternative outcomes". System hacking can be remarkably productive and effective; however, it can be difficult to identify if one is hacking the system or being hacked by it. For example, in order to break or bend certain rules, you need to adhere to other rules and conventions, and it can be difficult to distinguish whether you are following or breaking more rules. In addition, as with system walk out, there is also the sizeable risk of reproducing some of the violences of the system, often because "the success of initiatives" is still determined by institutional measures and outcomes (Ibid.:27–28).

"Hospicing" recognises that new systems are required but acknowledges that alternatives articulated from within the frames of the current system will inadvertently mirror it (Ibid.:28). Instead of hastening the current system's decline, hospicing would involve (patiently) enduring its decline as well as learning from it and its mistakes to avoid making the same mistakes in the future. This would also encompass "offering palliative care" while acknowledging the extent to which we were implicated in "that which is dying" (Ibid.:28). Such an approach would not be easy and would mean "dealing with tantrums, incontinence, anger and hopelessness", but its successful completion would mean that space could be cleared for a new system, a system that would avoid making the same mistakes as the one before (Ibid.).

Although broadly subscribing to arguments that emphasise the necessity for decolonisation at South African universities and, in particular, music departments, this thesis also acknowledges that decolonisation is a troubled and problematic term. Rather than obscuring these problems with decolonisation, I choose to 'stay with the trouble', viewing the problematics of decolonisation as openings for further conversation and reflection.<sup>50</sup>

In South Africa, the positioning of decolonisation as problematic by some (Jansen amongst them) is in no small part linked to perceptions about the #MustFall protests. These protests were perceived as divisive due to factors such as the use of violent protest methods, vastly varying demands and what was often regarded as ulterior (read: politicised) motives. There is a considerable body of critique directed at the protests and, to a lesser degree, its call for decolonisation.

Willie Breytenbach (2019) suggests that the protests were brought on by students not obtaining the required mark for exam entrance (which means they cannot pass the semester). Breytenbach further ridicules the calls for decolonisation by noting that demands for less Western content surely do not occur in other, modern non-Western states such as China, Japan or India. He seems to labour under the impression that decolonisation entails the complete removal of every Western aspect of society. On conservative Afrikaans news website Praag (2016), reports referred to protestors as "black students". The comments on some of these articles, such as "they want everything for free, they even got a country for free", or the suggestion by another commentator that in addition to demands for decolonisation and free education, students should demand free alcohol, marijuana, pass marks and breeding rights (the latter so that "selfs die lelikste ousie ook gespyker word") demonstrate the mindlessly violent responses that the student protests elicited at one extreme. Such outrightly aggressive, racist and misinformed critiques do not warrant further discussion, beyond noting that they testify to a divided space far from the reconciled utopia of a post-apartheid South Africa. Instead, I will here focus on the responses of scholars who engage with integrity the value of and paradoxes within decolonisation as an epistemological project.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> I borrow this phrase from the striking title of a monograph by Donna Haraway (2016).

A commonly cited problem with decolonisation noted by Lis Lange (2019:95) is that despite being ontologically "important, urgent and necessary", decolonisation, especially as proposed by the #RMF movement, is "epistemologically and politically isolating". This is likely because, as the protests and conversations around decolonisation progressed, a group of outspoken student activists were increasingly arguing for a form of decolonisation that verged on racial essentialism – identifying only with black Africans and harshly critiquing white South Africans as well as black persons who did not share their specific "ideological narrowness" (Jansen, 2017:167–168). Closely related to this is a conception of decolonisation that entails discarding all knowledge of European origin (Ibid.:155–156).<sup>51</sup> Both of these cases can be seen as a demonstration of the limits of "an identitarian approach" to curriculum and pedagogy (Lange, 2019:95).

Another potentially isolating characteristic of decolonisation is that some decolonial approaches "seek to eschew the particularity of Eurocentrism through the construction of a new universality" (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:3). This approach simply replaces one hegemony with another. Guarding against the reduction of decolonisation to a tussle between hegemonies, decolonial theorists such as Enrique Dussel (2009:512), Mignolo (2011a:4) and Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2010) argue for a pluriversity, a process of knowledge production that is open and accepting of epistemic diversity.

Fomunyam (2017:6797) claims that the advent of democracy has brought little or no change to universities and South African society. Although understandable as an expression of frustration with the lingering aftermaths of apartheid and colonialism, such a sweeping critique can be argued to be taking too simplistic a view, as it ignores the contributions of those who have been actively working towards change in universities (Soudien, 2019:138) as well as "significant transformative changes already made within universities" (Jansen, 2019:73). For this reason, such a simplistic approach can be viewed as antagonising. An unwelcome effect of such simplistic critiques might also be that those projects that could have kick-started further "meaningful change within the South African academy" often lose support and funding (Jansen, 2019:73).<sup>52</sup>

Scholars argue that it is not only the overlooking of existing transformative endeavours which "flatten out, homogenise and essentialise" the complex history and evolution of the curriculum, especially in the South African university context (Soudien, 2019:138). Jansen (2019:54–57) identifies five different knowledge regimes that have shaped the evolution of the curriculum in South Africa: pre-colonial education, colonial education, segregated education (Union), apartheid education and democratic education.<sup>53</sup> From this he argues that it is "impossible to pin South Africa's curriculum legacy to a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Although few, if any, decolonial theorists propose this concept of decolonisation, chapter four of this thesis demonstrates that this conception of decolonisation is still present in some instances.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> An example of this is the closing down of the Development Education initiative at UNISA in 2017 which was led by Professor Catherine Odora Hoppers since 2008 (Soudien, 2019:141–148).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Crain Soudien (2015) also demonstrates the complex history of South African higher education.

particular knowledge regime"; therefore, "the blanket, accusatory statement that university curricula are colonial artefacts and therefore in need of decolonisation is, at best, misleading" (Ibid.:60).<sup>54</sup>

Jansen (2019:73) is of the opinion that the problem lies, for the most part, in South African primary and secondary education, and argues that decolonisation not only "offers an incomplete response to a real set of curriculum problems faced by the majority of schools and universities in South Africa" but shifts attention away from the problems faced in other sectors of education. Simply to insist that the problem is at the secondary and primary level underwrites the same simplistic view of curriculum that Jansen criticises.<sup>55</sup>

Another often-cited problem with decolonisation is its rapid adoption as a slogan by universities. André Keet (2019:202) explains that, while the decolonial project might be necessary, "the immediacy of the decolonial academic 'chatter' and 'clutter' since the #MustFall movements" has resulted in a "collective existential crisis within the academy":

Thus, to reprieve itself, the academy in South Africa had to produce the "decolonial" as the reigning epithet, as in decolonial pedagogies, and the decolonial this or that. The upshot of these decolonial adventures is the systematic evasion of engagement with the nature and politics of disciplined knowledges, and how it constitutes the university and its practices. ... For this reason, the academy, for the most part, simply grasps transformation work as a series of interventionist strategies.

(Ibid.:202-203)

The result has been a "shallowing" of debates on decolonisation, rendering decolonisation a fad (Ibid.:202). Tshepo Madlingozi (2019) poignantly echoes this point:

The Uni-versity [sic], not dissimilar to the State, is always looking at ways of copting [sic], cannibalising & domesticating radical & counter-hegemonic discourses. Today "decoloniality" & "decolonising the curriculum" have become management speak, meaningless malamogudo metaphors... A whole industry has arisen – academics who for years benefited from institutional racism, patriarchy & who staked their uniqueness/cuteness on parachuting in the latest postmodern bumper stickers from the North are making money rewriting curricula, running massive projects, staging glitzy prestigious lectures...

Although Tuck and Yang's (2012:3) view of decolonisation has already been problematised above, this seamless adoption (and thereby deradicalisation) of decolonisation into disciplinary and institutional vocabularies mentioned by Madlingozi (2019) is precisely why the reminder that "decolonisation is not a metaphor", is timely.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Jansen's argument for five distinct knowledge regimes somewhat contradicts this statement, as he himself seems to be following a normative classification.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> I believe that implementing decolonisation efforts at universities will significantly improve the situation in other sectors of education. Decolonisation of universities can contribute to more dedicated and involved students, who will in turn have a better chance of becoming dedicated and involved teachers.

A by-product of the "shallowing" of decolonisation debates is superficial, hurried and feeble attempts at decolonisation by universities which eventually have little to no effect on the institutional curriculum (Hendricks, 2018:32; Jansen, 2019:73–74). This leads to situations where simple two-year curriculum renewal projects which affect as little as 10 programmes, such as that undertaken at Stellenbosch University in 2018, is claimed to be "getting it [decolonising the curriculum] done" (Etheridge, 2018). For Hendricks (2018:32), such decolonisation "reduces [decolonisation] to a predominantly technical exercise of tagging black authors onto existing course outlines, producing reporting templates trying to measure decolonisation within departments and faculties, and producing statements and charters of the intent to decolonise". Decolonisation becomes "depoliticised into changing décor and adjusting the curriculum", an "ad-hoc and performative exercise [which] cannot produce ... sustainable and substantive transformati[on] [as] ... the core of the university, its identity and the power relations embedded therein are untouched" (Ibid.).

The notion of the "institutional as usual" as described by Ahmed (2017) provides a useful framework for understanding why this is the case. Ahmed (Ibid.) argues that institutions neutralise radical or progressive thought by inviting it into the university and creating the pretence of supposed joint-decision making, while in fact doing "damage limitation" – making sure that the change proposed and enacted takes institutional form. This damage limitation, or "digest[ing]" of opportunities for change, will only cease when there is enough institutional support, a "critical mass of committed academics and supportive and active students" (Lange, 2019:94). <sup>57</sup>

Another problem that arises when investigating decolonisation, especially in light of curriculum, is that there is a considerable gap between the "high-level meta-epistemological debates" of decolonial theorists and questions around how to implement it in education systems, curriculum and pedagogy (Hoadley and Galant, 2019:101; Morreira, 2017:292). As a result, the process of decolonisation of curricula is incredibly difficult, as "there is no substantive decolonial theory of curriculum that can guide curriculum change, nor analyse it sufficiently" (Hoadley and Galant, 2019:101). This gap between high-level theory and lecture room application may have made debates about decolonisation inaccessible to the general public. An inability to access these debates and conversations could fuel antagonism and perceptions of intellectual elitism or, even more crucially, may provide an easy justification for non-engagement.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Jansen (2019:73–74) mentions two examples. First, some institutions send out standardised forms to academics which essentially ask, "What did you do to decolonise your curriculum this month?"; the second is that at some universities academics are tasked with identifying one or two courses in a faculty that could be candidates for decolonisation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Through a comparison of reactions to the #MustFall movements and the Mamdani affair (see chapter two of this thesis), Lange (2019) shows that support for radical change is increasing.

### **Shameful Origins**

Although the relationship between knowledge, the university and colonialism has been explicated above, the link between music and colonialism and thus the need for the decolonisation of music studies has not yet been made clear.

It would be easy to condemn Western art music in the colonies because it possesses what Friedrich Nietzsche terms a *pudenda origo*,<sup>58</sup> or a "shameful origin".<sup>59</sup> Simply to judge Western art music practices in the colonies on the basis of colonial importation, would be to commit a "genetic fallacy" (Damer, 2009:93), as it overlooks the present status of Western art music and how that status was produced. Rather than fixating on origins merely to sweep aside entire traditions, a more nuanced genealogy is required that does not shy away from the shameful origins of Western art music practices in colonial spaces.

Timothy Taylor's (2007) *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* offers interesting perspectives on the relationship between music and colonialism. My interest lies particularly with Taylor's discussion of the advent of tonality and opera as coinciding with early modernity, discovery and European colonialism. Proceeding from Marshall Berman's (1988:5) placement of "selfhood ... at the centre of modernity", Taylor (2007:8) echoes the arguments of scholars such as Mignolo (2003:264) by noting that the conception of selfhood upon which "western European modernity" is founded was formulated largely "in reaction to Europe's Others". Colonial expansion enabled new conceptions of and encounters with otherness, which led to the feeling "that the Other had to be contained, the real space of the Other conquered by force", not only physically but psychologically (Ibid.:25).

One way of containing the Other was the development of "representational systems that allowed them [Europeans] to manage a world in which they placed themselves at the centre, and others at various peripheries" (Ibid.:210). Taylor (2007:18) argues that the advent of tonality (and opera's) dominance in western European culture coincided with the age of European colonialism precisely because it provided the musical means to establish these conceptions of selfhood and otherness through a system of hierarchical subordination. Tonality establishes a main key (self) and subordinate keys (the Other).

<sup>59</sup> Nietzsche used this term to describe how the origins of many of our "concepts, beliefs and political structures" are rooted in "violence, sexual repression, gender or racial hegemony and economic and social oppression" and, as a result, it prompted a move away from many types of thinking (Srinivasan, 2011).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Etienne Viviers (2017) uses this term in his discussion of Western art music practices and its origins.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Taylor (2007:18) makes clear that he is not attempting to impose a "singular narrative of origins" onto the "multi-sited and messy" rise of tonality and opera. Rather, he is examining the "cultural and historical reasons" for tonality's rise to dominance as the "primary musical language for roughly three hundred years in western European high culture" at the time that it did, considering that it had "existed long before this" and that other systems existed at the time.

The shifts between the two is therefore a musical representation of the construction of self through the notion of Other, "an idea and its negation": the tonic and its "defining opposite, nontonic" (Ibid.:27).

Tonality enabled a musical representation of spatial or geographical centres and margins: "tonality as a type of musical organisation achieves the same kind of spatialisation that was being considered in cartography ... by establishing a main key, from which the composer can move to other, subordinate keys, and move back in a kind of exploratory, cartographic mode" (Taylor, 2007:27). The correspondences to cartography and exploration are taken further by Julian Johnson (2015:118), who notes that "the mapping of musical space by its own horizontal and vertical co-ordinates was fully in place by the end of the seventeenth century, by which time the five horizontal lines of the stave had been vertically divided by the regularity of the bar line. Music thus found its latitude and longitude at much the same time as these were developed in navigation."

Colonialism not only sponsored spatial domination but also altered structures of sense-making. Here, it is helpful to turn to aestheTics as developed by Mignolo and other decolonial scholars. The discourse surrounding aesthetics as a way of sense-making originated in ancient Greece (Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013). In the eighteenth century, with the development of aesthetic theories, most notably that by philosopher Immanuel Kant who combined the concept of "art as skill" with a theory of beauty (Schütz, 2018), aesthetics became representative of a specific European, Eurocentric and hegemonic experience and history (Mignolo, 2017; Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013). Kant not only transformed aesthetics into a concept that regulated how the "beautiful and the sublime" were sensed (Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013) but reduced the organicism of the multitude of senses contained in the Greek word *aesthesis* or *aiesthesis* (Schütz, 2018), thereby reducing aesthetics to a largely hegemonic regime.

To distinguish aesthetics as conceptualised by the ancient Greeks from this Eurocentric and hegemonic version, Mignolo and other decolonial scholars developed the term aestheTics to refer to the hegemonic and Eurocentric version of the concept (Mignolo, 2017). These scholars argue that aestheTics, like "knowledge, politics and economy ... constitutes and is constitutive ... of systemic expressions of the colonial matrix of power", which emerged as a result of colonisation (Schütz, 2018).

AestheTics established the criteria for the "sensing of the beautiful and the sublime" while controlling what was considered good taste and genius in artworks from a European perspective (Mignolo, 2017; Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013). This European sense of beauty was "superimposed" on the colonial and colonised world (Schütz, 2018), not least because Western colonialism drove the expansion of Western "artistic technique and art models and, concomitantly, of philosophical aesthetics" (Mignolo, 2017). AestheTics colonised the different types of aesthesis and artistic forms of expression in the world and claimed universality, facilitating the negation of "non-Western ways of sensing" and art (Schütz, 2018). The resultant assumption was that non-Europeans were not able to perceive or sense "the beautiful and

the sublime" (Mignolo, 2017). AestheTics was thus essentially a form of "sensory colonisation" (Schütz, 2018), making it part of the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013).

Western art music's colonisation of the sound-sensory world therefore has its origins in a European and Eurocentric view that places it in an uncontested position of aesthetic superiority. Christopher Small (1996:1) explains that the astonishing brilliance of the post-Renaissance European musical tradition, which he states is perhaps only matched by the science of post-Renaissance Europe, had the result that its proponents were inclined to view it as "the norm and ideal for all musical experience, just as they find [sic] in the attitudes of western science the paradigm for the acquisition of all knowledge". The belief that European music (and culture in general) is inherently superior to other musical cultures, which are "at best exotic and odd", enabled Europeans "to undertake the cultural colonisation of the world" and impose "European traditions and values" on colonised peoples (Ibid.). This influenced musical culture and practices in the colonies dramatically, often at the expense of local musics. Therefore, the ascendance of Western classical music to this status of superiority was facilitated by "a wider context of colonial violence", whereas epistemic violence enabled and still enables the continued normalisation of its superiority (Stanton, 2018:10).

Richard Taruskin (1996:18–19) also regards Western art music as a type of musical colonialism which expected its related practices around the world to subscribe to its supposedly universal "higher form of art". These supposedly universal "higher forms of art" were not universal but national. They were, in fact, German.<sup>62</sup> Consequently, Taruskin argues that the conservatories established worldwide to propagate this music are colonial in nature. In conclusion, he posits that:

Like other colonialisms, this one sought justification in the claim that it could develop local resources better than the natives unaided. Like other colonialisms, it maintained itself by manufacturing and administering ersatz "national" traditions that reinforced dependence on the mother country.

Although there can be no denying that Western art music is of aesthetic value, what is central here is that it claimed to be superior and universal, by which it "delegitimise[d], subordinate[d], appropriate[d], and tokenise[d]" other musics which also have aesthetic value (Stanton, 2018:10). In this way, it became globally privileged and hegemonic.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Small's statement is somewhat paradoxical for its lack of critical engagement with colonialism. He does ultimately warn that "we should not, however, allow the brilliance of the western musical tradition to blind us to its limitations and even areas of downright impoverishment" (Ibid.:1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Taruskin's own work is not unproblematic when the question of colonial agendas is at stake. He is arguably committed to what, at times, seems to be an anti-European, pro-American sentiment (Harper-Scott, 2012:9), making him liable to the charge of merely replacing one colonial frame (European) with another (North American).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Such a view is disputed by Winfried Lüdemann (2009:648), who argues that "symphonic art music" and nineteenth-century opera were born from the same enlightened and bourgeois spirit as our constitution and therefore represents the same aspirations. What he fails to mention, is that these same enlightenment theories of the equality of all men were utilised to justify colonialism and its violences.

An aspect of aestheTics that is particularly applicable to Western art music and the study thereof is the formation of a canon, a "normativity that enabled the disdain and the rejection of other forms of aesthetic practices" as well as "other forms of aestheSis, of sensing and perceiving" (Mignolo and Vázquez, 2013).<sup>64</sup> The applicability of the canon to Western art music is twofold: With the help of colonialism, Western art music was established as the canon in institutions of music learning and musicology worldwide (Ballantine, 1984:53), and in addition, Western classical music has what can be termed a core canon consisting of the works of so called great masters.<sup>65</sup> Mareli Stolp (2012:31) demonstrates that the canon is used in an "ossified and exclusionary manner", especially in South Africa, as the existence of the canon results in everything outside of the canon being viewed as of "questionable value". She demonstrates this exclusionary nature by showing how contemporary composers of Western art music are often excluded from the canon (Ibid.). For non-Western composers, the struggle for recognition is likely even more pronounced.

The hegemonic and privileged nature of Western art music extends to the academic and institutionalised study of music. To understand why this is the case, a brief look at the origins of institutionalised music study is necessary. In 1885, Guido Adler defined the scope, method and aim of what would become the new science of musicology. Adler's configuration proved to wield significant influence on the growth and institutionalisation of the new discipline, an "influence that is strongly felt to the present day" (Mugglestone and Adler, 1998:1). Until as recently as the 1980s, Adler's model was described as "the still extant model of musicology" (Ibid.). Adler's model divided musicology into two distinct areas, historical musicology (seemingly reserved for music perceived as an art form, i.e. Western art music, what he calls European occidental music) and systematic musicology. Systematic musicology included "comparative musicology", which would later become known as ethnomusicology, which had as its task the "comparing of tonal products, in particular the folk songs of various peoples, countries, and territories, with an ethnographic purpose in mind, grouping and ordering these according to the variety of [differences] in their characteristics" (Mugglestone and Adler, 1998:13). This means that from the outset, there was a distinct difference between how musicology and ethnomusicology were conceptualised, with musicology reserved for high art and ethnomusicology for the music of the Other, which was seemingly only important in terms of its ethnographic value.

Philip Bohlman and Federico Celestini (2018:1) note that although the rise and spread of musicology since Adler's statement has led to the spread of "grand theory", it has also relied on "the ability to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Decolonial aestheSis is a collective and concept formed by decolonial theorists in reaction to aestheTics in an attempt to take back ownership of the senses and aesthesis and confront the "hegemonic normativity of modern aestheTics" (Mignolo and Vazquez, 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> As argued by Alejandro L. Madrid (2017:125), although referring to a specific list of works or a given repertory, the canon also has a broader meaning in that it designates an "epistemology" or way of thinking about art (in this case, music) that "privileges certain aesthetic criteria". The history and development of music is then formed and told around this specific aesthetic criteria and way of thinking of music, making the canon "an ideology more than a specific repertory".

redeploy musicological method through ideologies that served the few rather than the many". These ideologies "laid the most passionate claims for ownership and the valuation of self over other: nation and race, particularly in their most extreme ideological expressions, nationalism and racism" (Ibid.). Willemien Froneman and Stephanus Muller (2020:206) argue along similar lines, noting the close link between colonialism and music practices and writing "deeply steeped in racial prejudices of all kinds". Musicology, as proposed by Adler, bound nation and race together to "creat[e] categories of repertory and genre" which in turn divided societies into "classes of racial difference" (Bohlman and Celestini, 2018:2). These categories of racial difference, aligned with genre difference, spread globally alongside musicology and European empire (Ibid.:2). In this way, "music easily maps onto ideas about what belongs to 'us' and what belongs to 'them'" (Froneman and Muller, 2020:207). The result is that despite race's status as a "biological myth and a social construct", music and musical practices still enable the identification of people according to race (Ibid.). Nation and race are so entwined with musicology and musicological thought (and by association, music) that they are not only its objects "but to a certain extent also its product" (Bohlman and Celestini, 2018:1).

It is this relationship between race and musicology that Houston A. Baker Jr. (2000:xii) laments when he notes that "traditional musicology represents a pretty corked vintage, well past its prime. Cultivated in the soil of 'race', it has frequently left a dull residue of stereotype, condescension, and error as a substitute for useful knowledge." Written two decades ago, Baker's claims are no longer reflective of the scholarly field. At least for George King (2018:1), the "New Musicology" especially has "brought a welcome gust of fresh air into the miasma of an excessively positivist and narrow approach" that was the order of the day in much of musicology until the early 2000s. Alejandro L. Madrid (2017:126) is less optimistic than King regarding the introduction of New Musicology, noting that "[New] musicology has co-opted the language of critical theory and cultural studies to continue privileging supposedly exceptional individuals, questions of aesthetic value and alleged objective knowledge, and so-called masterworks". Vestiges of the old mannerisms and traditions clearly remain. These vestiges are addressed in an article by Carina Venter, William Fourie, Juliana M. Pistorius and Neo Muyanga (2018).<sup>66</sup>

Venter (Ibid.:130) is concerned with the violence of colonialism, and how its "avalanche of murders" facilitated aestheTics' as well as classical music's ascendance to universal status. She posits that a decolonial musicology will have to set aside its perpetual (and avowedly nineteenth-century) withdrawal into "transcendence" in order to account for the "avalanche of murders", cultivating a "decolonial understanding of the main historical narratives that act as foundations supporting the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Although this contribution speaks specifically to musicology as a research discipline, the suggestions made by the authors could easily be applied to the teaching of musicology and music history.

discipline of musicology".<sup>67</sup> Fourie (Ibid.:130) argues that the power dynamic of coloniality at play in musicology has historically placed the West as the sole locus of enunciation, "the site from which knowledge stems". A decolonial musicology will have to unhinge this power dynamic through the adoption of "border thinking that would necessitate speaking *from* the colonial wound, rather than *about* it" (Ibid.:131, emphasis in original). Pistorius furthers Fourie's statement by arguing that it is not only "the site of enunciation" that should be addressed in an attempt to decolonise musicology but "enunciation itself". The "power relations inscribed in colonial languages" makes their use in the "academic project" (i.e. musicology) problematic (Ibid.:131). She concludes that the decolonisation of musicology will not only require recognising the legitimacy of different forms of knowledge but also the legitimacy of different "ways of saying" (Ibid.:146).

Muyanga (Ibid.:80) attends to the question of how the music "that lives inside people" can be researched without "following the example and stringent rules firmly created by colonists, or western ideology". He suggests that one way to "differentiate our music [research]" and to "showcase our african-ness" is to craft a way to write (about) music through "actions and physical movements" in addition to the use of words: "that, to me, would be one way to distinguish our music research in the most modern way" (Ibid.:82).

Ethnomusicology, too, has recently come under fire from various scholars for its hegemonic tendencies and production of epistemic coloniality (Araújo, 2018; Baker Jr., 2000:xi; Barney and Mackinlay, 2017; Sardo, 2018). Singled out for critique is ethnomusicologists' tendency to present knowledge collected from others as their own, validating their status as knowledge bearers while barely acknowledging those who are the original knowledge bearers (Araújo, 2018:15; de Carvalho, Cohen, Corrêa, Chada and Nakayama, 2016:129–130; Sardo, 2018:217–218). The result is a version of epistemic coloniality that entails a certain anthropological knowledge of Others without fully acknowledging these Others as "thinking and knowledge-producing subjects" (Mbembe, 2015).<sup>68</sup> Another problem with ethnomusicology is that it historically implied the study of the music of the Other, whereas musicology

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Along similar lines, Margaret Walker (2020:5) notes that "the interaction of Western art music and colonial history" is "rarely included in undergraduate education" and needs to be interrogated for decolonisation to take place.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Danielle Brown (2020) has detailed certain of ethnomusicology's problems in light of the 2020 #BlackLivesMatter movement.

implied the study of WAM.<sup>69</sup> Some, such as Inkqubela (2016), argue that ethnomusicology was therefore conceptualised fundamentally as marginal to the West.<sup>70</sup>

Like musicology and ethnomusicology, music theory has also come under scrutiny. Much like the practice of citation bestows scholarly validity and canonic status, the analysis that forms part of music theory "validates" certain works and compositions by deeming them "worthy" of study, which in turn creates a canon (Lucia, 2007:173–174). The overwhelming whiteness of this canon is glaring – a study by Philip Ewell (2020) found that 98.3% of the musical examples in the most used theory textbooks in the United States of North America are by white composers. 71 The situation is likely similar in many other countries, including South Africa. As Ewell (2020) points out, those who designed the theoretical premises commonly used to analyse these compositions are also "overwhelmingly ... white". Although the relative whiteness of the canon can no longer go unchallenged, what is even more problematic is what Ewell terms music theory and analysis' "white racial frame".72 Rather than negative black stereotypes, the white racial frame concerns "positive white stereotypes" (Ewell, 2020, emphasis in original), what sociologist Joe Feagin (2013:10) terms a "pro-white subframe"; i.e. the compositions and theories of whites are privileged over that of non-whites. Ewell (2020) argues that music theory's white racial frame promotes notions such as: "the music and theories of white persons represent the best, and in certain cases the only, framework for music theory; among these white persons, the music and music theories of whites from German-speaking lands of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries represent the pinnacle of music-theoretical thought and the language of 'diversity' and 'inclusivity' and the actions it effects will rectify racial disparities, and therefore racial injustices, in music theory".73

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Through a reading of an inaugural address by Jacques Malan (1983), Venter (2009:112–115) sheds light on how Malan, arguably the leading musicologist at the time in South Africa, considered ethnomusicology to possess "great potential for South Africa and the project of separate development. It could provide sonic proof that each ethnic group in South Africa had to be developed differently to and separated from others, even assisting in the process." Supporting the argument for ethnomusicology's use to bolster apartheid views on culture and music, Alvin Petersen (2009:56) notes that ethnomusicology and African music studies were "silenc[ed]" at most white university music departments during apartheid. This further problematises the discipline in South Africa.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> The problems inherent in this distinction have been on the critical agenda at least since the 1970s (Lieberman, 1976) and discussions and debates continue to take place (Cook, 2008; Kingsbury, 1997; Nooshin, 2016). In South Africa, one way in which this problematic distinction has been addressed is through the formation of a single society for music research, the South African Society for Research in Music, with the society's journal titled *South African Music Studies* (Muller, 2005a).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> I deliberately use the designation "United States of North America" to avoid portraying the USA as America in its entirety.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Here Ewell draws on Joe Feagin's (2013:3) notion of the white racial frame as "an overarching white worldview that encompasses a *broad and persisting set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, images, interpretations and narratives, emotions, and reactions to language accents, as well as racialised inclinations to discriminate"* (emphasis in original).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Ewell (2020) supports his argument with a demonstration of how race, racism and white supremacy form "a significant part" of Heinrich Schenker's musical theories, and that this aspect cannot be overlooked when teaching Schenker.

Etienne Viviers (2017:303, 305) interrogates Western art music's colonial legacy specifically in South Africa. He argues that Western art music was implemented by colonialism as a hegemonic cultural practice in South Africa as it was enforced as a universal and superior art form. Together with South African art music, it is thus part of South Africa's colonial legacy, making it part of the colonial "problem" that decolonial activists are trying to solve.<sup>74</sup>

One anonymous interviewee for this study pointed out that the apartheid regime did not have a specific musical policy. However, Western art music and its (white) South African derivatives were closely associated with the apartheid government and in many ways enjoyed forms of privilege not readily available to other musics. The hegemonic privileging of Western art music took place with the help of the apartheid government's support of "orchestras symphony concerts [sic], recitals, music festivals, competitions, arts councils, censored state radio and television" as well as "unequal education and cultural opportunities" (Lucia, 2005:xxii). As a result of these "monolithic Europe-driven cultural institutions" of apartheid South Africa, up to the end of apartheid "Western music seemed indeed to constitute a homogenous block, supporting the Nationalist edifice both metaphorically (through legislation) and literally (the State Theatre in Pretoria for example)" (Ibid.).

A review article by Socrates Paxinos (1986) sheds light on the environment in which research into Western art music in apartheid South Africa took place. Paxinos omits any mention of apartheid and its possible effects on musicological activities in the country but does not miss an opportunity to chastise so-called researchers of colour for not contributing to local musicological activities. Careful examination of Paxinos's account also reveals that, during the apartheid years, the term South African music largely referred to music composed by white South Africans, whether it be folk music or music in the European art music style. As Christine Lucia (2005:xxii) states, under apartheid, classical music in South Africa was simply known as "music", as it was the music of the dominant minority. Paxinos

Considering the relationship between musicology and race throughout colonialism and apartheid, it is unsurprising that Western art music and its South African forms were (and still are) closely aligned to the cultural identities of white people, not only worldwide but particularly in South Africa (Muller, 2000; Stimie, 2010; Venter, 2009; Viviers, 2017:311). Western art music practices in South Africa became in many ways a performance of whiteness.<sup>77</sup> This has the result that any problematising of art music's ethical and social value in the current South African society is seen by some as an attack on the cultural identity of white South Africans (Viviers, 2017:311). Apartheid was therefore not only the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> There are of course counterarguments to this statement. See, for example, Lüdemann (2009) and Christopher Cockburn (2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> King (2018) traces the journey of South African musicology from its "conservative" origins to where it is today. He argues that although things have changed, that change is not yet substantial enough.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Venter's (2009:112) reading of Malan (1983) is also useful in demonstrating how "art music practice in South Africa could be neither neutral nor ideologically uncontaminated by Apartheid".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Here it is important to note that choral music and opera after 1994 confound any simple racial division between black and white in South Africa.

continuation and development of the racial policy implemented under colonialism (Ibid.) but the continuation of colonialism's musical hegemony as well.

### **Shades of Change**

The South African musicologist Christopher Ballantine was one of the first scholars (if not the first) to criticise in writing South African tertiary music education. His critique dates back 36 years:

University music departments in South Africa are typical colonial institutions: the traditions, practices and objectives of European music departments – as well as their sense of what constitutes the proper study of music – all these have migrated practically unchanged to the African sub-continent; like their European parent institutions, music departments here take an important part of their function to be the preservation of a certain set of values, and indeed a certain way of life. Moreover – and here too they are like their parent bodies – this ideological function is carried out covertly: they never openly address the question of the social and political meanings of their function as musical institutions, or the question of the social and political meanings of music itself.

(Ballantine, 1984:53)

Six years later, Khabi Mngoma (1990:121) wrote much the same: "Until now music education in South African institutions has promoted esoteric and elitist classical Western music, to the exclusion of other types of music existing in South Africa. ... The music courses of most South African universities have been monogynic, catering only for a Western musical orientation ... ." Not mincing any words, Mngoma (1990:126) adds that such a monogynic approach is "narrow and bigoted". The central point of Mngoma's critique, however, is that it "keeps the white student in his cultural 'laager' [and] perpetuates apartheid" (Ibid.).

It is disturbing to note the parallels between critiques offered decades ago and those levelled at these same institutions in the last few years. Admittedly, some recent critiques, such as that by Viviers (2017:308), point out that changes such as some degree of curriculum renewal and increased numbers of black students registered at the previously majority-white music departments have taken place. However, Chatradari Devroop (2014), King (2018), Lucia (2007), Madimabe Geoff Mapaya (2016), Stolp (2012, 2015, 2016) and Viljoen (2014) all argue that these changes have not been substantial enough. This would seem to suggest that the general state of affairs in tertiary music education today has not changed considerably since the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>78</sup>

Lucia (2007) is concerned with the hegemonic (and colonial) legacy of music theory as taught in South African schools and universities. She identifies two different types of music theory: the first is "an activity of analysis and commentary, often equated to 'music analysis'", whereas the second is "a more

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> These problems are not unique to South Africa. For example, for discussions that pertain to the United States of North America, see Bradley (2017), Bradley, Golner and Hanson (2007), Kajikawa (2019), Madrid, (2017), Myers, Sarath and Campbell (2017), O'Toole (2000), Vaugeois (2007), Walker (2020), Wilkinson (1996) and Wyatt (1996).

pedagogically driven body of hegemonic knowledge covering music's sounds, concepts and terminology", which Lucia designates "theory of music" (Ibid.:167).

As noted earlier in this chapter, the first understanding of music theory has hegemonic tendencies in its propensity to result in the formation of an exclusionary canon. This exclusionary canon and Ewell's notion of the "white racial frame" becomes especially problematic when such analyses are not approached with a lens that would give it a more critical dimension but are used "as an end in themselves", which is exactly the kind of analysis which Lucia (2007:173) argues is being practised in South Africa. Despite her concerns with this type of analysis in South Africa, Lucia is particularly concerned with the second understanding of music theory. For Lucia, theory of music's hegemony in South Africa is a result of the "power of the (colonial) system behind it" (Ibid.:177). This hegemonic nature is furthered by the "unquestioned assumptions about the ideology of certain kinds of music and musical knowledge" on which it is based, its driving "ideology of a 'higher' kind of music (i.e. Western art music)", its use as a universal "yardstick for measuring university entrance requirements in music" and the detrimental effect this has all had on indigenous musics (Ibid.:182-183). The fact that tertiary music departments continue to cling to this model in one way or another, both as regards entrance requirements and classroom teaching, leads Lucia to argue that South African universities are "trying to colonise ... the consciousness" of music students (Ibid.:183–184).<sup>79</sup>

Stolp (2012) argues that the "imperialist and colonialist history of South Africa" had a significant impact on the performance practice of art music today. Stolp posits that this influence is evident in university curricula and concert programmes that have stayed mainly conservative and European, despite certain changes to the curriculum and a major shift in the governance of the country (Ibid.:44).80

Viljoen (2014) echoes Stolp's assessment of the conservative nature of South African tertiary music departments, supporting her position with an investigation of the curricula offered at these institutions.<sup>81</sup> Viljoen notes that although "transformative approaches" are present at South African tertiary music departments, the curricula of the so-called local "leaders" in the field (the SACM at UCT, the Department of Music at the University of Pretoria, and the Department of Music at SU) are considerably more conservative than that of other institutions (Viljoen, 2014:126). Despite the importance of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Hendrik Hofmeyr (2016:99) claims that Lucia's work is part of "the sustained attack on music theory and analysis" by the "self-styled 'New Musicology". For him, Lucia's "attack" on the teaching of music theory at South African tertiary music departments presents a "patently generalised misrepresentation of what is considered 'old', so as to show the 'new' to greatest advantage". In a response to Hofmeyr's claims, Viviers (2020) points out what he perceives to be errors on Hofmeyr's part. He also notes that Hofmeyr "misses the intention behind her [Lucia's] scholarship into music theory and music analysis", which is not an attack on theory but evidence of her desire to "promote and develop its teaching within South African universities".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> I offer an expanded reading of Stolp's (2012) critique in chapter two of this thesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> It is important to note that Viljoen's conception of conservative refers to the practice of focusing on excellence in practical music studies and the unquestioned acceptance of the notion of music as an autonomous object.

Viljoen's claims, it should be noted that her investigation consists of a very cursory glance over some of the broad curricula outlines at institutions rather than a systematic, comparative inquiry.

Devroop (2014) also criticises the lack of transformation in tertiary music departments. Noting that the higher education sector, in general, is resistant to change and not meeting its transformation mandate, he argues that tertiary music departments are especially "recalcitrant to change" (2014:101). In addition, he remarks on the "strong European art music bias" in the academic and practical offerings of music departments, especially when it comes to accessing higher education (Ibid.:103). Taken together, all these factors lead to a situation in which South African tertiary music departments do not "reflect the African context in their research or curricula" (Ibid.).

In her argument for the decolonisation of South African tertiary music departments, Stolp (2015) presupposes that:

One: curricula, approaches to teaching and course content at music departments in our universities are in serious need of transformation. Two: such transformation is being actively resisted by members of music departments at our universities. Three: there are ideological reasons for this protection of the status quo.

Stolp (2016) clarifies that her critique is not an implicit argument that music departments be "purged" of "all things Western" but that curricula should be expanded and developed so that we extend what we already know and can critically engage with knowledge that we previously accepted as "infallible and sound".<sup>82</sup> Where little information is available on certain subjects, it is the responsibility of researchers to remedy the situation, bringing to light new content that can then be taught and studied. She describes this type of decolonisation as a "brave venture into territory that, although perhaps previously charted by our colonial predecessors, may now be re-charted from our own, South African perspective".

Mapaya (2016:48) notes that South African music education is not only "gravely foreign" but "unashamedly Western and out-rightly colonial and imperialist in that it, necessarily, privileges and perpetuates the canonisation of music traditions and aspirations of the northern worlds". He advances that the recent option at some universities to specialise in African music seems to be a result of the desire to be "politically correct" rather than a "genuine recognition of the status of African music systems" (Ibid.). The absence of "African ways of acquiring and circulating music-making knowledge and skills" in South African tertiary music curricula is noted and argued to signify the "misalign[ment]" between tertiary music education and "current South African musical praxis" (Ibid.:48). Mapaya further laments that instead of a "self-contained discipline" focused on developing (professional) performance skills in African music, institutionalised African music tuition has predominantly occurred in the

Moeketsi; the historical significance of Voëlvry movement and Vuyisile Mini.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> Stolp (2016) suggests the following as possible material for inclusion into curricula: figures such as Fanny Mendelssohn and women's rights in the nineteenth century; Chevalier de Saint-Georges, the Black composer referred to as 'le Mozart noir'; Harry Lawrence Freeman, a Black American composer of Wagnerian operas; the legacies of Todd Matshikiza; the intricacies of Ngqoko throat singing; the improvisation technique of Kippie Moeketsi; the historical significance of the songs of Princess Magogo; the political influence of Roger Lucey; the

domains of ethnomusicology and anthropology. This problem is compounded by music pedagogy's foundation in the "elitist traditions of the West" and their "unfounded superiority complex", music education practitioners' unfamiliarity with indigenous African music (IAM), "the lack of 'buy-in' from credible African musicologists" and a paucity of "genuine engagement" with practitioners of African music (Ibid.:50).

Marietjie Pauw (2017) undertakes a brief survey of course titles as indicated in the online yearbooks of eleven South African tertiary music institutions (and one Ugandan institution) in her investigation of "musico-cultural' diversity". 83 Although the full findings are not shared, Pauw notes that at Stellenbosch University's music department "lesser diversity appeared to be prevalent", as its undergraduate programme does not include a variety of musics for study. In contrast, Pauw notes that UKZN's music department "demonstrated stronger diversity", as the undergraduate curriculum incorporates jazz, Western art music, African musics and Southern African dance studies.

Larissa Johnson (2018) specifically investigates the place of African music at South African tertiary music departments, excluding technical, comprehensive and private universities. Similar to Pauw's study, a comparative investigation is performed at the hand of examination of yearbooks.<sup>84</sup> This examination does not cover yearbooks over a longer period of time but focuses specifically on 2017 and 2018.

Johnson notes that African music does not seem to be offered at the University of the Free State, whereas it holds a "superficial position" as elective in the "Western music-centric conservatory style programme[s]" at Stellenbosch University (SU) and the University of Pretoria (UP). African music is said to be centred at North-West University, as amongst other things, the programme is structured so that all students are dual-disciplinary throughout the degree. At Rhodes University and UCT, Africa is positioned as optional (yet the manner of this optionality is different at each). With regards to UCT, Johnson notes that not only do fields such as composition still exclusively relate to Western genres, but instances where African music courses are optional and Western courses are compulsory, remain. The University of Fort Hare and the University of KwaZulu-Natal are both designated "explicitly Afrocentrist", but their continued privileging of "Western modes of visual and aural cognition" as prerequisites for entrance and successful completion of their programmes is flagged as problematic. The University of Witwatersrand's BMus is termed "non-centrist". Johnson's investigation mirrors

<sup>84</sup> Johnson (2018) notes that this was greatly due to the difficulties of obtaining curriculum records, a problem which was exacerbated by her position in the United States of North America at the time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Although appearing in some aspects to be similar to this study, the briefness and limited scope of Pauw's survey differentiates the two projects. Pauw's (2017:72) survey focused on course titles rather than course content and no attempt was made to obtain further information through conducting interviews with staff or students.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>85</sup> Johnson does not clarify her usage of dual-disciplinary here. Presumably, she is referring to the option of dual specialisation, by which students can choose two of music technology, methodology, music education, music theory, performance, musicology, community music and composition (North-West University, 2021).

Mapaya's (2016) critique in that she concludes that African music is "almost always" conceived as "optional", while Western music is considered 'music'.

Supporting the arguments offered by Lucia (2007), Stolp (2012, 2015, 2016), Devroop (2014), Mapaya (2016) and Johnson (2018), King (2018:3) laments that despite "the opening up of a wider range of topics for tuition, research and academic discussion over the past couple of decades ... the effect on the undergraduate curriculum in South African music studies has been uneven". Notwithstanding the inclusion of fields such as ethnomusicology, popular music, African music and cultural theory at some universities, the "mainstays of traditional musicology: music history and music theory" have not only remained as compulsory modules (whereas the aforementioned are electives) but still deal exclusively (or almost exclusively) with Western art music. Additionally, King (Ibid.) critiques tertiary music departments' unwillingness to recognise that such "exclusivist curriculums" are indicative of a "colonialist mindset" as well as their refusal to implement curricula that would "reflect the interdependence of Western and non-Western elements and ideologies in the very music that is the focus of music studies".

Stolp (2019) reviews the music history syllabi of South African tertiary music departments with the aim of investigating the "establishment of twentieth and twenty-first-century music history education at universities and conservatories of music" (Ibid.:29). Short summaries of the music history offerings at seven institutions - Rhodes University, Northwest University, UCT, UKZN, University of Pretoria, University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and University of South Africa (Unisa) – are provided. Stolp concludes that "Western art music is generally not privileged above other musics" and that most of the departments include African music and jazz in the curriculum "in balance with Western art music" (Ibid.:35). Additionally, Stolp notes that the majority of the included departments have moved away from the traditional approach of structuring music history courses according to the musical eras of the Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Twentieth Century (and in some cases an overview of South African composers), to a topics-based course offering. This is equated to a "move away from conservative historiography towards engagement with themes or subjects that connect to broader social and cultural issues" (Ibid.). Although there is definite evidence to suggest a move away from survey or overview programmes, I would be hesitant to equate such a shift to "engagement with themes or subjects that connect to broader social and cultural issues" without deeper engagement with course content. I am also very sceptical of Stolp's assessment that African music and jazz are included in the curriculum in balance with Western art music, as I would argue that its inclusion at Rhodes University, UCT and University of Pretoria (as documented by Stolp), still appears to follow an additive approach.

## **Overview of Chapters**

This thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter one has provided the theoretical and methodological background for this study. Although the focus of this thesis is on surveying curricular decolonisation at

South African tertiary music departments, curriculum and curricular decolonisation must be considered in its institutional contexts. Chapter two takes as its impetus Jansen's (1998:106) statement that the reaction of an institution provoked through crisis is telling in assessing the level of transformation, decolonisation or change that has occurred. Global university crises, the neoliberal turn in higher education and the crisis of the humanities are considered, after which I proceed to a consideration of the 2015–16 #RhodesMustFall as well as #FeesMustFall protests, with a focus on how these protests played out in the included music departments. A brief reflection on reports of disciplinary crisis that plague music studies then opens onto an examination of crises in South African music studies and tertiary music education, after which I consider two South African curriculum crises, the Mamdani Affair at UCT in the late 1990s and the events surrounding Mareli Stolp's PhD thesis at SU.

With the problematics of institutional decolonisation established, chapter three proceeds to a survey of the changes that have occurred in the curricula of the four included music departments. The meaning and extent of these changes are then critically probed through a consideration of six main issues with the curricular change that has occurred. Chapter four attempts a classification of curricular change as it has been surveyed in chapter three, after which I scrutinise the understandings of decolonisation shared with me by a number of interviewees to shed light on the results from yearbooks and interviews. I briefly consider other work that could be done to better understand curricular decolonisation and, in conclusion, offer some thoughts on how we can continue to work towards decolonisation.

# Chapter Two: Never Let a Serious Crisis Go to Waste<sup>86</sup>

Openings are restitutive.
Openings reverse decline.
Openings embrace protest.
Openings lacerate.
Openings butcher.
Openings burn.
(Muller, 2016:5)

I wish to propose that a better way to understand transformation might be through the study of critical incidents. The argument presented is that one understands transformation much better when someone throws the proverbial 'spanner in the works'. An institution provoked through crisis tells us much more about the nature and extent of transformation than any official documents or quantified outputs. For it is in the response of the institution to such critical incidents that important clues are given away about how far that institution has travelled in the direction of what it may call 'transformation'.

(Jansen, 1998:106)

This chapter follows Jansen's suggestion in the second epigraph above that making crises the object of careful consideration is a productive move. As will become apparent, reports of crises are pervasive in relation to both the university and institutionalised forms of music studies. This is unsurprising. Crisis narratives permeate almost all aspects of society – environmental crises, economic crises, health crises, educational crises and humanitarian crises, to name but a few. Derived from the Greek *krisis* which, in turn, originates from *krinos* (meaning separate, choose, decide and judge), crisis was originally used in medicine to refer to the turning point in the course of an illness, "the point where it is going to be decided whether the patient lives or dies" (Dodd, 2004:44). This meaning gradually expanded to include any "dangerous and decisive moment" or the "critical moment that could determine the success or failure of a cause" (Wang, 2014:257). For James Dodd (2004:44), a crisis is an "experience of necessity": "a crisis", he states, "is a situation where we can go no further, or carry on no longer, without a fundamental change; for better or for worse, in a crisis a decision *must* be made, it is a danger that must be resolved" (emphasis in original).

Crises may act as catalysts for radical change. Thomas Kuhn (2012) demonstrates how ground-breaking new scientific theories and ideas were commonly preceded by a period of "pronounced professional insecurity" or a "pronounced failure in the normal problem-solving activity" – i.e. "crises are a necessary precondition for the emergence of novel theories" (Ibid.:83–90). Such crises can be equated

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> I borrow this title from a monograph by Philip Mirowski (2013).

to what Muller (2016:4–5) terms openings – openings that act as interventions are "restitutive ... [they] reverse decline ... embrace protest ... lacerate ... butcher ... burn". For Walter Benjamin, the transformative role of crises, what he terms critical moments, is so pronounced that catastrophe is what happens when the opportunity presented by crisis has been missed and the status quo maintained (Benjamin, 1999:473–474).

Crisis can expose a system or status quo's underlying weaknesses and inadequacies. Not only is the dominant ideology ruptured and exposed, "the world is clearer when the gloves are off", but the "frailty of institutions and practices" is revealed (Lendler, 1997:108–111). As such, crises may force corrective moves in a search for radical adjustment. Crises may also act as the catalyst for solutions that were available but not implemented. As Kuhn (2012:88) notes, "the solution to each of them [crises] had been at least partially anticipated during a period when there was no crisis in the corresponding science; and in the absence of crisis those anticipations had been ignored". Yet another reason for the productive nature of crisis is found in Homi Bhabha's idea that unpreparedness harbours potential. Bhabha argues that our unpreparedness for crisis can open us up to new possibilities, to acting in an empathetic manner, in other words, it can act as a space of radical possibility for change (Bhabha and McMillan, 2020).

This insight can also be reversed: if crises could create fertile ground for strategic solutions, then the acceleration or construction of crises might be a necessary part of a strategy that hopes to remedy systems or environments. Those seeking something other than an existing status quo can create and utilise crisis narratives to disrupt the power and influence of established institutions and their supporters, thereby creating "institutional openings for drastic change" (Kuipers, 2006:180). The turn to crisis might also be a last recourse when other interventions have failed. Whether constructed to bring about change or a final desperate effort to disrupt a resilient status quo, the recognition of crisis can be viewed as "the necessary first step in a much larger project", the project of remedying the broken status quo (Froneman and Muller, 2015:xv).

As this chapter will demonstrate, the recognition of accumulated failure as crisis is unstable – what some view as a crisis, others might view as a perfectly workable order. Crises become productive catalysts for change only when there is an agent willing to drive the change, an institutional will to identify failures or contradictions and a shared understanding of what constitutes such failures or contradictions.

If crisis narratives can initiate and accelerate change, they can also induce stasis or be used to undermine the very agendas they seek to pursue. Not only can crisis narratives, once initiated, "be 'hi-jacked' to pursue a reform undesirable by the original instigators of the crisis", but a crisis can "assume a life of its own" where all parties involved lose control over its direction and eventual outcome (Kuipers,

2006:183).<sup>87</sup> Crises may be "pressed into the service of political and ideological work" with the result that, unwittingly or not, an inherently discriminatory status quo is retained (Venter, 2015:213).

The normalisation of crisis, Mark Fisher (2009:1) notes, has produced "a situation in which the repealing of measures brought in to deal with an emergency becomes unimaginable (when will the war be over?)". Although Fisher is writing specifically with regards to the war on terror, as Venter (2015:214) suggests, the same template "seems eminently suitable to many other things". Crises enable certain actions and decisions that were not otherwise acceptable. Take, for example, the "militarisation" and "securitisation" of many university campuses during the #FeesMustFall protests (Hendricks, 2016; Manala, 2016; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2016a; Reinders, 2019). Because university managements decided to respond to what they understood to be a crisis in a particular manner, they deemed it morally and politically defensible for such measures to be taken on university campuses supposedly reserved for ideas.

The normalisation of crisis can lead to a situation in which crisis is often the only register in which communication and change are possible. During the early days of #FeesMustFall, student activists at Nelson Mandela University shut down the institution through a blockade of the main entrance to campus. Since then, students have on various occasions resorted to this blockade technique to air their grievances to the university management. Representation of the university management only listens and acts on their complaints when they shut down the institution, in other words, when they create a crisis.

Crises, especially when normalised as a status quo, may incapacitate systems to the extent that change simply does not occur. Matthew Barret Gross and Mel Gilles (2012) and Brian Pertl (2017:34–35) demonstrate how crisis narratives can contribute to a sense of impending doom and panic so strong that it cultivates feelings of helplessness and paralysis. Such a state of indecisive agitation is referred to as "The Dithering" by Kim Stanley Robinson in her novel 2312. Although Robinson is specifically referring to inaction in response to what Donna Haraway (2016:37) calls the "onrushing multispecies extinctions, genocides, immiserations and exterminations", the notion of dithering is just as relevant to the general discourse of crises. Continuous calls of crisis may lead to "dithering" – lots of talk but not

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> A case in point is the "demise of once great African universities" due to, amongst other things, "financial crises, and chronic disruption to the academic project of the university" (Jansen and Walters, 2019:24).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Multiple times during my undergraduate study at Nelson Mandela University (2015–2018), I woke up to messages on WhatsApp groups and emails from the university warning students not to come onto campus, as protestors were blocking the entrance. At the time of writing, the most recent of such shutdowns occurred on 18 February 2020 when the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command hosted a shutdown of the institution to raise various complaints: students were struggling to register for their studies, intelliMali allowances (used by students to pay for accommodation and buy food) had not yet been paid out, the university's shortage of student accommodation and the delayed contact with NSFAS (National Student Financial Aid Scheme) by the university, which meant that students were still awaiting the results of their funding applications (Facebook post by the EFF Student Command Nelson Mandela University on 17 February 2020).

so much action. Even when we do not dither, crisis narratives can be so overwhelming that the ensuing panic changes perception and reactions in completely unproductive ways (Pertl, 2017:35). The crisis is then experienced as a collapse and, consequently, its regenerative potential is lost (Ibid.:34). If actions fuelled by panic and crisis are often ineffective, they could also be accused of charting too extreme a course (Lendler, 1997:111).

In addition to incapacitating change, crisis narratives may provide a pretext for simultaneously recognising and distancing oneself from a problem: "Using the rhetoric of crisis allows us to assume a level of plausible deniability for the deterioration [of affairs] [yet] ... allows us to voice our displeasure" (Di Leo, 2017:xiii). By drawing on crisis and its almost apocalyptic mythologies, we clear ourselves from having any part in the origin of the problem while simultaneously providing a reason for not contributing to the solution – if what we face is a crisis, the actions of one individual surely will not make a difference.

This brief exploration of the regenerative and destructive abilities of crises and crisis narratives makes clear why the study of crises is so instructive: examining crises and what they yield (change, stasis, or some other undefined option) reveal a great deal about institutions, disciplines and individuals. Against this background, I wish to consider crises and crisis narratives which have circulated in universities, especially as these relate to the humanities and music studies. In what follows, I first broach the effects of the neoliberal turn in higher education, such as increasing references to a "crisis of the humanities" (Frassinelli, 2019:1), after which I proceed to a consideration of the crises that have, in many ways, become normative of the South African higher education landscape. Attention will be on the #RhodesMustFall as well as #FeesMustFall protests that arose from 2015 onwards, with a focus on how these protests played out in the four music departments included in this study.<sup>89</sup> A brief reflection on the ever-present reports of disciplinary crisis that plague music studies (Venter, 2015:210) then opens up onto an examination of crises in South African music studies and tertiary music education. Finally, I provide a contrapuntal reading of two South African curriculum crises, the Mamdani affair at the University of Cape Town in the late 1990s and the events surrounding Mareli Stolp's PhD thesis at Stellenbosch University.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> These protests are frequently referred to under the umbrella of the #MustFall protests as they included movements such as #PatriarchyMustFall.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> The crises included here are by no means the only crises to affect South African universities, their curricula, or research. Other significant post-apartheid crises include the Chris Brink crisis at Stellenbosch University in the 2000s (Botha, 2007), Chris Walton's stepping down as Head of Music at the University of Pretoria in 2005 (Muller, 2005b), the furore around an article published by sports scientists at Stellenbosch University in 2019 which claimed that "coloured women ... have an increased risk of low cognitive functioning" (Jansen, 2020:xv), the outcry surrounding a supposedly racist article published by UCT academic Nicoli Nattrass (Makoni, 2020) and the cancelled book project flowing from the *Contesting Freedoms* colloquium convened at the University of South Africa in 2014 (King, 2018).

### The Global University Landscape and its Narrative of Crisis

A narrative of crisis has surrounded the university for a considerable time. Already in 1996, Bill Readings (1996:19) described the university as a "ruined institution" which had lost its "historical raison d'être". Titles such as *Killing Thinking: the Death of the University* (Evans, 2004), *Ivory Tower Blues: A University System in Crisis* (Côté and Allahar, 2007), *The Trouble with Higher Education* (Hussey and Smith, 2010), *The University in Dissent* (Rolfe, 2012) and *Universities in Crisis* (Christopherson, Gertler and Gray, 2014) maintain this narrative of crisis. On the state of the university in Africa, too, crisis narratives persist, evidenced by titles such as *The Crisis in Higher Education in Africa* (Atteh, 1996) and *Higher Education in Africa: The Crisis, Reforms and Transformation* (Assie-Lumumba, 2006).<sup>91</sup>

Readings (1996:37) argues that crises in universities are so normative that they are their "defining feature[s]". These crises are varyingly described as stemming from insufficient funding, the growing corporatisation of higher education, the failure of the "business model" of universities and colleges, the challenges that globalisation poses to universities and "as a repudiation of the ideals and standards of higher education" (Esterberg and Wooding, 2012:vii). Most of these crises are thus linked to the so-called neoliberal turn in universities.

That higher education has undergone a neoliberal turn is widely accepted. <sup>92</sup> Universities are managed as businesses and are "expected to contribute to business, innovation and industry, framed by market logic" (Brown, 2016). Universities are increasingly subjected to "market metrics, i.e. ratings and rankings", creating an environment of "hyper-competition" (Swartz, Mahali, Moletsane, Arogundade, Khalema, Cooper and Groenewald, 2018:6). Together with Alfonso Borrero Cabal, Readings (1996:3, 21) argues that the neoliberal turn has meant that universities follow "a generalised logic of 'accountability' in which the university must pursue 'excellence' in all aspects of its functioning" – "excellence' is rapidly becoming the watchword of the University". <sup>93</sup> Although neoliberalism and its

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Zeleza and Olukoshi (2004) as well as Aina (2010) also position crisis as central to their accounts of the transformation and internationalisation of African higher education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> My understanding and use of neoliberalism are influenced by Wendy Brown's description of neoliberalism as a "governing rationality" in which all aspects of life is "economised": individuals become market actors, all activities or fields are viewed as markets and "every entity (whether public or private, whether person, business, or state) is governed as a firm". Instead of simply "extending commodification and monetisation everywhere" as per the Marxist depiction of "capital's transformation of everyday life", neoliberalism views even non-wealth generating spheres (such as education or learning) in market terms through "submit[ting] them to market metrics and govern[ing] them with market techniques and practices". Neoliberalism also casts individuals as "human capital who must constantly tend to their own present and future value" (Brown, cited in Shenk, 2015).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> A brief recap of Readings's historicisation of the university would be instructive here. According to Readings's (1996) account, the university has been successively characterised by three structuring ideas – Kant's University of Reason was succeeded by Humboldt's University of Culture in the nineteenth century, which in turn was followed by the present-day techno-bureaucratic neoliberal university focused on the production of excellence. Humboldt's University of Culture was tied to the nation-state as it was responsible for the production of a national knowledge and culture. Increasing globalisation and the growing economic role of international corporations rather than nation-states has led to the decline of the nation-state and its accompanying notion of the University of Culture. The production of excellence in the neoliberal university has replaced the production of culture.

accompanying notion of excellence might not at first be considered detrimental to higher education, many are sceptical, if not downright opposed to it (Ahmed, 2015; Di Leo, 2017; Readings, 1996; Swartz *et al.*, 2018:7–8).

One of the notable problems regarding the notion of excellence is its abstract nature, which Readings (1996) demonstrates with regards to universities in particular detail. "Excellence", he writes, "has the singular advantage of being entirely meaningless, or to put it more precisely, non-referential" (Ibid.:22). Since excellence "is not a fixed standard of judgement but a qualifier whose meaning is fixed in relation to something else", its meaning is neither predetermined nor given (Ibid.:24, 32–33). This becomes problematic when, as in the case of the bureaucratic university, excellence is uncritically adopted as an integrating principle.

Excellence, just like crisis narratives, can be used to protect power or the status quo: "Excellence draws only one boundary: the boundary that protects the unrestricted power of the bureaucracy. And if a particular department's kind of excellence fails to conform, then that department can be eliminated without apparent risk to the system" (Readings, 1996:33). Because excellence is self-referential, it may provide a pretext to dismiss attempts at curricular transformation or decolonisation which could be viewed as too radical on the basis of not adhering to the university's conception of excellence. Jeffrey di Leo (2013:ix) notes that neoliberal universities thrive on "manageable and accommodating subjects", whom he terms "docile academics", who follow the rules and do not question the university or its practices of excellence.

Striving towards excellence and the status of a so-called world-class university and the notion of "prestige" and "excellence" can be divisive and stratifying (Burke, 2016:2). Speaking specifically about how these worldwide trends occur in South Africa, Rajani Naidoo and Rushil Ranchod (2018:21) demonstrate how the universities identified as world-class own and receive "the lion's share of resources" under the assumption that they "will contribute in a direct manner to the social and economic development of the country as a whole". However, as they point out, in reality it is unclear "whether the training of an elite social segment in elite universities automatically contributes to national development, particularly since world class universities are often embedded in global networks with multi-national corporations and contribute to global rather than national innovation in developing countries". Additionally, the prestige and research goals of elite universities are "often diametrically opposed to enhancing quality", as few of their benefits and resources are shared or used to support those institutions admitting "large numbers of students from the most disadvantaged sectors of society" (Ibid.:21). Because neoliberalism replaces participation with competition, extreme inequalities of wealth, resources and opportunities for students are generated and legitimated (Swartz et al., 2018:8). This, in turn, enables discriminatory comparisons such as "winners' and 'losers', the 'best' and the 'worst', 'us' and 'them'" (Ibid.).

Another issue with excellence which relates to both excellence's power to protect the status quo and its divisive nature is the use of the notion of excellence in an exclusionary manner. As Swartz *et al.* (2018:6) state:

... it is one thing to recruit and select the "best" and "brightest" in the wider context of prestige culture; however, the assumption about who is perceived as the best and the brightest is worrying. "Inclusion" often acts as a form of symbolic violence that is deeply raced, classed and gendered because it values some dispositions while excluding others. Those who do not perform personhood in ways that might conform to expectations of "excellence" are vulnerable to practices of shaming, internalised disappointment with self and feelings of failure or inadequacy.

Excellence's exclusionary inclusion is made more problematic by the commodification of diversity and transformation. Because transformation sells, diversity and transformation are exploited for their commercial value and become just another marketing tool in the university's toolbox (Ahmed, 2012:53; Di Leo, 2017:112). But what exactly is excellence in transformation or diversity according to the neoliberal university?

Neoliberalism's type of diversity is typically characterised by "colour-blind language" (Gillborn, 2014:27), which works against transformation by concealing "the continuation of systematic inequalities within universities" (Ahmed, 2012:53). Readings, too, is concerned about the implications of excellence for race, inclusion and diversity. "Excellence", he writes, "is thus the integrating principle that allows 'diversity' (the other watchword of the University prospectus) to be tolerated without threatening the unity of the system" (Readings, 1996:32). When excellence blocks diversity, diversity can remain as long as excellence is there to do its policing.

Besides excellence, it is necessary also to attend to neoliberalism's other companion, bureaucracy. <sup>94</sup> For all its uses, bureaucracy may provide means for the production and preservation of the status quo even through attempts that seemingly focus on change, as demonstrated by Ahmed (2012) and Venter (2015). Bureaucracy demands time and energy that, in turn, creates the illusion that something has been done. That "something", in strictly bureaucratic terms, does not register beyond the bureaucratic structure which feeds on written documents easily divorced from practice. As Ahmed (2012:86) states, "you end up doing the document rather than doing the doing", where "doing the doing" would encompass "doing something more than the document". Another, more ominous problem is the frequency with which documents and policies (i.e. bureaucratic practice) "become[s] a substitute for action" (Ahmed, 2012:101). Venter (2015:194) agrees, noting the ability of bureaucratic practice to "trap intervention in an intermediate space where policy documents and strategic planning come to replace the assignation of responsibility".

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> The link between neoliberalism and bureaucracy has been documented at length by Béatrice Hibou (2015). For more on the extension of this bureaucracy to the neoliberal university see, amongst others, Readings (1996), Ahmed (2012:83–113) and Venter (2015:192–209).

Not only can the eventual "gap between policy, practice and actuality ... be mitigated with recourse to those good intentions enshrined in the documents according to which practice is assessed" (Venter, 2015:194), but a document can get taken up as [false] evidence of having "done it" (Ahmed, 2012:101). This becomes even more problematic when excellence and bureaucracy combine – the very existence of a document or policy for something is seen as excellence, as it ticks this box. As Ahmed (2012:84) notes, "a document that documents the inequality of the university becomes usable as a measure of good performance" (emphasis in original). Di Leo (2017:ix) concurs, noting that the condition of neoliberal academe is that "what looks good from the point of view of a higher education board or committee often fails in action. Not because it does not achieve the outcomes set for it. But because it fails in spite of achieving them." When the simple presence of recurriculation attempts or documents on diversity are equated to excellent recurriculation and diversity, recurriculation and diversity projects are reduced to objects of bureaucracy. Ahmed (2015) neatly articulates the resultant outcome: "we can end up pushing paper around just to leave a trail". Not only does this trail profess that we tried, although we really did not, but its very existence could act as a substitute for real action. 95

The arguments raised against neoliberalism and its integrating principle of excellence in higher education are significant; yet, equating neoliberalism to crisis might be too general. Crises require a "temporal focalisation" (Di Leo, 2017:xiii) that is lacking in this instance. Neoliberalism has been present in universities for "at least the past 25 years" and is therefore the new normal rather than a possible turning point (which is common to crises) (Ibid.:xiii). Yet I argue that neoliberalism, through its tick-box approaches to and misuse of decolonisation and transformation for marketing projects, presents an imminent threat to the recent global initiatives to transform and decolonise higher education (which strongly emerged post-#RhodesMustFall and has gained renewed fervour with the #BlackLivesMatter protests in 2020). My classification of neoliberalism as a crucial participant in a particular crisis recognises the risk that neoliberalism poses to these efforts, particularly in the South African context, given the country's history of systemic racial subjugation and exclusion (Swartz et al., 2018:7).

Neoliberalism's reach in universities extends beyond bureaucracy and excellence to curricula as well. As a result of neoliberalism's corporatisation of higher education and a concomitant focus on the market and economy, universities are increasingly managed as businesses, with decisions driven by "bottomline methods of operation" (Jay, 2014:1). This increasingly instrumental take on higher education sets up two potentially contradictory conceptions of the purpose of knowledge, knowledge for "economic and political utility" and knowledge for the improvement of the mind, citizenship and other "intrinsically driven imperatives" (Adam and Cross, 2011:113), leading to much debate on the purpose and type of knowledge taught in a university. Although such debates are common across disciplines,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> I expand on bureaucracy and its prevalence in university music departments in chapter three of this thesis.

the humanities and social sciences have been a particular target. Their focus on "highly intrinsic educational outcomes" (Ibid.:113) means that they are often perceived by the business world (and by association, the neoliberal university) as being "useless" to business or economic success (Donoghue, 2008:xiii).

This shift in thinking, often accompanied by funding cuts and decreasing student enrolment, has sparked fears over the survival of the humanities, reflected in book titles such as *Bonfire of the Humanities* (Davis Hanson, Heath and Thornton, 2001) and *Crisis in the Humanities* (Perloff, 2001). Debates have pitted against each other two significantly different types of humanities education, what Toby Miller (2012:1–2) terms Humanities One and Humanities Two. Humanities One represents the traditional liberal arts education approach with a focus on literature, history and philosophy (which are the humanities deemed to be in crisis), whereas Humanities Two represents a humanities education more focused on job prospects, often associated with disciplines such as media and communication (Frassinelli, 2019:6; Miller, 2012:2).

Humanities One, or a more traditional humanities education, is aligned with principles and values such as the enculturation of the mind, critical thinking, citizenship education, knowledge for the sake of knowledge and personal autonomy (Adam and Cross, 2011:113; Nussbaum, 2010:7). Its proponents advance it as a "humane, critical discourse" which fosters the development of social awareness (Hall, 2004). In addition to the criticism of perceived uselessness to success in business, criticism of this tradition in the humanities points to its perceived inability to respond to the challenges and needs of modern society (and industry), its advancement of the conception of the university as an "ivory tower ... above the social order" (Adam and Cross, 2011:113) and the tendency of its practitioners and protectors to masquerade as the heroic gatekeepers of culture and civilisation (Early, 2009:52). The latter results in "implied or even overt negative value judgements about other forms of writing, textualities and media, and with them of the multiple forms of oral, aural, visual and multimodal cultural expression that are today part of the everyday life of a great number of people" (Frassinelli, 2019:8). Miller (2012:100, 104–105) argues that such humanities education is not only banal and nostalgic but symptomatic of "white gringo masculinity's death throes".

The second humanities discourse calls on universities to abandon their ivory tower and become more closely associated with the needs of industry and society to produce the skills and competencies required to contribute to the economy (Dovlo, 2007:212). Often termed utilitarianism, it frequently leads to a

by Jay (2014:8) and Di Leo (2017:xii).

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Frank Donoghue (2008:xii) makes a compelling case against the use of the word crisis to describe the humanities, as he believes it connotates "a suddenly looming emergency for which we need to find a dramatic and immediate solution" after which "we can all go back to practicing in our humanistic disciplines ... just as we have always done". He argues that attacks on the humanities stretch further back, to the rise of industrialisation, and that ever since the humanities have had to justify their existence "in a way that vocational learning never has had to do". The sentiment of the humanities rather facing long-standing problems than an imminent crisis is echoed

shift away from theoretical or academic programmes to programmes that emphasise skills, application and problem-solving (Adam and Cross, 2011:114). A turn towards pure utilitarianism is a matter of despair to many (Bate, 2011; Di Leo, 2013; Donoghue, 2008; Keen, 2014; Nussbaum, 2010). Such utilitarianism fails to account for the complexities of an evolving society on the basis of the belief that education should not only answer to the needs of the economy but focus on "knowledge development as an end in itself" as well as broader goals and skills such as critical thinking and reasoning (Adam and Cross, 2011:114; Nussbaum, 2010:7; Viedge, 2016:61–62). Others, such as Pocklington and Tupper (2002:140), assert that more economically driven or utilitarian programmes raise questions regarding the ability of the university and its staff to unbiasedly and critically analyse society while evoking "concerns about power within the university, about conflicts of interest as faculty mesh business and scholarly roles, and about the further deterioration of teaching as a university priority".

Despite the tension between the two broad types of humanities education and their proponents, a humanities education which represents the best of both traditions is possible. For Frassinelli (2019:7) the development of such humanities – which Miller (2012) proposes to be called Third Humanities – is central to overcoming the crisis facing the humanities. Many others agree that the crisis of the humanities presents an opportunity to work towards an improved and more relevant humanities (Di Leo, 2017:xii–xiv; Keen, 2020). Miller's (2012:93–116) Third Humanities will study texts and music that reflect not only issues of consequence to the "broad population" but the intertwined nature of our global society and our multimedia future, will acknowledge that social awareness can be developed through the study of alternate media forms and so "liberate it [humanities] from its banal reliance on aesthetic narcissism", broaden its remit from "representing social life to embodying it, in recognition that culture is becoming yet more central to the everyday economy rather than simply reflecting and refracting it" and will do critical interdisciplinary work that cross "the pathways of cultural production, interpretation, and power".

The Third Humanities presents an opportunity for the decolonisation of the humanities. As Frassinelli (2019:8) notes, there is power embedded in the choices of texts selected for educational purposes, and traditionally this power has been used to "valoris[e] ... a narrow canon of texts and expressive forms". Through a broadening of the humanities' remit in this manner, the inclusion of previously marginalised texts and expressive forms could do decolonial work. Another potentially decolonial aspect of the Third Humanities results from the combination of societal and industry responsiveness (traditionally associated with Humanities Two) with the development of critical thinking and social awareness of Humanities One.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Estelle H. Prinsloo (2016:165) also mentions the decolonial potential of the humanities, arguing that humanities scholars and students are uniquely equipped to grapple with the questions that decolonisation poses.

Having noted the effect and influence of neoliberalism on universities and curricula, it would be instructive to bring some of these issues directly to music departments. It would appear that neoliberalism's fixation on economic feasibility and efficiency has had an uneven impact on South African tertiary music departments. Internal rationalisation efforts, such as the amalgamation of seemingly related courses, point to the existence of budgetary and administrative constraints, and there are examples of music department closures in post-apartheid South Africa (the University of the Western Cape comes to mind), though arguably not at the level that this has happened in, say, Britain. The frequency with which interviewees cited a lack of financial resources as a barrier to the inclusion of a wider variety of musics in curricula may serve as further evidence of financial constraints. But such constraints must also be scrutinised against existing spending patterns. That the continuation of the "costly individualised instruction" model and increasing cross-subsidisation are simply accepted as normative, suggest that in many ways music departments (or at least their performance departments) operate largely outside the purview of neoliberal balance sheets (Viljoen, 2014:117) and that the question might not be exclusively one of financial constraints but of what is regarded in these departments as budgetary priorities.

The notion of excellence in music departments is inexorably linked to the notion of performance excellence (Kingsbury, 1988:59–83; Viljoen, 2014:118). "Music departments", writes Viljoen (2014:117), "remain primarily dependent on the status of the performance components of their programmes if they wish to establish a reputation ... as prestigious institutions capable of competing nationally and internationally". Although arguably not a result of neoliberalism's focus on excellence, performance excellence has been neatly incorporated into the neoliberal university's project of excellence. In the South African neoliberal university of excellence, the excellence of a music department is therefore largely determined by its artistic achievement, not its research outputs, or its transformed curriculum.<sup>98</sup>

In music departments, a focus on performance excellence may serve as an effective gatekeeping measure. Entrance to tertiary music departments is for the largest part dependent on a candidate's performance excellence, or talent, rather than 'excellence' in critical interrogation or thinking (Viljoen, 2014:121). This is made more problematic by the "ongoing pattern of epistemic specificity that severely limits the kinds of musical performances that are considered acceptable" (Koza, 2008:146). Stellenbosch University's yearbook explicitly states that "proof of the abovementioned standards [a practical standard equivalent to grade seven and the equivalent knowledge of a grade five theoretical

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> For example, a series of posts tagged #InspiringLecturer, #InspiringStudent and #InspiringAlumni on the Stellenbosch University Music Department's Facebook page (tellingly titled Stellenbosch Konservatorium), consisted overwhelmingly of performance specialisation staff and students (from the period 7 July 2020 to 24 October 2020 I counted 27 students or alumni, of which 24 were performance majors). In the rare instances where non-performance majors were included, their performance achievements featured strongly, seemingly emphasising the notion that despite their forays into other fields, they too excel in performance.

examination] in *classical music*" must be provided for entrance to the BMus programme to be granted (Stellenbosch University, 2020a:69, emphasis my own). Entrance requirements that pin competence (and, by implication, excellence) to exclusively Western art music standards, serve as a gatekeeping mechanism that regulates who gets access to music degrees, and the student body will, in turn, have an effect on the amount of pressure placed on a department to change its curricula. Stellenbosch University is again an interesting example. As two interviewees pointed out, the students are rather conservative in their outlook and approach to music, evidenced by their view of music as a non-political or neutral escapist zone (Interviewee 9, 2020; Interviewee 22, 2020) and statements such as, "I came here to study Mozart, Bach and Beethoven, I don't want to listen to or study jazz and pop music" (noted by an anonymous interviewee).

Performance excellence may in even more direct ways regulate curriculum content. For Loren Kajikawa (2019:157), "the fetishisation of classical performance standards ... impedes an institution's ability to recognize the full humanity and artistry of the world beyond its doors". This is evidenced by a response a number of interviewees have encountered in conversations about curricular change: "ons moet onse standarde behou" (we must maintain our standards) (Interviewee 1, 2020; Interviewee 7, 2020; Interviewee 21, 2020). The suggestion here that the inclusion of other musics would lower the standard of a department speaks volumes about conscious and unconscious biases.

Staying with excellence's darker side, Viljoen (2014:126) argues that the curricula of the so-called "leading" institutions in South Africa are generally more conservative – a definition she associates with the championing of the notion of musical autonomy. This suggests that performance excellence shields a lack of excellence in other areas, such as critical interrogation of the status quo, curricular transformation or research that pushes beyond conventional boundaries. <sup>100</sup> If the performance studies division sustains the narrative of the great master composers while championing musical autonomy, interventions in other spheres of the department aimed at disrupting these notions will inevitably face challenges, and perhaps even fail, especially considering that performance is still the yardstick by which excellence is measured. The intention here is not to demonise performance excellence or those institutions that strive towards such excellence but to point out that such excellence is often used in an exclusionary manner in addition to contributing to the maintaining of the status quo.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> I include the comment on standards in Afrikaans, as interviewees at all four departments relayed this retort to me in Afrikaans regardless of their home language. Although placing resistance to curricular transformation squarely at the door of one language group would be a rather hasty conclusion, the code-switching to Afrikaans is both noteworthy and material for further consideration.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Another option is that the significant amount of resources spent on performance in these departments simply does not allow for much innovation and experimentation in other areas. This is of concern to Muller (2016:4), who notes that at "university departments focused on the teaching of Western art music ... local scholarship has been a modest appendage at best and ... general musicological awareness has been wholly absent at worst". This is particularly worrying since research often provides the critical impetus for changes to the wider curriculum to occur.

Music and music studies at universities have arguably not featured prominently in the broader discourse of the crisis of the humanities. However, recent events and critiques of Australian tertiary music departments present many of this discourse's features: neoliberalism, utilitarianism and critiques of elitist cultures. The Australian experience may therefore illustrate the effects of the crisis of the humanities on tertiary music departments and is worth taking seriously, as such crises are not usually confined geographically to individual nations but may well rear its head at South African departments at some point in the not too distant future.

The 1988 "Dawkins Reforms" led to the extensive restructuring of Australian higher education and included, amongst many other changes, the amalgamation of colleges of advanced education and other vocational institutions with universities (Tregear, 2014:1–2). These changes were particularly significant for music studies, as most of Australia's conservatoires were now no longer independent but part of universities (Ibid.:2). It is important to note the neoliberal undertone of the reforms. Judith Bessant (2002:87–88) writes that the post-Dawkins education system "was characterised by the increased prevalence and use of economic paradigms, the indiscriminate application of market models and values, a commitment to notions of user-pays systems and the widespread application of entrepreneurial language and practices". Peter Tregear (2014:3) concurs, noting that the reforms "drove the stake of corporate managerialism into the heart of [Australian] academe".

These reforms have had such a detrimental effect on music departments that they are said to have led to a state of crisis in Australian tertiary music education (Carey and Lebler, 2012:315; Tregear, 2014:1). Firstly, its accompanying funding models increasingly put music departments under financial pressure (Ibid.). Second, although a trend towards utilitarianism is characteristic of neoliberalism, the amalgamation of universities and vocational training centres led to particular "confusion" surrounding humanities education and vocational training in Australia (Tregear, 2014:3). The result was a more "utilitarian attitude" towards education from both the public and universities (Ibid.). As was noted earlier, such a utilitarian attitude generally does not favour traditional arts and humanities. The growing utilitarian attitude towards education (particularly arts education) was compounded by increasing arguments that classical music cultures and practices were perpetuating "problematic conceptions of class, race and gender, as well as exclusive and exclusionary subcultures" in Australia (Tregear, 2014:6). Concomitant to claims of elitism, Australian tertiary music institutions were also accused of failing to prepare students for life as musicians in the 21st century (Carey and Lebler, 2012:313). This mirrors the critiques that pointed to the elitism of traditional humanities education as well as its failure to respond to modern society and its challenges.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> Much of the situation in Australia will appear familiar to South African readers as South African higher education, too, underwent reforms, and university-funding models are also increasingly placing creative-output disciplines under financial strain.

The latter critique is not surprising given the major changes globally in the music world in recent years. <sup>102</sup> These changes include: the explosion of digital music sales and downloads; the evolvement of "royalty models"; the increasing prominence of pop music, world music, internet-based music, jazz and other hybrid musics as well as the growing role of the concept of cultural diversity and its "interplay" with notions of globalisation (Devroop, 2014:103; Pertl, 2017:33). So-called classical music makes up an increasingly small part of the music industry (Kajikawa, 2019:162; Small, 1998:3) and its institutions across the world (such as orchestras and opera companies) increasingly find themselves in financial distress, in addition to often being associated with elitist cultures (Eatock, 2010; Meyer and Viviers, 2020). <sup>103</sup> Although writing in the context of the United States of North America, Pertl's (2017:33–34) words on the "collapse and reshaping of our music world" accurately describe these significant global changes.

To excel or even just survive in this radically different landscape, music graduates need a wider range of skills than "exceptional technique and musicality", which has historically been at the heart of a traditional conservatoire-style education (Pertl, 2017:33–34). Today's musicians will likely have a "portfolio career" (Bennett, 2012:7) and need to be skilled in improvisation, collaboration, entrepreneurship, marketing, promoting, as well as a variety of genres and styles. Tertiary music education institutions on the whole are failing to equip their graduates with the skills necessary for such portfolio careers (Leal, 2018:2; Perkins, 2012:12).

In the Australian case, the process of responding to these considerable changes, the sense of lingering crisis and its accompanying critiques of music departments are still ongoing but has already led to considerable self-reflection by conservatoires and music departments (Burt, Lancaster, Lebler, Carey and Hitchcock, 2007; Carey and Lebler, 2012; Tregear, 2014). Tregear (2014:4, 8) notes that Australian tertiary music departments had to rethink "how, but also why, we teach music on campus", as well as "their [and the music they teach] relationship to society as a whole". One way in which this rethinking has taken concrete shape has been through extensive reviews and reconsiderations of programmes to establish how well (or not) they were preparing graduates for careers as professional musicians and music practitioners in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (Carey and Lebler, 2012:312). Flowing from these reviews, some universities developed new programmes which sought to strike a balance between preparing students for the 21<sup>st</sup> century and managing significant cuts in funding. Streams with varying amounts of focus on performance studies, alternatives to one-on-one teaching and the introduction of modules focused

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> The term "music world" is used by authors such as Bennett (2012), Coulson (2010) and Leal (2018) to refer to the real-world environment musicians find themselves in, which encompasses more than what is traditionally regarded as the music industry (which is associated with recording and business).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> The idea of classical music as elitist has been rehearsed afresh with the 2020 #BlackLivesMatter protests. See Charlie Harding and Nate Sloan (2020). Harding and Sloan's article and accompanying podcast were fiercely criticised by conservative media outlets in the USA and accused of wanting to "cancel Beethoven" (Lelchuk, 2020; Tobin, 2020).

on skill development for professional music practice in a variety of settings are some of the implemented changes (Carey and Lebler, 2012:321–322).

Such changes might soon have to be implemented in South Africa. Writing especially with regards to the South African situation, Devroop (2014:103) states that music departments do not meet the needs of the local entertainment and creative industries and therefore do not align with the "skills, employment and growth priorities of the country". In addition, as chapter one of this thesis has noted, several critiques point to the persistent privileging of Western art music, its theories and ideologies (often at the expense of including other musics), at South African tertiary music institutions and in their curricula. By remaining unresponsive to these major changes in the music world, tertiary music institutions and their curricula are disadvantaging students by not preparing them for this increasingly different and diverse landscape (Devroop, 2014:103; Pertl, 2017:33–34).

The answer is surely not music curricula determined solely by the needs of industry and the economy. However, together with Miller (2012) and Frassinelli (2019:7), I argue that to create more relevant and responsive curricula, industry and economic need should be incorporated into curricula along with more traditional modes of knowledge. Institutions of music learning cannot remain oblivious to the major changes to the discipline of music and the music industry. We have to find "a sustainable accommodation" between our responsibility as educators to prepare students for our "rapidly changing broader cultural and political circumstances" and what we believe to be the "core" values and ideas of not only our discipline (Tregear, 2014:7) but education as a whole. In light of the discussion of the Crisis of the Humanities, the adoption of such an approach might very well assist in overcoming the crises facing disciplines undergoing such rapid change, such as music, while creating institutional openings for decolonisation to take place.

## Cecil John Gone: 104 #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall

The #MustFall student protests can be traced back to early 2015 at UCT, where a group of predominantly black students agitated for the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes under the banner of #RhodesMustFall.<sup>105</sup> Although the statue was eventually removed on 9 April 2015, #RhodesMustFall had become "a metaphor for dissatisfaction with a much wider set of issues" such as the lack of decolonisation of universities, the absence of a significant number of black South African scholars and Eurocentric and racist institutional cultures (Badat, 2016). Debates and protests surrounding these issues occurred throughout 2015 at various South African universities. By late 2015 the #RhodesMustFall movement was joined by the #FeesMustFall movement, which arose at the University of Witwatersrand in response to an announcement of a 10.5 percentage fee increase for 2016

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> I borrow this phrase from Hans Pienaar (2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> A comprehensive account of the student protests is beyond the remit of this thesis. For more on the protests see, amongst others, Saleem Badat (2016), Malose Langa (2016) as well as Savo Heleta, Awethu Fatyela and Thanduxolo Nkala (2018). For an account from the point of view of one vice-chancellor, see Jansen (2017).

(Badat, 2016). Throughout late 2015 and 2016, university campuses across the country experienced protests, disruptions and even shutdowns over matters such as proposed tuition fee increases, student debt, financial aid, "free higher education", the insourcing of workers and institutional responses to sexual offences that occurred on campuses (Badat, 2016; Ndelu, 2016b:58). Despite this bundling of several issues, the decolonisation of universities and knowledge remained a core demand of the #MustFall movements.

Considering the national prominence of the #MustFall movements, it is disconcerting to note the silence surrounding its occurrence in South African tertiary music departments. One reason may be a prevailing perception of music's "non-political neutrality" (Froneman and Muller, 2020). As Froneman and Muller (2020) and many others have pointed out, this perceived political neutrality can itself be a highly political position intended to protect the ascendency of Western art music and its attendant ideologies. In what follows, I interrogate this idea of music's "non-political neutrality" through a brief account of how #FeesMustFall and #RhodesMustFall played out in tertiary music departments, drawing on interviews with staff members as well as my own experience as a student at the time.

At Nelson Mandela University, the music department held a seminar on 29 February 2016 to allow students to air some of their complaints around transformation. 106 The conversation was facilitated by Mark Brandt, a lecturer in music technology at the department. Apart from the HOD, attendance from other staff members was scant. The complaints raised mirrored much of what was happening in the national debate on the transformation of curricula. Students argued that the curriculum was overwhelmingly Eurocentric, pointing to several factors: the lack of a popular or contemporary music module, only one semester-module was dedicated to African music studies, music history offerings remained the same no matter the students' specialisations, European music history content was repeated across different years of study, the department's resource allocation favoured classical music (despite a large percentage of students specialising in jazz) and the department's student performance classes were dominated by classical musicians and for that reason not representative of the department's student body. 107 Other curriculum matters raised included the demand that the department could better prepare the students for a career in the diverse world of music through the introduction of modules in music business, entrepreneurship and legal aspects of music and copyright. Students further suggested that the department might forge closer ties with the music industry. Staff interviews confirmed that a document with the student demands was circulated to staff, an email response was written (presumably by the HOD, although this is unclear) and "that was the end of the conversation" (Interviewee 11, 2020). 108

 $<sup>^{106}</sup>$  I was a second-year student in the department at the time and draw this account from my own recollection and notes of the event.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> As a solution to the problem regarding the music history offering, students suggested the introduction of a BMus Jazz and a split history programme in which students can select the modules which they want to take.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> A follow-up conversation with students did occur, but this largely took the form of a summary of what students had said and did not contain any real plan of action or constructive feedback.

As of 20 September 2016, student protesters shut down the Nelson Mandela University campus. <sup>109</sup> On 31 October, the music department requested that students attend lectures at its Bird Street Conservatory while the university was still formally shut down. Some music students reported this to student protestors with the result that classes already underway were disrupted with protestors showing students away. If the proposition to continue lectures while the entire university is in shutdown points to a desire to complete the academic year, it also attests to a register of exceptionalism frequently evoked in relation to music and music departments. As one interviewee for this research noted: "But our content is non-political, so why should political changes like the change of rule in 1994 affect us; that happened out there and music departments are in here".

At Stellenbosch University's music department, a colloquium was held in 2015 to which students, staff members and representatives from Open Stellenbosch were invited. It is my understanding that matters regarding the transformation of the department and its curricula were discussed at this colloquium. Upon requesting a recording of this colloquium, I was informed that the only copy of this recording was in the possession of the organiser of the event. The organiser in turn replied to my request that such a recording was never made. The only trace of the colloquium exists on Facebook, where an open letter to the Music Department was circulated to Open Stellenbosch. The authors of this letter raised the issue of Mareli Stolp's PhD, requested that an apology be issued to her and asked that an explanation be given for the appointment of mostly white academics in the years prior (Venter, Walton, Fourie, Fourie and Froneman, 2015).

During the height of protests on campus, protestors entered the departmental building and occupied the music library, where they "danced on the tables and countertops" and demanded, "free, decolonised education" (Interviewee 4, 2020; Interviewee 22, 2020). Classes were disrupted for a day or two and assessments had to be moved to off-site venues with strict access control.<sup>111</sup>

At the University of Cape Town, a group of students from the South African College of Music formed the Inkqubela movement on 3 October 2016 in the wake of a fresh wave of protests on South African university campuses. Staff interviews intimated that the first act of protest was a partial blockade of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> The shutdown lasted for several months and the university eventually resorted to access-controlled lectures and classes at the Nelson Mandela Bay Stadium to complete the academic year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Open Stellenbosch was the Stellenbosch specific iteration of the #RhodesMustFall campaign. The collective described themselves as "a movement of predominantly black students and staff at the University who refuse to accept the current pace of transformation" (Open Stellenbosch Collective, 2015). Although the collective raised various issues that required addressing at the university, they had three main demands: "No student should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English, the institutional culture at Stellenbosch University needs to change radically and rapidly to reflect diverse cultures and not only White Afrikaans culture [and] the University publically [sic] needs to acknowledge and actively remember the central role that Stellenbosch and its faculty played in the conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of Apartheid".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> There were also motions of support for protestors in Stellenbosch. One example, already mentioned in chapter one of this thesis, is the You're In Chains Too concert organised by the Africa Open Institute "in solidarity with victims of violence resulting from the student protests" (Interruption: You're in Chains Too, 2018:53).

entrance of the SACM through sitting and drumming in the entrance area. The movement was eventually given a space in C# Cottage, which housed the African Music department. Amongst demands for a commitment to free education from the university, the ending of outsourcing and the immediate demilitarisation of the UCT campus, Inkqubela demanded academic decolonisation led by students (as they felt academics had failed in this aspect) and the establishment of a vision and mission statement for the SACM through which students could hold the institution accountable for transformation (Inkqubela, 2016).

October 2016 also saw the university's Curriculum Change Working Group (CCWG) approached by a SACM staff member to engage SACM staff and students "with respect to decolonising the curriculum" (Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018:42). The CCWG set up various meetings at the SACM from the beginning of the 2017 academic year onwards. The first introductory meeting was attended by staff and representatives from the Music Students' Council (MSC), after which a second meeting was held with "broader representation from the SACM, and ... include[d] key stakeholders and decision makers" to establish a way forward (Ibid.). Flowing from this meeting, four dialogue sessions were held – two for staff and two for students - with the aim of introducing the SACM community to decoloniality and stimulating conversations and discussions around its relevance for music and the SACM. Separate staff and student dialogues were held due to "strained relationships" in the department (Ibid.), presumably a remnant of Inkqubela's protest action and demands. However, after "generative ... open dialogue", a dialogue with both staff and students was held a month later, which was intended to be followed by the formation of a SACM-led CCWG. The discussions took place around four main questions: "What have been moments or instances of a decolonial nature in my discipline/profession? What historicity explains my discipline/profession? What may explain the demographics we currently have in my discipline/profession? What may be the factors determining the kinds of the audience with access to my discipline/profession?" (Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018:43).

Further questions were generated by the students and staff in attendance. Students flagged pertinent issues around institutionalised music in South Africa and the challenges faced in attempting to decolonise these practices: "What decolonial lessons can be taken from informal training?; Can one train in South African music given that South African music is produced in informal sites?; What does it mean to teach South African music in the formal curriculum context?; Is decoloniality compatible with the western academy?; Does a shift in demographics (e.g. opera, where increasingly more black students are signing up) account for a decolonial turn?" Concerns raised by staff included the following: the marginalisation and "othering" of African music; the privileging of Classical music in the curricula, funding models and concert programme; the institution's propensity to offer "more progressive contents as electives" and what this signals to students about which content is valued by the institution and the

desire to abandon the Conservatoire and European model of the music school (Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018:43).<sup>112</sup>

In their report published in 2018, the CCWG notes the profound influence of the "symbolism of the conservatoire" on the SACM as well as the Western paradigm and epistemological framework present in the college (Curriculum Change Working Group, 2018:44). The CCWG also claimed that the Department of African Music was marginalised and "afforded orphan status within the college", that jazz's introduction at the SACM might have been a result of a desire to have a global reach (with the implication that jazz is a global paradigm) and that while still peripheral to Western art music, jazz is awarded a higher status at the SACM than African Music (Ibid.).

The CCWG's report attracted significant attention. On a page dedicated to responses to the report, two out of 10 responses were penned by SACM staff shortly after its publication. One of these responses, authored by the then and current director of the SACM, Rebekka Sandmeier (2018), notes that no documentation of the discussions was ever handed to the SACM which would have enabled a reply, that the statements claiming a Eurocentric institutional culture and the marginalisation of African music and jazz at the SACM "do not accurately reflect the current curriculum at the SACM but rather give the opinion of some staff members and students" and that the meetings were only attended by about 30% of staff and 10% of students. Sandmeier concludes that this, as well as the apparent contestation of the framework's claims at some of the meetings, demonstrates the inaccuracy and incompleteness of the claims.

In another reply, Andrew Lilley (2018) responded to the CCWG report as well as the *Mail & Guardian* article which commented on the report (provocatively titled "Black students 'undervalued' at UCT"). In a lengthy letter, Lilley raised various questions regarding the legitimacy of the report, its findings, as well as the entire engagement with the SACM (seemingly suggesting that the person who "requested to assist in engaging SACM staff and students" did not have an official mandate to do so). Lilley disputed the claim that the meetings were well attended and argued that the submission was "informed by the rationale of the group [Inkqubela] and its collective mandate", seeing as the individuals responsible for the submission to CCWG were "formative" in the establishment of Inkqubela, which showed a "clear conflict of interest". With regards to Inkqubela, he noted that "academic staff are still severely traumatised by the events surrounding this group".

Lilley's (2018) letter presented a scathing critique of the report's engagement with the jazz programme, which demonstrated "no understanding of the discipline of jazz and the history of the programme". Additionally, Lilley charged that jazz's "dynamic synergy" between the opposing forces of "Western Classical harmonic practice and African melody and rhythm" results in a music form that "symbolically

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>112</sup> I raise this concern regarding progressive modules as optional modules in my analysis of the curricula of the four included departments.

defines the very essence of the South African musical context". The names of South African jazz icons associated with the struggle against institutionalised oppression, such as Abdullah Ibrahim, Hugh Masekela, Miriam Makeba and Bheki Mseleku, were mentioned to support this claim. Lilley also argued that the course structure was and still is informed by this struggle aspect of jazz as well as accepted international practice.<sup>113</sup>

Beyond noting that the second discussion was well attended, the CCWG makes no further statement regarding attendance of the sessions. Sandmeier and Lilley's statements that the meetings were not well attended was mirrored by one interviewee, although this interviewee viewed the lack of attendance quite differently, framing it as demonstrative of a lack of interest in curriculum change:

So, we did have this curriculum change group ... and initially we were all involved, but then as the weeks and months went on there were less and less people [sic] involved. There were very few who were really committed to change. Mostly the black lecturers (but not only) – by black I mean everyone of colour (Biko black as they call it) – and then there were some white lecturers, but increasingly less so. And you know, most of the lecturers here are still white. So only sort of the younger, more committed, more open people were there, but increasingly fewer.

Another interviewee explains that the decision to share the unwelcome opinions of the SACM was made on purpose:

What they [referring to Sandmeier and Lilley's responses] don't understand is ... they're saying that's [the statements in the CCWG document] not representative of the college, but it's the voices of those people who are never heard, and that's what they [the CCWG] focused on, because the dominant voices are always heard. ... So what is there is very true, it's a reflection of the marginalised voices, those on the periphery, the sidelines, who have no other place to speak and that's the voices that you will hear there, which challenges the hegemony and the colonial nature of what we're doing.

As the statement above shows, it is easy to dismiss views as inaccurate when they are the views never voiced. The hegemony of one type of music or curriculum in a department can make it difficult for critiques of this hegemony to be heard and taken seriously, as the very nature of hegemony ensures that critiques can always be dismissed as coming from a minority. Despite the importance of such interrogations, it is unclear whether the CCWG report led to meaningful interrogation and change.<sup>114</sup>

Despite widespread protests on the UKZN campuses during the #MustFall protests, various interviewees confirmed that no significant protests or demands occurred in the music department (Interviewee 2, 2020; Interviewee 6, 2020; Interviewee 10, 2020; Interviewee 17, 2020). Interviewees provided several explanations for this: the presence of what is commonly considered a more transformed curriculum than those of other music departments, the department's lesser focus on a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> My interviews and assessment of the programme suggested that this statement was not entirely correct. I elaborate more on the jazz programme at UCT in the next chapter of this thesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> One possible exception to this statement is the jazz department, as I discuss in chapter three of this thesis.

Western classical music training and the broader focus of protests on fee issues rather than issues of decolonisation and transformation (Ibid.).

The accounts above suggest that, when provoked by crisis, music departments do not respond with interrogation and reflection but with a response to shut down the crisis. At Stellenbosch University, the recording of an important colloquium on matters of transformation, if ever made, has disappeared into a nexus of contradictory accounts, making any further interrogation of points raised at the colloquium difficult, if not impossible. Although Nelson Mandela University and the University of Cape Town responded in some way to documents that offered a critique or asked for change, their response signalled that the matter was now closed. As one interviewee noted:

When things initiate a conversation around change and the shortcomings of music departments it is immediately seen as a kind of threat; a response has to be given and then the whole conversation is closed down. As opposed to seeing these moments as opportunities to critically engage, hold up and measure things. ... It becomes a matter when someone is just interrogating, critiquing and responding to the content [of the complaint] instead of digging deeper and trying to get to the bottom of what is actually going on there – what is the truth, what is the relevance of this.

If one considers this response in terms of Jansen's epigraph on the instructive nature of institutional responses to crises or critical incidents, one can conclude that these tertiary music departments still have significant work to do in terms of transformation. Unless this hesitance, or even flat-out refusal, to engage in a critical interrogation of the institutional culture, academic curriculum and hidden curriculum is overcome, this transformation will not take place.

Further points of similarity between the departments during the protests are clear. At Nelson Mandela University, UCT's SACM and Stellenbosch University, students who were concerned with decolonisation and involved in protests were generally not those majoring in classical music. That Stellenbosch's music department offers no specialisation option other than Western art music would then explain the small number of music students protesting compared to the other institutions. As interviewees at Stellenbosch University noted, many students choose to study music precisely because they view it as something removed from the troubles of everyday life (Interviewee 4, 2020; Interviewee 9, 2020). Another interviewer put a more critical spin on this apparent "non-political neutrality" (Froneman and Muller, 2020) of music: students specialising in Western art music are "still sitting pretty ... they do not have fights to fight, they do not get overlooked daily and benefit from lifelong privilege" (privilege here referring to the privilege of being able to study your choice of music) (Interviewee 7; 2020). Yet adopting this mindset is rarely an option available to those who do not specialise in Western art music, who are "on the ground fighting the daily fight" (Ibid.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Further analyses of #FeesMustFall in some of the included music departments might consider the nature of silence and cultures of silencing as strategies to stabilise crisis as well as the way in which protest is enabled or disabled by long-term processes of admission and marginalisation.

One could also extend the notion of Western art music's genre privilege to a racial or class privilege. As one interviewee suggested, "sitting pretty" during the protests and subsequent calls for change was not an option for students of colour (Interviewee 7, 2020), a sentiment echoed by Glenn Holtzman (2019). Although it has been suggested that "culture, not race, determines tastes in music" (Lüdemann, 2015), studies show that music preferences do often exhibit racial and ethnic patterns (Griffin, 2006:101; Mizell, 2005, cited in Koza, 2008:149). In addition, classical music is often still associated with the middle or upper classes due to the extensive cost of classical music training which greatly relies on "early access to privilege and affluence" (Koza, 2008:147). <sup>116</sup> Considering that the affluence gap in South Africa still overwhelmingly falls along racial lines, this has significant racial implications. As Julia Eklund Koza (2008:150) reminds us, "when music preferences fall along racial or ethnic [or class] lines, the exclusion of specific styles of music becomes not merely an issue of what gets left out, but more significantly, ... who gets left out as a consequence of the cultural politics of knowledge" (emphasis in original). Considering Froneman and Muller's (2020:211) assessment of South African tertiary music departments' historical acceptance of "white cultural interests as normative", it is unsurprising that those who advocated for change were disproportionately students and staff of colour.

During my interviews, I encountered some troubling accounts of the student protests. In one instance, those students involved in the protests were referred to as "firebrands". It was also mentioned that student protestors broke into a building, a statement which was modified to "they were led and let into the department by a group of music students" in answer to a question as to whether or not the students were music students. Another interviewee laughingly said that the protestors proposed that all "Western books [should] be burnt". The negative language at work here ("they broke into the department"), which is common in descriptions of student protestors by non-protestors, both dehumanises and discredits. This discrediting is furthered by laughing off student demands ("they demanded all Western books to be burnt"), rather than asking critically what might prompt such demands in the first instance. Also troubling is the narrative of exceptionalism at play here, which suggests that two or four bad apples had let the protestors into a building full of music students who had little interest in the protests themselves. Music's distance from current events and politics, and its irrelevance to them, is once again emphasised.

Perhaps most disconcerting of this narrative of exceptionalism is how I responded to the interviewee's characterisations of one or two firebrands. "There are always those one or two students", I agreed, this despite this statement not being at all representative of my current beliefs. 117 As I later went through the interview and noticed my concurrence with the interviewee, my immediate response was the feeling

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Another reason for the association of classical music with the middle class is the associations between "the practices of classical music production and consumption" – the spaces used, the dress code and the "modes of listening" – and middle-class culture (Bull and Scharff, 2017:296).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> I feel it is vital to reflect on this unsettling event here. The collaborative nature of an interview means that both interviewee and interviewer are (active) participants in the research. Therefore, to omit my voice here would be a distortion of the interviewee's voice (Passerini, 2003:70–71).

that I was in some way colluding with the interviewee through engaging in some type of performance in order to draw out the answers I suspected would not come had I adopted a critical posture. For Alessandro Portelli (2003:71), performance is an inevitable part of interview-based research, as interviewees often tell interviewers "what they believe they want to be told" in reaction to "who they think the researcher is". To this end, Portelli (Ibid.:70) argues that interviewers intentionally "introduce specific distortions", or perform certain roles. It is thus possible that my agreement was a result of a desire to project an image of myself as sympathetic to the interviewee so that they would feel encouraged to keep talking. For Ronald J. Grele (2003:48), in seeking to understand the ideological position of the interviewee, our own "particular present ideological conceptions" should never come into play. Together with Paul Thompson's (2003:24) claim that the premise of interview-based research is to "imagine what evidence is needed, seek it out and capture it", one can argue that agreeing was simply a strategy I employed to seek the necessary evidence. Although Grele (2003:49) believes that "the methods of collecting which are to be most encouraged are those which will supply the greatest amount of reliable information", is this still the case if you betray your convictions, and what you believe to be morally acceptable, to gather the information? Does playing a role to the point that you betray your beliefs make you complicit in what was said?

Another helpful perspective lies in scrutinising not only the content of the interview but its structure as a "conversational narrative" or "joint activit[y]" between interviewer and interviewee (Grele, 2003:44). If we accept that a relationship between interviewer and interviewee is developed in the interview process, it is vital to understand these relationships in addition to understanding "what was said" (Ibid.). For Luisa Passerini (2003:58), examining these relationships might be so fruitful that "in the long run the interviews themselves will prove much more useful to scholars than the texts grafted upon them". In other words, an understanding of the relationships in the interview will help us to understand not only what was said but that which cannot or will not be spoken.

In such a consideration, it is necessary to note my positionality as a young, Afrikaans, female postgraduate student interviewing senior and seasoned academics, as this introduces a very specific power dynamic into the interviews. Seen in this way, my agreement can be understood as the learned behaviour of respecting the views of a senior and highly experienced academic. After all, as Thompson (2003:28) notes with regards to interview-based research, the essential need is mutual respect. A superior, dominating attitude does not make for a good interview anyway. Another possibility is that my agreement with the interviewee's statement amounted to an attempt to avoid an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> For more on conducting interviews within existing structures of unequal power dynamics, see Sarah Neal (1995). The point here is not to portray myself as entirely without power. Interviewers, after all, have the power to cite, which is by no means insignificant.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> The agreement with the interviewee at the time of the interview is perhaps representative of my beliefs prior to conducting this research. In a way, I reverted to that person I was a few years ago, who wanted to avoid conflict as best I could.

uncomfortable confrontation. In addition to being uncomfortable, a confrontation could "jeopardis[e] the interview" or result in a "significant alteration in the nature of what the respondent is prepared to tell the researcher" (Neal, 1995:528). Yet, at what point does a display of agreement morph into convenient avoidance of confrontation or deliberate betrayal of an interviewee's confidence, all done in order to access their opinions? Is it still only showing respect or avoiding a confrontation if, rather than remaining silent, I voice a degree of agreement with the interviewee? For Lou-Marie Kruger (2020, 19), writing about the lives of others will always involve a measure of betrayal. Viewed thus, the decision to include in this thesis the troubling views of an interviewee with whom I colluded at the time, may well be open to the charge of betrayal. "However", continues Kruger, "not writing the stories will constitute a worse betrayal". Caught, then, between betrayal and worse betrayal, I believe the inclusion of material given me by interviewees, perhaps as the result of a supposedly shared set of opinions on the student protests, is important, even as I also worry it might be experienced by some as injurious.

#### Western Art Music in South Africa and its Narrative of Crisis

Musicology has always fostered a certain attraction to "the idea of exigency" (Venter, 2015:210). Yet, significantly for the discussion on the South African narrative of crisis, this sense of crisis has had two vastly different purposes and results, as I will demonstrate below.

Already in Guido Adler's statement regarding the need for a musical science in 1885, commonly regarded as the origin of the discipline, there is an intimation of crisis: "the arts today are in such a precarious condition and there is so much uncertainty in artistic activity that scholarship may well be able to contribute to the improvement of the present situation" (Adler, 1988 (1885):352). Following Venter (2015:211–212) and Agnew (2008:113–119), one can argue that this narrative of crisis has a history stretching back further than Adler: the age of exploration and the discovery of non-Western socalled developed musics not only brought on an ontological and identity crisis but were perceived as a threat to the universal superiority of European musics. The development of musicological discourse and practice in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century was a result of this sense of crisis, as much as it resulted from the desire to "cultivat[e] ... an autonomous aesthetic" (Venter, 2015:212). Although the claim that Western art music and its practitioners perceived other musics as a threat to its superiority is liable to the charge of underestimating the West's confidence in its supposed superiority, it is not inconceivable that the discovery of other developed musics brought on a sense of crisis regarding the distinguishing features of European music. Bearing in mind the different roles of crises detailed in the opening section of this chapter, the crisis narrative here functioned to maintain a status quo – the status quo of the intellectual and aesthetic superiority (or individuality) of Western art music.

A sense of crisis is also present in discourses surrounding the disciplinary and epistemic effects of the so-called new musicology, which arose around a century after Adler's schematic for music scholarship. The opening page of Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist's *Rethinking Music* intimates uncertainty: "The

history of musicology and music theory in our generation, is one of loss of confidence; we no longer know what we know" (Cook and Everist, 2001:v). Following Kuhn's (2012:90) statement on crises as "a necessary precondition for the emergence of novel theories", the crisis narrative here was constructed to change or alter what many considered to be a defective status quo. That crisis narratives have become "a tendentious metalanguage knit into the very fabric of the 'new' musicology" (Venter, 2015:211) is perhaps evidence of the extent of the breakdown of the traditional way of doing things (so-called traditional musicology), or of the intense desire (by the practitioners of new musicology) to overcome the previous status quo.

The resurgence of the #BlackLivesMatter movement in 2020 has delivered another iteration of crisis. The #BlackLivesMatter movement has resulted in many disciplines interrogating their foundations and practices for racist, discriminatory and exclusivist foundations, traditions and epistemologies. Music studies has been no different. An especially probing interrogation of the discipline traditionally called ethnomusicology was energised by Danielle Brown's (2020) published letter to the academy. Multiple other initiatives and interrogations have taken place, I here focus specifically on the crisis narrative surrounding music theorist Philip Ewell. <sup>120</sup> Ewell's article "Music Theory and the White Racial Frame" was published in September 2020 following a keynote address at a conference seven months prior. In the address and paper, Ewell (2020) argues that Heinrich Schenker's music theories were informed by his white supremacist views and that the discipline of music theory, in general, has a white racial frame (which privileges the work of white composers mostly from Austro-Germany). The Journal of Schenkerian Studies devoted almost the entirety of its twelfth volume to responses to Ewell's keynote. Some respondents were supportive, others dismissed his claims entirely. A particularly critical response was penned by Timothy Jackson, a distinguished university research professor of theory at the University of North Texas (the institutional home of the journal) and the co-editor of the journal, who accused Ewell, who is African American, of exhibiting Black anti-Semitism. Another scathing response was made anonymously. The edition was condemned by students and some faculty of the university, as well as by the (American) Society for Music Theory, who denounced the "anti-Black statements and personal ad hominem attacks on Philip Ewell" (Society for Music Theory, 2020). The editors of the journal and the journal itself are currently the subject of an investigation by the university. The events were picked up by National Review, Fox News and the National Association of Scholars, who portrayed Jackson to be the victim of an "academic mob" (A Canceled Music Theorist Responds, 2020) and "socalled cancel culture run amok" (Ross, 2020).

Although just one instance of many demonstrating the current crisis in music studies, the debate set off by Ewell's paper illustrates the use of crisis narratives to both maintain the status quo and to radically

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> Other initiatives and interrogations include conferences and conference presentations on decolonising the musical university, moves towards an anti-racist music theory through an upcoming edited volume *Key Terms in Music Theory for Anti-Racist Scholars: Epistemic Disavowals, Reimagined Formalisms* and the establishment of bibliographies for anti-racist music scholarship, such as the Engaged Music Theory bibliography.

alter it.<sup>121</sup> In this specific instance, the same narrative of crisis is interpreted differently by those with different agendas: those in favour of such critical interrogation of music studies, its theories and methods use it to illustrate the multiple problems of the current status quo (Lavengood, 2020), whereas those appearing to be content with the current status quo view the crisis as evidence of the "illiberal mob" (Harris, 2020), "cancel culture run amok" (Ross, 2020) and a threat to academic freedom (A Canceled Music Theorist Responds, 2020). It is this ability of crisis to be utilised and interpreted differently that results in the outcome of crises being so unpredictable.

Having demonstrated the different utilisations of crisis narratives in the field of music studies, I now turn to the crisis narratives which proliferate South African musicology and music education. In my account of crisis narratives in South African musicology, I draw heavily on Viviers's (2016, 2017:312–314) investigation of the crisis narrative which takes as its main concerns Western art music's right to existence, social value and survival. Thereafter I proceed to a consideration of the crisis narratives that surround South African tertiary music studies.

Crisis narratives concerning Western art music's right to existence, social value and survival in South Africa had been apparent already in the early 1980s, a time of great political upheaval following the violence of 1976 (Price, 1991:46–48). Because of the earlier explicated relationship between South African art music practices and the identities of white South Africans, especially Afrikaners, concerns about Western art music's survival not only became concerns about the survival of whiteness, but critiques of art music were often perceived as critiques of the cultural identity of white people. The emergence of this crisis literature during the 1980s can also be read as a disclosure of white and specifically Afrikaner anxiety concerning racial or cultural eradication, or even expulsion, an instance of race speaking through music whilst not daring to speak its name (Froneman and Muller, 2020). 123

Fears over the survival of Western art music and, by association, whiteness, continued beyond 1994. As noted by Viviers (2017:312–313), the radical changes in arts funding policies in June 1996 which culminated in the drastic diminishing of state subsidies for Western art music institutions such as opera houses, orchestras and regional committees for the performing arts and institutions, further contributed to the rise of this crisis narrative, as it led to feelings that the social value of Western art music was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> Another important aspect of this debate mentioned by Alex Ross (2020) is that Schenker illustrates an "implicit prejudice that is endemic in the teaching, playing, and interpretation of classical music ... [which] elevat[es] the European tradition while concealing its cultural bias behind eternal, abstract principles".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> This thinking is still present in Western art music circles today, as illustrated in chapter four of this thesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> These almost apocalyptic fears were incorporated into composition as well, as argued by Annemie Stimie Behr (2015) in the case of Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph's composition *Masada*, composed in 1989. Stimie Behr posits that Masada "drew on an ideology of apocalypse shared by Afrikaner nationalism and Zionism ... [which] at the time of its composition ... spoke to white fears through objectifying the apocalyptic behind a screen of myth and history" (Ibid.:14).

being questioned.<sup>124</sup> Added to this, or perhaps even linked to the diminished funding, were the claims of Eurocentrism and ethnocentrism that increasingly plagued Western art music. Speaking in the midst of the 2015–16 student protests, Muller (2016:5) attributes the continued sense of crisis to the realisation that "the demand for radical reform that we have heard articulated on South African campuses since 2015 under different banners of protest, will eventually move from statues and works of art to music".

Through Viviers's (2016, 2017) demonstration of how Temmingh (1996), Hofmeyr (cited in Bezuidenhout, 2007), Melck (1993) and Solomon (1997) argue against perceived Eurocentrism through the universalisation of Western art music, the power of crisis narratives to maintain a status quo comes to the fore. When faced with questions about the social value and right to survival of Western art music, these men all come to its defence by claiming it as universal: not only what they regard as its universal appeal but its status as a universally singular musical achievement. Asked about the "relevance" of Western art music in South Africa, Hofmeyr claims it to be "a universal language ... the most inclusive of all forms of music that I have encountered" (Hofmeyr, cited in Bezuidenhout, 2007:20). Solomon claims that Western art music is a singular cultural achievement: "To rediscover the underlying relevance of Western art music, we must see it in evolutionary terms. No other form of music is as representative of man's historic, psychological and spiritual development" (Solomon, 1997:15–16). Temmingh (1996:9) does much of the same: "No rubbish music, no nonsense, no cheap drivel, but Western Art Music. ... We may (and probably will, because of an understandable, yet ultimately misplaced reaction to 'Eurocentricity') experience anticlimaxes [sic], but true quality can never be stifled. Eventually good music will prevail".

Apart from the obvious problems with the above statements (problems such as whose standards of achievement are being used, who gets to decide what is universal and how that supposed universality is the result of colonial domination and epistemicide), this universalisation of Western art music (and the crisis narrative at its root) serves to normalise an ethnocentric viewpoint, as noted by Viviers (2017:314), while maintaining an apartheid and colonial status quo of aesthetic inequality. Through its universalisation, Western art music, which previously claimed so-called aesthetic superiority, now lays claim to superiority because of its supposed universalism (if it is universal, surely it must be superior). Through a claim of universality, its status as a superior art form in our institutions of learning and our academic discourse can be maintained, i.e. an apartheid and colonial status quo, albeit now under the new banner of a 'universal music for everyone' continues unabated. In an ironic twist of fate, these reactions to accusations of Western art music's hegemony only increases the hegemonic nature of the music.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> These changes were put forward by the Department of Arts, Culture and Technology in the *White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage* and contrasted sharply with the funding of Western art music activities by the apartheid government (Roos, 2010:192–193).

Along with the general sense of crisis which assailed (white) South Africa and musicology in the 1980s, tertiary music education generated some crisis narratives of its own. Minutes of the meetings of the Committee for the Heads of University Music Departments (CHUM) highlight that a major crisis in South African music studies and education surfaced in 1981 with the publication of Michael Whiteman's (1981) controversial article in *The South African Music Teacher* entitled "Diploma/Degree Evaluation Chaos". Amongst other things, Whiteman (1981) claimed that university music degrees were inferior to the licentiate diplomas offered by institutions such as UNISA, that the standards of universities were not only lower than those of the London-based schools but varied significantly, that the BMus performance specialisation option did not prepare students for teaching and that there was too much variation in the different institutions' BMus. Whiteman's article was seen as a direct attack on the tertiary music education sector by CHUM, and the sense of crisis and urgency which the article created is palpable even in the scant coverage afforded it in the minutes (Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1983). Whiteman and representatives from CHUM eventually came to an agreement in 1984, with CHUM committing to a review of the relevance and suitability of their institutions' degrees (Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1985).

In an apparent continuation of the sense of crisis which had been stirred up in 1981 and following the publication of the so-called "Schutte Report" in 1984, 1985 saw discussions amongst CHUM delegates regarding a comprehensive investigation into music and music education in South Africa. The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) was contacted to assist with the proposed investigation. The idea of crisis was echoed in the reply of J.G. Garbers, the president of the HSRC, who noted that the field of music education in South Africa had already been earmarked as a high priority research area and that tertiary music education was viewed as "highly sensitive" (Garbers, 1986). At the 1986 AGM of CHUM, a subcommittee was subsequently formed to liaise with the HSRC and the co-ordinator of the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> The Committee of Heads of University Music Departments (CHUM) met annually from the 1960s to early 1990s to discuss matters such as the introduction of new programmes at institutions, visits from international scholars or performers and what they perceived to be the imminent rationalisation of music departments. It is unclear what recognition the committee enjoyed – at the 1986 meeting the "diminishing effectiveness" of the committee was lamented ("it simply lacks status") and attempts were consequently undertaken (unsuccessfully) to get the committee recognised as a sub-committee of the Committee of University Principals (CUP). This would have given CHUM more power to negotiate with outside bodies and government departments (Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1986).

<sup>126</sup> The Schutte Report contained the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into the Promotion of The Creative Arts. Appointed in 1981 and led by Dr J.H.T. Schutte, the commission was tasked with inquiring into and reporting on "the promotion among all population groups of the creative arts", with a focus on both formal and informal education (Republic of South Africa, 1981, cited in Smit and Hauptfleisch, 1993:83). Significantly, the report mirrored Whiteman's claims by noting "the lack of planning and co-ordination as regards formal education" as well as a "lack of planning, co-ordination and rationalisation" as evidenced by the independent functioning of tertiary music departments (Republic of South Africa, 1984, cited in Smit and Hauptfleisch, 1993:84). By noting that "the biggest problem facing serious music in this country is that it has only a small audience" (Ibid.), the report evidences disproportionate anxiety over the future of Western art music. Considering the link between such survival anxieties and narratives of universalism, it is unsurprising to note that despite adhering to the spurious belief that music is a universal language, the report was biased towards Western music, maintaining a widely-circulated trope that "worthwhile music" was that performed "in the concert hall" (A. P. Brown, 2016:94–95).

study, Sarita Hauptfleisch, regarding the investigation.<sup>128</sup> Five work committees were eventually established to assist with five main areas of the study: the philosophy of music education, music education policy, the state of music education in South African schools, music teacher education and the marketing of music and music education (Hauptfleisch, 1993:14). These committees consisted of representatives from various tertiary institutions across the country, experts in certain fields acting in an individual capacity as well as representatives from bodies such as the South African Music Rights Organisation.

At the 1987 CHUM AGM, the HSRC proposed an extended five-year timeline for the project, which had since been titled "Effective Music Education in South Africa". Declaring the five-year timeframe unrealistic because of the urgent nature of some of the issues facing music education, CHUM requested a maximum timeline of 18 months for the urgent items. Exactly which matters were deemed urgent is not disclosed in the minutes. The final report was published (publicly) in 1993, after a lack of funding delayed publication for about a year. As evidenced by the opening of the report, the sense of crisis had not disappeared in the six years that had gone by:

It is generally accepted that education in South Africa is currently in crisis. Although this crisis naturally impacts on music education, music education itself is affected by a number of factors which do not necessarily affect other subjects. The "music education" crisis, therefore, is the sum of a number of crises, some of which are caused by the larger education crisis, and some of which are particular to music education itself. The "music education crisis" can be segmented into: a crisis of coherence, a crisis of relevance and a crisis of curriculum in use.

(Hauptfleisch, 1993:1)

Hauptfleisch and Elsbeth Hugo (1993:1) elucidated what was meant with these three crises: the crisis of coherence resulted from "the multiplicity of education departments and the subsequent fragmentation of music education policy", the crisis of relevance involved the [ir]relevance of music education syllabi to pupils and students whereas the crisis of curriculum-in-use referred to "unsatisfactory classroom practices and experiences in music education". The report consisted of six volumes, each explicating a different area of the study: main report, music education policy, class music tuition, teacher education, constants and variables in attitudes towards music education in the greater Johannesburg area and questionnaire statistics. Although setting out initially to conduct a study on all levels of music education, the final HSRC report only comments on tertiary music education through an overview of the various BMus music education programmes in the Teacher Education volume. This is an unusual oversight considering that the initial request for the study came from CHUM as well as the HSRC's designation of tertiary music education as "highly sensitive". Nevertheless, as students in BMus music education options generally take the same core music theory and history courses as those in other BMus

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> At the time, Hauptfleisch was the acting head of the Centre for South African Music Research (CESAM) which fell under the auspices of the HSRC (Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1986).

programmes, the findings are relevant here, particularly as some of the findings of the HSRC report bear an overwhelming similarity to recent critiques.

In noting the well-documented call for the revision of (teacher education) syllabi, Hugo and Hauptfleisch (1993:153) put forward that, amongst other reasons, this could refer to the need to "include more types of music" as the Eurocentrism of tertiary music departments had been critiqued. They note that Eurocentrism was not clearly defined in these calls for inclusivity and proceed to present their own erroneous understanding thereof as an "art music-based music education". This understanding was seemingly furthered by their claims that the investigation did find jazz, African, popular, Asian and world music in many of the courses but that they were unsure whether the manner of this inclusion was sufficient. Offering as explanation the absence of consensus on what Eurocentrism entails and ignoring the critical work of unpacking the meaning and import of that term in South Africa, an erroneous definition was apparently enough to remove Eurocentrism from the agenda. The implicit suggestion that the simple inclusion of musics other than Western art music renders curricula non-Eurocentric resembles thinking vexingly similar to that of modern-day resistors to curriculum change, who were quoted as saying "but we have African music (or jazz), what more is there to do" (Interviewee 5, 2020). 130

Such matters aside, the report makes some fascinating suggestions, such as broadening and diversifying subject matter at tertiary level, the creation of a debating forum where stakeholders could discuss and debate the content of curricula and the improvement of content at tertiary level so that it "meets the needs of the profession" (Hauptfleisch and Hugo, 1993:153). From the analysis of post-apartheid curricular change presented in chapter three of this thesis, it will be clear that significant curricular change of the kind that would justify a view of the crisis mentioned in the HSRC study as having in the meantime been averted, has simply not occurred. This is particularly troubling as discussions around diversified curricula and recommendations to include more musics have been around since the 1980s. The pattern evidenced by the report and its impact will recur throughout chapter three of this thesis: calls for change accompanied by crisis narratives have resulted in panic, ineffective action and the eventual continuation of the status quo.

At the same CHUM AGM in 1986 where the commencement of the HRSC project was announced, Professor J. Potgieter (the then HOD of the music department at the University of Fort Hare) set yet another narrative of crisis in motion:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Some might brush away such a vague statement on Eurocentrism as a result of the time in which the report was written (prior to the official demise of apartheid), yet publications such as *Spring is Rebellious* (De Kok and Press, 1990) are evidence that in-depth discussions about matters such as these were taking place at the time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> Although this thesis also considers the addition of non-Western art music modules as a sign of change, it moves beyond simply noting these modules' presence or absence to a consideration of the manner of their presence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> The stakeholders referred to here did not seem to include students.

Literally all matters dealt with at this and many other past meetings of CHUM drive home the point that the various Music Departments at our universities – divided as they are on matters of policy, content and evaluation of courses and their components, lacking as they do in a common approach to issues of vital musical concern, and weighed down by the poor economic situation (especially the restrictions caused by SAPSE [South African Post-Secondary Education], which have come to stay) – do not meet the challenges of our day effectively. Under the prevailing circumstances, which have developed over the years without us taking (or, perhaps, with us not even wanting to take) really serious notice of them, we can neither afford nor hope to survive and, in the long run, maintain our standards of music culture, let alone developing it to further heights.

(Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1986)

Potgieter proceeded to suggest the formation of a single body – the South African National Academy of Music (SANAM) – which would share resources and lecturers, align programmes and specialise in different areas to avoid costly duplication of resources. His suggestion caused much panic. Delegates described his ideas as "revolutionary" and asked for "time to digest ... [this] exposé" (Committee of Heads of University Music Departments, 1986). His suggestions and warnings were reiterated at subsequent meetings in 1987 and 1988.

In 1989 the entire general meeting was dedicated to the theme of *Economise and Rationalise*. Here I must pause briefly to explain the meaning of the latter. Insights from my interviews and archival research points to the presence of two different ideas of rationalisation in music departments. The first is inter-departmental rationalisation, which entailed the dividing up of musics or instruments between departments, e.g. Rhodes University should offer ethnomusicology while Nelson Mandela University would offer musicology. The second is intra-departmental rationalisation, which entails reducing 'unnecessary' modules. Although the former version of rationalisation was never enforced, it caused much anxiety. In what follows, the crisis of rationalisation refers to inter-departmental rationalisation.

Along the same lines as the 1989 meeting, in 1990 an investigation into the range of music offerings at tertiary institutions was launched by the Committee of University Principals (CUP). Their investigation particularly focused on whether there was a need for rationalisation of offerings, and if so, how this could be achieved. To this end, the task group considered the utilisation of facilities and several aspects concerning course offerings: cost-effectiveness, unnecessary duplication, quality and contribution to national interests (Committee of University Principals, 1992:1).<sup>133</sup>

Common understandings of rationalisation, such as "forbidding' the provision of particular programmes at some universities" and "encouraging specialisation in particular directions by particular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> It is not exactly clear how the sharing of lecturers would have been achieved. One interviewee remarked that they had visions of all Stellenbosch University's piano students having to drive to Cape Town for lessons (Interviewee 22, 2020). Another possibility is that specialist practical lecturers would have been appointed on a part-time basis at neighbouring institutions, e.g. Stellenbosch University and the University of Cape Town.

What these national interests might be is not stated in the report.

universities" were noted in the report (Ibid.:18–19) yet were not included in the list of final suggestions. Rather, the report focused on suggestions such as sharing practical staff across universities due to the considerable expense attributed to practical music studies (and the wide range of practical expertise required), fostering agreements between universities and local orchestras to facilitate practical music study, as well as the minimisation of costs of non-practical programmes such as theory and history (Ibid.:21–24). Additionally, the report noted that the CUP, lacking the power to enforce policies, could only offer suggestions (Ibid.:18).<sup>134</sup>

The CUP investigation (and the foregoing CHUM discussion) signalled various impending crises, concluding – as far as I was able to determine from interviews and archival traces – in inaction. Wang (2014:265) notes that the impending nature of crisis is one of its defining characteristics. "Crisis", she writes, "stands between 'not yet' and 'already'" which means that "crisis is something that is approaching us, but has not yet caught us ... Threat always postpones itself – it implies the future. This is the reason why, in crisis, the future is our primary concern." In addition to illustrating how crises are so often only impending, the crisis brought on by rationalisation also demonstrates the power of impending crises to linger indefinitely and to provide retrospective explanations for a failure to transform. Rationalisation was still advanced in the interviews I conducted as a reason for why certain subjects were not (and still are not) offered at certain universities, despite no formal adoption of the suggestions of the CUP report (Interviewee 11, 2020; Interviewee 22, 2020). For example, Interviewee 22 (2020) noted that since UCT had a jazz and opera school which they were not willing to give up, Stellenbosch University decided to have a more "Western orientation". The rationalisation crisis thus continues to provide a shield for a certain status quo to remain intact and allows the persistence of ghettoised worlds of separate development where universities continue to teach what they teach.

#### **Two Curriculum Crisis Examples**

In this section, I wish to focus on two particular instances of crisis, both with considerable ramifications. In addition to concerning curricula (explicit or hidden), both these cases foregrounded individuals and, as such, reveal something about the collateral intersections of the personal and the professional.

The so-called Mamdani Affair which took place 23 years ago at UCT provides an early post-apartheid instance of institutional crisis tied to curriculum and transformation. Lange (2019:91) muses that its notoriety is perhaps due to its "virulence", the sizeable amount of publicity it garnered as well as the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> I was unfortunately not able to access departmental responses to the CUP report. From the then head of the SU Department of Music's report of the 1990 annual meeting of CHUM, a sense of crisis and panic around the pending investigation is clear – it is stated that rationalisation "urgently" needs to occur (Otterman, 1990). This sense of urgency was accompanied by the argument that "their standards" must be maintained (Ibid.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> For a detailed report of Mamdani's version of events as well as an outline of Mamdani's course and the supplement course, see Mamdani (1998b). For the replies to Mamdani, see the special issue of *Social Dynamics* dedicated to the discussion (Graaff, 1998; Hall, 1998a, 1998b; Hartman, 1998; Jansen, 1998; Mamdani, 1998a, 1998b).

prominence of the academics and university involved. Although considered by some to concern academic freedom (Du Toit, 2000) or as an example of a clash of academic egos (Lange, 2019:92), the Mamdani affair was triggered by a dispute over curriculum content and is thus included here.

Mahmood Mamdani was the first A.C. Jordan Chair of African History appointed at UCT in 1996 and was subsequently made director of the Centre for African Studies in 1997. In October 1997, the deputy dean of the Faculty of Social Science requested that Mamdani design a course on Africa for the faculty's new Foundation Semester which would be compulsory for all social science students from 1998 onwards. The course developed by Mamdani, titled *Problematising Africa*, comprised seven "debates" structured around issues in the field of African Studies: "History as Power and Knowledge as Power: Why is ancient history of contemporary political significance?; Was there an African civilisation and culture before Euro-Arab domination?; Is 'real' Africa only Black Africa, Equatorial and Bantu?; What is the relationship between power and identity?; The Dependency Debate: What is the Root of Poverty?; The Colonial in the Post-Colonial: Drawing Lessons from Anti-Colonial Resistance and Post-Independence Reform; and History and Politics: How do we Distinguish Between Learning to Forget and Forgetting to Learn?" (Mamdani, 1998b:26-32). Both the draft and revised outlines for Mamdani's course were accepted at faculty committee meetings. At a later meeting of the working group brought together for the course's implementation, Mamdani was asked to revise the course as the results of a poll conducted amongst the faculty indicated that four of the sections were not deemed important enough to warrant inclusion. 136 Mamdani baulked at the proposed revision and the meeting closed with Mamdani agreeing to have the course and readings finalised before 4 December.

Before Mamdani could submit the final course on 4 December, he was formally suspended from the course for 1998, with the university stating that he "needed more time to complete the course design". A substitute course was prepared and eventually taught by a group of white scholars from archaeology, anthropology and history. Mamdani appealed the decision and received an apology from both the dean and deputy dean in 1998, as well as an invitation to join the teachers of the course. He declined the request, stating that he "could not with intellectual integrity join and share responsibility for a course I had argued was seriously flawed intellectually and morally" (Mamdani, 1998b:6). Asked to air his critique of the course "for consideration" by the working group, Mamdani agreed on the condition that his critique be taken out of the "administrative domain" and into the "academic domain" (Ibid.). A

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> Such polls regarding the content of new courses were not the norm at the time. Mamdani was informed that this poll was designed "especially for my [his] benefit, since this was to be a faculty-wide course" (Mamdani, 1998b:3).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> It later emerged that Mamdani's course was considered too difficult (Kamola, 2011:147; Mamdani, 1998b:12), yet this was not initially given as a reason for Mamdani's dismissal, which leaves the impression that difficulty acted here as a proxy for something else. This also brings up uncomfortable comparisons with apartheid Bantu education, as remarked on by Mamdani (1998a:72): "Is UCT in the process of creating its own version of Bantu education?"

vigorous and hostile public debate ensued, with Mamdani and the creators of the new course engaged in multiple exchanges (Graaff, 1998; Hall, 1998a, 1998b; Hartman, 1998; Mamdani, 1998a, 1998b). Mamdani eventually left UCT to join Columbia University in 1999.

To reduce the Mamdani Affair to a conflict surrounding academic freedom (Du Toit, 2000) in which university management impeded the teaching of specific content, or as a clash of academic egos (Lange, 2019:92), would be to overlook issues such as the "systemic white racism" within South African higher education (Taylor and Taylor, 2010:898), an "entrenched apartheid knowledge/power regime" (Jansen, 1998:108) and the institutional obstacles encountered in efforts to transform apartheid curricula (Ensor, 1998:94). The Mamdani Affair also demonstrates the use of neoliberal notions of excellence to control the narrative of transformation. Excellence's self-referential nature enables contrasting views on excellence – for Mamdani excellence should have been measured in terms of how successfully the university "embrace[d] the radical political and intellectual potential of post-apartheid South Africa", whereas UCT was focused on becoming a "world class institution" (Kamola, 2011:161) – and therefore allowed the university to shut down any activity deemed as unsubscribing to its notion of excellence, in this case, Mamdani's course.

Additionally, the Mamdani Affair staged opposing views on whether critical interrogation of Africa (and South Africa) was politically and pedagogically necessary for a HWU professing to be transforming or simply "an 'arbitrary' topic around which professors could develop pedagogy for skills training" (Kamola, 2011:157). The events surrounding Mamdani's proposed course reveal an epistemological crisis:

... what constituted valid knowledge of Africa; how was the subject of knowledge defined and whose knowledge of Africa should be accepted as valid. In a secondary line was the preoccupation with to whom and how this knowledge would be taught. It is clear that what Mamdani was proposing defied UCT academics' conception of Africa and its knowledge. Mamdani's syllabus confronted UCT with the need to examine its knowledge of Africa; where it came from; what its assumptions were; what the consequences of these assumptions were; and why it was important to examine critically the knowledge of Africa with which UCT's academics felt comfortable.

(Lange, 2019:92-93)

Through the omission of work by African scholars in the substitute course in favour of work on Africa developed in the Global North (Lange, 2019:92–93), which was argued by Mamdani (1998b:14) to be "poison for students wrestling with the legacy of racism", UCT seemed to accept and perpetuate the stereotype that knowledge stems from the West, even knowledge about Africa. This Eurocentric view was furthered by the problematic periodisation of the alternative syllabus (precolonial, colonial, post-colonial) which presented a colonial perception of Africa and promoted a narrative of White-saviours and "disintegration following the departure of the White Man" (Mamdani, 1998b:6). By leaving unexamined and unacknowledged the history of knowledge and disciplines as well as the power

relations and historical contexts that formed them (Lange, 2019:93), UCT missed an important opportunity for true transformation of the academic curriculum.

Systemic white racism, an apartheid knowledge/power regime and uninterrupted Eurocentrism in curricula are matters that constitute institutional culture. The "Mamdani Affair" is therefore a notable example of the conflict between the institutional curriculum and the academic curriculum and how the latter often comes up short when the two go head-to-head (Ibid.). It illustrates the intimate link between the institutional and academic curricula (the institutional curriculum can be likened to the hidden curriculum) and demonstrates how efforts to change or transform the academic curriculum are thwarted if the institutional curriculum does not first undergo severe scrutiny, reflection and transformation. As Lange (2019:93) states, "this was a passing moment, soon digested by the institutional curriculum, which then expelled the alien body". Unless the institutional curriculum and academic curriculum operate on the same principles and values, change to the academic curriculum is futile.

The need for scrutiny of the institutional curriculum to precede academic transformation brings me to the next example. The events that followed the awarding of Mareli Stolp's PhD thesis completed at the University of Stellenbosch in 2012 is a case in point regarding the lack of such scrutiny of the institutional curriculum. Although not a crisis concerning the explicit curriculum (although this study would arguably have played out differently in an environment where the explicit curriculum was not overwhelmingly devoted to Western art music), it concerns the hidden and institutional curriculum, which is why I read the Stolp thesis crisis alongside insights gained from the account of the Mamdani Affair. Such a reading would necessitate a brief synopsis of the events surrounding the Stolp thesis, which I here draw from official accounts of events (Horn, Van Niekerk, Theron, Swartz and Le Grange, 2016; Le Grange, 2020; Lüdemann, 2017; Muller, 2019; Stolp, 2016b, 2016c; Walton, 2017).

Mareli Stolp was awarded a PhD degree specialising in music performance from Stellenbosch University in December 2012. Her thesis, entitled *Contemporary Performance Practice of Art Music in South Africa: A Practice-based Research Enquiry*, offered a critique of art music practice in contemporary South Africa. A few months later, the then chair of the Department of Music lodged a formal complaint of "ethically questionable research" with the university's Research Integrity Office (Lüdemann, 2017:1) and the dissertation was consequently put under embargo with restricted access on 20 May 2013 – this without Stolp's knowledge or consent. The university set up a committee to investigate the complaint and the subsequent investigation process lasted several months. Upon the recommendation of the committee, the dissertation was uploaded<sup>138</sup> alongside certain additional, explanatory documents to the university's open-access research depository, SUNScholar, while parts of the dissertation were blacked out.<sup>139</sup> The examiners subsequently lodged a complaint with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> This upload occurred on 4 November 2013.

<sup>139</sup> Stolp (2016b:3) viewed this as both censure and censorship.

university Ombud, whose investigation and ensuing report to the rector led to the reinstatement of the dissertation in its original form without any contextual documents.<sup>140</sup> Yet another appeal was lodged, this time by the then chair of the Music Department and the head of musicology, and this time the appointed committee ordered the reinstatement of the censored version of the dissertation and the accompanying contextual documents.

Although she did not set out to provide a critique of institutionalised music practices at SU, Stolp (2016b:10) explains that due to the significant role that institutionalised music practices play in South African art music practices – art music is ensconced in tertiary institutions not only in their curricula but through the occupation of teaching positions by many active performers and the funding of several permanent ensembles by universities – it was inevitable that concerns regarding the transformation, inclusivity and accessibility of art music performance practice would open onto institutionalised art music practice at universities, specifically Stellenbosch where her study was based (Ibid.:10–11). In her doctoral thesis, Stolp highlighted what she believed to be significant issues, namely a lack of engagement with contemporary art music in curricula and concert programming, insufficient support for new work by South African composers and "limited exploration of contemporary art practices" (Stolp, 2016b:11). This critique was then utilised to make a case for the transformation of art music practice as well as institutions of art music education, particularly at Stellenbosch University.

In the extensive academic debate that accompanied this crisis, Stolp (2016b:21) charged that the research misconduct investigation into her research was not only precipitated by (institutional) resistance to her critique but was in fact just another form of such resistance. Accordingly, she viewed the investigation as an abuse of "managerial power mechanisms"<sup>141</sup> and ethics through the co-opting of ethics "into processes of censure and censorship" to thwart critique (Ibid.:1). She argues that this misuse of ethics to limit institutional critique posed a threat to academic freedom and freedom of speech and undermined the South African transformational agenda (Ibid.:4). The investigation into her research was therefore viewed by Stolp as ethics, wittingly or not, coming to the defence of "strong resistance to transformation and change on the part of certain sectors of the university" (Ibid.:21).

Stephanus Muller, Stolp's doctoral supervisor, shared some of the same concerns regarding the implications of the investigation into Stolp's work for critique:

I was particularly worried not only about the damage that had been inflicted on one of our students, but about the perception that could be created that criticism probing the intricate meshing of apartheid politics and attitudes with Western art music performance, would not be tolerated. Because Stellenbosch University had to the best of my knowledge never attempted to gauge the extent to which apartheid-era culture and values in research had endured and continue to shape the contemporary university

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> The Ombud's report to the rector was never made public.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> Stolp (2016b:1) also lamented the "'managerial turn' in university management" that made such managerial power mechanisms possible in the first place.

community, in particular, its ethics environment, I was concerned that what had happened to Stolp would be understood by other students as a warning not to push too hard, not to think too radically, not to embrace risk.

(Muller, 2019:3)

Horn *et al.* (2016:1, 12) refuted Stolp's claim that the investigation was brought on by a resistance to her critique and countered that it was her use of narrative in the research, notably her "critical descriptions of persons who were in-effect participants in the research process" in a way that they were easily identifiable and without their prior knowledge or consent, that was problematic. Stolp's claim was also contested by Lüdemann (2017:3–4), who stated that his complaint as chair of the department was motivated by a "deep sense of responsibility and duty ... to stand up for the personal dignity and rights of my colleagues and students implicated in the dissertation, the reputation of the Music Department and, equally important, the integrity, ethical standards and reputation of research conducted at the University of Stellenbosch".

True to the nature of crisis, the events set in motion by the Stolp thesis laid bare certain fault lines not only in the department but in the university's ethical procedures and its management structures. These fault lines were exacerbated by a "complex context of politics, and the shadow of Stellenbosch University's apartheid past" (Horn *et al.*, 2016:1). In this case, these fault lines were not only laid bare by the crisis but were a contributing factor in its formation in the first place.

At the time of Stolp's studies, the ethical clearance procedure for research undertaken in the Faculty of Arts appears to have been ambiguous. Eugene Cloete (2013), SU's vice-rector for research and innovation at the time of the investigation, notes that there was a "lack of an institutional policy in this regard [ethical clearance] at the time of [Stolp's] registration". Horn *et al.* (2016:6) remark that the policy in place at the time stated that "research involving direct interaction with human subjects or the capturing of any personal information should be approved by an ethics committee". Stolp's research was never formally approved by an ethics committee. Horn *et al.* (2016:7) suggest that since Stolp's research did not include interviews but rather adopted an ethnographic approach, she assumed that her research did not require ethics clearance. For Horn *et al.* (2016) and Lüdemann (2017), the inclusion of critical descriptions of persons in the ethnographic work meant that these persons were research subjects. The ethical clearance procedure has since changed, with all research undertaken in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences having to undergo ethical clearance. Even if the Stolp thesis did not play any role in the change in ethics regulations, it cannot be denied that it laid bare certain fault lines

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> These individuals were identifiable because they were either named or their specific occupational roles stated. <sup>143</sup> Horn *et al.* (2016:1) go as far as to state that the misunderstanding was partly caused by Stolp's "limited knowledge and understanding of research ethics particularly as it applies to autoethnography".

or ambiguities in the regulations at the time regarding what was considered human research participants.<sup>144</sup>

Yet another fault line laid bare was intra-departmental conflict and "long-standing poor collegial relationships" (Horn *et al.*, 2016:1). One contributing aspect was the novelty of the degree Stolp enrolled in and subsequent "discrepancies in the understandings of the construction and outcomes of this degree within the Stellenbosch Music Department among members of staff" (Stolp, 2016b:7). These discrepancies were not the result of mere personality clashes or different personal views but were indicative of ideological and intellectual fault lines in the department and the discipline at large. These fault lines not only concerned the different conceptions of what research in a practical degree should look like but were symptomatic of a broader resistance to transformation and change in practical music studies (Ibid.:6–9). Moreover, these fault lines can be seen as representing a divide between music practitioners and (ethno)musicologists.

A consideration of the Stolp thesis affair in light of Jansen's (1998:106) statement on how "an institution provoked through crisis tells us much more about the nature and extent of transformation than any official documents or quantified outputs" casts light on the Stolp thesis and the institutional responses it encountered. The research might have wrongly identified individuals in its critiques, which needed to be pointed out even though the ethics clearance procedures responsible for this work was not fully in place when Stolp wrote her thesis; but the thesis also delivered a vital critique of not only the department but the discipline at large. What is clear here is that once critiqued, the recourse championed by the department was a bureaucratic complaint. If one takes the official accounts of the events, "frank and open discussions" not only over Stolp's claims but on "the extent to which apartheid-era culture and values in research had endured and continued to shape the contemporary university community" never occurred (Muller, 2019:3). This would seem to imply a department and institutional culture unreceptive to institutional critique and transformation.

This perceived unreceptiveness to critique and interrogation was one of the drivers for the formation of the Africa Open Institute (AOI), whose conception was irrevocably linked to the events surrounding Stolp's thesis. Muller (2019:9–10), AOI's founding director, states that the crisis created by the Stolp thesis – "not only the complaint and its outcome, but also the manner in which her degree processes unfolded in the Music Department and the impact on research activities that had no direct connection with her or her research" – was a key factor in his resolve to establish an independent music research institute at Stellenbosch University, which he eventually did in 2016. Although admittedly

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> There is no true acknowledgement of this in the discourse surrounding the thesis. Horn *et al.* (2016:7) only mention that they treated the misunderstanding (according to them the fault of the supervisor and researcher) as "a development opportunity for both student and supervisor", whereas Cloete (2013) notes that he is "reassured by the fact that SU has since adopted appropriate policies and practices regarding research ethics", implying that this was not the case before the Stolp thesis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Such concerns are shared by Viviers (2017) and, with regards to composition, Pooley (2011).

demonstrating crisis' ability to act as a catalyst for meaningful change (here the reader is referred to footnote five of this thesis which deals with the decolonial work of the institute), I argue that AOI's position as an autonomous institute points to a problematic institutional culture at the SU music department. AOI purports to be "pushing beyond its [the discipline of music studies] catechisms, its taboos, its hermetically sealed conversations, its silo thinking, its fear of change" (Africa Open Institute, 2019). Because this type of research is precisely the type of research that Muller fears the events surrounding the Stolp thesis dissuades students from pursuing, he and others believed that the formation of an autonomous institute was necessary.

The events surrounding Mareli Stolp's PhD thesis and the formation of AOI points to the existence of an institutional culture at SU's Music Department that not only requires examining but actively seems to resist such interrogation. This assessment is strengthened by the earlier reading of events surrounding transformation discussions at music departments during the #FeesMustFall movement, which suggests that this institutional culture is not unique to Stellenbosch but endemic to tertiary music departments (at least three of the four included in this study). In light of the foregoing discussion of the Mamdani affair and the intimate link between the institutional and academic curricula, unless this problematic institutional culture at these departments undergoes scrutiny and examination, changes to the academic curriculum will continually be thwarted.

Besides outlining key similarities in the opposition to change and critique by the institutional curriculum, the juxtaposition of the Mamdani affair and the Stolp thesis allows the immense collateral damage of crises to come to the fore. In the case of the Mamdani affair, although "an exceptional and invigorating level of verbal and written academic debate between senior role players" (Davies, 2011, cited in Ntsebeza, 2020:12) might have been an expected, albeit rare, part of academic life, the "acrimonious" and "unnecessarily conflictual" (Ibid.) nature of these exchanges had lasting damaging effects – Mamdani left UCT "swearing never to return" (Davis, 2017).<sup>146</sup>

Muller writes that the events surrounding the Stolp thesis did not only "inflict damage" on Stolp but have undermined her academic career by "foreclosing professional opportunities in her area of expertise" (Muller, 2019:109). The collateral damage of the Stolp thesis crisis extends even further. Partly as a result of the events Muller was not allowed to teach music students in the Konservatorium for eighteen months (2016 to 2018) and has no office in the Konservatorium, despite his professorship (Muller, 2019:10). Further details of collateral damage emerge from Muller's introduction to *The Journey of the South*, in which he responds to the events surrounding the Stolp thesis:

The text also emanates from a position of extreme personal and professional vulnerability. I experienced what Eve Sanguin has termed "academic mobbing": isolation, inferences of mental instability,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> Mamdani explained his eventual return to UCT in August 2017 to present the UCT TB Davie Memorial Lecture on academic freedom simply as, "because Rhodes fell" (Davis, 2017). In May 2018 he again visited UCT upon his appointment as Honorary Professor in the Centre for African Studies (UCT Centre for African Studies, 2018).

professional smears, accusations and even threats. Many of my students have been openly or subtly victimised during these events and since. ... Reading the text today, five years after I had written it, some of its allusions have become impossible to decipher even for me, but I recognise the anger, and incredibly, still experience the fear.

(Muller, 2019:5)

The above accounts make clear that crises inflict extreme personal harm on the individuals concerned in addition to extending beyond the immediate individuals involved. Yet crisis narratives' collateral damage is often felt in ways which can reach across the boundaries of time. As Muller (2019:109) writes of the events surrounding Mareli Stolp's thesis: "It is my belief today that the events have now become part of a history of which nobody is particularly proud or desirous of revisitation". Revisiting such damaged histories can evoke feelings of shame, anger, hurt and defensiveness amongst those concerned, which makes writing and thinking about such crises and their effects extremely taxing, not to mention risky. This ultimately limits the educational and transformational potential of crisis; if no one is willing to revisit past crises, Jansen's (1998:106) "study of critical incidents" and the benefits thereof simply cannot take place. This thesis is a case in point – as a young scholar venturing into the field of critical music studies for the first time, it is a daunting task to write about these events, as their volatile nature and severe repercussions are clear even years later.

Having noted the collateral damage of crisis, I would like to speculate about an alternative unfolding of the Stolp thesis crisis which could perhaps have undone some of this damage. What would have happened had the departmental chair called in Muller and Stolp for a conversation, rather than following the bureaucratic complaint route without their knowledge? What would have happened if such a discussion could have led to the admission that the thesis perhaps wrongly named certain individuals in its critique but that this could be addressed whilst also taking seriously the underlying concerns raised by the thesis? What would have happened if this thesis could have functioned as something for which the department was unprepared (invoking Bhabha's notion of the potential of such a state) and enabled the type of conversations that would think critically whilst also recognising vulnerability – not only of the named individuals in the thesis but also of the department, Muller and Stolp? Could this crisis and its ensuing discussion not then have acted as a catalyst for the radical transformation of the department?

This chapter has demonstrated the unpredictable nature of crisis narratives as change agents through a demonstration of crises which have led to stasis, the continuation of the status quo as well as radical change. The Mamdani Affair and the Stolp thesis crisis, perhaps more than any other crisis narrative in this chapter, provide us with a demonstration of not only the risks involved with relying on crises for long-term, sustainable change but their significant collateral damage. Crises are volatile and fragile – in a way, the outcome of a crisis narrative is like walking a tightrope between restitutive action or stasis and the strengthening of the status quo. One escape from this scenario is offered by Ricardo Cordero (2016:147) in his reading of Michel Foucault's work on crisis and critique, where he argues that crisis'

full transformative potential will only be realised if we "restore to crisis the force of critique and redeploy it as one of its constitutive moments" rather than accept its "sad fate". Thus, for crisis to be truly transformative, we cannot uncritically accept it but must fully critique and scrutinise it and its constituencies. If we follow such an approach, despite the risks and fragility of crisis, it might just be worth it to "stay with the trouble" of crisis.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Crisis' sad fate refers to its normalisation and over-utilisation, especially by neoliberal governments as a form of governance.

# **Chapter Three: Surveying Curricular Change**

The previous chapter did not only demonstrate the unpredictable nature of crises but revealed that unless the institutional or hidden curriculum undergoes interrogation and subsequent transformation or decolonisation, it will simply absorb unchanged any attempt at curricular decolonisation. The analysis of the occurrence of the #FeesMustFall protests in the four included music departments and the events surrounding the Stolp thesis suggested that the institutional curriculum in at least some of these departments remain resistant to such interrogation and change.

Proceeding from this analysis of the workings of the institutional curriculum, this chapter surveys curricular change at the music departments of Nelson Mandela University, SU, UCT and UKZN and probes critically the meaning and extent of such changes. In the first chapter of this thesis, decolonisation was defined as the search for a "plurality of perspectives, worldviews, ontologies, epistemologies and methodologies in which scholarly enquiry and political praxis might take place" (Bhambra, Gebrial and Niṣancıoğlu, 2018:2). Consistent with this definition, the present chapter privileges the inclusion of musics other than Western art music as one indicator of change. Before proceeding to a consideration of each of the departments, I offer several prefatory remarks.

The presence of jazz in curricula is frequently positioned as a vehicle for institutional transformation (Ramanna, 2013:162-163; Sarath, 2017:107). The word "positioned" is critical, as such positioning can equally point to a blockage of the work of transformation. In such instances, the presence of jazz can be used as an alibi for the lack of other significant institutional transformation – "we have jazz, we are transformed". The origins of this kind of thinking likely reside in jazz's roots as essentially a black music; as Interviewee 19 (2020) notes, "people think because it's already a black music that nothing else needs to be done and that they don't need to be questioned". Jazz's origins in black culture in America is then used as a shield for the whiter jazz which is usually taught at institutions, a jazz which some claim is anti-Black (Inkqubela, 2016; Interviewee 19, 2020). The lack of "jazz musicology" at many universities adds another dynamic to this problem, as it means that practice is divorced from critical scholarly engagement (Interviewee 19, 2020).

Similar arguments can be made regarding the presence of African music. Mapaya (2016:48) notes that the recent option to specialise in African music at tertiary music departments is "a development that mainly appears to be a politically correct [gesture rather] than a genuine recognition of the status of African music systems". If this statement is open to the charge of generalisation, it should nonetheless be acknowledged that the presence of African music can be used opportunistically to perform political correctness in a show of shallow transformation. As Interviewee 5 (2020) notes, African music can be used to hide a lack of transformation in other areas:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>148</sup> Interviewee 19 (2020) felt strongly that such thinking uses "jazz as a recycling bin".

So it's an additional thing which we pride ourselves on – if you look at the website you will see that, "ooh we do African music", but it's like right on the side, it's not centre. To me it shows how we value it: so we use it to show we're politically correct, but what actually happens academically is that it is sidelined.<sup>149</sup>

At UCT, students have linked the perceived peripheral status of African music to the location of the African music department in a separate building (C# Cottage), which according to Johnson (2015) is referred to as "the stables". As Interviewee 5 (2020) informed me, "you will see that it is situated outside, very, very clearly outside of the main building, it's not inside".

It is nevertheless worth noting that the move to C# Cottage was requested by the African music practical studies lecturer at the time (Interviewee 12, 2020).<sup>151</sup> Additionally, requests for equipment and funding have been accommodated by the department, and the same goes for UKZN: "Now we are on par, when budgets are called for, I can ask for and get what I need. Things are quite equitable" (Interviewee 2, 2020).<sup>152</sup> Sufficient funding and facilities, however, are not necessarily the only barometers of institutional support and non-marginalisation.<sup>153</sup> As will become apparent from the survey of curricula, it is possible that student concerns about marginalisation, attached at UCT to the spatial segregation of African music, may be explained with recourse to yearbook offerings; in other words, complaints about spatial segregation may really be complaints about the structural or programmatic marginalisation of particular musics.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, entrance requirements tend to benefit Western art music and those who have completed graded exams, thereby throwing up barriers to African music programmes. As Interviewee 21 (2020) notes: "They require you to have certain Western theoretical skills and performance skills before you can study African music [at a university]. But they don't make it a requirement for those studying Western art music to have African music skills in order to study in an African university." For Mapaya (2016:48), existing entry requirements set students on a course of self-colonisation: "A student, assuming he or she is African, wishing to study African music at a South

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> This peripheral nature of African music's inclusion in the academy noted by Interviewee 5 has also been commented on by others, such as Johnson (2015, 2018), the UCT Curriculum Change Working Group (2018:44) – who notes the "orphan status" of African music within the SACM and its "peripheral positioning" to Western art music, jazz and other Western musical forms – and, in the context of both UCT and UKZN, Interviewee 21 (2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> The UCT Curriculum Change Framework (Curriculum Change Working Group 2018:42) claims that this building was formerly used as a stable, yet according to one interviewee this was not the case, and the building is only referred to as such.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Some of the reasons given for this move was practical – C# Cottage included a space where students could rehearse and instruments be stored, which was not possible in the main building. It is also easily accessible to visitors (Interviewee 12, 2020). A further reason given was that African music makes noise and would have "disturb[ed] some other people while they are doing some very polite music" (Ibid.). I elaborate on the implications of this statement later in this chapter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> Interviewee 2 further noted that UKZN is planning a new building for the African music stream, suggesting that the programme is at least valued by the top management of the university.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> For Pertl (2017:41), institutional support for non-traditional musics must extend to their inclusion in important concerts or events and attendance of their concerts by staff and the leadership of the department.

African university has to, first, musically and culturally excommunicate him or herself from the music of birth".

A problematic aspect tied to the manner in which African music has been included in the academy is its treatment as a museum artefact. Solely studying African music as a repertoire of "museum pieces" (Mthethwa, 1988:28) perpetuates an apartheid and colonial ideology of black South Africans as primitive and true to a "traditional" culture (Olwage, 2002:32). That being said, to omit so-called traditional African music would further the kind of epistemicide that decolonisation seeks to undo.

#### **Nelson Mandela University**

Nelson Mandela University presents a four-year BMus programme where students can either follow the interdisciplinary or general programme or choose to specialise in performing arts, music technology or music education. For the specialisation programmes, students need to have passed a grade six practical exam and a grade five music theory exam to gain entrance. In contrast, the BMus general has no requirement in terms of theory training and requires applicants' practical music studies to be at a standard equivalent to grade six for instrumentalists and grade five for vocalists (Nelson Mandela University, 2019:123–150).

In 1993, the word "African" first appeared in the yearbook in relation to music, with the introduction of the semester-module *History of Music 1*.<sup>154</sup> Encompassing Western art music as well as African and Eastern traditional music, this module, presented in the second semester, followed on another new semester module which purported to cover "the history and appreciation of music as a form of human expression: the co-existence of and interaction between various cultures and styles. Pop- jazz- and folk music" (University of Port Elizabeth, 1993:109). Taking into consideration the broad sweep of these semester modules, they likely accomplished a selective overview rather than in-depth engagement. In 1995, the two modules amalgamated to form a year-long module, "Man and music: The co-existence of various cultures and music styles, as found in Jazz, Pop, Traditional African and Western Art Music" (University of Port Elizabeth, 1995:19). The year 1995 also saw a new semester-long music history module, *Renaissance and Jazz*, introduced at fourth-year level. <sup>155</sup> *Music Technology* was introduced in 1996.

The aforementioned changes in *History of Music* were overhauled in 1999, which was renamed *Music* in *History and Society*. Four new term-long modules were introduced at first-year level; significantly, two of these modules were jazz-based – *Music in History and Society: American Jazz* and *Music in History and Society: Black Jazz and Politics in South Africa* (these two modules have been retained).

<sup>154</sup> Henceforth, all module names will be italicised to differentiate them from the names of subject areas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> This rather unusual grouping was in accordance with the specialisation of the lecturer responsible for the course at the time.

The introduction of these modules resulted in the removal of jazz from *Renaissance and Jazz*, which became *Renaissance and Polyphony*.

Non-traditional modules were also added to the second-year Music in History and Society syllabus in 1999, Music in Eastern Cape Cultures and Popular Music. Together with two modules on the Baroque period, these modules formed the second-year Music in History and Society syllabus. It is unclear whether students were able to take all four modules; however, since students were required to choose between the four modules in 2000, this was likely also the case in 1999. Students could thus only take one non-traditional module. While the module requirements might not have been intended as a conscious statement on the importance of these modules, the reality is that modules positioned as optional are often deemed to be of lesser importance. The year 2000 saw the introduction of *The Theory* of Jazz Improvisation as an elective from second-year level, in line with the introduction of jazz in firstyear Music in History and Society in 1999. Jazz was also introduced as part of practical music studies in 2000, with the jazz theory lecturer (Errol Cuddembey) assuming responsibility for jazz piano (Interviewee 7, 2020). 156 Music in Film and Television was introduced at third-year level in 2003. 157 In 2005, the second-year Music in History and Society modules amalgamated to form two semester modules, Music in History and Society: African Music and Popular Music and Music in History and Society: Baroque Music. A BMus general programme which facilitated a greater choice of modules than the specialised programmes was also introduced in 2005.

Beyond 2008 the only significant change to curricular offerings discernible from the yearbooks is the introduction of the option to select both *The Theory of Jazz Improvisation*<sup>158</sup> and so-called Western art music theory, with both offered as electives when the other is selected as a core module, in 2016. <sup>159</sup> Due to the format of the credit structure, it is rarely possible to take both *Music Theory and Analysis* and *The Theory of Jazz Improvisation* (Interviewee 23, 2020). New versions of all the programmes were introduced in 2016. Examination of the yearbooks suggests that this only entailed the addition of the letter V to the module codes, whereas the structures and content of the programmes remained unchanged. <sup>160</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Jazz guitar had been offered as a second instrument since 1994. Formal jazz education of other instruments was only added considerably later (Interviewee 7, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>157</sup> In 2008, these modules migrated to the fourth-year syllabus, where they remain to the present day.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> In 2017, *Aural Development* was incorporated into the two streams of music theory – *The Theory of Jazz Improvisation* was renamed *Jazz Theory and Aural Development*, whereas WAM-based *Music Theory and Analysis* was dubbed *Music Theory, Analysis and Aural Development*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> The Theory of Jazz Improvisation could not previously replace Music Theory and Analysis as it was assigned only half of the latter's credits. Only upon the submittal of a motivation by the lecturer responsible for the programme that The Theory of Jazz Improvisation was equal in scope and difficulty was the credit structure adjusted and the change adopted (Interviewee 23, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> This change occurred across all programmes at the university and was likely related to the SAQA certification process.

At the time of writing this thesis, recurriculation efforts at the department had just been concluded, with the introduction of the 'new curriculum' planned for 2021. It is unclear precisely what the changes all entail, as I was only offered insight into the changes to *Music in History and Society*, where all the current module descriptors fall away, and modules will simply be named *Music in History and Society*. The course content for all years of *Music in History and Society* is given as the same in the yearbook: "Selected topics pertaining to music and its multiple histories in Popular music, Jazz, African music, World Musics and Western Art Music". Although this especially vague description could enable curricular innovation, Interviewee 20 (2020) believes that it allows for the continuation of the same patterns, albeit under a less descriptive module name: "All that's changed, is that the module descriptor has changed so that if anything had to happen with lecturer and someone had to quickly take over the course, they could do it themselves".

Year	In	Out	Notes
	History of Music: WAM,		
1993	African and Eastern		
	Traditional Music		
	History of Music: The history		
	and appreciation of music as		
	a form of human expression:		
	the co-existence of and		
	interaction between various		
	cultures and styles. Pop-		
	jazz- and folk music		
	Man and Music	History of Music: The history	
		and appreciation of music as a	
		form of human expression: the	
1995		co-existence of and interaction	
		between various cultures and	
		styles. Pop- jazz- and folk music	
	Renaissance and Jazz	History of Music: WAM,	
		African and Eastern Traditional	
		Music	
1996	Music Technology		
1999	Music in History and	Man and Music	*Replaced with Music
	Society: American Jazz	Jazz and Renaissance*	in History and Society:

	Music in History and		Renaissance and
	Society: Black Jazz and		Polyphony
	Politics in South Africa		
	Music in History and		
	Society: Music in Eastern		
	Cape Cultures		
	Music in History and		
	Society: Popular Music		
			From 2008 students can
	Theory of Jazz Improvisation		take both jazz and
2000			WAM-based theory
			Only from 2016 can it
			replace WAM-based
			Music Theory and
			Analysis
		Music in History and Society	
2005	Music in History and	Music in Eastern Cape	
	Society: African Music and	Cultures*	*Amalgamates
	Popular Music	Music in History and Society	
		Popular Music*	

Table 1: A Summary of Formalised Changes at Nelson Mandela University

It is important to note those smaller changes to modules which did not necessitate formalisation in the yearbook. In *American Jazz* and *Black Jazz and Politics in South Africa*, changes have been implemented since 2010. New course material was introduced to replace the very introductory notes which had been in use since the module's inception in 1999, and an intense listening component was incorporated to expose students to jazz (Interviewee 23, 2020). *Black Jazz and Politics in South Africa* was adapted to focus on jazz (it was previously more of a general South African music module) and an alternative pedagogic approach implemented. In the place of traditional lectures, content is now largely generated by students who are divided into groups tasked with presenting their research on specific South African jazz artists to the class (Ibid.).

The content of *Music in History and Society: ca. 850–1600* and *1600–1900* was amended after the 2016 iterations to "stand still" at the Renaissance, "the era in which colonisation started to take place" (Interviewee 15, 2020). A deliberate attempt was made to avoid "epistemic violence" in the classroom

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> For a discussion on why a focus on exposure to certain musics is so significant, see footnote 185.

and facilitate class discussion while an assignment required students to consider the effect of colonialism on South Africa. A copy of this assignment provided to me by Interviewee 15 shows that, amongst other things, students were asked to reflect on the use of the term "traditional" with regards to African music, the role and place of musical hybridity in a post-apartheid, decolonial music curriculum and society and whether the ideological underpinnings of decolonisation can accommodate a non-essentialist view of culture.<sup>162</sup> Although these changes are commendable, students were referred to a relatively dated post-colonial source and did not engage decolonial scholarship. There is also no indication that students were made to consider the link between Western art music and colonialism, such as that colonialism and the slave trade largely funded the opulence of the Baroque period as noted by Margaret Walker (2020:9) and David Hunter (2015:200–207).<sup>163</sup>

From 2018 onwards, numerous changes were introduced in *Music in History and Society: Baroque*. Curricular innovation in this specific case was made easier by a change of lecturer, as the new lecturer was only provided with broad module outlines. The new lecturer approaches history as an archaeologist: artefacts and manuscripts are sourced and discussed in class and the textbook becomes a supplementary source to vibrant and interesting class discussions and debates (Interviewee 20, 2020). In this way, the content comes alive for the students, a radical change from the previous iteration of the module, seen in the much-improved student turnover rate. Another unique aspect of the pedagogical approach employed is the combination of the old and the modern: not only do digital media, YouTube and remixes of ancient music feature strongly in classes but modern musics are placed in relief to that of the Baroque. The inclusion of popular music here is thus a form of stealth inclusion. Assessments were also changed to steer clear of a system that encourages students to "memoris[e] facts from textbooks and spit[ting] it back out", an approach which is said not to be "of any cognitive value to the student". Interviewee 20 (2020) describes their approach to teaching as "radical pedagogy", meaning that traditional disciplinary and other divides are not upheld, and students are given agency to determine what they are taught (which is then balanced with what the institution requires to be taught).

### **Stellenbosch University**

SU's BMus programme consists of four years of study with specialisation areas in composition, music education, music technology, musicology and performance (solo, chamber music, accompaniment,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> Students were given a quote by Simon Gikandi which spoke to the need "to question the ideological foundations on which the narratives of decolonisation were constructed", as such narratives were inevitably based on the assumption that "African cultures and selves were natural and holistic entities which colonialism had repressed, and which it was the duty of the African writer, in the period of decolonisation to recover" (Gikandi, 1992:378). <sup>163</sup> The approach implemented here seems to relegate the work of decolonial analysis to the former colonies and its music, whereas Western art music remains seemingly unanalysed. Fourie (2020:208) argues that a decolonised music studies cannot comprise such analyses alone but must examine "how coloniality can be traced and interrogated in the very music which … participated in the formation of modernity [Western art music]".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> An interesting result of this approach is that connections are made with people outside the university. Interviewee 20 (2020) indicated that they must often contact museum curators and similar individuals to source these artefacts and manuscripts.

church music or conducting). Entrance requirements include a practical standard equivalent to (at minimum) grade seven and the equivalent knowledge of a grade five theoretical examination of any of the music examination bodies, in addition to the successful completion of an audition and theoretical test. As noted in the previous chapter, it is telling that the yearbook explicitly states that "proof of the abovementioned standards in *classical music*" must be provided (Stellenbosch University 2020a:69, emphasis my own). In line with this focus on art music and the conservative, Afrikaans origins of the university, Viljoen (2014:127) observes that the curriculum in use in the music department is "more traditional" than that of many other music departments in South Africa, an observation which was affirmed by my assessment.

In 1994, the course content of the BMus was notably Eurocentric. The only indication of the African locale was the presence of South African music history in the semester-long third-year module, Music History Since c. 1925 (an interesting start date, as it would suggest that South African music history did not exist prior to the twentieth century) as well as a Capita Selecta module at fourth-year level dealing with, amongst other topics, music ethnography with regards to Southern Africa. 165 Considering that the latter module also covered Antiquity and the Middle Ages, there would have been, at best, restricted space in the curriculum for South African musical ethnography. In 1996, the music department amalgamated with the music education department, which was previously situated in the Faculty of Education. As a result, many music education-related modules were introduced in the music department.<sup>166</sup> A semester-long course on African Music was introduced at fourth-year level in 1997, which included an introduction to African music, particularly as pertaining to Southern Africa, structures in African music, the documentation of African music, musical instruments of Africa as well as the musical practices of African music (Stellenbosch University, 1997:110).<sup>167</sup> The same year saw the introduction of two new electives at fourth-year level, Ethnomusicology and the History of Popular Music. 168 The former entailed a systematic introduction to ethnomusicology, a summary of ethnomusicological principles and techniques as well as an overview of ethnomusicology with reference to Southern Africa (Stellenbosch University, 1996:533). History of Popular Music entailed an introduction to the field of popular music, salon music in the nineteenth century, a history of jazz, later developments and popular music of the time (Ibid.). Music Technology was introduced in 1998.

The 2002 yearbook notes that the Department of Music launched a comprehensive new educational offering from 2000 in an effort to address various aspects of the South African musical reality (Stellenbosch University, 2002:322). The most pronounced change was the adaptation of the BMus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>165</sup> More recently, this module has covered topics such as popular music, film music and anthropology of music, yet it remains an elective (Stellenbosch University 2019:307).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Many of these modules were previously available to music students but were offered by the Department of Music Education.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> It is unclear precisely who lectured this module and whether they were a specialist in African music.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> The Afrikaans name for the latter was *Geskiedenis van Ligte Musiek*.

from a four-year to three-year programme, which demanded that many modules be shifted around. In an interesting turn of affairs, *African Music* fell away completely, whereas *Ethnomusicology* became an elective already from the second year. *South African Music History* was introduced as an elective at second-year level, whereas *History of Popular Music* became an elective at third-year level.

Several problems are evident as regards these changes. The description of the course content for *South African Music History* reads as follows: a history of the musical life in South Africa and the South African composers (Stellenbosch University, 2004:226). Interviews with staff members confirmed that the South Africa indexed in this module name designated a white and masculine world of South African art music, although the course later expanded to include art music composers of colour such as Michael Mosoeu Moerane and in 2015/16 also a component on African music (Interviewee 4, 2020; Interviewee 13, 2020). Another problem is that these modules were only offered as electives, while the compulsory music history courses from the first to third years comprised the conventional Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and Modern eras. Offering courses such as ethnomusicology and South African music history as electives, still allowed students to avoid such modules entirely, and problematically situated (and continues to situate) South Africa and Africa as optional in Stellenbosch.

By 2006, the three-year BMus was in the process of being phased out, *History of Light Music* fell away, *Ethnomusicology* was no longer offered as an elective at second-year level and *South African Music History* was absorbed into the core music history syllabus. <sup>169</sup> Although it appeared in the group of compulsory subjects, students not specialising in Musicology or music technology had to choose between *Musicology: South African Music (Twentieth Century)* and *Musicology: The Music of the Late Twentieth Century*, which created the impression that these subjects carried less importance than traditional subjects. From 2009 onwards, both modules became part of the core offering, regardless of specialisation. That same year, *Ethnomusicology* was made available only for students in the musicology specialisation, for whom it was compulsory. This appears problematic, as *Ethnomusicology* was one of the only modules that exposed students to musical traditions other than Western art music.

Another new module implemented in 2009 at fourth-year level was *Service Learning*. A compulsory module for all students no matter their field of specialisation, the course description points to an explicit focus on community interventions: "Participation in departmental community projects to establish theoretical knowledge, to generate new knowledge and to create understanding of specific context[s] of music practice and knowledge" (Stellenbosch University, 2012:254). Modules such as *Service Learning* are typically introduced in an attempt to make the university more responsive to the needs of the broader community it is situated in (Harrop-Allin and Hume, 2016:192). The extent to which this is truly successful is often debatable. As Interviewee 16 (2020) reflects, it does evoke notions of "that cringy

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> In 2007, *Music History* was renamed *Musicology*; however, it has remained in essence a music history module (Stellenbosch University, 2007:205).

type of outreach". Another module change that occurred in 2009 was the introduction of World Music and research skills into the first semester of *Musicology* in the first year of the BMus. A copy of the 2009 module outline provided by Interviewee 16 shows that the module effectively worked through Bohlman's (2002) *An Introduction to World Music*. It was also noted that the introduction of world music was a form of "damage limitation" to counter the essentially completely Western art music orientation of the department (Interviewee 16, 2020). One semester of world music, it was decided, was the best option to show students that Western art music is "only a part of a much bigger whole" (Ibid.).

From here onwards the yearbook suggests that the curriculum has remained unchanged.

Year	In	Out	Notes
1996			
1997	African Music		
	Ethnomusicology		First inclusion as a complete module
1998	Music Technology		
2000	History of Light Music South African Music History	African Music	
2006		South African Music History	Absorbed into Musicology
2009	Musicology: The Music of 1500–1750  Only students specialising	Musicology: Music of the Late Twentieth Century*	*Amalgamated with Music of the Early Twentieth Century
	in Musicology can take  Ethnomusicology		
	Service Learning  Musicology: World Music		

Table 2: A Summary of Formalised Changes at SU

Conversations with staff members have confirmed that innovations in module content not indicated in the yearbooks have occurred and that the department is currently in the process of attempting programme renewal. Since 2009, a significant effort has been made in music theory to move away from a Eurocentric approach (Interviewee 25, 2020; Interviewee 26, 2020). In the first two years of theory, the ideology of decentralising theory has been adopted: concepts are described as abstractly as possible whereafter they are demonstrated using multiple genres, including popular music and Western art

music, and the abstract ideas according to which music functions – such as tension and release as well as awareness of the overtone series – are stressed no matter the music at hand. <sup>170</sup> Emphasis is placed on aural causality rather than rules, as students are taught to understand why certain rules or guidelines are usually adhered to instead of simply learning these by rote. In what seems to be a stealth inclusion, the second year also includes a semester dealing with jazz harmony and melody since 2017, although this is taught by lecturers trained in WAM, not jazz. <sup>171</sup>

From the beginning of 2020, a similar effort to include other musics has been made in fourth-year music theory, which covers music theory from the twentieth and twenty-first centuries as well as South African music (Interviewee 22, 2020).<sup>172</sup> Whereas this (admittedly less-mainstream) content was previously only allocated one semester, it now enjoys coverage in two semesters. Although students are encouraged to engage with African music and popular music in the assignments, these musics feature only marginally in the listening lists for the lectures.<sup>173</sup> A series of four lectures are, however, solely devoted to South African composers Bongani Ndodada-Breen, Claire Loveday, Kevin Volans and Andile Khumalo.<sup>174</sup> In an interesting development, students were able to suggest topics for inclusion in the curriculum.<sup>175</sup> To further student involvement in future content determination, a lecture has been set aside for a class discussion on what a music theory syllabus in 2021 might look like.<sup>176</sup> The inclusion of readings of musicological texts on analysis in the module outlines and assignments requiring critical discussions of methods employed leads me to suggest that a more critical approach to music theory and analysis is followed here rather than simply "analysis for the sake of analysis".

In *Ethnomusicology*, changes in focus have occurred gradually since 2009. Whereas the module previously had a strong focus on African music as "the concept researched by known ethnomusicologists like Andrew Tracey, David Dargie, Meki Nzewi and Kofi Agawu", it has been

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> This belief could be liable to the charge of assuming that all music functions according to the same principles as Western art music as well as privileging harmony and melody above rhythm. However, the interviewees were not oblivious to the problems inherent in such an approach, as they noted that "a kind of violence occurs if we look at African music in a European way and write about it in a European way" (Interviewee 25, 2020; Interviewee 26, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> I classify this as a form of stealth teaching as it is not formally indicated in the yearbook.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> As with the inclusion of South African music history in *Music History Since c. 1925*, the inclusion of South African music with these two time periods restricts South African music history to the twentieth and twenty-first century.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> The module guideline provided by Interviewee 22 states that the repertoire and listening lists are being updated to include more South African music.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Interviewee 22 (2020) noted that the challenge here was that content could not be duplicated across different modules, i.e. *Ethnomusicology* and *Music Theory*. The observation seemingly only applies to African music – no such problems with doubling apparently exists in relation to WAM, which is taught in both theory and musicology modules.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> In the first week of lectures, a request was put to students to suggest content to be covered in the course, which they did with some enthusiasm. Those students involved in composition requested theoretical discussions and analyses of composition and analytic methods, whereas some students requested to analyse the contemporary music they were performing. A request was also put in for the inclusion of a lecture on film music (Interviewee 22, 2020)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> At the time of my communication with Interviewee 22, this lecture had not yet taken place.

expanded to consider creolisation and the Afro-Cuba and Afro-Brazilian revivals in the diaspora as well as cosmopolitanism and the politics of identity (Interviewee 14, 2020). The last four years has also seen the introduction of a practical component to the course, where students are taught to play the Xhosa musical bows, the *umrhubhe* and *uhadi*.

Another area in which changes have been made but not reflected in the yearbook is music education. A practical component in which students teach music in different community settings has been incorporated since 2011 and focuses particularly on teaching experience that will prepare students to engage meaningfully across a broad spectrum of communities and environments (Interviewee 24, 2020). Other changes include the adaptation of song lyrics to be more inclusive (particularly with regards to gender) and constant re-evaluation and adaptation of module content to better suit the needs of students and the communities they will teach in (Ibid.). Focus is also on inclusive education, popular music education and multicultural music education. In addition to the focus on community involvement, the African locale is further emphasised through the teaching of marimba music and indigenous vocal pieces accompanied by drums (Interviewee 14, 2020).

Stealth changes at SU occurred in its *Musicological Criticism* and the *Musicology* module dealing with the twentieth century in 2018. Whereas jazz has been inserted into the latter and the spectrum of WAM composers has included Julius Eastman and Halim El-Dabh, the former has been overhauled to deal with critical theory, including postcolonial and decolonial theory, feminism, Marxism, and has enlarged readings on aesthetics to include decolonial aestheSis (Interviewee 27, 2020). Rather than restricting discussions to a single genre (say, WAM), content is drawn from a wide spectrum of musics in a deliberate attempt to move away from an exclusively Western world while thinking critically about that world.

## **University of Cape Town**

The SACM presents a four-year BMus with the following specialisation streams: African music performance, general, jazz studies, music technology, musicology, opera, Western classical composition and Western classical performance. Entrance requirements include either a level five achievement in music in the National Senior Certificate (NSC), or passes in a grade five music theory exam and a grade seven practical examination in addition to the successful completion of an audition and theoretical examination (University of Cape Town, 2020:76).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> Multiculturalism has been accused of being an additive musical project rather than a "moral and pro-active" educational project (Morton, 2001:33). The implication of this is that, despite the inclusion of a wider variety of musics in curricula, it required no deeper thought into the socio-political meanings of musics or the biases they might perpetuate. The concept of critical multiculturalism, which emphasises bringing about justice and social change through the inclusion of diverse curricula, was developed in response to such critiques (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997:26). The explicit community-focus and inclusive nature of SU's music education make it more in line with the critical multiculturalist tradition.

Ethnomusicology (which encompassed the theoretical teaching of African music) was introduced at UCT in 1982. According to John W. R. Davids (2018:86), its introduction was a direct result of the university's acquisition of the Kirby Collection in 1981 and not necessarily of an institutional desire to transform its curricula. The numerous complaints from the Ethnomusicology lecturer at the time regarding a lack of institutional support during the 1980s and early 1990s seem to confirm this suspicion (Ibid.:88). Significantly, Ethnomusicology was only available to students in certain programmes and was only a core module in the musicology stream (and later in the African music stream introduced in 1999).

The BMus Jazz Studies programme was introduced in 1989 and includes courses such as *Theory of Jazz, History of Jazz, Jazz Improvisation* and *Jazz Ensemble*. Davids (2018:91–92) argues that, in a similar fashion to ethnomusicology, jazz was introduced as a result of the then newly appointed SACM dean's "personal interest" in jazz rather than an institutional desire to transform curricula. <sup>178</sup> I would be hesitant to interpret the dean's statement on jazz as "[a]n essential addition to the course-offerings at the SACM" (Bon, cited in Davids 2018:86) together with his dismissal of influence from the political climate at the time as evidence of inclusion purely due to a personal interest in jazz. The American base of this programme is, however, confirmed by multiple accounts (Davids 2018:91; Interviewee 8, 2020; Interviewee 18, 2020), suggesting that jazz's introduction was likely more in line with the international recognition of [American] jazz in the academy rather than an attempt at transformation. The lack of jazz musicology at the department, as well as jazz's separation from other programmes (yearbooks show that jazz is not offered to students from other streams), further limits its transformative potential. In a contradiction to the yearbook entry, Interviewee 8 (2020) notes that both *Theory of Jazz* and *History of Jazz* are currently available to non-jazz students but that the limited time and credits available for such "extras" mean that student demand is extremely low.

The concepts studied in *Ethnomusicology* were first applied practically with the introduction of *African Music* in 1995. Interviewee 18 (2020) notes that a considerable amount of content was duplicated across the two modules. As *African Music* only appeared as an elective within the various jazz specialisation options, it could not be selected by students who majored in Western art music performance, music education or musicology. The introduction of the BMus African Music and Dance in 1999 may have been an attempt to address this, as it allowed students to major in the performance, education or theoretical study (i.e. Ethnomusicology: African Music and Dance) of African music. Although this new BMus programme led to the introduction of *African Dance*, *African Performance* and *African Notation*, these were only presented to students in the African Music and Dance specialisation.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>178</sup> This dean had been at UKZN at the time of jazz's introduction to the curriculum in 1981.

Moreover, *African Music* was still offered as an elective only to students specialising in jazz or library and information systems. <sup>179</sup>

Many changes occurred in 2005. *Worlds of Music* was introduced as an elective from first-year level up to fourth-year level but was only available to students in certain programmes from the second year onwards. *Worlds of Music* encompassed the study of "music as culture" through a survey of selected music cultures of the world (University of Cape Town, 2005:92) and looked at a particular cultural group within a society, or at a society itself (Interviewee 18, 2020). African cultures were not included in *Worlds of Music* as they were already included in *African Music* (Ibid.). *South African Music* was introduced as a compulsory semester-long module at first-year level, with the content described as "the musics of South Africa, to include indigenous, Western classical and jazz practice. The roles of major figures, significant compositions, influential social, technical and aesthetic factors will be considered" (University of Cape Town, 2005:89–90). *Ethnomusicology*<sup>180</sup> was subsumed into *African Music* (University of Cape Town, 2006:81). <sup>181</sup>

The year 2010 saw the introduction of *African Music Theory*, though it was only offered to students specialising in African music performance. The handbook suggests that, for the first time, students other than those specialising in jazz performance, African music or library and information systems could take *African Music*, with all students (other than those in library and information systems) having to select either *African Music* or *Worlds of Music* from their first year of study onwards. *Music Technology* was also introduced in 2010, significantly later than at the institutions surveyed thus far. <sup>182</sup> In 2011, *South African Music* disappeared from the yearbook but was reintroduced in 2012, this time as a semester-long module in the second year of study. The yearbook description of the course content was modified to include engagement with "a range of key musical and social issues in twentieth-century South Africa such as: regional music, performance and migrancy, music and the nation state, music rights, and South African musicians in the global context" (University of Cape Town, 2012:266). In this new format, *South African Music* was still positioned as an elective alongside other modules such as *Composition, Worlds of Music*, *African Music* and *Music Education*. *South African Music* was subsumed into *Worlds of Music* and *African Music* in 2018 (Interviewee 18, 2020). <sup>183</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>179</sup> The yearbook suggests that with the introduction of *African Performance*, *African Music* gradually came to consist of more theoretical work. *African Music* is currently a solely theoretical course which covers African history, literature and culture (Interviewee 18, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Although still appearing in the 2005 yearbook, *Ethnomusicology* does not appear in any of the programmes presented that year. As it is absent in the 2006 yearbook, it was likely being phased out in 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Although this was done for a variety of reasons, chief of these was the duplication between the two modules, as *Ethnomusicology* functioned more as an additional African music module than a module covering ethnomusicology and ethnomusicological methods (Interviewee 18, 2020).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> Up to 2010, *Acoustics* was the only similar module presented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> This was largely a decision driven by practicality – there were only two lecturers to take responsibility for over nine modules in *Worlds of Music*, *African Music* and *South African Music* (Interviewee 18, 2020).

A new flexible structure BMus general was introduced in 2017 to allow students the freedom to pursue modules in African music as well as Western art music (University of Cape Town, 2017:65). This new structure allows students to choose between *African Music* and *History of Western Music*, as well as *Music Theory* (which is WAM-based, despite the seeming geographic neutrality of its name) and *African Music Theory*.<sup>184</sup> All students follow this programme in their first year of study, meaning that the modules selected are vital in determining students' chosen specialisation. 2017 also saw the abandonment of the four-year music history survey model, with the survey now confined to the first two years of the *History of Western Music*. The third and fourth years of this course utilise "a diachronic approach to investigate specific topics, ranging from genres, forms, compositional techniques, to institutions, methods and practices. Lectures and seminars will be aimed to develop analytical, methodological, interpretative and integrative skills in Western art music" (University of Cape Town, 2017:338).

In 2019, African Music III and IV and Advanced Topics in World Musics I and II amalgamated and was renamed Advanced Topics in African and World Musics in 2020. Various other changes occurred in 2020. History of Western Music was renamed Music in History and Society in the third and fourth years to facilitate the inclusion of topics such as aesthetics and music philosophy (Interviewee 3, 2020). A new module, Music in Society, was introduced as an elective at first-year level and aims to give students "an introduction to the study of the phenomenon of music" (University of Cape Town, 2020:316). The module considers topics such as music and migration and music and social change from different viewpoints and is taught in tandem by a jazz/ethnomusicology specialist and a Western art music specialist (Interviewee 3, 2020). However, it is only offered as an elective alongside modules such as African Music, Worlds of Music and Music Technology, which means that non-traditional modules are once again pitted against each other.

Year	In	Out	Notes
1982	Ethnomusicology		
1989	Jazz Specialisation		
1995	African Music		
1999	African Music and Dance Specialisation option (Performance/Education)		
2005	Worlds of Music  South African Music*		Elective  *Compulsory
2006	Sount Igrican Music	Ethnomusicology	Company

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> The option not taken in each case is offered in the group of elective subjects.

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2010	African Music Theory*		*Compulsory for students specialising in African Music Performance
	Music Technology		
2011		South African Music	
2012	South African Music		Elective at second-year level
2017	New flexible structure BMus general introduced		Four-year History of Western Music survey replaced by two years of survey and two years of topic-based lectures.
2018		South African Music	Subsumed
2019		Advanced Topics in World Musics*  African Music III,  IV*	*Amalgamates (serves under Advanced Topics in World Musics)
2020	Advanced Topics in African and World  Musics		Replaces amalgamated  Advanced Topics in  World Musics
	Music in History and Society	History of Western  Music (III, IV)	
	Music in Society		Elective at first-year level

Table 3: A Summary of Formalised Changes at UCT

It is necessary to document changes to the curriculum not reflected in the yearbooks. As noted earlier, Worlds of Music originally did not include African music cultures. However, since many students take either Worlds of Music or African Music, African content is now incorporated into Worlds of Music so that students still study some African content (Interviewee 18, 2020). To distinguish the two courses, Worlds of Music focuses specifically on the various outside influences on African music, such as the Portuguese influence on Cape Verdean music, Middle Eastern influences on taarab music from Zanzibar as well as the multiple influences on the Cape Town Christmas bands (Ibid.).

African Music also underwent a change, although on the level of course structure rather than content (Interviewee 18, 2020). Whereas students were previously given readings in roughly chronological

order, readings are now structured so that conservative or even derogatory positions are immediately countered by another position. This contrapuntal structure allows for more in-depth class discussions on topics such as race, colonialism and discrimination.

In the jazz department, the significant changes made to the curricula are to a great extent the result of the critiques of the department by Inkqubela and the Curriculum Change Framework. Is In addition to their general remarks on the SACM, Inkqubela (2016) charged that: the "jazz stream is fundamentally anti-black and anti-African", minimal African or South African composers are covered in the syllabus (the only inclusion in the jazz improvisation class is argued to be for the sake of comparison), the "current teachers are not representative of the jazz music scene in South Africa", and the "exclusion of South African jazz from the curriculum extends to the charts available in the library". Is This is mirrored by Interviewee 5 (2020), who mentions that a lecturer warned students to stay away from South African jazz as it is "moffie jazz". Davids (2018:91) notes much of the same and argues that the approach to jazz at the SACM is "largely non-representative of 'popular' working class jazz in South Africa".

Interviewee 8 (2020) admits that these critiques were a "wake up call" as they pointed to some very real problems: the program was still functioning according to the American system on which it had originally been based and the department had gained the label of an elitist institution (perhaps rightfully so). As a result, the department had to initiate the process of rethinking its offering, so that "a lot of that valuable stuff" can be kept while "moving with the times" (Ibid.). Particularly necessary changes are occurring in the *History of Jazz*, which had "been taught the same way, from the same book for 30 years odd" (Interviewee 8, 2020). Some of the implemented changes include centring student engagement, moving away from a purely passive learning approach, letting students draw parallels between events and themes in American jazz history and South Africa as well as stimulating discussions on jazz as a traditionally male-dominated space and how this can be changed (Ibid.).

Further changes have resulted from an initiative to "change the face of who we're hiring to teach part time, so that the people who are coming in to teach part time are also the people that are out there playing" (Interviewee 8, 2020). As a result, the format and curriculum of *Jazz Masterclass*, which is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> The CCWG's critique was mentioned in chapter two.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> The jazz sections of Nelson Mandela University and UKZN seem to have had a stronger local grounding for a considerable time already. With regards to Nelson Mandela University, Interviewee 23 (2020) notes that the incredibly dynamic jazz scene in the Eastern Cape, a jazz scene with great socio-political importance, might have played a role in this. At UKZN, the reason for the existence of this local grounding is more difficult to tease out considering that the programme was established and led for many years by American Darius Brubeck. One interviewee remarked that many of the jazz students hailed from the Eastern Cape and had a strong South African impetus to the jazz background they brought to university (Interviewee 1, 2020). Another possible reason is mentioned by Interviewee 17 (2020), who notes that Susan Barry, a lecturer at the Natal Technikon who moved to UKZN after the merger, fervently believed that students should cultivate a sound rooted in their locale. This approach to jazz, which was followed at the Technikon in its dynamic jazz programme (Interviewee 1, 2020; Interviewee 17, 2020), likely transferred to UKZN when the institutions merged.

attended by all final year jazz students, has been completely restructured. Previously "a very vague class that didn't do much", it is now presented by different musicians or music industry practitioners (Interviewee 8, 2020). These individuals lecture the class for a term on their field of expertise, or whatever "they feel a final year jazz student needs going out into the world", with the only requirement that there be "some kind of project or outcome at the end of the term" (Ibid.). As a result, topics are diverse and differ from year to year, covering areas such as SAMRO and music rights, performance and concept creation, branding, business, social media and marketing skills as well as performance management. This has not only made "a big difference in how the students are being taught and the kind of value that they get from it" but is also a conscious effort "to invite people in":

What I'm trying to do is communicate to students that studying in an institution is only one way to become a musician – that's one way to be a jazz musician. It's not *the* way, it's not the only way and that there are plenty of our heroes and heroines and amazing musicians whom we admire who have come to the music in different ways and didn't necessarily study through an institutional degree, they've studied on their own – they've self-studied – they've studied with a teacher, they practised it, and studied with many different teachers or mentors and all that kind of thing.

(Interviewee 8, 2020, emphasis in original)

The aforementioned intervention has multiple benefits. <sup>187</sup> Through exposure to industry professionals, students are more likely to be equipped with the skills needed to be successful musicians. As many of these professionals may not be the product of a conventional university music education, inviting them into an institution where they otherwise may not have been welcomed challenges the elitist nature of the institution from within the department. Inviting professionals into the academy also resists succumbing to the notion of the university as an ivory tower separate from society, instead building strong reciprocal links between the two.

### University of KwaZulu-Natal

Unlike the three departments surveyed thus far, UKZN's music department has had a strong focus on popular music and jazz ever since its inception in 1972 (Interviewee 10, 2020). The BMus programme consists of three years (four for the foundation programme) and students have nine areas of specialisation to choose from: African music and dance, composition, jazz studies, music education, music technology, musicology and ethnomusicology, orchestral performance, performance and popular music studies.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> A requirement that every student should play at least two or more South African or African jazz works has also been implemented. Although practical modules fall outside the remit of this thesis, the effect of this requirement warrants inclusion here. Interviewee 8 (2020) notes that students are opting to play more South African works than required, which shows a desire to engage with South African material. Since so many South African works are now played, the department is amassing a significant library of South African music. In order to play certain works, students are creating lead sheets where needed and contacting artists directly for material. In addition to exposing students to more South African jazz repertoire, this requirement has played an active role in supporting South African jazz musicians.

The department was one of the first in South Africa to employ an ethnomusicologist when Veit Erlmann joined in 1981 (Petersen, 2009:54). <sup>188</sup> In 1984, the university established the first "university-level jazz programme on the African continent" (Naidoo, 2020:3). Christopher Ballantine, an academic who has had a long tenure in the department, including multiple tenures as HOD, explains that although these decisions were not overt challenges to the "racial status quo", they were part of a conscious attempt by the department to "wisen up to where we were [and] that wisening up was part of the greater political shift that was to take place" (Ballantine, cited in Ramanna, 2013:161). In addition to an overt focus on ethnomusicology and jazz, a further point of contrast with Nelson Mandela University, SU and UCT is its music history offering. After two introductory music history modules in the first year of study, *Popular and Traditional Musics: Africa and Beyond* as well as *Western Classical Music: An Introduction*, music history courses go under the name of *Music, Culture and History*.

The aim of *Music, Culture and History* is described in broad terms: "to develop a balanced perception of musical traditions and cultures of the world [and] to sharpen the students' awareness of the intrinsic qualities of the musical genres of the world by placing them in their proper historical and cultural context" (University of KwaZulu-Natal, 2019:416). Fusing traditional Western art music history, world music and African music, which would traditionally be offered as separate modules (if offered at all), points to a novel approach in the context of the departments that form part of this study. However, what truly sets this course apart from the offerings of other music departments is the organisation of content. Rather than the survey approach, the course is structured around a wide variety of topics which vary from year to year, including music, gender and sexuality, South African women in music, style analysis, the string quartet, modern jazz as well as music and cultural survival. The dynamic nature of the content and topics was emphasised by staff members (Interviewee 1, 2020; Interviewee 6, 2020; Interviewee 10, 2020).<sup>189</sup>

In 1996, African Music and Dance, African Music Outreach: Music Education, African Music Outreach: Community Development and African Music Outreach: Documentation were introduced as part of the new African music and dance programme (Interviewee 2, 2020). African Music and Dance includes the development of performance abilities and theories of performance whereas African Music Outreach aims to let students experience African music outside of the formal university structure to see and understand its application in real-life situations. African Music Outreach: Music Education includes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> Petersen claims that the department was the first to appoint an ethnomusicologist in a teaching position. However, Andrew Tracy was reportedly employed at the International Library of African Music (ILAM) and teaching at Rhodes University in this capacity before 1981. My thanks to an anonymous peer reviewer for *SAMUS* who pointed this out to me.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> It is unclear when this format was introduced. The title *Music, Culture and History* was seemingly adopted somewhere in the early 1990s (Muller n.d.). Yet, already in 1987 Beverley Parker (1987:19) described the music history offering at the institution as incorporating "the serious study of a wide variety of music" where students could alter the focus of their studies purely through their selection of different seminar topics in the second and third year. Interviewee 10 (2020), in turn, notes that the department abandoned the survey model soon after its establishment.

theoretical components on pedagogy and development of curricula as well as a practical component which involves five weeks of teaching African music and dance in a school. Students discover what strategies are successful in various scenarios and learn valuable skills which could assist them post-graduation. *African Music Outreach: Community Development* covers the fields of public-sector ethnomusicology and arts administration with the aim of equipping students with the skills required for running community programmes. The practical value of the module is considerable as students often end up adapting their student proposals into actual projects after graduation. *African Music Outreach: Documentation* assists students in acquiring skills such as data collection, analysis and the production of short ethnographies (Interviewee 2, 2020; University of Natal 2000:75–76).

African Music was initially on the periphery after its inclusion at UKZN, not unlike the situation at UCT when African music was first introduced there. Interviewee 2 (2020) notes that many of the problems initially encountered may have had less to do with African music and could simply have been problems encountered upon the introduction of any new course:

When I came, the vision was there for African music, but they didn't have the teaching space or the instruments. So, in that sense, it was on the periphery in terms of not careful planning. In terms of budget, there was never really enough to buy the things we needed. So, I had to do quite a bit of fundraising right off the bat to buy instruments, because our instruments are expensive. Also, we teach a range of instruments and students don't own their instruments, so we need to have enough university instruments for them to use. ... But I think when you're initiating a new programme and you didn't budget for, say instruments, then it's hard to get started as you need those resources to teach.

Nevertheless, one wonders how many of these problems would have occurred with the introduction of a new Western art music stream. The following reflection by Interviewee 2 (2020) seems to support the idea that some of these challenges were a result of deep-seated inherent biases towards African music:

It did take a bit of time for the mindset to change, it did feel for quite a while like the adopted child. You know, I was told, "if you really want it then find the money", so I do feel as if we were on the periphery in the beginning. There was also a bit of snobbishness towards African music, people were just blind or unconscious – they would spend lots of money on a Steinway but say no when you ask for a drum. It is about what people value, and a lot of it is unconscious, so it does get frustrating. In some meetings they'd say: "But it's just African music, you don't need that much". So, there was a lot of advocacy that needed to happen. And in the beginning, I did think that some of it was a bit racist in the sense that it was a hierarchy, because if you broke down the budget the most expensive was [and is still] the classical music and then the jazz. And what we were asking was just a fraction. In terms of the venue allocation, I felt like that as well because some people would just say "but you could just have your classes under the trees". ... It also comes from ignorance, not valuing that African music has its own systems, its own dignity and can be on equal footing. The bias comes from people's upbringing or view, where they feel the one thing is natural and the other thing you have to work harder at.

As noted already, the situation seems to have improved since the early years after African music's introduction.

A popular music specialisation option – BMus Popular Music Studies – was introduced in 1999 as the first of its kind in South Africa (University of KwaZulu-Natal, n.d.:b). This resulted in the introduction of modules such as *Popular Music Studies: Thinking Popular Music* (which investigates "some of the issues to which Popular Music Studies addresses itself and considers some of its insights"), *Popular Music Studies: Popular Music Production in Southern Africa* (which deals with the production of popular music in South Africa and incorporates practical industry experience) and *Electro-Acoustic Music*, a version of music technology (University of Natal, 2000:89).<sup>190</sup>

The analysis presented in the table below shows that the basic structure of the programmes at UKZN has been largely stable since the major changes of the late 1990s. Yet, staff members all describe fluctuating course content within these larger, stable structures. This makes it difficult to establish the true extent of curricular change in the department. Changes to module content, which are usually highly dependent on the lecturer involved, is likely even more so in this context, with the result that changes have occurred in significantly varying degrees.

Year	In	Out	Notes
1981	Ethnomusicology		
1984	Jazz Programme		
Early 1990s	Music, Culture and History		
	BMus: African Music and Dance:		
	African Music and Dance		
	African Music Outreach: Music		
1996	Education		
1990	African Music Outreach: Community		
	Development		
	African Music Outreach:		
	Documentation		
	BMus Popular Music Studies:		
	Thinking Popular Music		
1999	Popular Music Production in Southern		
	Africa		
	Electro-Acoustic Music		

Table 4: A Summary of Formalised Changes at UKZN

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> It is unclear whether this is the first appearance of a music technology-related module at the university, as the department had a sizeable and well-equipped electronic music studio already in 1987 (Parker, 1987:19).

Since the topics covered in *Music, Culture and History* fluctuate from year to year, it is difficult to accurately determine the degree of change to its content. Consideration of certain aspects of its structure and configuration can, however, assist with gaining a better understanding of the workings of this module. As a module common to all specialisation streams at the university that straddles the jazz, Western art music and African music divide, *Music, Culture and History* brings many kinds of students together. Interviewee 10 (2020) explains:

So, we had students from different specialised interest groups. You know you'd have the African music and dance students sitting next to students who were aspiring classical pianists or aspirant composers or aspirant music technologists. Sitting in the same *Music*, *Culture and History* programs ... and meeting each other across those divides. And that for us was very exciting. I think the students found it very exciting.

It seemed ... a way of trying to cope with the fact that you're going to abandon the idea that music is one thing that ... starts here and ends there as the product and the position of these particular societies in the world. If you abandon that idea, then you've got a real problem because what are you teaching then? In deconstructing the field in this way and opening it up to a number of different perspectives and inputs and ways of thinking we could meet each other in very interesting ways across these intellectual and spatial divides. And we could kind of cross-fertilise in a way that became very exciting actually.

However, this module also comes with its own set of problems, mostly as a result of the group teaching approach. Two interviewees mentioned that the classical music section of the module has remained largely the same for many years and that it was only the lecturers responsible for the other components who were incorporating new, transformative content and pedagogic practices. For one of these interviewees, the presence of innovative or even decolonial content and strategies in one component or topic seems almost futile when "the Western art music topics has remained the same for over 30 years".

In contrast, the popular music programme regularly undergoes revision to content, as the lecturer responsible for many of the modules adopts a philosophy of constantly adapting the content in line with the ever-evolving popular music landscape. As they explained to me:

In a sense, I'm lucky because it looks like I'm so proactive [with curricular change], but it's the nature of my subject – you can't teach popular music and still be teaching the 1960s music, you got to know what's happening. And then the other course, *Popular Music Production*, is very much about the marketplace and business, so we go out ... so it's very much in the place where music is made and transmitted to the public. And that has to be here and now.

(Interviewee 6, 2020)

An important change in the African music programme is the abandonment of all formalised entrance requirements. In addition to a senior certificate with a minimum of 28 points, applicants need to pass through an audition process. The multi-faceted audition includes: a performance; an improvisation exercise during which, amongst other things, the candidates' sense of rhythm is tested; a small written

section (two paragraphs) where the candidates share their understanding of what music study is, why they picked this specific programme and what they envision themselves doing after its completion; a conversation with the convenor of the course on the course specifics and an aural test (Interviewee 2, 2020). Considering that WAM-style theory and practical requirements have been done away with, it is odd that the aural test is more Western-orientated, as, amongst other things, candidates must match and identify pitches played on the piano. This has a decided negative effect on the students' performance, as Interviewee 2 (2020) remarks:

The aspects of the aural test where they generally don't do well are anything that is piano based. The discussion we've had is whether those aspects that are on the piano can be sung to the students because there's some debates on piano tuning and tempered tuning and how it can cause a problem if students are not used to that.

The abovementioned clearly illustrates the adverse effects of the colonisation of the musical self mentioned in the opening pages of this chapter. If this colonisation occurs with something as seemingly insignificant as identifying pitches on a piano, such and further forms of the colonisation of the musical self is undoubtedly not only a significant hurdle for students to overcome but a form of epistemic violence.

A potentially decolonial aspect of the African music programme is the staff complement. For the practical component of the programme, demonstrators and tutors were hired based on their musical knowledge, regardless of whether they had tertiary qualifications. This echoes *The Meeting of Knowledges* programme implemented in Brazil which aims to "decolonis[e] the Eurocentric academy, including the areas of teaching and research in music" through inviting "masters" of traditional knowledges (from indigenous, Afro-Brazilian, maroon, popular culture and other traditional communities) to teach in universities (de Carvalho *et al.*, 2016:111). As with the *Meeting of Knowledges* programme, at UKZN guidance in terms of formal requirements such as course structure and outcomes was provided by an administrator affiliated to the university, yet with the strong sense that the master was in control. By inviting community musicians and practitioners of traditional music into the academy as knowledge bearers, these projects acknowledge different ways of knowing, and upend colonial ideas of who is deemed a worthy knowledge bearer. Such an approach did not go down without administrative problems:

But it also was a problem in terms of paying my staff initially – they wanted to pay them as demonstrators/tutors which was like R40/hour. So, it took a lot of years to get them to be recognised as lecturers because they didn't have the formal qualifications – most of the specialists were not university trained, some did not even finish high school. But most classical instrumental teachers are orchestra players and they don't have advanced degrees either. So, once they're able to try and look at things rationally ... and jazz musicians some of the best also don't have qualifications.

(Interviewee 2, 2020)

Interviewee 2's statement illustrates the sizeable challenges that university structures and hierarchies present to initiatives that stray beyond conventional understandings that position the university as the dominant locus of musical knowledge. Additionally, the university's move towards the requirement that staff should at least have a master's degree will be another roadblock for this (and similar) initiatives. Although requiring staff to be at a certain tertiary level is an important step, this approach cannot be applied uniformly to all fields of knowledge and music. Additionally, a uniform approach to tertiary qualifications of staff forgets that tertiary education in South Africa has a racially and aesthetically unequal history. As departments begin to privilege historical redress, the remnants of this unequal past may indeed begin to change. UKZN, for example, has reached the stage where alumni are now often employed to do the practical teaching in the African music programme. Despite this working relatively well in the UKZN context, it requires a group of alumni that have moved through the system and have the necessary qualifications, in-depth knowledge as well as a willingness to teach. It is also worth asking whether a student taught for three (or four) years by a master will have the same to offer pedagogically as the master who taught them.

Although various decolonial methodologies can be observed at work in UKZN's African music programme, there are also some critiques to be offered. Two interviewees mentioned that the programme advances an almost colonial view of African music as an artefact in its focus on so-called traditional African music. As one interviewee noted, "in my mind the African music and dance section is also quite rigid in that it treats tradition in the kind of separate, valorised way that it was treated during colonial ideas of the 'Other'". Commenting on this same aspect of the programme, another interviewee shared:

And so, for me, African music does not only exist in the space of my colleague Andrew Tracey. Yeah, that is the historical tradition of African music and it is one perspective. ... However, African music today is vibrant and dynamic. If you look at the African gospel music, ... the commercial popular music, you look at the style of music that's called Gqom – at the moment it's the current thing. That's all happening. It is vibrant. [African] music is constantly changing.

In contrast, Interviewee 2 (2020) remarks that modern African musics, such as kwaito, are covered in the popular music programme. These diverging opinions are a good example of the effect that individuals' differing understandings and philosophies of decolonisation can have. If decolonisation is understood as the dismantling of the university's ivory tower, bringing the real world into the university (and vice versa) and preserving indigenous knowledges (thereby actively working against epistemicide), the African Music programme at UKZN is exemplary. However, if decolonisation is understood as the transgression of boundaries between genres and approaches, the inclusion of modern [African] musics and the search for a position unique to our present [South] African situation, the approach of this programme may be found wanting.

### **Some Reflections on Curricular Change**

From the data presented in the previous section, it is clear that curricular change has taken place at the four surveyed departments. I here consider six main issues with the surveyed changes: the limiting effects of bureaucratisation on curricular changes and the reduction of change to bureaucratic procedure, the continued marginalisation of non-traditional modules, the uncritical optimisation of choice in a neoliberal ethos, the limiting effects of highly specialised programmes, the reliance of many transformative changes on stealth teaching and the persistence of problematic terminology.

The increasing bureaucratisation of the university and its negative impact on curricular change was a recurrent theme throughout the interviews. Interviewees complained that requests to adapt modules took so long to be approved that the suggested content was out of date by the time approval was granted. As Interviewee 17 (2020) noted, "sometimes it feels as if all of this takes years and by the time it gets back to you, that curriculum is almost already past its sell-by-date". Such lengthy curricular change processes hamper initiatives that seek to respond to specific societal events and shifts and can therefore be a hurdle for decolonisation efforts.

Recurriculation processes undertaken every few years by university music departments are considered the official avenues through which substantial change can take place. Yet, interviewees generally shared a consensus that these have become purely bureaucratic exercises or simple tick-box affairs. As one interviewee noted in their critique of recurriculation processes, "music departments aren't so much busy with curricular renewal as programme adaptation". For another interviewee, the recurriculation process is "a complete farce and shambles ... a scapegoat project to do box ticking which has no real substance to it" (Interviewee 20, 2020). This is echoed by Interviewee 11 (2020), who notes that despite the considerable time and effort that goes into recurriculation, "you actually look at [the new curriculum], and you think to yourself, we've gone through all of that and it just feels as if we've come full circle again".

It is almost as if the (surface-level) assessments of courses, filling in of forms and ticking of boxes required by the recurriculation processes are solely for the sake of the form. Since the forms show that curricula were assessed and adjustments made, they become a mechanism through which further curricular assessment and reform can be avoided. Another contributing factor to the difficulties of official recurriculation efforts is the sheer amount of documentation required for the official approval of any changes. Such bureaucratic processes may in itself be a barrier to change. Since recurriculation processes require such a vast amount of work to document the feasibility of changes, as well as why and how such changes are to be implemented, a department may decide to "stick with the tried-and-true instead of being wildly creative [or transformative]" (Pertl, 2017:39). Viewed in this manner, it is not

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>191</sup> It is noteworthy that interviewees who shared their frustration in this regard were the same interviewees who were expressing frustration at the lack of significant curricular change in music departments.

the bureaucratic process itself that "suppresses change but institutional perceptions regarding how best to get through what seems like an overwhelming process" (Ibid.). Considering the box-ticking nature of bureaucratic procedure as well as its tendency to overload lecturers already responsible for vast amounts of administrative work, it is unsurprising that many of the surveyed changes are simply bureaucratic in nature: V's are added to module codes, programmes are adapted from four to three years and modules amalgamate. Such changes have little to no effect on the hidden and explicit curriculum conveyed to students. In many ways they seem purely cosmetic, signalling change without changing anything of substance.

This perpetuation of the status quo is also seen in the continued marginalisation of African music, popular music and jazz, which are reduced to the status of electives or, in some cases, are completely absent.

Although Nelson Mandela University includes popular music and African music in its *Music in History and Society*, together with the jazz-based modules they make up only two of the eight semesters. This is also the university's only formal inclusion of African and popular music, with other inclusions of African and popular music relying on stealth changes. With regards to jazz, jazz theory can be taken in the place of Western art music theory from the second year onwards. However, students and lecturers complain that the department's funding and resource allocation still privileges Western art music, despite a large portion of the students specialising in jazz. There is also no option to take what Interviewee 19 (2020) calls "jazz musicology". In other words, despite jazz being equal to Western art music in many ways in the department, Western art music still seems to be more equal (to invoke George Orwell's famous phrase).

At SU, bar a semester each of world music and South African music (the latter has mostly concentrated on South African art music, although some attention is now given to African music), students are highly likely to study solely WAM – African music in the form of ethnomusicology is an elective, jazz is not offered in the degree programme apart from a recent stealth insertion into the twentieth-century module that does not appear in the yearbook and popular music, apart from perhaps a presence in the world music module, is completely absent from the list of core modules taken by all students. Despite efforts in music theory to include a wide variety of musical examples and genres in their lectures, theory is still seen to be fundamentally Western art music based. The presence of jazz in the diploma and certificate programmes is not necessarily a mitigating factor, as suggested by Froneman and Muller (2020:213), as it is liable to the charge of relying on racialised assumptions about music preferences and (a lack of) music education.

At UCT's SACM, students not enrolled in a jazz programme have few options to take jazz modules, whereas *African Music* and *Worlds of Music* are still only electives in its Western classical music programmes. *Music in Society*, the first-year elective introduced in 2020, has the potential to work

against this stratification, as it is taught by a jazz and ethnomusicology specialist and a Western art music specialist and considers topics such as music and migration as well as music and social change from different viewpoints. However, it is offered only as an elective alongside modules such as *African Music*, *Worlds of Music* and *Music Technology*, which means that non-traditional modules are once again pitted against each other.

The new BMus general programme rolled out in 2017 at UCT seems to be the exception to the marginalisation of non-Western art music. Yet it still presents various problems. Many of these concern the structure of the programme, which allows students some freedom in navigating their curricular pathways, what Campbell, Myers and Sarath (2017:67) term "self-organising" approaches. Although an essential part of curricular reform strategies, self-organising approaches should not be implemented in isolation, as their success relies greatly on institutional culture and values. It is therefore essential that self-organising approaches be employed in conjunction with ongoing conversations that critically scrutinise both "conventional and alternative modes of music study" and the deployment of thoughtful top-down (institution-driven) designs for new curricula and courses (Campbell, Myers and Sarath, 2017:64). When self-organising approaches are employed in isolation, students will not select certain modules if the institutional culture of the department does not support or value those modules - if modules are deemed unimportant or worthless by the department and most of its staff, students will also tend to view them as such. The success of self-organising approaches is thus reliant on what the institution values and how it demonstrates this value in its daily workings (such as concert programming). If not accompanied by an institutional change of values, self-organising approaches run the risk of purely being part of a neoliberal accent on maximum choice and flexibility afforded the student (i.e. the consumer).

Although UCT's new programme gives students the option to select modules in both African music and Western art music, students can still circumvent African music (and world music) entirely. Additionally, even though all students follow the BMus general programme in their first year, students will only select the modules that will enable them to specialise in their area of choice in their second year (where they have limited options to take African music). Africa seems to have been made an option but not a priority. Despite its potential to unhinge the Eurocentric status quo at UCT, this new programme may have left the status quo at the SACM largely unchallenged, aligning it with a neoliberal ethos of maximising consumer flexibility, rather than performing any overtly decolonial work.

It is necessary to clarify why optionality (the optionality of Africa, in the above example), a core tenet of decolonisation as argued by Mignolo (2013:130–31; 2011b), is insufficient in this instance. In line with Mignolo's understanding of decolonisation as an option, advocating for the complete removal of all current BMus content in favour of new content would simply replace the old, Eurocentric hegemony with a new hegemony. However, programmes such as UCT's new BMus general are inadequate as they present students with an option without first exposing them to the option – students must make these

module selections already in their first year.<sup>192</sup> Considering the dismal state of African music in the school music curriculum, as noted by Mandy Carver (2020), students often arrive at university with little to no experience in African music, at least those students not brought up in communities where it is practised. Thus, when presented with the option of African music, students may not select this option due to a lack of exposure. Presenting similar problems to the notion of optionality is the reliance on student involvement in the determination of content for transformative content. For example, the typical SU BMus student is described by interviewees as quite conservative in their outlook and approach to music, evidenced by their view of music as a non-political or neutral escapist zone (Interviewee 9, 2020; Interviewee 22, 2020). Student statements such as, "I came here to study Mozart, Bach and Beethoven, I don't want to listen to or study jazz and pop music" (noted by one interviewee) show that this conservative outlook extends to musical preferences as well (at least in terms of music study). In such an environment, transformation or decolonisation of curricula cannot be left up to student involvement in curriculum determination alone.

The opposite of maximum choice, specialisation, is also problematic. UKZN's African music programme does not include modern African musics as these are covered in the popular music programme, leaving students of African music without tertiary exposure to contemporary African music and vice versa. At Nelson Mandela University, despite being able to take both Western art music-based theory and jazz theory, the specialised nature of the programme means that there are often no free credits available to do this. At UCT's SACM, Western art music students rarely (if ever) select jazz modules because of a lack of available credits and time. Similarly, the potential of their new BMus general is hindered by module choices which are determined by students' specialisation hopes. This problem is not unique to these institutions but inherent to the current structure of BMus degrees. As Interviewee 19 (2020) comments, "the biggest problem is this Bachelor of Music, what is this thing? If you're teaching musicology properly, you're so reliant on those BA subjects, but the space for such modules is lost in these new structures. We're becoming our own little ghetto now. ... The more pushed we are from the broader humanities, the more vulnerable we are." The question then becomes whether such a specialised BMus can truly be decolonial, or whether the changes that occur inside its stringent structures will remain perpetually in the soft and sometimes radical reform space.

Much of the transformative and decolonial content mentioned earlier in this chapter relies on stealth teaching – adding material not set out in the yearbooks and curriculum guidelines to modules. Stealth teaching is a strategy by which lecturers circumvent the lengthy approval process of formal curricular change and simply include the content. It is a highly effective short-term curricular innovation strategy, as it allows new content immediate entrance into the curriculum. Yet, stealth teaching is a short-term

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> This is why the earlier-mentioned implementation of an intense listening component to Nelson Mandela University's *Music in History and Society* modules which deal with jazz is so important. In this specific case, students are exposed to jazz before they have to decide between jazz and Western art music theory in the following year.

fix rather than a sustainable, long-term curricular change strategy. The same stealthy nature that allows immediate inclusion also permits immediate exclusion. It is thus essential that stealth teaching be followed by long-term and institution-driven curricular reform.

At the intersection of the explicit and hidden curricula lies the use of problematic vocabulary. Although terms such as music theory and music history masquerade as "race-neutral" (or music-neutral) (Kajikawa, 2019:163), they often refer to courses solely or predominantly based on Western art music. Referred to as "exnomination" (Lewis, 1996:100), such terms,

are even more pernicious than the use of overtly derogatory racial, sexist, and homophobic slurs. Why? Because it takes the power of language a step further – moving away from the overt harmful impact resulting from words that *are* spoken, to an even more harmful impact that results from words, due to how they are framed, that *are not*. Where the first, as distasteful as it is, operates within a spectre of honesty and clarity of intention, the second operates in the shadows of deceitful discrimination and indoctrination.

(Sarath, 2017:121, emphasis in original)

The use of hegemonic and discriminatory terms can therefore reveal various problematic ideologies inscribed in the hidden curriculum, such as that Western art music is the only music deserving of study or even that Western art music alone qualifies as music. Additionally, such seemingly neutral language can obscure the extent to which music departments rest on "racially [and musically] exclusive foundations" (Kajikawa, 2019:163). Lingering hegemonic terminology points to the pervasive ethnocentrism of music studies which has hitherto simply been accepted (Sarath, 2017:23). Consideration of the occurrence of these terms in the explicit curriculum is therefore vital, as it enlightens us on the hidden curriculum and sheds light on the ideologies as well as the value systems at play in these departments.

At all four of the included institutions, the terms music theory (sometimes referred to as theory of music or music theory and analysis) and aural refer to training in the Western art music tradition, whereas that of musics such as jazz and African music is identified with a qualifier – i.e. jazz aural. Music history courses fare better, as UCT and UKZN designate courses as the history of Western music (Western classical music in the case of UKZN). At SU, bar semester modules on world music and South African music (with the latter for a large part, focused on South African art music), *Musicology* (which appears to be their version of the music history survey model) deals exclusively with Western art music. As already stated, Nelson Mandela University's *Music in History and Society* includes non-traditional musics in only two out of the eight semesters. One can therefore conclude that at these four departments, the base or foundation of academic offerings is still seen as Western art music (or predominantly Western art music in the case of music history), at least according to their use of the terminology that designates these modules.

Considering the problematic division between ethnomusicology and musicology detailed in chapter one of this thesis, the departments' handling of this divide is another area deserving of focus when considering problematic terminology. UKZN combines the two into a single, integrated programme of study, encouraging students to use traditional ethnomusicological approaches in the study of Western art music, and vice versa (Interviewee 6, 2020). UCT's Musicology is interesting in that although titled as such and focused on musicology, it can encompass ethnomusicology as well. As a course reserved for fourth-year students, it is only presented when there are students specialising in musicology and is therefore tailor-made to the students' interests (Interviewee 3, 2020). At SU, Musicological Criticism draws content for its topic-based approach from a wide spectrum of musics rather than a single genre, although approaches to this content do not venture into the anthropology of music but privilege critical theory (Interviewee 27, 2020). Musicological Criticism and Ethnomusicology operate as entirely separate modules and tend to uphold the divide between WAM and "other" musics, although students specialising in musicology are required to take both. At Nelson Mandela University, Musicology is presented as a fourth-year module, which although containing a discussion on ethnomusicology and musicology, is mainly concerned with the development of traditional musicological scholarship. Ethnomusicology is not present at all in the module offerings.

An important non-curricular example of supposedly neutral language that is vital to consider is SU's decision to use the term art music to explain its departmental focus. The supposed neutrality of the term art music is furthered by the statement that art music is used to refer "in large measure, but by no means exclusively, [to] that of the Western tradition" (Stellenbosch University, 2020b). The implication is that other forms of art music are also important. However, the move away from the term Western is seemingly not carried on beyond the departmental website into curricula, the content of which suggests that Western art music and its local derivatives are the sole inhabitants of the category art music. It would thus appear as if the use of seemingly neutral terminology here does little else than obscure a hegemonic status quo.

With recourse to Sarath's (2017:121) comment on terminology acting in the shadows of deceitful discrimination and indoctrination, it is useful to briefly consider usages of language with inherent although not apparent biases. Both in the account of the setting up of the African music programme at UKZN (Opondo, 2004:3) and African music's move to C# Cottage at the SACM (Interviewee 12, 2020) references to the noise that African music generates occur. Although an ensemble of 20 people drumming, singing and dancing generates a fair bit of volume, the same can surely be said of 20 musicians in a wind band or a symphony orchestra at full throttle. It is my contention that the language used here demonstrates the inherent biases and value judgements still at play in music departments which continue to privilege Western art music, resulting in African music sounds being described as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> I treat *Musicological Criticism* here as Stellenbosch's 'equivalent' of musicology, as Stellenbosch's *Musicology* can be considered more of a music history course.

noisy. The issue is not noise but the kind of noise that is generated and tolerated in music departments, historically reserved for Western art music.

When considering why such seemingly innocuous terminology and insignificant distinctions with regards to terminology and language are important, Ahmed's (2012:62) comment that "certain words get heavy or acquire baggage from their use: they get weighed down by their associations", is particularly useful. The use of terminology with hegemonic and marginalising baggage reinforces "the overarching ethnocentric indoctrination in our field" (Sarath, 2017:122), furthering the marginalisation of non-traditional musics. It is therefore essential that such problematic terminology be debated and addressed in transformation attempts. 194

The critical history of the curriculum offered here has suggested that although curricular change has occurred at music departments since 1994, the changes have not only occurred in varying degrees but have been minimal and conservative. Marginalising and hegemonic terminology continue to abound in some instances and African music, jazz, world music and popular music are still often positioned as optional or marginalised altogether. Informed by the findings in the current chapter, chapter four will provide a classification of curricular change in addition to surveying understandings of decolonisation shared with me by a number of interviewees.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> This should not be limited to curricula but could extend to include innovative solutions such as the formation in 2005 of a single society for South African music studies (Muller, 2005a) which was mentioned in chapter one of this thesis.

# Chapter 4: Closing Down and Opening Up<sup>195</sup>

I realised how the presumption of our own criticality can be a way of protecting ourselves from complicity. As Fiona Probyn-Ramsey has observed, complicity can be a starting point; if we start with complicity, we recognize our "proximity to the problems we are addressing".

(Ahmed, 2012:5–6)

In what follows, I analyse the curricular changes surveyed in the previous chapter utilising a fusion of Cross (2004:402–404) and Garuba's (2015) classifications of approaches to curricular transformation as well as de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*'s (2015) framework for mapping different interpretations of decolonisation. I then attempt to make sense of the ways in which curricular decolonisation has taken place with recourse to the problematic views on decolonisation shared with me during the interviews.

# **Understanding Curricular Change**

I argue that the abovementioned curricular changes at SU, the SACM (excluding the new BMus general) and Nelson Mandela University mirror what Johnson (2018) calls a "colonial/apartheid logic of inclusion", which does not unsettle "colonial/apartheid privilege". Since the basic structure and the "canon of the curriculum" remain unchallenged, these changes to the curriculum are in accordance with Cross (2004:403) and Garuba's (2015) additive approach to curricular change and decolonisation.

Juliet Hess (2015:340) argues that such additive approaches, although including other musics, "reinforce[s] the dominant Self [Western art music], perhaps even unintentionally" as it arranges "Other knowledge hierarchically around the Western centre". At these universities, the Eurocentrism of the curriculum has been maintained while "bits and pieces of Africa' and 'the other' previously colonised places and peoples" (Heleta, 2016:5) have been added. These changes are thus decidedly in line with de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*'s (2015:26) soft-reform space and its focus on inclusion, lack of critical interrogation of the system and eventual minimal change brought to existing systems and power relations. Additionally, inclusion is always done on the terms of existing hegemonies, with entrance requirements and compulsory modules continuing to privilege Western art music and its standards of performance and achievement.

The inclusions of modules in such a manner run the risk of becoming merely tokenistic gestures. Such gestures are included in what Ahmed (2012:113–114) calls "tick box approaches" that "show" that the institutions are doing what they should but often imply that they are not really "behind" these actions – "showing can be a way of *not* committing" (emphasis in original). Kajikawa (2019:166) goes even further, by charging that the addition of non-traditional modules becomes instrumental in the bankrolling of "classical music" which continues to operate seemingly without political or social

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> I borrow this phrase from Mignolo (2011b:295).

entanglement. "At many institutions across the country", he writes in the context of the United States of North America, "large lecture classes on the history of rock and roll, hip hop, and the blues now subsidise intimate studio lessons in classical music performance. In this way, even curricular changes that appear to redress past exclusions can find themselves co-opted to preserve the status quo." There is little evidence that those charged with curricular transformation at South African music departments have begun to appreciate the problem of instrumentalising 'other musics' in the service of the dominant ideology of 'classical music'.

There are exceptions to the rule at Nelson Mandela University and SU. At Nelson Mandela University, the modifications made to *Black Jazz and Politics* and *Baroque* have the potential to inspire radical reform and unsettle traditional lecturer-student hierarchies through acknowledging students as equal stakeholders in the production of knowledge. The realisation of this potential, however, is highly dependent on the specific class, departmental and even wider university environment. The lecturers' focus on radical pedagogy and student agency is nonetheless decidedly in line with the radical reform space and its focus on student "empowerment ... recognition, ... [the] recentring of marginalised subjects [students] and ... [the] 'transformation' of the borders of the dominant system' (de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*, 2015:26).

At Stellenbosch University, a commendable effort has been undertaken to include a wide variety of musical examples and genres in music theory, yet the changes are not substantial enough to shift the perception of theory as fundamentally Western art music based. The inclusion of other genres and styles still seem additive (particularly in the fourth year), and when it ventures beyond this, it seems somewhat touristic or voyeuristic as the concepts explained still rely heavily on the canonical theoretical underpinnings of Western art music. Despite its significant decolonial attributes, *Musicological Criticism* remains reliant – albeit not exclusively – on a Eurocentric canon of critical theory and therefore struggles to move beyond the radical reform space.

The new structure of the BMus general at UCT as well as its jazz masterclass module might be viewed as instances of Cross's (2004:403) affirmative approach, as the Eurocentric "canon of knowledge" is challenged through the development of more "inclusive curricula". For example, the initiatives undertaken in the jazz masterclass module aligns with decoloniality's advocacy for taking 'difference' seriously by seeking a "plurality" of perspectives and worldviews (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:2). Similarly, the new BMus general allows students exposure to a variety of musics. Although an improvement on simple additive approaches, affirmative approaches do not necessarily "require the dismantling and deconstruction of the curricular legacy of apartheid" (Goduka, 1996:33). This is evident in the limited influence (if any) of the new BMus and the jazz masterclass on other modules and programmes of study at UCT and the possibility for students to still circumvent musics other than Western art music. In terms of de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*'s (2015) framework for different decolonisation spaces, the new BMus aspires to the radical reform space and its disruption of "business-

as-usual" and "transformation of the borders of the dominant system [the traditional approach to a BMus]" (Ibid.:26). However, its abovementioned failure to affect significant change demonstrates the lack of acknowledgement that the debate privileges those who dictate "the terms of the conversation" and is "skewed from the outset" (Ibid.:26). Thus, despite the new BMus's aspirations towards the radical reform space, it falls closer to the soft-reform space.

It is tempting to classify UKZN's approach to music curricula as radical reform or a critical transformative approach which "challenge[s] the canon, the basic structures, and assumptions of the apartheid curricula", provides a "paradigm shift" (Cross, 2004:404) and leads to "a rethinking of the theories and methods that underlie the framing of the curriculum" (Garuba, 2015). Through the abandonment of "the idea that music is one thing that ... starts here and ends there ... [as] the product ... of particular societies in the world" (Interviewee 10, 2020), Music, Culture and History rethinks the traditional music history syllabus and provides a paradigm shift. Its deliberate violation of traditional disciplinary and genre boundaries can challenge students' perceptions and views of music and society in the spirit of the decolonial ethos of taking 'difference' seriously by seeking a "plurality" of perspectives and worldviews (Bhambra, Gebrial and Nişancıoğlu, 2018:2). The argument for a paradigm shift is strengthened by the introduction of community musicians as lecturers in the African music programme, which challenges the colonial and apartheid assumptions of who are acknowledged as knowledge bearers as well as the department's strong focus on jazz and popular music. However, the persistence of hegemonic and marginalising terminology, the lingering framing of music's theoretical foundations as Western, unequal implementation of transformative content in Music, Culture and History and the decidedly traditionalist focus of the African music programme prevents their approach from being classified entirely in the critical transformative category. Rather, I posit that their approach is situated half-way between the affirmative and critical transformative approaches.

Considering the above analyses of the four departments, it is tempting to follow a normative categorisation, with SU last, Nelson Mandela University not too far ahead and UKZN and UCT as having done the most to decolonise curricula. However, a slightly more nuanced view is necessary, as the institutions approach curricular change in vastly different ways. SU might display a lack of formalised curricular change, but significant changes in the form of stealth inclusions have been introduced. However, the risks involved in stealth changes accumulate even more in an institutional environment where change seems to be contested. 196 By comparison, relatively few stealth changes have been brought at Nelson Mandela University. There also seems to be a reliance on non-traditional modules introduced in the early post-1994 years to demonstrably claim a transformed status. In contrast, UCT has made a commendable effort, especially in recent years, to bring about structural curricular change. Yet, deep-seated problems persist, and Western art music continues to be privileged. Although

196 One can here consider the analysis of the department's institutional culture as resistant to change, which emerged from the reading of the Stolp thesis, as a reason for this lack of formal or structural change to curricula.

appearing to have a transformed curriculum, UKZN still experiences some of the same challenges and problems in terms of curricular change as the other departments, particularly in relation to its Western art music offering.

### **Positions on Decolonisation**

One way to understand the absence of radical change or decolonisation in music departments would be with recourse to problematic understandings of decolonisation. In what follows I utilise De Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*'s (2015) framework to map the different approaches to decolonisation observed in my interviews, although my reflections will not be restricted to this framework.<sup>197</sup>

It was clear from interviews that some individuals had little to no understanding of decolonisation, Africanisation or related discourses. One interviewee noted, "I am not well-read in this topic" while another shared some questions commonly directed at them:

But what is this about? What is the difference between decolonisation and Africanisation? They're giving us all sort of terms and it's just because it's buzzwords, so first it's decolonisation, now it's Africanisation. Then they're talking about the Global South and not centring the Global North. First it was Western Europe, now it's the Global North. So what are all these terms about?

Some interviewees did not object to decolonisation in principle but displayed some aversion to the 'murkiness' of the term. As one interviewee indicated, "decolonisation for me is an empty signifier". Another stated, "I don't like the term, I think it's too 'fluffy', it can mean anything". Another interviewee was cautious to define their understanding of decolonisation yet was arguably already demonstrating various of its principles in their teaching.

These quotes point to the danger inherent in decolonisation's high-level meta-epistemological debates and its refusal to be pinned down to a single, simple definition – many feel alienated and confused and resort to non-engagement. Non-engagement due to confusion is aggravated by another problematic aspect of decolonisation pointed to above and discussed in chapter one: the rapid adoption of decolonisation as a slogan by universities and institutions. This leads to superficial attempts at decolonisation, as noted by one interviewee: "If we don't believe in why we should transform, it's very superficial, it's the idea of having to tick a box. It doesn't have the substance, the weight or impact that it can have." Notwithstanding superficial attempts and surface-level engagement with decolonisation, the adoption of decolonisation as a slogan by universities and institutions can also be used by academics as an excuse not to engage with decolonisation because it is purportedly just another institutional marketing buzzword with a short lifespan. Even when academics do not dismiss decolonisation due to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>197</sup> My reflections will also include some of the common retorts or comments made to those who advocate for decolonisation as they were relayed to me by change advocates. I found that individuals opposed to decolonisation were hesitant to share their views with me, and the inclusion of this 'second-hand' information therefore provides a view otherwise missing from this study.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> This statement was made upon an explicit question regarding their views on decolonisation.

its status as an institutional buzzword, a sense of distrust in the term can be detected. Interviewees generally shared a scepticism of management-driven imperatives to decolonise or transform curricula, often arguing that it is "politically driven and ... not genuine" (Anonymous Interviewee, 2020).

A lack of engagement with decolonisation and related discourses is further problematised by many of these individuals' opposition to decolonisation. Perhaps this opposition is precisely due to the lack of engagement with decolonisation discourse, as this often leads to the (incorrect) view of decolonisation as an ideology that champions the removal of all Western elements:

If you do it radically, then you have to go back to 1650, then you have to undo everything that happened after 1652, then you must get all the Europeans out of the country, then you must remove the languages – English, Afrikaans, all European languages – and everything that came after that. I would say that would be the extreme case.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020)

The implications thereof [decolonisation] is ... that ALL non-African influences must be removed.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020, emphasis in original)

In one instance, an interviewee resorted to claiming Western art music as the inexorable base of music studies:

To simply remove Beethoven and Strauss due to surmised or actual politically-coloured objections would, in my view, be foolish. This, and older music, is after all the history AND theory of music. To cut it off and to deny its existence would be the same as to operate on people without understanding the mechanics of blood circulation.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020, emphasis in original)

It was also apparent that questions around transformation and decolonisation triggered defensiveness. <sup>199</sup> Common retorts by colleagues relayed to me by interviewees include "it's all political now", "why must things always change", "ons moet onse standarde behou" (we must maintain our standards) and "why can't people just forget about this story [curricular decolonisation] and let us continue as we were".

A lack of engagement with decolonisation discourse was apparent in situations where interviewees professed familiarity with only some aspects of decolonial debates. One interviewee was clearly well-read in post-colonial literature but had seemingly not engaged at all with the decolonial school of thinking from Latin America which positions decolonisation as an option, not a new hegemonic structure.

A near-complete lack of engagement with decolonisation, Africanisation or transformation discourse is troubling in the present moment. At best, it points to a willingness to engage postcolonial theory which

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> I make this statement based on my own perceptions from interviewees as well as experiences relayed to me by interviewees.

is largely the invention of the West, whilst preferring to set aside knowledge geopolitically grounded outside the familiar spaces of Western academia. At worst, it speaks of the "non-political neutrality" (Froneman and Muller, 2020) that music claims, the liminal space it stakes for itself where politics is argued to have no relevance. One interviewee noted that academia's supposed "non-political neutrality" was also held up as a reason for a lack of engagement with "all political" decolonisation: "You cannot be political [they say] if you're an academic". Not only does this fantasy separation between music, academica and politics neglect to comprehend both the privilege and responsibility bound up with the position of the intellectual and academic, but it conveniently disguises resistance to change as an apolitical position that pretends to operate above and outside the difficult ethical and social entanglements of a decolonial politics.

In light of the already explicated links between music and race/identity (in particular classical music and whiteness/Western culture) as well as disagreements on what exactly decolonisation entails, it is noteworthy that some lecturers particularly committed to WAM felt that their very identity came under attack when issues of decolonisation surfaced. One interviewee shared a question posed to them: "But I can only teach Bach, Beethoven and the likes on piano, what will become of me?"

For William Everett (2020), reactions which perceive decolonisation and transformation as a threat to Western art music (and by association, whiteness) point to the presence of white fragility. White fragility, popularised by Robin DiAngelo (2011:54), describes how white people's "insulated environment of racial protection" has led to "racial comfort" which has lowered "the[ir] ability to tolerate racial stress". Where white fragility is in play, even the smallest amount of "racial stress" results in various "defensive moves" which include emotions such as anger, fear, or guilt, and behaviours such as "argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation". Sometimes the defensive moves are less obvious — DiAngelo (2011:55) notes that "so-called progressive whites" may respond with claims of their progressiveness, or that they "already know this". As these defensive moves are not conducive to rational discussion and an openness to change, white fragility leads to a continuation of "white racial equilibrium". Although the concept was developed and popularised in the United States of North America, the notion of a (past) existence in an "insulated environment of racial protection" is highly applicable to the post-apartheid South African context.

Laudan Nooshin (2020) equates the position of those who do not see the problem with current music curricula (or believe that Western art music is now under existential threat) to the academic equivalent of white fragility. Building on an understanding of white defensiveness, glib engagement with decolonisation or its mere dismissal as politically motivated (and thus beneath the intellectual project) can be seen as manifestations of white fragility. Going further, a consideration of DiAngelo's (2011:56)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Gandhi (1998:ix) notes that "postcolonial theory principally addresses the needs of the Western academy" as it "attempts to reform" its "intellectual and epistemological exclusions".

use of Frankenberg's (1993:1) definition of whiteness as "a location of structural advantage, of ... privilege ... [and] a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed", enables us to arrive, in the context of music departments, at a concept of Western art music fragility. Western art music's defensive moves would then be those initiatives which expect other musics to do the critical transformation work – such as the addition of world music in a semester module of *Musicology* at SU, or the discussion of colonialism's influence on African music apparently without an accompanying discussion of its influence on Western art music at Nelson Mandela University.

Considering interviewees' opinions on decolonisation and the notion of Western art music fragility, it is unsurprising to note that beliefs which could be classified in de Oliveira Andreotti *et al.*'s (2015) 'everything is awesome' space were prevalent:

I think the big problem – here I'm talking about the first 60 or 70 years of this century – that we had to deal with in South Africa was this idea of Western music being superior to all other musics. And that is naturally rubbish. ... And the bit that I have read about decolonisation is precisely that point, that Western culture deems itself superior to other forms of culture and that one has to get rid of that view. My perception is that that is long gone, you do not have to decolonise that anymore, I think postmodernism has long since broken away from that narrative. So, I do not think that it is necessary at all to waste any time on it, it has already been done. If you read about the topic [decolonisation] you will encounter the name Achille Mbembe. Now what I have read about him is based on an idea that maybe held sway in the 1930s or 1950s, this notion that we need to move away from the idea of European or Western culture as superior to others. Now, no one in the West still thinks like this, at least in my opinion, and I think we have all made our peace with it. ... But we have to acknowledge that it was like that, but it isn't a view that you can defend today in any seriousness.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020)

Despite demonstrating an understanding that Western art music should not be viewed as superior to other musics, this interviewee maintains a belief that everything is 'awesome' and that time should not be wasted on decolonisation. There seems to be no cognisance that Western art music claims superiority not only through outright statements but its continued valorisation and privileging in institutions of music education. Aesthetic or artistic superiority is not something that will necessarily be proclaimed in an age and a discipline where race dare not speak its name, to recall Froneman and Muller's phrase. Incidentally, views of the aesthetic superiority of Western art music might not be completely out of fashion either. Davids (2018:92) documents the following, which was shared with him by a white academic at the SACM: "I don't subscribe to the idea that there are many musics and they're all equal. Western classical music has tried to do something that no other music has tried to do."

What is apparent from the above is that by claiming 'everything is awesome', the need for decolonisation or critical interrogation of the system is downplayed, labelled as "a waste of time" or wholly dismissed. The 'everything is awesome' mentality is thus a defensive move to maintain the (hegemonic) status quo. Certain soft-reform space changes to presentation style and inclusions to

curricula (e.g. African music, jazz or ethnomusicology) may also constitute defensive moves, which although not necessarily contributing to a hegemonic status quo, can ensure that the new status quo is not too radically different from the old:

And thus, if you do Baroque music, especially when it comes to music theory, you cannot tell a student this is how music works, this is how chord progressions work. You have to tell them that within a particular context, a particular time period and a particular social environment, this is how people used chord progressions. This is already, then you already move away from this idea of the claim to the universal that Western music had that is actually part of the nineteenth-century colonial project. So, it is not just whether you do Baroque music but how.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020)

The principle [of decolonisation] is good, if it came down to the inclusion of knowledge from local music traditions, such as those of Malay heritage (a favourite of mine) and aspects of other indigenous traditions, with the understanding that from music-historical and music-theoretical viewpoints these FLOW FROM Western notation and cultural systems and are perhaps even its PARALLEL. Notation can naturally only be observed in terms of its early-Christian origins.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020, emphasis in original)

With regards to canonical composers such as Beethoven and Strauss, the same interviewee remarked that they are, after all, THE history and theory of music (not Western art music) and that to claim otherwise would be folly. In the soft reform space, the view of Western art music as the base of music studies is maintained even while allowing space for the inclusion of "other" musics. The addition of "other" musics in contexts where views such as those cited above prevail, will then (almost always) be superficial additive gestures which reinforce "the dominant Self [Western art music]" (Hess, 2015:340). The following observation by an interviewee further strengthens the argument for the failure of such additive strategies to result in decolonisation:

So, what some people see as decolonisation, which is very different from how I see decolonisation, is that if I have African music, that's decolonisation. Now that is not, in my view, decolonisation while you can still do what you do here in that 70 to 75% [Western art music], you have 5% of that [African music] and then you say we've decolonised. Only when this 75% can start linking up with this 5%, then we start integrating and we start saying that you can't just go on this one-way path, you have to start realising where you are, and that there are other people here [only then can it be decolonisation].

If we consider soft-reform space and additive strategies to decolonisation as defensive moves, it is unsurprising that those who are sceptical of decolonisation will be supportive of such strategies, as it implies that they can continue doing what they are doing while something 'African' or 'Other' will get added to the curriculum in another module or class. As one interviewee noted regarding an official institutional discussion on curricular reform in their department:

Even in that discussion, they had somebody from Western classical and somebody from jazz, they had someone from African music. And so you can distinctly see the silos. So within this I change, within that subject I change. But what they cannot for heaven's sake see is that this requires a total holistic change.

Such strategies therefore avoid triggering feelings of white or Western art music fragility. Although this thesis does not advocate for decolonisation as the removal of all Western elements, it worries about comfortable decolonisation of the soft or additive type. As Lehlohonolo Peega (2020) reminds us, decolonisation should be uncomfortable. Comfortable decolonisation means that some musics and identities continue to flourish completely unexamined in departments and, as a result, the institutional culture does not undergo the radical change needed. If the conception of Mozart and Bach as God-like and superior composers is not examined, the presence of, say, African music or even transformative strategies in African music in the same department will have little to no effect on the hidden curriculum which will continue to sing of the superiority of Western art music.

Considering the preference for conservative or soft-space views on decolonisation, it is unsurprising how often the departments had a 'decolonial person', or a 'transformation person', what Ahmed (2012:4) terms becoming "stuck" to a category, the decolonisation category. Various problems result from being the only person (or one of the only) pushing a specific agenda. This can become tiring, in addition to having an immense personal toll. As one interviewee expressed to me:

I think it just gets to the point where you feel that there is very little backing if you want to do actual change work. You know, you might get something here or there, but at the end of the day, it's not even as if the institution can protect you or provide support for it. And that's just been my personal experience with it. And then feeling that people who are pushing for change are very much on the margins.

This marginalisation is also linked to the institutional culture of the wider university and the department (these two can differ). If decolonisation or transformation is "less valued by organisations", the people doing this work "inhabit institutional spaces that are also less valued" (Ahmed, 2012:4). This creates a looping effect: if universities are not completely committed to decolonisation or transformation, those working for decolonisation need to keep pushing for its implementation, with the result that they are often viewed as "pushy" (Ibid.:140). This perceived pushiness then becomes another reason for marginalisation and ostracisation.

Marginalisation also becomes tiring – those working for change or decolonisation become tired. If the environment you find yourself in pushes back at every opportunity, it becomes tiring to constantly push an agenda. It can also be tiring to constantly try to get others to understand what you are fighting for. Such tiredness can have various results. For example, the refusal of one interviewee to engage with those opposed to or uninterested in decolonisation could be a result of tiredness, an attitude born from many failed attempts at such engagement. Another possibility is that change workers' tiredness leads to 'de-radicalisation', as expressed by these interviewees:

From a few years ago to where we are now, I don't know, it feels as if I have become less radical, if I even was ever radical. I think it just gets to the point where you feel that there is very little backing if you want to do actual change work. You know, you might get something here or there, but at the end of the day, it's not even as if the institution can protect you or provide support for it.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020)

When I took up my first academic post at [institution withheld to ensure anonymity] I was very committed to the need for music theory transformation at both school and tertiary level and delivered several papers at conferences ... somewhere along the way I lost some of my drive for this initiative, can't entirely say why.

(Anonymous Interviewee, 2020)

Change work fatigue leads to de-radicalisation, but even when de-radicalisation does not occur, this fatigue often leads to the 'decolonisation person' picking fewer and fewer battles. The problem here is that the presence of individuals "stuck" to the decolonisation or transformation categories allows others not to concern themselves with decolonisation, or to use it as an excuse not to become a 'decolonisation person'. As Ahmed (2012:138) writes, "we also want there to be more than one; we want not to be the one. Becoming the race [decolonisation] person means you are the one who is turned to when race [decolonisation] turns up. The very fact of your existence can allow others not to turn up." If you are 'the one', the decolonisation mission loses steam when you get tired and de-radicalised. As decolonisation moves off your agenda, it can fall off the agenda completely if someone else does not step up to the task. One interviewee experienced exactly this:

And I realised after a while that I had tended to sit back on my laurels in my status as the only non-Western art music staff member in the department. But it's not enough to just be the non-Western art music person. ... The responsibility is bigger than me.

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Think we must; we must think. That means, simply, we *must* change the story; the story *must* change. (Haraway, 2016:40, emphasis in original)

Trying to make sense of curricular and institutional decolonisation is no easy task. The web of practices, institutions and individuals involved is intricately woven together and, in some instances, also painfully and irreconcilably divided. Attempting to pry apart this web is like simultaneously trying to undo multiple knots, only to be entangled in yet other knots.

A problematic thread that runs through this thesis is the persistence of Eurocentrism and coloniality in the surveyed departments of music. Chapter one first broached the stubborn tenacity of coloniality and Eurocentrism in universities, disciplines and music practices. The embeddedness of these notions in institutional curricula and the comfortable rapport between coloniality and neoliberal maximisation of choice were demonstrated in chapter two, which provided an account of institutional crisis narratives. Amongst other things, chapter three pointed to the sustained presence of hegemonic terminology, the continued positioning of non-traditional musics as optional and marginal and the reduction of curricular change to bureaucratic procedure. Drawing on the survey materials from chapter three, chapter four pointed out the overwhelming reliance on superficial additive strategies for curricular decolonisation that will, at best, leave intact a Eurocentric centre. Bruno Nettl (1995:110) has identified the resultant status quo poignantly:

In the interrelated relationships of its musics, the music building parallels only imperfectly the twentieth-century world of musics. But in its juxtaposition of the central classical repertory to satellite styles deemed less significant, it reflects the modern world more explicitly in the socio-cultural sense – the relationship of a dominant culture to its satellites or of a major power to third-world colonies.

The ubiquitous persistence of Eurocentrism and coloniality in universities means for Hendricks (2018:34) that the decolonisation of universities, their curricula and cultures is a "rigged process" set up to fail from the outset. Johnson (2018) and Madrid (2017:126–127) argue along similar lines in terms of music curricula, noting that the addition of other musics to curricula when Western art music and its attendant ideologies are still seen as the foundation of music studies, will only reinforce existing dominant hegemonies. This means that the decolonisation of music departments is then also a rigged process. In the rigged spaces of the university and music departments, attempts to decolonise (or to think decolonially) are likely to feel like "banging your head against a brick wall ... scratching at the surface" and trying to break it down or damage it (Ahmed, 2017). The evident lack of investment in the necessary expertise and long-term planning by departments will make it even more difficult to embark on curricular transformation that might approach anything other than bureaucratic efficiency in the name of neoliberal inclusionism that fails as redress, epistemological transformation and rethinking of the post-apartheid music department as something radically other than what was before.

Although this research paints a troubling picture of universities and music departments, it also deliberately chooses to 'stay with the trouble' of decolonisation. Taking its cue from Haraway in the epigraph above, this thesis posits that thinking could be a way to change the story; in its own way, it hopes to be an exemplar of precisely this type of thinking. What we as researchers should do, is "make a fuss" (Stengers and Despret, 2014) in our attempts at 'staying with the trouble' of universities and music studies. This thesis has pointed to various possible avenues in which we could "make a fuss" about the decolonisation of music departments through research: investigating the (non)presence of decolonial methodologies in practical music studies, exploring the effects of power relationships on curriculum change and research as well as meaningful engagement with students to hear not only their thoughts on current curricula but their hopes and wishes for a future music curriculum. A collective of people making such a fuss, banging our heads against a wall and scratching at its surface might just succeed in making "a world just a little better" (Stengers and Despret, 2014:165), which in itself, would change the story. It is my conviction that I, alongside other students, early career and established academics and music practitioners, should take up this work unstintingly but also with the willingness to be vulnerable, to learn, to listen and to change and be changed in uncomfortable ways.

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# Addendum A

#### **Interview Protocol**

- Since when have you been employed at the university? What positions have you held in this time?
- What modules have you presented in this time? Can you maybe tell me more about the content, presentation style and assessment methods of these modules? How much of this was inherited from the previous lecturer of the module?
- What types of conversations regarding curriculum/curriculum change has taken place during your time at the university?
- To your recollection, what has changed in terms of the curriculum since you have been at the university? (This could be anything from the entire contents of a module, to smaller changes such as a different approach required of students)
- What does the term decolonisation mean to you? What are your thoughts on decolonisation, especially in the context of a music department and a music degree? Do you feel that the curriculum should respond to political shifts/questions such as the change to democracy in 1994 and the student protests of 2015?
- What role do you think students should play in the process of curriculum reform?
- Can you remember whether students were concerned at all with curriculum matters before 2015?
- What was the type of conversations in the department during and after FMF, from the student and staff perspective? What was it like to be here?
- On departmental and faculty-level, are there currently initiatives to recurriculate? Do you think some of this is as a result of the 2015 protests?
- Are there any other important people that you think I should talk to for my research?

## Addendum B



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY jou kennisvennoot • your knowledge partner

# STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Mieke Struwig, from the Department of Music at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because of your substantial institutional knowledge.

#### 1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will assess curricular decolonisation at four South African music departments since 1994. The purpose of the study is to give a clear assessment of the current position of curricular decolonisation, with the aims of assisting music departments in their future efforts in this regard. It is hoped that the comparative approach of the study will foster collaboration between music departments to further ease this process.

#### 2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to participate in a once-off interview with a likely maximum time duration of about 1 hour with the researcher. In this interview you will be asked questions regarding curriculum content, module outlines/outcomes, current recurriculation processes at your institution as well as your thoughts on curricular transformation and decolonisation in context of a university music department. A second interview will only be required in the unlikely event that the researcher has to clarify any details or ask for further information. If possible, the interview will be conducted at your institution, otherwise the interview will be conducted via Skype or a similar platform. In both instances the interview will be conducted at a time suitable for you.

## 3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

I foresee no potential risks, discomforts or inconveniences (except for the time taken to conduct the interview) due to your participation in this study.

#### 4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

There will be no direct benefit to your participation in this study. This study does, however, have the potential to have a substantial benefit to society/universities in our country. By giving a clear idea of current curricular decolonisation efforts, it is envisaged that it will assist music departments in further decolonisation efforts. It is also envisaged that the comparative nature of the study will further assist music departments in their curricular decolonisation efforts by encouraging collaboration. Furthering curricular decolonisation can contribute to South Africa's democratic project by eradicating some of the injustices and inequalities still lingering after colonialism and Apartheid.

#### 5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

You will receive no payment or financial compensation for your participation in this study.

# 6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. This will be done by, if you so wish, ensuring your anonymity in the final dissertation document. During the research process, the data will be securely stored in a password protected file which only myself and the supervisor, Dr. Carina Venter, will be able to access. Your institution will be identified in the final dissertation document, as this identification is essential to the analysis required for this project. However, as mentioned before, you can choose to remain anonymous, in which case your institutional affiliation will be the only information made available.

The information you provide will not be released to or shared with any other party or agency. If, for any reason, an opportunity arises in the future where this is required (e.g. further research opportunities/possible publications), your consent will first be obtained.

The interview(s) will be audio-recorded. If you so wish, this recording can be made available to you to review. These recordings will only be used for educational purposes and will not be made available to any other person apart from the researcher (and research supervisor) without your prior consent. The recordings will not be erased at the conclusion of the research, as there is the potential of further research in this field. However, at your request, these recordings can be erased after the completion of the study.

The results of this study will possibly be published at the completion of this research. If you so wish, your anonymity will be guaranteed.

#### 7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you agree to take part in this study, you may withdraw at any time without any consequence. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The researcher may withdraw you from this study if the information you provide is not sufficient for this research, or if an individual with a longer institutional memory/experience is willing to participate in the research. However, it is envisaged that in these circumstances, both individuals will participate in this study.

## 8. RESEARCHERS' CONTACT INFORMATION

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Mieke Struwig at 082 819 3322/mieks500@gmail.com, and/or the supervisor Dr. Carina Venter at 021 808 2375/cvent@sun.ac.za.

## 9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

## **DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT**

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, Iconducted by Mieke Struwig.	agree to take part in this research study, as
Signature of Participant	Date
DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR	
been thoroughly explained to the participant. (and has been given ample time) to ask any coption:	lare that the information contained in this document has I also declare that the participant has been encouraged questions. In addition I would like to select the following was conducted in a language in which the participant
is fluent.	was conducted in a language in which the participant
The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this "Consent Form" is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.	
	<u> </u>
Signature of Principal Investigator	Date