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CHAPTER 26

COMMUNITY MUSIC AND ETHNOMUSICOLOGY

STEPHEN COTTRELL & ANGELA IMPEY

Abstract

This chapter reflects on the similarities and differences between community music and applied ethnomusicology. We argue that to describe a particular study as belonging to one or the other of these sub-disciplines is often as much a reflection of scholarly networks and frameworks as it is evidence of differences in methodology or approach. The chapter introduces a number of case studies from South Africa, and focuses in particular on a community archiving project in the Isimangaliso Wetlands Park. These case studies are used to illustrate the different inflections that may pertain to the terms ‘community music’ or ‘applied ethnomusicology’, while also demonstrating the overlaps between them. Finally, attention is drawn to the risks that are always involved in cultural interventions, regardless from where they may emanate.

Keywords

applied ethnomusicology; intervention; impact; South Africa; Isimangaliso wetlands; music archiving

The concept of community music is ontologically problematic for ethnomusicologists. The roots of the problem may be identified in Dykma’s 1916 observation that “community music is socialized music” (cited in Veblen, 2013, p. 2), and the difficulty arises because most ethnomusicologists would struggle to conceive of any kind of music as *not* being in some way socialized. Ethnomusicology as a discipline has evolved around assertions of the inseparable interconnections between musical sounds and the societies and communities that give rise to them. While community music today has undoubtedly developed since Dykma’s time and now embraces a diverse range of musical practices, to identify particular aspects of human music-making as being ‘socialized’ and others, by implication, as being somehow divorced from social context sits uncomfortably with an ethnomusicological worldview.

Ethnomusicologists would have considerable sympathy with the view expressed in 1950 by the The National Association for Music Education that ‘community music is not a *kind* of music; rather it is *all kinds* of music’ (MENC 1950 p.10, original emphasis).

In other ways, however, the two areas have much in common. In her introduction to an important collection of essays on community music, Kari K. Veblen (2013) notes that community music scholars are “documenting interfaces and interconnections between social cultures and musical cultures, as they mirror, shape, and reflect each other” (pp. 5-6). Although they might not phrase it in quite that way, ethnomusicologists would feel very comfortable with such assertions, recognizing in them affinities with the work of, for example, John Blacking (1973), who argued at length for the connections between musical patterns and social structures, or, as he put it, between ‘humanly organized sound’ and ‘soundly organized humanity’.

The two fields are also linked by continuing reflexive interrogation of their boundaries. Ethnomusicology has been particularly characterized by its changing definitions over the past 150 years or so. Having started life in the late nineteenth century as Comparative Musicology, it focused then on the study of what were deemed to be ‘exotic’ musics, normally accessed through the newly-invented recording technologies of the wax cylinder and the gramophone. This was usually conceived as a laboratory-based, ‘scientific’ study, which sought to compare decontextualized musical sound patterns both with each other and, particularly, with the more familiar sounds of Western classical music.¹ After the closer alignment with anthropology from the 1940s, ethnomusicologists became increasingly focused on music in its social contexts, and on understanding the meanings construed upon particular musical sounds by individuals and groups for whom they were significant. This led to ethnomusicology being variously defined as “the study of music in culture”, “the study of music *as* culture’, (Merriam 1977, pp. 202, 204) and most recently perhaps, “the study of

people making music” (Titon, 1992, p.24). These later definitions deliberately broadened the field away from a focus on particular musical styles or geographical areas, towards a consideration of human music-making in all its manifestations. Phelan (2008) similarly identifies a spectrum of possible definitions of community music, noting that one end of this spectrum comprises definitions that “may view all music-making as Community Music” (p. 145). Clearly, in some ways, ethnomusicology and community music have much in common.

The overlap between the two areas is also indicative of the growing diversity of music studies as a whole, which since the 1980s has become increasingly fragmented and heterogeneous. The field is now more accommodating of disparate approaches to a broad range of musics, rather than being focused on one particular music tradition (Western classical music) and dominated by philologically-inflected methodologies centered on the musical score. Those who could reasonably be described as ethnomusicologists might now be investigating symphony orchestras (e.g., Baker, 2014; Cottrell, 2004; Ramnarine, 2011,), just as musicologists are increasingly using ethnographic methodologies in their work (e.g., Bayley, 2011; Clarke, Cook, Harrison & Thomas, 2005). This is not to claim that all current music research is by definition ethnomusicological, notwithstanding Nicholas Cook’s (2008) suggestion that “we are all ethnomusicologists now”. It is simply to note that ethnographic approaches to studying music are now widespread, and there are considerable overlaps in the work of scholars whose disciplinary heritages or political alliances may, on the surface, appear quite different.

Because of this disciplinary heterogeneity it is unsurprising that we can identify a range of studies that could be described as being either—or both—ethnomusicological and community music oriented. The following examples list work published by those who would probably describe themselves as having community music interests, at least as evidenced by the context of publication, followed by those who would seem to be more obviously

ethnomusicological in orientation: Stephen J. Messenger's (2013) work on sharing practices and community building among online jamband aficionados has something in common with René Lysloff's (2003) study of music composition through the use of mods (software); the strategies for preserving and promoting community folk music traditions considered by Karlsen, Westerlund, Partti and Solbu (2013) in relation to Scandinavia, or Shiobara (2011) with respect to the *nagauta* tradition of Japan, do not look out of place alongside the studies of east Asian cultural heritage found in Keith Howard's (2012) edited volume on *Music as Intangible Cultural Heritage*; and the quintessentially participatory activity of choral singing finds its way into a number of studies in both domains, such as Mary Copeland Kennedy's (2009) study of the Gettin' Higher Choir or Caroline Bithell's (2014) research into the natural voice movement; and so forth. Indeed, some recent publications in the *International Journal of Community Music* are quite explicit in their adoption of ethnomusicological heritage and methodologies (e.g., Balandina, 2010; Jones, 2014).

Given these very obvious overlaps between ethnomusicology and community music, how might we identify any sub-disciplinary inflections differentiating them? Until recently, one answer might have been that practitioners in each area had rather different conceptions of the impact they might have on those with whom they work. community music practitioners explicitly seek to change musical behavior through their work, and their activities are often interventionist and pro-active. Their projects consciously seek to bring groups and individuals together in order to facilitate certain kinds of change, both in relation to music-making itself and to understandings and behaviors that are allied to, or may be influenced through, musical participation. As the Community Music Activity Commission (part of the International Society for Music Education) puts it on their website, they seek to “enhance the quality of life for communities [and] encourage and empower participants to become agents for extending and developing music in their communities”.²

In contrast, ethnomusicologists have traditionally been more circumspect about such obvious intervention. As noted above, Comparative Musicology up to the 1950s was usually predicated on the idea that the scholar's role was to observe the subject under consideration in as detached a manner as possible. Even later, when the participant-observation paradigm that had evolved within anthropology also became inscribed within ethnomusicology, there remained a sense that 'observation' still outweighed 'participation', as evidenced by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's (1973) oft-repeated assertion that the anthropologist strained to read cultural texts "over the shoulders of those to whom they properly belong" (p. 452).

More recently it has been acknowledged that ethnomusicological research *always* impacts in some way on those with whom it engages, whether intentionally or not. Since the mid-1980s this has led to increasing reflection on the different ways in which such ethnomusicological impact is manifested (see for example, Barz & Cooley, 2008). While some of this theorizing has considered the inevitable if unintentional consequences of fieldwork—for example, the lasting impact of fieldwork relationships on both the researcher and those being researched (Hellier-Tinoco, 2003)—it has been accompanied by a growth in a particular type of ethnomusicology that deliberately seeks to influence—through music-making—mind-sets or behaviors among those societies or communities to whom the music might be said to belong. This has become known as 'applied ethnomusicology', although other terms such as 'engaged ethnomusicology', 'participatory action' and 'advocacy' have also been used to describe this work.³ Rather than foregrounding intellectual curiosity and understanding, applied ethnomusicology, as Daniel Sheehy (1992) puts it, begins with "a sense of purpose" and results in "an implacable tendency first to see opportunities for a better life for others through the use of music knowledge, and then immediately to begin devising cultural strategies to achieve those ends" (pp. 324-325). Examples of such approaches are inevitably wide-ranging, but might include work by various scholars on HIV/Aids in Africa

(e.g., Barz, 2006; Buren, 2010), the use of music in conflict resolution (e.g., Pettan, 2010; Sweers, 2010), or indeed in the contexts of adult education (McIntosh, 2013) or amateur music-making (Bithell, 2014).

Given that community music practitioners are also aspiring to develop “a better life for others through the use of music knowledge” (Sheehy, 1992, 324-325) by implementing designated cultural strategies to achieve particular results, it will be clear that distinctions between community music and applied ethnomusicology are at times very blurred. Indeed, to describe a given project as emanating from ethnomusicology or community music may be as much a consequence of the institutional affiliations, disciplinary networks and ideological preferences of those making the claim, rather than a demonstration of significant qualitative differences between the studies themselves. It may be of concern to the scholars/practitioners involved as to how they wish their work to be perceived, either within their own institutions or the broader frameworks of musical practice and research. It may also make a difference to particular types of funding applications, and how these might be received by those prepared to support them. But the label attached to the project by the principals overseeing it may make very little difference to the experience of those around whom it is constructed.

Nevertheless, it is still possible to identify different trajectories and inflections between these two areas of the music studies field. While a reduction to a simple binary division appears overly simplistic, we offer in Table 26.1 some characteristics of each area that may help to differentiate between them.

Table 26.1: Characteristics of Community Music and Applied Ethnomusicology

Community Music	Applied Ethnomusicology
Historically grounded in music education, schools and lifelong learning, with more recent developments in university contexts	Historically grounded in university research traditions (and associated archives and libraries), and occasional engagement with other educational contexts
More developed in Euro-American music contexts but increasingly engaged with other music cultures	Usually focused on music beyond the Euro-American traditions
Often supported by or engaged with public sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and similar	Occasionally engaged with NGOs and public sector organisations
Proactive development of local Community Music, empowering individuals to develop music-making activities	Music-making often used to address issues beyond musical participation itself (including health, legal or ethical concerns), in addition to individual empowerment
Growing theoretical framework developing out of a long-established body of practice	Increasing practical application of developed theoretical frameworks

In the following section Angela Impey reflects on community music and applied ethnomusicology in South Africa, and particularly on her involvement in one specific project, both to demonstrate the overlaps between these two areas and to illustrate some of the practical and ethical challenges in such cross-cultural interventions.

Community music in South Africa

If, as we have suggested, one of the defining characteristics of community music is the development of public sector programs that promote amateur music making as a medium for building social cooperation and enhancing wellbeing, it might be inferred that community music has been practiced in South Africa for several centuries. Such programs fell largely under the charge of Christian missionaries who established choirs in order to attract new African converts, applying four-part harmony as a means to inculcate in them European values of precision, restraint and cooperation. Such interventions were therefore tied to an imperialist discourse of self-improvement and provided the cultural underpinnings of a

broader context of socio-economic change based on westernization, urbanization and class differentiation. As Erlmann (1994) suggests in his exposition on the first semi-professional black South African choir to tour abroad in 1891-92, “To sing in a choir, to play the harmonium or the piano was to submit proof of one's place in a civilised community” (p. 169).

For many South Africans, however, religious choirs became springboards for a range of other music-making forays, whose fusing of the liturgical repertoire with elements of traditional African and foreign genres—adopted principally from African American song and dance styles—lent creative expression to emerging cosmopolitan aspirations and to a political imaginary based on freedom, democracy and civil rights (Giddy & Detterbeck, 2005; Lucia, 2008; Olwage, 2006). Today, community choirs continue to be one of the most popular music-making activities in South Africa, drawing many thousands into weekly rehearsals and often highly publicized and generously sponsored regional and national competitions.

Over the past few decades community music in South Africa has developed in a range of new ways aimed largely at engaging disadvantaged youth in open dialogue about critical social, economic and health concerns. Many of these low-cost community projects assume a semi-therapeutic function in which song writing or instrumental instruction are employed as creative modalities for self-expression aimed at better managing the deleterious effects of poverty, social exclusion and the high incidence of HIV and AIDS. Many such community music activities work with ‘at-risk’ and disenfranchised youth and operate as outreach initiatives of hospitals, churches, prisons or non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Some connect with schools and universities to provide training for those who have no access to formal music instruction, focusing on personal exploration and creativity through skills development and music education. The following three projects serve as notable examples.

UKUSA⁴ is one the longest running and most successful community music programs in South Africa. Founded in 1987 by the well-known music educator Elizabeth Oehrle, the program was developed during one of the most repressive and violent periods in apartheid history. Starting out as a small weekend outreach project in a dilapidated shed on the old Durban station, its classes of fifty students and three staff members have steadily expanded, ultimately prospering into a fully-fledged music education bridging program. Housed at the University of KwaZulu Natal's School of Music since 1989, UKUSA offers weekend classes in music theory (grades one to five), maskanda (Zulu guitar), saxophone, voice, guitar, bass guitar, percussion, trumpet and keyboard. To date, the organization has served in excess of eight thousand students, many of whom have subsequently entered university degree courses in music and established careers in the music industry. A number of graduates have developed community youth arts programs in their own home areas, extending UKUSA's model of musical skills training as an access route toward educational and economic mobility.



Figure 26.1 UKUSA guitar classes at the University of KwaZulu Natal (Photograph by Dina Cormick)

The Fieldband Foundation (FBF)⁵ is a non-profit organization that trains and manages brass bands across South Africa and has some 4000 members nationwide. The FBF operates predominantly in communities that suffer from high levels of poverty, unemployment and

social disruption; its mission being to use music to enhance economic, social, physical, emotional and spiritual wellbeing. Targeting young people between the ages of seven and 21, its main aim is to use music and dance as a medium for the development of life skills that will strengthen employability and improve economic prospects. The FBF draws on rhythmic and stylistic elements of African music and dance, incorporating traditional, gospel, classical, popular and jazz elements in a varied and constantly developing repertoire. Tutors employed by the FBF are often long-term members of the foundation's brass bands, whose leadership skills have been recognized and nurtured. Presented as champions or role models, their responsibility is to create a positive musical environment that fosters individual and community aspirations, and expands visions for the future.

MusicWorks⁶ is a small NGO based in Cape Town that has been offering Early Child Development (ECD) and 'Music for Life' sessions in the townships of Heideveld, Lavender Hill, Langa and Nyanga since 2002. The mission of MusicWorks is to create a safe environment for children who live under the constant threat of emotional and physical violence due to poverty, substance abuse and gangsterism, with the added hope that their interventions may have a positive impact on the psychosocial fabric of their communities more broadly. The organization is run by a multi-lingual team of music therapists and local community musicians/developers, who apply principles of music therapy to attend to the specific needs of each community. Social, cognitive and emotional development is promoted through a combination of instrumental improvisation, singing, musical storytelling, song writing and movement. To ensure sustainability of its programs, MusicWorks partners with communities, schools, care centers and hospitals in each of its operational areas. It also offers training and mentoring programs in "Music for Life" and ECD for practitioners/teachers and young people who wish to run their own musical sessions for children.⁷

Community music or ethnomusicology? Reflections on a community music archiving initiative in a South African UNESCO World Heritage site

The following section reflects on an initiative that differs from those described above, which emphasized social transformation via musical performance. This project, which was run between 1998 and 2004 in the Isimangaliso Wetlands Park⁸ in KwaZulu Natal, focused on the archiving of musical practices to realize a number of broader social and environmental aims. Drawing on research methodologies from ethnomusicology, and on project aims and objectives more regularly associated with community music, this case study illustrates some of the practical overlaps between these two approaches.

The Isimangaliso Wetlands Park is located on the north-east coast of South Africa and comprises some 330,000 hectares of grassland savannah, wetlands and coastal dune forests. The region is valued for its exceptional biodiversity, and in 1999 - a mere five years after South Africa held its first democratic elections - the Park was proclaimed the country's first UNESCO World Heritage Site. While celebrating such a global distinction, the objectives imposed for the conservation of ecological World Heritage nevertheless provoked vigorous public debate regarding how best to attend to the critical livelihood needs of the people living within its boundaries. Much of this argument was directed at the Dukuduku Forests located in the southern region of the Park. Reputed to be the last remaining indigenous coastal forests on the southeast African seaboard, Dukuduku had for centuries operated as a place of refuge for people fleeing persecution elsewhere in the region. However, its once small and scattered population had increased exponentially in the years prior to the 1994 national elections, attracting groups escaping political violence and extreme poverty from surrounding areas, and generating deep anxiety amongst environmental conservationists regarding its potential destruction.¹²

My work in the Isimangaliso Wetlands Park commenced at a point when the majority of the ‘illegal’ forest dwellers had agreed to move out of the Dukuduku forests to a nearby settlement called Khula Village. Although the village exhibited certain key indicators of permanence—a basic road system, a number of schools and churches—there remained many residual tensions that threatened its long-term stability. These included ongoing disputes over leadership, and the privileging of familial ties by acting chiefs to the economic benefits flowing from new developments in the region. Equally, the loss of access to arable land and natural resources in the Dukuduku forests exacerbated the anxieties of resident families, most of whom struggled to meet even the most basic livelihood needs.

In order to address the extreme poverty in the area, therefore, a number of NGOs were established to stimulate income generation, aiming in particular to capitalize on the burgeoning tourism industry generated by the region’s recent acquisition of World Heritage status. I was approached by one such NGO—the Dukuduku Tourism and Development Association (DTDA)—to conduct a baseline survey of the cultural assets of Khula Village and to assess the level of competence of local musicians for the development of a cultural tourism program. From the outset I was unconvinced that cultural research directed purely at tourism would serve the long-term needs of the people. As a new settlement, and one comprised of disparate groups, it became rapidly evident that the residents knew very little about one another; although most were Zulu-speaking, their sense of ‘community’ constituted little more than a shared social space and common interests in the economic resources of the area.

Somewhat unsure where to begin, I approached the headmaster of the local High School, which was located in the center of the village and operated as a social nucleus. Unsurprisingly, when I explained my interest in meeting musicians in the area, he was deeply skeptical. It was his impression that people were too busy building their lives to think about music and they had certainly not had time to develop formal *isicathamiya* or *ingoma*

‘troupes’, as would normally be associated with cultural tourism in the area. Despite this, he promised to discuss my survey with his staff and students, and invited me to return at a future date to attend a school concert. Although I was not looking to include carefully manicured school productions in the survey, I nevertheless returned as suggested, accompanied by one of my PhD students from the University of KwaZulu Natal,¹⁰ a fine percussionist who had recently arrived in South Africa from Brazil.

The concert, which featured two rapidly assembled choirs, was uncomfortably formal and seemed to go on for hours. However, just as we were preparing to leave, a member of the community stepped forward and offered to play a song on his guitar. Dressed like a pop star with headband, scarves on his upper arms, and an instrument pasted with colorful stickers, he launched into a flamboyant but shaky rendition of a country song by Kenny Rogers. The students tried to suppress their giggles and the staff looked on awkwardly. Suddenly my Brazilian student leaped up, grabbed the *reco-reco*¹¹ that he always carried in his rucksack and joined the guitarist, and with sharp and distinctive rhythmic scrapings instantly energized his song. The children screamed with delight. They leaped up and danced. Some rushed forward to praise the musicians, kicking high in the air and falling to the ground as is customary in Zulu *ngoma* performance. Once the duo had completed their song there was no stopping the students. Groups rushed forward to perform *isicathamiya* and *gospel* songs. A few of the senior male students disappeared into the nearby forest and returned with branches in order to demonstrate traditional stick fighting. Headmaster Nomandla was astounded: “I had no idea they still knew these things”, he shouted over the music and laughter. “Today you have shown us something about ourselves! We need to encourage these activities. Our children need to remember their culture!”

So began *Azibuye Emasisweni* (‘Let them bring back our culture’), a student-led archiving initiative whose aim was to link research on cultural practices in Khula Village

with knowledge about land, natural resources and senses of place. The project was built on two related assertions. The first advocated that culture is as much a part of the treasure of a World Heritage landscape as are its faunal, floral and marine resources, and that, in essence, the two areas are inextricably linked. The second proposed that while the documentation of environmental and cultural heritage would serve to preserve local knowledge, its more important role was to stimulate knowledge exchange, thus helping to build relationships between individuals and groups, and mobilize collective place-making. It was our hope also that community archiving of this kind would nurture amongst Khula Village residents an awareness of the social power of self-representation and locality, emerging from which would be a greater sense of responsibility for the custodianship of their cultural and environmental assets. Ultimately such an initiative might help to transform the status of the residents from recipients of laws and prescriptions to active stakeholders.

More specifically, the project's main objectives were to:

- construct a local sound archive at the Selithukukhanya High School where materials could be stored and made available for both classroom and public educational purposes
- stimulate public reflection about the histories, identities and cultural values of the disparate people of Khula Village, drawing principally on inter-generational knowledge exchange
- explore local ecological knowledge, with particular regard to the way that land and natural resources are manifest in local belief systems and musical practices
- build practical documentation skills by providing training in interviewing, digital audio and video recording, and computer literacy
- build an information resource base that could support local cultural tourism, and the DTDA in particular, which would encourage income generation in the village.

The core principle of community archiving is the documentation and exploration of community (neighborhood) heritage based on local participation, control and ownership (Flinn, 2011). In seeking to fulfil these objectives the project was conceptualized as a ‘living library’ initiative at the local High School and placed under the custodianship of the school librarian, with input from various teachers and the school headmaster. By situating the project in the library we were able to frame our endeavor as both a dynamic educational initiative within the school and a school outreach program. The library operated also as the physical space in which we trained student researchers, hosted feedback sessions, and housed our audio-visual collection.

The archiving initiative was framed as an after-school club and built initially on the participation of 10 volunteer students (aged 16-19 years) and three unemployed school leavers. It was designed along a documentation-reflection-action trajectory, using ethnomusicological approaches to documentation, collation and analysis as its principal method of engagement. Commencing with a series of weekend workshops, during which we refined our aims and objectives, worked on recording and interviewing skills, and mapped the village according to the places deemed by the students to be of cultural and environmental importance, the young researchers proceeded to collect narratives, songs and cultural information from elderly relatives and neighbors. Given that the Khula community comprised displaced people from many different localities, the students focused principally on mapping musical pathways to Khula, focusing initially on the collection of songs and stories from their home localities and linking these to their current places of habitation. One such narrative was recorded as follows:

Though their physical graves are left behind, we have to collect the souls of our ancestors to our new home. When a new home is completed, you collect them by taking a branch of a tree called *umLahlankosi*. If it is a female ancestor, you have to

collect her with a branch called *umGanu*. You go to their graves and you tell them: "Now my ancestors, I have come to collect you from this abandoned home to a new place". When you collect them using a car, this is what happens: You will go with a few older members of your family and at the graves you will tell each of your ancestors that you are there to collect them to a new home. From there you tell them that they must get into the car and go. Inside the car you don't talk to anyone. If the car stops in town, and it happens that your relative comes and talks to you, you just keep your mouth shut. He will see you carrying *umcansi* (a small reed mat) and the branches of this tree, and he will understand (Baba Thethwayo, interviewed by student researcher, Mduduzi Mcambi, Khula Village, April 2001).

Every fortnight we convened to discuss our materials, to play interview excerpts and song recordings to one another, and to assess documentation skills. All recordings were copied and stored in a dedicated cupboard in the school library for use by interested members of the school community. Students were asked to transcribe interviews so that we had both aural and text-based records of every interview. Later all materials were translated into English by students from the University of KwaZulu Natal and the interviews (in Zulu with English translations) were collated in bound books for use by the school.

An important aspect of the initiative was feedback and assessment and we used various communication methods in order to engage different audiences. We held school events during which the researchers shared their materials with fellow pupils and teachers. We occasionally invited those elders who had already been interviewed by student researchers to participate in these wider feedback sessions, which broadened the debates about cultural knowledge and its value in the lives of people in Khula Village. These sessions had a notable effect on some students who, initially resistant to discussing 'these old things',

came to realize that they already knew a great deal about medicinal plants, ritual activities and musical practices. Drawing their stories into the public debate, and giving them value, enhanced the relevance, legitimacy and inclusiveness of the archiving initiative and sometimes even led to the contributors becoming active participants in the research team.

Once the project had been in operation for some years we constructed an enormous cultural map of the village, painting, sewing and gluing colorful materials onto a large canvas that profiled sites and activities of cultural and environmental significance. The map was included in an exhibition at the school, along with photographs and various cultural artefacts- baskets, grass sleeping mats, spears etc.-which drew the wider public into the debate about historical knowledge and its value in the lives of the Khula community. Inevitably these sessions included a great deal of singing and dancing, shifting the emphasis from talking about culture to knowledge that is actively shared in the bodies and sensibilities of the people.



Figure 26.2. Student researcher describing the cultural map to an elderly couple in Khula village.

While the original aim of the music archiving initiative—i.e., to stimulate community building and promote cultural and environmental agency—may have been somewhat idealistic, we were nonetheless able to achieve certain results during the six years I was involved. Most notable was the development of a sound archive at the school, comprising a substantial collection of songs, stories and life histories of Khula elders, many of whom have

since passed away. Rather than representing a cultural history of places and lives elsewhere, however, the emphasis that we placed on using the songs, stories and knowledge to reflect on the present and future of Khula Village (publicly, and in various forums), helped to open new discussions about the identities of the residents themselves, and the value of their cultural and environmental assets. This gave impetus—in the school community at least, and arguably more broadly—to a shift in self-representation from one of disparate and displaced individuals, to a sense of a collective based on diverse but mutually valuable histories and cultural backgrounds.

The initiative had several significant consequences. First, it contributed to the development of the Veyane Cultural Village,¹² which has become a notable income-generating enterprise in Khula Village, involving many students and graduates from the school. It also led to an active partnership with a youth environmental education initiative, based initially at the school and subsequently housed at the Veyane Cultural Village. The program draws extensively on cultural knowledge to promote local stewardship of environmental resources. The project also drew the attention of a major corporate sponsor who, upon seeing our somewhat humble attempt at building a computer hub in which to store our materials and make them available to others, agreed to build a dedicated computer laboratory at the school. For a school that is located in a reasonably remote rural location, and which is otherwise severely underfunded, this is a rare and immeasurably valuable educational resource.

Conclusions

The case studies considered in this chapter illustrate a range of activities that inhabit a liminal space between community music and applied ethnomusicology. Projects such as UKUSA, The Fieldband Foundation and MusicWorks demonstrate prototypical community

music traits: building on (and sometimes engaged with) local education provision, they focus on the development of individual and collective musical performance skills to enhance community wellbeing, and effect social transformation, in communities that are in some way challenged or disadvantaged. But they are located in Africa, a continent with many rich traditions of community music-making, rather than those Euro-American contexts in which community music has historically been identified. The archiving project in Khula Village demonstrates quintessential ethnomusicological concerns around cultural heritage, individual and collective identity formation, locality and the construction of place, etc. Like the other projects, it started from the transformational possibilities offered by sharing and developing skills in musical performance, but then evolved into a rather different undertaking, using those skills, and the embodied cultural knowledge they represent, to encourage broader understandings of shared culture and experience that aided the development of community identity. As such, the project included elements of both Sheehy's (1992) definition of applied ethnomusicology—using musical knowledge to achieve social ends—and the objectives of community music practitioners aspiring to enhance the quality of life for communities through music making.

Clearly, there are demonstrable overlaps in those activities described as either community music or applied ethnomusicology. Practitioners in both fields consciously intervene in the musical traditions of others, for specific ends and sometimes with similar—and usually laudable—intentions. But there are always risks involved. Interventions from elsewhere, whether from national or international agencies, ethnomusicologists, or community music makers, however well meant, without care risk appearing as ideologies foisted upon communities, rather than as musical behaviors that have been nurtured from within. Ethnomusicologists may have a longer history of engaging with these ethical dilemmas than community music practitioners, and would argue that the value of their

approach arises from an ethnographic commitment to ‘deep listening’ and to understanding meanings construed upon sound systems within existing cultural environments. community music advocates might counter this by observing that, since they are usually more embedded in the cultural environments in which they work, they do not have to traverse the same cultural distances as ethnomusicologists, and thus do not risk the same levels of cultural misunderstanding. Whichever side of this argument one wishes to take, the continuing activities in both areas are testament to the multifaceted reinvigoration of music studies since the 1980s, and to the increasingly socially engaged endeavors of the field as a whole.

Reflective questions

1. What overlaps can be identified between applied ethnomusicology projects and community music programs?
2. How do the different histories of ethnomusicology and community music inform current practice?
3. How do the various organizational and disciplinary frameworks in which ethnomusicology and community music exist inflect the approaches of scholars and practitioners?
4. Are the disciplinary trajectories of these two areas leading to greater synergies or increasing disparities between them?
5. What ethical dilemmas are faced by those proactively engaging with other peoples’ music-making?

Additional sources

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Notes

1. For more on the history of the relationship between comparative musicology and ethnomusicology, see Nettl & Bohlman (1991).
2. <http://www.isme.org/our-work/commissions-forum/community-music-activity-commission-cma> accessed 30 May 2016. See also all contributions to the special issue of *Ethnomusicology Forum* on 'Fieldwork Impact' (vol. 12/1, 2003).
3. For an overview of terminological niceties in this area see Dirksen (2012).
4. Thanks to Professor Elizabeth Oehrle for her contribution to this section. For further details, see Oehrle, Akombo & Weldegebriel (2013).
5. For further details of the work of the FBF, see Whittaker (2015).
6. Thanks to MusicWorks facilitator, Charlotte Cripps, for providing details about the organization.

7. In 2010, MusicWorks received the Mentor International Innovation Award, as well as a Silver Award from the Impumelelo Innovations Trust, for pioneering work in the field of Music Therapy in various communities on the Cape Flats, <http://musicworks.org.za/why-music-works/about-us/>
8. Previously known as the Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park.
9. Since then, people forcibly removed before and during apartheid have claimed 70% of the iSimangaliso Wetland Park.
10. The research project commenced while I was lecturing at the University of KwaZulu Natal School of Music.
11. The *reco-reco* is a Brazilian percussion instrument that comprises an open-ended, hollow gourd with parallel notches cut in one side. It belongs to a stable of Latin-American ‘scrapers’ or ‘rasps’, which are played by rubbing a stick along the notches to produce a ratchet-like sound.
12. <http://www.veyanezuluville.co.za/index.php/en/>

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