

Peninsula and Hindustani music on *taarab*. As a result, this book provides substantial information for the study of musical and cultural convergence in the development of *taarab*. The awareness of how *taarab* is inter-related with other musical styles contributes to an awareness of how Zanzibari people have interacted with external agents in the last century. Fargion's book is a valuable in-depth exploration of the cultural, social, political and musical life in Zanzibar through the history of the development of *taarab* on the island during the 20th century.

Luis Gimenez Amoros, Rhodes University

Music and Social Change in South Africa: Maskanda Past and Present. Kathryn Olsen. 2014. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 10 tables, 18 figures, index, 222pp.

This book offers an extensive analysis of maskanda music by providing a rich overview of this Zulu musical style during the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. In particular, Olsen provides evidence of how maskanda music has historically been a means of tracking social change through its narration of the lives of the Zulu community in the above historical contexts. The book contains musical transcriptions, translations of maskanda lyrics into English and the author's research material from interviews with musicians.

Olsen researched maskanda music extensively during the period 1999-2009. In the prologue, she narrates that the first time she encountered maskanda music was in 1999 during her time as an undergraduate music student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban (xii). With regard to the contextualization of maskanda in post-apartheid South Africa, Olsen offers a self-reflexivity on her identity as a white South African woman from Durban researching maskanda music. For example, the author reports that her interaction with Zulu women was more egalitarian than with Zulu men by saying that "her whiteness and economic privilege often appeared to be less significant" with women (xiii). Thus, Olsen brings her own experience and class identity into her research and tells readers how it facilitated her interaction with Zulu artists, specifically with Zulu women. Although Olsen also addresses that "the researcher reality cannot be substituted for that of the musicians" (3) and says she tries to "naturalise differences rather than using them" to construct power relations (187). For Olsen, this type of naturalization of her differences between her social reality and that of the maskanda musicians leads to a more specific study of the music and its social context.

Olsen's book is organised into six chapters. In the first chapter, she provides her theoretical framework and research methodology. Olsen also offers a brief history of maskanda music and how it reflects social changes in the Zulu community since the 1950s. However, Olsen criticizes the concept of social change as being highly politicised in South Africa by the main political parties. As a result, social change

becomes a “postcolonial project to reverse the consequences of apartheid” by the South African government (4). In addition, Olsen addresses the discourse on transformation in South Africa which gives authority to the government to use a concept as a postcolonial form of state-domination, such as the seemingly colonial “tribal land and invention of communities” as the basis of the notion of Zulu-ness (19). In order to avoid this form of postcolonial theory, Olsen does not approach maskanda music as black music. She approaches maskanda music as music made by individuals with particular experiences although still “affected by racial and ethnic identities” (4). Olsen avoids postcolonial theory because, according to her, it does not allow for any focus on the “existential approach to identity and human experience” (4). She adds that identity in postcolonial theory is a “social construction rather than a process in the making of individual experiences” (4). Olsen uses Schraeder’s (2004) examination of “politics of development” to formulate the main problems of postcolonial politics by African governments. She argues that African capitalism lead to exporting maskanda music as an exotic and tribal-imaginary in the national and global market; the manipulative idea of economic equality before colonialism; and an urban rather than a rural emphasis based on agriculture (17).

With regard to the construction of Zulu identity in maskanda music, this musical style has a clear identification with Zulu migrant experience. The dialectic of rural-urban or tradition-modern, rather than musical innovation, becomes apparent throughout the first chapter. The author explains that her analysis of maskanda’s identity pays special attention to the location of experience rather than the musical practice itself. By emphasizing the contextualization of maskanda music, the author introduces the notion of habitus (or social structures of communication) between music and Zulu community as interactive (7). Olsen uses the notion of habitus (Bourdieu 1977) in which the French sociologist separates “cultural practice and social practice as separate domains” (8). Olsen also uses Ranger (1983) to examine the use of “tradition and ethnicity” by colonial powers to create social divisions and later by Zulu political parties such as the Inkatha Freedom Front (14). Confronting the notion of Zuluness and maskanda music, Olsen provides an interesting philosophical debate by interacting with the personal experiences of maskanda musicians reflected in their lyrics and how this music has been used to identify Zuluness. Maskanda’s lyrics address the life of Zulu men as migrant workers. According to Olsen, Zulu women in maskanda are dedicated to domestic activities and mostly collaborate as backing singers during post-apartheid times.

In the second chapter, the author describes the historical context of maskanda music from the 1950s to the 1980s. It offers a study of the origins of maskanda music in the history of Zulu migrant workers. In musical terms, Olsen quotes from Clegg (1981) that the roots of maskanda music are based on the *umakhweyana* (bow) and *imfilitshi* (mouth organ). Later, Olsen analyses the music and lyrics of the first maskanda artist who became popular amongst the Zulu community, namely John Bengu. Olsen analyses early recordings dating from 1956 to the 1980s showing how

the guitar cadences rooted in I-II chords (D-E or A-B) and how the plucked guitar accompaniment became popularized.

In chapter three, there is an analysis of the commodification of maskanda music through the commercialization of maskanda recordings and by use of music technology such as keyboards or music effects. Olsen discusses the band format in maskanda (concertina, guitar, bass and violin) and the use of technology through keyboards and drum machines. This chapter defines the consolidation of maskanda music in the South African music market and in particular in the Zulu community.

In chapters four and five, gender and the contextualization of post-apartheid South Africa in relation to maskanda music and the different roles of Zulu men and women in maskanda music are discussed. Here there is a special emphasis on the life of Ngcobob, a maskanda musician who taught this musical style at the University of Kwazulu-Natal (UKZN). Through Ngcobob, Olsen explains the harsh social conditions of many maskanda musicians in Durban in which poverty, living in townships and the lack of sustainable salaries are evident (73). Olsen discusses the consequences of apartheid still clear in the separation of race and ethnicity through the disposition of most of the urban spaces in South Africa (townships), in which the majority of Zulu people still reside (74). Olsen also uses Ngcobob as an example of a maskanda musician to explain the three different band formats (solo, trio and full band) which he adapts to different types of performances.

In chapter five, Olsen emphasizes the notion of emancipation, autonomy and economy in gender studies in order to examine the role of Zulu women in maskanda music (143). For instance, Olsen explains that drinking, smoking and sexual promiscuity are seen as improper female behaviour, whereas this is not so for male Zulus (149). This type of patriarchal oppression towards the image of femininity is also apparent in other western societies. Later in this chapter, the author points out that Zulu women are no longer only backing vocalists but also lead singers, and gives the example of Phuzekhemisi, who also had a female drummer (the only female instrumentalist found in Olsen's research) (152). Olsen also mentions the Bat Centre as a venue in Durban that sometimes dedicates its program to female maskanda artists. In this chapter, Olsen gives special attention to the band *Izingane Zoma* (which literally means 'children of mothers') composed of three women and three men vocalists (153).

Chapter Six draws conclusions on the roles of transformation and social change through the history of maskanda music in the last eighty years. According to Olsen, the use of postcolonial theories by Mudimbe (1998), Appiah (2005) and Agawu (2003) tend to reproduce colonial forms of 'othering' the local population. In this research, Olsen wants to dissolve the idea of 'othering' by analysing the musicians' individual experiences in maskanda music. In other words, the direct interaction between researcher and the people demonstrates the social changes evident and the transformation of maskanda music and the notion of Zuluness under the researcher's scrutiny.

In this book, Olsen attempts to naturalise the social differences between the researcher and the maskanda musicians. However, by not emphasising the musicians'

social realities, the analysis of class and race becomes problematic because it is not based on critical analysis of contemporary life in South Africa. The notion of *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1977) used by the author could have helped readers to visualize the different structures of communication within the Zulu community and how their context offered possibilities of social change or social mobility. Thus, the question of South African citizenship does not become an egalitarian concept; the author rather uses *habitus* to naturalise the social differences between the Zulu community and herself.

As it is, the data provided by Olsen in this book contributes to a better understanding of maskanda music, its contextualization and how it reflects social change. Further, given the importance of social change in postcolonial studies, this book is useful for scholars interested in the notion of advocacy in the Global South.

Luis Gimenez Amoros, Rhodes University

References

Agawu, Kofi

2014 *Representing African music: Postcolonial notes, queries, positions*.
Routledge.

Appiah, Kwame

2010 *The ethics of identity*. Princeton University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clegg, Johnny

1980 "The music of Zulu immigrant workers in Johannesburg: A Focus on Concertina and Guitar." *First Symposium on Ethnomusicology*, Grahamstown: International Library of African Music. 2–9.

Mudimbe, V.Y.

1988 *The Invention of Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Schraeder, Peter J.

2004 *African Politics and Society: A mosaic in transformation*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co.

Ranger, Terence O., and Eric J. Hobsbawm, eds.

1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.