THE CHURCH AS A SITE FOR NON-FORMAL MUSIC EDUCATION: A CASE STUDY OF BETHESDA TEMPLE, DURBAN.

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

IN THE DEPARTMENT OF MUSIC
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

BY
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DURBAN
DECEMBER 1998

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this whole study is my own original work and has not been submitted before to any other institution for assessment purposes.

I have acknowledged all sources used and have cited these in the bibliography.

Signed:

S. D. DANIEL.

December 1998.

DEDICATED TO MY SONS

DARRYL, JARYD AND JAEDON

Who have taught me that meaningful learning occurs amongst friends, in love and through play

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The financial assistance of the Centre for Science Development (CSD) towards the completion of this study is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed or conclusions arrived at are not to be regarded as those of the CSD

I am indebted to:

Dr. Angela Impey- my supervisor, for her insights as an ethnomusicologist, which proved invaluable in my research; and for her professional guidance and cheerful assistance in the supervision of this thesis.

Leslie and Emily Peters- my parents, for their constant support and encouragement in all my academic endeavours; and for assisting with the proof-reading.

All the musicians and members of the 'Bethesda community', who shared valuable information during the interviews and numerous conversations.

Rufus- my husband, and sons, for their unfailing love and support throughout my studies; and for allowing me the 'space' to be more than a wife and mother.

Last, but not least, To GOD, for the wisdom, knowledge and understanding to complete this study.

ABSTRACT.

Much of the research undertaken on music education in South Africa has been concerned with formal music education and its application in the classroom. In spite of the fact that the majority of South Africans have had little or no access to formal music education, non-formal learning practices have been largely ignored as alternative, and potentially effective forms of music skills acquisition.

This study focuses on the church, and the Durban Bethesda Temple in particular, and explores how, in the absence of access to formal music education, alternative learning methods based on generalised participation and musical process, may be conducive to the achievement of highly skilled musicianship. This thesis draws insight from theories proposed by intercultural music educationists, Christopher Small and Patricia Campbell, and ethnomusicologists, Blacking, Chernoff, Nketia and Merriam, whose work has focussed on conceptualisations, functions, roles and contexts of music-making in non-western, and African societies in particular. It postulates that when music-making is non-individualised and non-competitive, and when performance focuses on relationship-building and ritual, rather than on specialisation and spectacle, music learning is achieved through participation by way of aural transmission, imitation and mentorship. In this

regard, the underlying philosophy of education, as is applied in non-formal music education, is based on the assumption that music is a human capacity; that music-making is process-orientated rather than product-related, and that music can be used to build individual and communal skills and competencies.

The discussion concludes by suggesting insights that can be gleaned from the process of non-formal music learning in communal, participatory contexts, namely, the church; and how these insights can signal alternative perspectives to the practices and procedures of South Africa music education amidst current transformation.

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CHAPTER ONE.

INTRODUCTION

Philosophies of music education and music learning are reflected in the way music functions and is valued in society. Conceptualisations about music are related to and shaped by social and cultural conditions. This proposition is supported by Merriam's statement that "the understanding of the music of any people depends upon our understanding of that people's culture, the place music plays in it, and the way in which its music is conceptualised" (1982:20). In other words, musical creations do not exist in isolation, but are closely tied to their creators and to social conditions in which it is created. Thus, a meaningful study of music entails a broader analysis of the cultural context of its creators, and the position, value and function of music in such a society. If the function and value of music in a society is narrowly perceived, then its educational philosophies tend to be confined within a narrow perspective. Where music is perceived as multi-functional and its value extends beyond a purely aesthetic framework,

educational perspectives tend to be wide-ranging and integrated into broader social relationships.

Christopher Small maintains that "society, musical culture and education are inextricably interdependent, and reflect back and forth from one to the other any changes" (1977:204). By extension, whether music is perceived as an 'art form', as in most Western societies, or as a 'human capacity', as in non-Western and traditional African societies, the process of music education will largely determine whether members of a society acquire an 'artists' status or a 'listener' status; or by contrast, be generally regarded as musicians. C. and M. Ball maintain that "a hierarchical, class-structured society must result from an educational system which purposefully divides the winners from the losers" (1973:161). The preceding, opening discussion forms the backbone of this study in that it helps to establish the conceptual framework within which music and music education in different societies are situated.

Much of the research undertaken on music education in South Africa has been concerned with formal music education and its application within the confines of the classroom. Little attention has been given to music development in non-formal environments such as the home and within the community. Based on the premise that formal music education is to be considered **one** of the processes towards musical competency and musicianship, this study considers alternative processes, motivations and perceptions in non-formal music education that have nurtured and directed musical development.

It is understood that the majority of South Africans have been disadvantaged in that they have not been exposed to formal education. South African music education was further biased in favour of western classical music, to the exclusion of all other musics. The South African music education system has thus sadly produced generations of culturally deprived people. Instead of celebrating the diversity of cultures in South Africa, the formal. Eurocentric approach to music education has stifled an awareness and appreciation of non-western, indigenous and popular musical styles and practices. Furthermore, within this rigid, institutionalised approach, music, and subsequently music education, has been narrowly defined and conceptualised. This study will explore the acquisition of music skills in the context of the church, a non-competitive, participatory environment, and how aural and performance competencies are developed by way of alternative methods such as aural/oral transmission and imitation. It draws parallels with the procedures of non-formal music education encountered in traditional African societies and offers insights as to the relevance of the broader applications of such methods of music learning, with particular reference to current changes in South African music education

It is generally understood that formal education in South Africa is in crisis. Historically, quality education was the privilege of a minority group in the country. Furthermore, the practice of music education has been dominated by a Eurocentric paradigm that has dictated the superiority of the Western classical tradition of music and ignored non-Western, African and popular musics. In an attempt to redress the current imbalances in

formal educational procedures, South African educators are, by way of Outcomes Based Education (OBE), investigating and considering methods outside traditional classroom practices that have thus far been overlooked. It has been recognised that learning processes need to be revisited in order to cater to a wider range of musical tastes, styles and practices that reflect cultural diversity in the country.

Having been brought up in a highly musical, Christian family, and being a musician, I have always been an active participant in church music activities. My musical involvement in church, and at Bethesda Temple particularly, has ensured constant contact with other musicians. I have discovered that while most of these musicians are skilled performers, and some of them are even recording artists, many of them are untrained and musically non-literate. I have become aware that as untrained, non-literate musicians, most church musicians are as musically competent than I am as a formally educated musician. The majority of these musicians are versatile improvisers, while I am, more often than not, reliant on 'printed music'. For many, therefore, the church provides a 'space' in which regular performance opportunities arise. Clearly, the church has played a major role in shaping the musical talents and abilities of these musicians.

The congregation at Bethesda Temple may be described as diverse in terms of their music stylistic preferences. The musicians, both individual and group, similarly display varying performance styles and practices. At best, the musical style within the church may be termed 'syncretic', that is, a 'fusion' of various contemporary styles and techniques assimilated from predominantly American popular and jazz music genres. Assimilation

of these varying stylistic features and techniques warrant a consideration of alternate music learning processes and methods that correlate with the musical styles.

In considering studies on Christianity amongst South African Indians undertaken by Oosthuizen (1975), Buijs (1985) and Thompson (1995), in which Bethesda Temple is included, I realised that these studies were purely theologically based. While Bethesda Temple boasts a rich musical tradition; and music and religion are inextricably interwoven, I was surprised that music received minimal attention, if at all, in these studies. I was thus further motivated in my research into the music of Bethesda Temple, and discovered that the function, value and position of music, while integral to religion and church life is frequently taken-for-granted and overlooked.

In proposing the church, Bethesda Temple, as a site for alternate and effective music skills acquisition, an examination of the constitution of its musical environment is necessary. Consequently, I have considered the music, the musicians and their experiences as well as musical styles and practices that have contributed significantly to the musical tradition of the church. Further, in tracing these related musical aspects, various broader social, political and historical factors have required brief consideration. Clearly, such 'non-musical' factors have significantly shaped the course of music within Bethesda Temple and are essential to the motivation of such a study.

This study is based on Small's theory that 'Art' is more than the production of an object, but is a **process** through which "we explore our inner and outer environments and learn to live in them" (1977:3). Such exploration entails social inter-relationships as one comes to terms with oneself and one's place in society. The Western conceptualisation of music has tended to show greater concern for the product, thereby giving little attention to the process. In so doing, essential elements of musicianship and competency, such as communal participation, have been sacrificed at the expense of individual pursuits towards technical proficiency and virtuosity. Therefore we have much to learn from non-Western musical cultures, particularly traditional African societies where the creative process of music-making is based on communality rather than individuality. This principle can similarly be applied to the role of music within the church.

In pursuing this notion, I have sought direction from ethnomusicologists, musicologists and music educators, who have worked in non-Western, and African societies in particular. Blacking's theory that 'music is a human capacity', as proposed in his work amongst the Venda, also forms the theoretical basis of my investigation. Recognition of the similarities between the conceptualisations and functions of music in African societies and the church, has led to a closer investigation of music skills development in Africa.

It is necessary at this point to define 'traditional African' societies within the context of this study. Merriam comments that most Westerners, generally tend to associate the term 'traditional' with old, static, rural and things that are not modern, which cling to old

habits, and "have not kept up with the times" (1982:136). He goes on to add that this view of 'traditional', when applied to the continent of Africa, is an inaccurate one. Distinct features of 'traditional' African music to which I address my enquiry are described as follows. Firstly, African societies refer to those societies where formal music education has not yet been instituted and thus rely on communal and participatory forms of music learning and practice. Secondly, music learning in these societies relies on active participation, is aurally transmitted and is essentially non-literate. Thirdly, music is closely tied to a specific function and context.

Africa is a vast continent of more than 50 countries and boasts a rich diversity of some 800 ethnolinguistic groups (Turino, 1997:168). It is therefore not surprising to have several different cultures existing in areas of close proximity of one another, yet displaying diverse cultural practices. However, while being diverse, sub-Saharan African cultures do display certain common characteristics with regard to musical style and practice (1997:169). Thus 'African' societies in this study refer specifically to sub-Saharan African societies.

Music in traditional African societies is an integral part of daily life. It must be remembered that music is almost always performed in conjunction with normal, routine, yet essential activities. Music is purposefully and intentionally performed in the context of an activity or situation. Thus, music in African societies is said to be functional and integrated into life as a whole. Music specifically fulfills a wider function within African society. Likewise, within the context of the church, music is perceived to be functional in

various ways. Apart from having an aesthetic function, it also represents a medium that uplifts and transports one into higher levels of spiritual communication. Furthermore, music performance in the church is context-based. Its specific purpose and function is contextualised in public worship where music expression is communal.

Music education in African societies is integrated into musical performances. Music learning occurs non-formally within a social context and is situated in 'real life' experiences. Similar parallels can be drawn regarding the church's musical context. In the absence of formal music education within the church, music learning is dependent upon non-formal practices and procedures, analogous to those evident in African societies. The multi-functional dimension of music in non-formal contexts, such as is paralleled in African societies and the church, is central to this thesis.

Finally, aural and creative capacities are considered the most important faculties in achieving musical competency and understanding. This theory proposed by renowned American music educationist, Patricia Campbell was formulated as a result of extensive research in cross-cultural music environments and is particularly given further attention in this study. She proposes that while "specific cultural needs have shaped traditional teaching and learning processes, ... the phenomenon of music guarantees that the development of aural skills and creative talents is central to the training of the performing musician in every society" (1991:186). Further to the research by Campbell, I have considered some of the recent evaluative and qualitative studies on musical activities particularly amongst amateur, non-professional musicians within a local, community

context. These studies were undertaken by Jost (1981), Finnegan (1989) and Priest (1989). It also appears from these studies and my own observations of music learning within the church, that aural capacity is found to be one of the fundamental skills acquired by musicians in non-formal, non-literate methods of music learning.

This thesis will address the following questions: How is music taught and learnt within the context of the church? In what ways does the church environment nurture and facilitate such musical development? What insights can be drawn from the teaching and learning processes that occur within the church environment? It is hoped that the insights gleaned from this research will make a significant contribution to the body of existing knowledge concerning procedures in music learning and that it will further shed light on alternative approaches to music education in South Africa given the current circumstances.

Chapter two presents the conceptualisation of music in formal and non-formal environments and the two modes of music learning advanced within their respective South African localities. Music within the church is given attention in the third section of this chapter in an attempt to highlight its position in relation to other modes of music education. Indians constitute the main congregants at Bethesda Temple. Therefore, the short history of Indian Christians in Natal, at the beginning of chapter three sketches a socio-historical backdrop of the experiences of this particular group of South Africans and thereafter outlines the musical history of Bethesda Temple whose development was significantly influenced by these factors. Chapter four identifies the modes of musical

learning pertaining to skills acquisition within the church and mirrors these characteristics focussing on the integrated, functional nature of music likewise evident in traditional African societies. Within this chapter, case studies of a selection of musicians from Bethesda Temple are presented in order to address individual learning experiences in the absence of formal musical training. The conclusion links the discussion about non-formal music learning in non-formal contexts such as in African societies, with similar procedures and processes that have been identified at Bethesda. Furthermore, it discusses how these insights are useful in our perceptions about music education in general. It must be noted that this study emphasises alternative contexts of music-making and is not intended as a manual on methodologies regarding music education.

As a musician at Bethesda Temple, I am aware of numerous musical groups and individual musicians who have contributed to music within the church. Of these groups, some continue to perform while others have ceased to do so. To gain an insight into the musical activities and organisations at Bethesda Temple, semi-structured interviews were conducted. The interviews are described as 'semi-structured' in that they were partly directed by a standardised questionnaire which allowed me to access basic information concerning the group's history, function and role within the church and the community at large. The interviews thereafter followed a free conversational pattern. These 'free' times of sharing were invaluable as they filled in the gaps of information that I had overlooked or taken-for-granted. This information introduced me to the multi-dimensional role of music in Bethesda Temple, with particular regard to its role in socialisation, enculturation and education of the congregation. In addition to the interviews, I employed participant

observation methods and surveyed relevant academic literature. Observation techniques were used at church services, rehearsals and gospel concerts to gain an insight into the broader contextual processes and procedures of music learning.

Several limitations were experienced in the writing of this thesis. Apart from the theological studies of Oosthuizen (1975), Buijs (1985) and Thompson (1995), which present a socio-cultural perspective of Christian Indians particularly in Natal, there is a dearth of literature on the <u>musical</u> history of this church. Thus, the primary source of information in chapters three and four were interviews and informal conversations, and church newsletters and bulletins published by Bethesda Temple. To some degree, this study represents a pilot research, in that the music history of the church has not to my knowledge been documented as yet. The validity of the information therefore hinges on the honesty and integrity of the informant/s, to whom I am indebted. Many informants nostalgically recounted the past and seemed proud of the fact that their musical heritage, primarily an oral one, was being documented for future generations. For the majority of the older informants, this meant being valued as significant contributors in a rich church music heritage.

This study is presented from an emic point of view. Being a musician at Bethesda and therefore an insider in this investigation, my position was constantly challenged. Since I was partly familiar with some of the information prior to embarking on a formal study and shared close contact with musicians at all times, my insider's status enhanced my level of comprehension regarding music processes in the church, which I had thus far

assumed and taken-for-granted. However, throughout my research, I needed to remove myself periodically as an insider in order to achieve a more objective stance. Consequently, I have attempted to portray multiple voices, in which mine is only one amongst many.

CHAPTER TWO.

FORMAL AND NON-FORMAL MUSIC EDUCATION

This chapter compares the processes and procedures of formal music education with that of non-formal music education. Further, it explores how the church relies on processes of non-formal education as an alternative strategy in the acquisition of music skills, in the absence of access to formal music education. Since the study is based on music education in South Africa in particular, I have drawn certain parallels with music education procedures encountered in 'traditional' African societies which similarly demonstrate effective non-formal modes of music learning. The majority of South Africans have not been, and are not exposed to formal music education. In spite of this, non-formal music education is more often than not disregarded by formal educators in South Africa as a potentially fundamental form of learning.

In South Africa the term 'education' tends to convey certain images. One's immediate reaction to the term may be to situate teaching and learning within the context and

confines of formal institutions such as schools, technikons, colleges or universities. Admittedly, seldom do we, as South Africans, associate meaningful teaching and/or learning outside of these structured, institutionalized domains. Thus, 'education' is generally conceptualised within a narrow frame of reference.

Christopher Small has used an apt analogy to Western society by referring to a fish and its water habitat. "A fish is not aware of the water, since it knows nothing of any other medium" (1977:34). The same is true of human beings who have the tendency to believe that one's perceptions of life are the only ones that exist, especially if one has not been exposed to any other. Ethnomusicologists and music educationists such as Blacking, Merriam, Nketia, Chernoff, Small and Campbell, who have analysed educational processes in non-Western societies, have discovered that our perception of education is inclined to be narrow and one-sided. Therefore by exploring the practices and procedures of music education in cultures other than our own, our normative conceptualisations of music and music education are reconsidered, reevaluated and extended.

Although this thesis examines music education particularly within a non-formal environment, that is, traditional African societies and that of Bethesda Temple, it is necessary to discuss some aspects of formal music education in order to provide a background for a discussion of alternative systems of music education. It is necessary to be aware of the distinction between the terms 'formal' and 'non-formal' as they pertain to the context in which music skills are acquired and applied.

One of the direct results of colonialism in South Africa is that our educational system and policies are based largely on structures and standards set by the British educational system. Our concept of music education is likewise influenced by the conceptualisation of music in Western-European societies. The following quote aptly describes the position of music in such societies.

...art, being essentially experience,... has been relegated to a marginal position in our society. For the overwhelming majority, art plays no essential part in life; it is a spare-time activity, to be engaged in, if at all, when there is nothing more pressing to be done. It is split off from the everyday world, placed in a frame, ... the music lover turns to his/[her] music not as an exploration of life but as a respite from it (Small, 1977:81).

One can deduce from this description that the role of music is closely tied to an aesthetic framework and functions primarily to entertain and uplift the emotions. By extension, it is conceived of as a self-contained art and is contemplated for its own sake (1977:36). The position and role of music in society naturally determines performance conventions and the methods of education (1977:38).

Musical performances are held in specially designated, permanent structures or spaces set aside for audiences to gather and listen. Within the confines of the concert hall, arena or auditorium, people (the audience) assemble to contemplate and appreciate works of art or 'masterpieces' created by the 'artists'. These masterpieces are created as a result of the manipulation and/or organisation of sounds within a specific time framework. Each work of art has a logical beginning and end of which the audience is aware (1977:82). Music

thus holds an 'elitist' position and is associated with specialisation and professionalism.

This structured notion of music and music production tends to be the dominant concept advanced by most Western societies.

Our conception of music as a product rather than a process is reflected in the methods of music education and with the idea of the 'masterpiece'; "the great creative product, along with the name of the towering genius who achieved it, is at the centre of our teaching of the arts and our concept of Art itself" (McAllester, 1985:3). McAllester's criticism of this concept of music, the processes of music creation and music consumption, is closely aligned with that proposed by Small. He argues that the pursuance of virtuosity and technical proficiency, scales, rhythmic exercises and studies dominate the life of the aspiring musician, often to the detriment of musicality (Small, 1977:193). Further, Small maintains that essential elements inherent in a music-creating process have been sacrificed as a result of individual pursuits, such as "...musical communality; the ability of all to take an active part, not just a listener or even as one who realises the idea of others, but in the creative process itself" (1977:199). Music is seen as an end in itself rather than a means to an end. The ultimate goal and outcome of formal music education is the creation of specialists, artists and professionals who will assume similar categorised roles and functions in society.

Formal music education

According to Le Roux, formal education comprises teaching and learning that occurs in planned ways at recognised institutions such as schools, colleges, technikons and

universities (1985:6). Campbell's view of formal education is closely aligned with Le Roux's theory. She states that "schooling is a more restricted and formal type...of training that occurs in specific locations removed from the home environment" (1991:81).

Schools, colleges and universities set up standards of merit by which one's achievement is assessed. Musical competency is generally evaluated by grades or a completed level of competency. For instance, a student who has achieved grade six in instrumental skill or music theory is presumed to be more musically competent than the student who has passed grade two in similar aspects. Teaching and learning in formal institutions are examination-centred and purposefully controlled by recognised systems such as Trinity College, London and the Associated Board of the Royal Schools of Music (Small, 1977:196). In South Africa, the University of South Africa (UNISA), also performs a similar 'quality control' function. Musical competency is examined and judged according to pre-conceived standards of musical knowledge. Formal music education in Western-European societies has always emphasised music literacy. Thus, music literacy and the superiority of Western music over other musics were some of the ideas transmitted to South African music education practices via missionaries and teachers (Oehrle, 1993:256).

Learning at junior, secondary or tertiary levels of education is dependent upon, and controlled by a syllabus, irrespective of the personal preferences or the intellectual and emotional capacities of the learners concerned. Furthermore, the imposition of a syllabus dictates what will be learnt and on what students will be examined. Whatever lies

"outside the syllabus is not examinable and therefore not worth teaching" (Small, 1977:186). The syllabus thus narrows the students' vision of knowledge and excludes those areas of the subject that s/he might find interesting and rewarding (1977:187). The South African music education syllabus for example, is heavily biased in favour of the Western classical music tradition to the exclusion of other musics. The syllabus is irrelevant to the majority of South African students who have been subjected to its delimits. Sadly, until recently, the musical practices and processes of various indigenous and popular musics of South Africa have been ignored. In this way the South African music education system has succeeded in inculcating the assumption that Western music is superior to other musics and that certain standards of musical literacy and technical skill are essential to musicianship and competency.

Learning content in formal music education is fragmented into 'subject pockets' and presented to learners as separate units of knowledge, for example, Music Theory, Performance, Composition, Music History, Musical Form and Aural Perception. Within the range of subjects, a hierarchical order of importance is implied. Music Theory and Performance are generally given prime position in the hierarchical order, made evident by the fact that most of the teaching time is allocated to these subjects. Furthermore, when one seeks admission to study music at a formal institution, one is expected to write an entrance examination in music theory and pass a practical test as minimum requirement. Learners thus interpret at an early age that the ability to read and play music is central to musicianship and musical competency.

Each 'subject compartment' is allocated a specific time in the school day, during which the prescribed aspects of the subject are taught (Small, 1977:185). Likewise, the student moves through the day at set times from subject to subject, whether or not the knowledge is of interest or of relevance to him/her. The demands of the syllabus and examinations deprive the student of vast amounts of relevant knowledge, skill and experience that can be gleaned from within his/her community. Instead, only a tiny, arbitrarily selected portion of these resources are presented to him/her at school, college or university (1977:187).

At schools, colleges and universities, learners are subjected to the same teachers or instructors, within the same environment for the same duration of teaching time each day. Due to large numbers of learners who enroll for this type of formal education, there is little freedom of choice for the learner/s regarding the course and outcome of their individual education. Formal education is thus stereotyped, catering for the masses rather than for the individual. Research into formal music education in the United States in the 1980's disclosed that: "... except for the very rare instances, music education was a strait-jacket where everyone was expected to do, to think, be, respond, hear, learn, accept, reject and act in the same way" (Thomas, 1970:ix). Several years have lapsed since this statement was made and thus far has reflected music education in South Africa as well.

In an attempt to redress the imbalances in education within the apartheid regime, the National Education Department is in the process of instituting a new educational

approach based on Outcomes-Based-Education (OBE). At the centre of this new approach is the gradual and staggered implementation of Curriculum 2005, which is directed at the primary and secondary school phases of education. Rather than learning being prescriptive and confined to compartmentalised subjects encompassed within a syllabus, Curriculum 2005 identifies eight different, essential learning areas. These areas embody and include a broader range of learning than was previously acknowledged. The learning areas are: Arts and Culture; Language, Literacy and Communication; Economics and Management Sciences; Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and Mathematical Sciences; Life Orientation; Natural Sciences; Technology and Human and Social Sciences (Curriculum 2005, 1997: Teachers' Notes).

South African education has generally focused on methods and approaches to teaching. Outcomes Based Education, however, accentuates modes and styles of learning. This approach challenges the stereotyped roles of the student, the teacher and the school. Not only has there been a reconsideration of the function of these formal institutions in society, but revision of the terminology reveals an extension of their previously assumed character and role. The student becomes a Learner, the teacher, a Facilitator, and the school, a Community Resource Centre (Curriculum 2005, 1997). The capacity of the learner, facilitator and community resource centre are extended to be more utilitarian now than ever before. The concept of learning advocated by OBE as an integrated, communal process can be paralleled with processes and methods of music learning in African societies as well as within the church environment.

Assessment, which is an on-going process, evaluates not only knowledge and skills, but understanding and attitudes as well (Curriculum 2005, 1997). Outcomes Based Education may be 'holistically' perceived and seeks to prepare all learners to find their significant place as individuals, and members of society at large. Throughout the learning process the learner is aware of his/her individual goals and gradually progresses towards this desired outcome at individualised paces. OBE therefore, does not aim to distinguish and divide learners on a purely intellectual basis.

Outcomes Based Education outlines specific and critical outcomes for learners in the learning process. Two of the specific outcomes in the Arts and Culture learning area are especially pertinent to the central focus of this study. Firstly, to "use the creative processes of arts and culture to develop and apply social and interactive skills" (Curriculum 2005, 1997). This learning outcome draws attention to the process of art allowing for greater social interaction to develop, which was previously excluded from learning experiences. Secondly, to "acknowledge, understand and promote historically marginalised arts and cultural forms and practices" (Curriculum 2005, 1997). This area allows for the inclusion of indigenous and non-Western musical practices and styles which have been thus far ignored. A study of such musical practices will also highlight alternative, non-formal contexts of their music-making, which is emphasised throughout this particular investigation.

The commentary thus far briefly outlines the conceptualisation of music in Western societies which consequently determines the structures and procedures of music education. At the 1995 South African Music Educators Society conference, the keynote speaker, Ghanaian music educator W.K. Amoaku, in his opening address emphasised that:

The level and training of any artist particularly the child, should not be judged only by the acquisition of technical knowledge and enhancement of intellectual capacity, but also by providing the child with an avenue to develop intuitively, to provide the child an awareness of those elements in his or her cultural environment that give meaning to life and to the arts (1997:9).

In the light of this statement and the discussion thus far, one is able to clearly identify weaknesses in the formal system of education which has proved deficient and imbalanced. The disciplines of Music and Art are perceived as mere 'extras' in the curriculum, and therefore not vital aspects contributing towards a 'holistic education'. Furthermore, due to budgetary cutbacks and constraints in South Africa in the 90's which have tended to eliminate the arts, Music as a specialist subject, is one of the subjects that has lost its rightful position from the curriculum. The elimination of Music as a specialist subject in schools is considered ironic since music educators believe that education through music is most needed to promote, foster and encourage tolerance and acceptance amongst our diverse cultures. Nonetheless, it is hoped that Music will be reinstated through the Arts and Culture learning programme of OBE.

OBE emphasises team-effort and group work amongst facilitators and learners, which is directly contrasted to conventional methods of education (Curriculum 2005, 1997).

Christopher Small suggests that in considering alternate approaches to education, "the purpose is to replace the education system with an educational community, and this can evolve only from the efforts of individuals and small groups to create a rich diversity, and an inter-locking network of educational communities... " (1977:221). Although the vision of an ideal educational environment is somewhat illusory, one suggestion is described below.

C. and M. Ball criticise the position of the school in relation to the community. Although they refer to British society, the situation applies to South Africa in many respects. They disclose that the school exists as an "alien institution", because the community is kept away from the activities of the school and literally allowed 'no entry', as an enclosed structure (1973:41). Very little inter-relationship exists between those inside the institution and those outside of it. Likewise, Postman and Weingartner, from an American perspective, highlight the need for education to be relevant to changing needs in a society. This can be accomplished by making schools more community-oriented (1969:156). Their view is closely related to that of C. and M. Ball, who maintain that the school and the community should enjoy more dynamic interaction (1973:97). Thus the school should be an extension of the community and vice versa. C. and M. Ball further suggest that school facilities should be readily available to non-school members, even during non-school hours (1973:47) With regard to music education, community musicians should be available to assist the school with activities and programmes by providing 'hands on' experience and expertise when required. School teachers should also

avail themselves to various community services as the need arises. The use of human resources in the form of community musicians is one suggested starting point.

In July 1995, only a year after the first South African democratic elections, the Sixth National conference of Southern African Music Educators' Society (SAMES), was held at the University of Witwatersrand. The main theme of this conference was 'Transformation through Music Education'. The proceedings of this conference bears evidence to the fact that issues pertaining to 'multiculturalism' and 'interculturalism' featured prominently (Reinecke, 1997: Proceedings of the 6th National SAMES Conference). Delegates emphasised the need for South African music education to move away from the traditional monocultural domination to a philosophy of learning that includes all representative cultures in our country. More recently, the theme for the 1998 International Society of Music Educators Conference (ISME), held during July in Pretoria, was 'Ubuntu': Music Education for a Humane Society. This conference emphasised the need for increased levels of human interaction in the process of musicmaking and learning by broadening the existing roles of music, musicians, content and context. With regard to strategizing for effective changes in current formal music educational practices, a Community Music Activities Commission consisting of local and international music educators and practitioners, from both formal and non-formal sectors of the musical arena met a week prior to the conference. The purpose of this commission was to take cognizance of the various community music activities in our country which occur in the context of non-formal music education. In a letter addressed to the ISME board, the Community Music Activities Commission (CMA) stated that:

ISME's traditional focus on music education as 'school music' does not acknowledge the depth and breadth of these community music activities and their importance in the wider population of people who live, work and learn outside schools or in creative partnerships with traditional school curricula. ISME need only look at the vibrancy and success of community music in South Africa to see "music education" in new and exciting ways (ISME, CMA 1998:22).

Events such as these serve not only to keep music education practitioners abreast of current trends in the national and international music education arenas, but also provide a forum for the exchange of relevant views and ideas. The above-mentioned events have particularly challenged the need for changes in the status quo pertaining to South African music education

Non-Formal Music Education.

According to Le Roux, non-formal education, in contrast to formal education, is

Education that is given in situations in life that come about spontaneously, for example within the family circle, the neighbourhood and so on. Non-formal education also applies to education that proceeds in a planned but highly adaptable way in institutions, organisations and situations outside the spheres of formal education, for example in-service training in the work situation (1985:6).

Teaching and/or learning activities that occur outside the confines of the school milieu, university or college campus, could be termed 'non-formal' education. In this case, learner/s are active and inclined to receive knowledge and skills readily and willingly. The role of the teacher/facilitator may be assumed by parent/s, sibling/s, peer/s or any person/s from the community.

The focus of this study is music skills acquisition in such a non-formal context. It is thus insightful to consider the studies undertaken by ethnomusicologists such as Blacking (1967), Chernoff (1979), Nketia (1975), Turino (1997), Merriam (1982), and music educators, such as Small (1977) and Campbell (1991) in their respective analyses of skills acquisition in non-western, and particularly African societies. The practice of formal music education, as prescribed by the aforementioned Western-based system is absent in many of these African societies. Music skills are therefore necessarily acquired by alternative means. In considering music skills acquisition in the context of the church, I realised that certain parallels can be drawn with music-making, contexts, roles and competencies of music and musicians in African societies. The following discussion serves to provide a conceptual foundation for non-formal music education which bears relevance to music learning and experience in the church. Music, as experienced in Africa, is perceived and acquired in fundamentally different ways to that of the Westernbased notion of music and performance. Since my study is situated in Africa, it seemed pertinent to focus on African musical practices, and its relevance to other forms of nonformal music education locally.

The concept of music in African societies is broader and more encompassing than is considered in Western societies. Alan P. Merriam states that as Westerners we have conventionally conceptualised 'music' as 'music sound', whereas to the African, music clearly is a social institution (1982:434). Apart from the usual stereotyped role of music in Western societies, which is to entertain, to uplift emotions, to support various kinds of

expression, music in African societies also serves to integrate society by drawing people together in communal music-making activities. Within a social context, music reinforces religious beliefs and social attitudes and values, namely, it enculturates, educates, validates certain ritual behaviour, as well as contributes to the continuity and stability of culture (1982:72). In sum, "music's explicit purpose [in traditional African societies] is socialisation and the development of musical awareness in Africa constitutes a process of education" (Chernoff, 1979:154).

Music in sub-Saharan Africa is generally classified according to its function within a social setting, for example, there is specific music for rituals, rites of passage, communication with ancestral spirits, agricultural seasons and collective activities (Nketia, 1975:21). Thus public performances are organised around any one of these social or religious occasions. Within the context of these social settings, values, norms, customs and beliefs are transmitted through musical texts and non-verbal behaviour. Thus, "African music is functional on two levels- the music itself is integrated into daily life, and [music-making] is performed and enjoyed by large numbers of people within the society" (Merriam, 1982:75).

John Blacking's analysis of 56 Venda children's songs in the Northern Province indicates how musical structures relate to cultural patterns from which they originated (1967:191). The repertoire of these songs is context-specific and includes songs for boys and girls, day and night, counting songs, songs of mockery, action songs and songs to accompany games (1967:191). These songs are therefore relevant in relation to the context of their

performance. For example, it is considered inappropriate to perform a counting song while herding cattle, or a night song sung while playing a game, or a song of mockery while performing one of the national dances. Performance is meaningful when it is contextualised and the social situation suggests it (1967:191). Thus in the broader scheme of things, children and others in the community, learn that every person and everything has a proper time and place in society and that this principle should be respected.

The philosophy of being significant as an individual while existing in the context of others is one that is reflected throughout sub-Saharan Africa, and is particularly manifested in musical style and practices. Amongst the Venda, for example, the reed pipe dance of the Tshikona initiates illustrates that the sound of each pipe is important, not only in isolation, but in relation to the whole performance (1967:26). Likewise, amongst the Tshokwe of Angola and Zaire, the Tshiyanda is danced by everyone in the community and serves as a model to illustrate the concept of balance between the individual and the wider community (Schmidt-Wrenger, 1985:83). In so doing, these dances enact cultural values and practices. Music is thus seen as symbolic, symptomatic and reflective of broader human and cultural behaviour, which is made comprehensible through performance. A good performance is dependent upon the co-operation of the whole team.

In African societies, it is generally regarded that everyone has the ability to be a musician and thus the role of each participant is considered equally important. Within this context, no clear distinction is made between musicians and non-musicians. "The separation of the

'artist' from the 'audience' is not an African pattern" (Merriam, 1982:75). This does not mean that there are no 'specialists' in African music performances. On the contrary, 'specialists' are always present, but communal participation is regarded of greater significance to the process of music-making, than accentuation on the separation of roles. Music is thus participatory, inclusive, integrated and enjoyed by large groups of people. Whilst on his travels among the Venda in northern South Africa, McAllester, a renowned ethnomusicologist and music educator discovered that everyone is considered musical. In fact, "there an individual achieves full stature as a human being by demonstrating musical skill to the community. Every musician/human is also a composer, as a matter of course, and is also a dancer/choreographer, all without benefit of foundation support or even the ability to read and write" (McAllester, 1985:1). Similarly, for Venda children, a good knowledge of the repertoire of children's songs is considered an important social asset for any child seeking acceptance and identity as a member of a peer group in the society in which s/he is found (Blacking, 1967:191). Socio-cultural identity and acceptance are dependent upon one's musical awareness and competencies, which to Africans is conceived of as a human capacity.

Ethnomusicologist, Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger, spent much time amongst the Tshokwe in Angola and Zaire. During her fieldwork, she discovered that there appeared to be no systematic formal music teaching. In spite of this, there were competent musicians, drummers, vocalists and dancers, ranging from eight years upwards, who participated wholly and confidently in all music-making activities. Thus, there had to be some kind of music education occurring either "secretly or imperceptibly to non-African eyes"

(1985:78). She discovered that the principles of learning that underpin music education in African societies are based on observation, imitation and participation within the context of a non-formal setting.

The Venda children's songs, for example, are not taught in a systematic, formal way. Rather, children learn them by imitation, from each other and sometimes from adults in situations that necessitate and suggest its performance (Blacking, 1967:191). There is no graded, progressive method in learning the repertoire. The songs themselves are classified according to their social function, rather than their musical difficulty (1967:191). Learning is thus entirely dependent on frequent exposure to the learning content and the many opportunities they have to experience it. In other words, songs that are more frequently performed and more popular in social settings, will naturally be learnt before those songs that are less popular and heard and performed on rare occasions (1967:191). Venda children respond to and learn the songs at their own pace, sometimes even learning the 'harder', more 'advanced' songs first, before the easier ones.

Learning experiences amongst the Venda children are not unlike those shared by the Tshokwe of Angola and Zaire, where "learning [also] takes place without or with a minimum of formal teaching" (Smidt-Wrenger, 1985:79). Infants and toddlers up to three years are exposed to the rhythmic movements of mothers, older sisters or child-minders as they engage in routine chores and daily activities. These children are constantly rocked on the backs or hips of their minders. In this way they sense the force of the rhythmic patterns and beats. Their exposure is furthered when they are taken to

communal music-making activities and where learning is consolidated through the process of observation-perception-imitation-participation (1985:79).

The above commentary regarding non-formal music education amongst the Venda and Tshokwe is closely aligned to patterns of learning amongst Ewe Ghanaians of West Africa. Acute facility with rhythmic patterns and variations of basic beats is a characteristic feature amongst Ewe children in Ghana (Chernoff, 1979:94). To non-members of such a society, the process would appear to be one of an extremely complex nature. However, skills acquisition of such rhythmic complexities is apparently as easily acquired as learning to acquire the speech skills of one's mother tongue.

Clearly then, the "acquisition of musical skills depends on cultural factors, such as the popularity of certain songs, or the special opportunities that children may have to hear them" (Blacking, 1967:191). Likewise, the notion of participation and the function of music within a social context are also factors contributing to the acquisition of musical skills in African societies.

Music, within an African context represents and embodies social and conceptual relationships and processes. The conceptualisation of 'music <u>in</u> culture', embodied in Western societies, as opposed to 'music <u>as</u> culture', underlying the African conceptualisation, clearly distinguishes the two approaches and procedures supporting music learning in both societies.

In light of the above discussion, it emerges that these two concepts, the Western-based formal education system and non-formal education, as practiced in traditional African societies, are relative to the society within which they are applied. It is generally accepted that in so-called highly industrialised, stratified cultures, a formal education system is emphasised as the norm. In less stratified, less industrialised societies, on the other hand, non-formal education tends to predominate. In certain cultures, as advanced in this chapter, terminology such as 'formal or non-formal' are more often than not, non-existent, as education is perceived holistically as a central part of everyday life. There is no clear differentiation between learning and living, since in some cultures both these processes occur simultaneously. Hence education is a concept relative to its practitioners within the society it embraces. Most often the concept of music education is culturally defined and conceptualised.

The Church as a Site for Non-Formal Music Education.

The process of music education in the church is quite different from the processes that occur within formal institutions of learning. Although no formal training is apparent at Bethesda Temple, musical skills are nevertheless acquired in a non-formal, often non-verbal, non-literate manner, reflecting similar procedures to those discussed within the context of African societies. Similarly, pertinent differences are evident between the contexts of music-making, roles and competencies of music and musicians, within the church environment and that of formal institutions in certain Western societies. In the absence of formal procedures, music skills acquisition can and does occur in the church which is a non-formal, non-competitive environment, and which is based on a

participatory, context-based, function-based method of learning. This section of the chapter attempts to unpack the processes of music skills acquisition in the church as an alternative mode of education.

Music in the church, like that in African societies, is functional. It is primarily a vehicle for religious expression. Music creates the appropriate mood or atmosphere in order to stimulate, maintain and support any form of spiritual expression and the desire for it. An important and significant context for religious expression is manifested in various forms of public worship. It is in this context of public worship that music education within the church is situated.

On another level however, music provides an essential basis for socialisation amongst members of the church and musicians. Members of a religious community sharing common religious beliefs, values and customs, gather together on a regular basis to affirm and consolidate these beliefs and customs. Religious expression serves to provide a sense of identity for its members. Music is at the centre of all Christian religious expression.

Christian church music originated with the Gregorian chant which gave rise to polyphony. This hymn-singing tradition as it is known nowadays has continued through the decades. Church music has undergone several changes in style and performance practice. Although many churches still maintain the conventional practice of hymn-singing, some churches nowadays include the singing of choruses into parts of the

liturgy. Most of the Full Gospel and Pentecostal churches, such as Bethesda Temple, have introduced a change from singing purely traditional hymns to a combination of both hymns and choruses. Some of the more traditional, mainline churches such as Anglican, Catholic and Methodist have been slightly more reluctant to meet the challenge of such a change, and they generally continue to adhere to the traditional repertoire of hymns. Other churches within these same denominations have been more open to such changes and have introduced chorus singing gradually. In the so-called 'charismatic, radically-transformed' churches, hymns are sung occasionally. Another modification in the performance practices of some churches is the formation of church bands that accompany chorus singing as opposed to traditional organ accompaniment for hymn-singing. In order to effect this change several churches have developed their own groups of musicians so as to fulfill this need.

The musical repertoire of churches is assimilated and purposefully classified according to religious rituals, events or social functions. For example, there is specific music performed at religious rituals, such as Easter, Christmas, Good Friday, and on special Sundays in the church calendar. Furthermore, special music is assigned for the celebration and observance of various rites of passage in a Christian's life, such as birth, consecration and baptism, confirmation, marriage and death. Thus within this religious context, music-making serves to validate these rituals in the lives of its members. Included in the church music repertoire are songs representing specific themes and purposes, such as songs for worship, praise, redemption, repentance, thanksgiving, opening songs, farewell songs, collection and communion songs, and adult and children's

songs. Music is thus vitally important to Christian religious expression, performance and practice, and its purpose is to fulfill a wider social function. The function of music in the church is therefore similar to its broader function in African societies.

The church is generally associated with the religious and social-welfare needs of the community. However as far as music education is concerned, much is accomplished on a non-formal basis and is therefore related to the model of non-formal music education prevalent in African societies. Due to the fact that church musicians, (with the exception of some church organists), generally lack formal music training, thus categorizing them as 'non-literate' and non-professional, their role as musicians is often taken-for-granted. The misconception and assumption particularly prevalent in Western societies is that professional musicians are ranked as 'real' musicians, thus overlooking and neglecting the role and competencies of the non-professional, amateur musician.

The underlying principles of music learning that exist in the church are based on listening, observation, imitation and participation. These principles resemble those that underpin music education in African societies. In situations where musicians are not dependent on the written music or its notation, listening and learning to play by ear is of paramount importance. At Bethesda Temple, for instance, almost all the musicians are musically untrained and non-literate. The process of music learning is thus predominantly an aural one and is equally reliant on a process of 'trial and error'. The acquisition of an acute listening ability is a skill that precedes the acquisition of other musical skills since it is regarded as the most basic skill in acquiring the ability to perform within the church.

Children are exposed to a wide range of musical styles and practices in the church. As they mature, they imitate the peculiarities and mannerisms of accomplished musicians in the church. Learning in this way via role-models is characteristic of music-learning in non-formal, non-literate environments. Church music is not graded according to standards or complexity. Children learn to absorb whatever they can, sequentially and gradually. The urgency to learn is determined by individual learners. Very often advanced material is learnt easily by children imitating other musicians and role models in an unconscious process where learning is experiential. All learning should begin with an intrinsic desire to learn and develop.

The acquisition of certain musical skills would be profitless, if opportunities to practise and perform the skills and techniques were non-existent or rare. Every service or public gathering can be considered a performance opportunity where musical skills are applied. Every performance can also be considered a learning experience. Since music is not played from a written score, every time a song is performed, it is reinterpreted as a unique version of the original. Repetitions are common in chorus singing and they can be regarded as a basis for improvisation and creativity. Through these repetitions musicians generally play or perform the same material in a variety of contrasting ways. At the same time, the text is emphasised and affirmed through repetition. Within each performance, there is freedom, flexibility and space to grow as an individual musician, as well as within the context of the group.

Furthermore, the musical content that is learnt is relevant to the musicians and the situation that suggests it. The Christian life is said to be a pattern of life representing an on-going relationship with God. Therefore musicians who commit their musical talents to the church do so willingly and because it is a service to God and the community at large. That which is learnt within the church is used to further musical understanding and skill as well as one's religious philosophy. This is an essential, critical outcome for the church musician; that one's religious philosophy is strengthened simultaneously with one's musical understanding and skill.

Within the context of Bethesda, the distinction between the 'most gifted' and the 'least gifted' musician is blurred by the fact that everyone participates. The 'least gifted' musician is considered as important as the 'most gifted'. Even those who are regarded as 'specialists or professionals' in the secular world perform on an equal level with others in the church where specialist roles appear less conspicuous. Even members who are heard singing 'out of tune' are not scorned or jeered at, because their performance is expressed 'unto God', and not considered a public performance to entertain. The attitude towards performing is that one who is bestowed with a God-given talent and ability must utilise it to its full potential in a manner that is mutually beneficial to all members of the church. Playing, singing, clapping and dancing/moving to the beat are all regarded as means of spiritual expression. Whether one is equipped to use one of these means or all of them, active involvement is the key element to participation within the church. People are spontaneously moved to whatever means of spiritual expression they deem comfortable. The most popular forms of this religious expression are playing, singing, clapping,

raising hands, moving/swaying to the beat, all of which are exercised amongst members at Bethesda Temple.

Musical competencies within the context of the church comprise interdependence, cooperation and interaction amongst the musicians, combined with an ability to integrate rather than isolate individual musical skills. In other words, the church is not the place where an individual should display his/her musical virtuosity, rather, the acquisition and development of skills occurs through a communal experience that is mutually beneficial to all. This does not mean that one's individuality is stunted and lost. On the contrary, individuals find their place and are allowed to use their creative energy in consideration of others in the group. This practice requires much skill, creativity and sensitivity within the context of ensemble playing. It is within this socio-religious context, that musical competencies and skills are encouraged and developed. Musical competencies are based on the musicians' ability to invoke God's holy presence in the environment. The success of each religious experience is based on the relationship between the musicians and participants gathered, and their ability to be transported spiritually to greater heights. The musicians' role, to a large degree, determines the effectiveness of this process as they lead and support each experience. In describing the role of the musicians amongst Ewe of Ghana, Chernoff discovered that the musician uses the music to comment upon, and influence the situation at hand. In other words, the role of the musician is not to stop the action, but to "help the scene to move" (1979:67). Similarly, within the church, musicians are expected to support and maintain the proceedings during a service.

In this context of communality, where the process of learning is non-formal, musicians are given space to grow and develop according to their limits and potential. Further, they are nurtured in a loving, caring, sharing, relaxed setting, that respects and fosters tolerance of each other and acceptance of differences, unique and creative energies. Thus within the context of the church, musical and non-musical skills are developed in a way that is unknown to and ignored by formal systems of learning.

The comparison between formal and non-formal music education, discussed in the first and second parts of this chapter, identifies dichotomous systems in South Africa. I argue that the church provides a bridge between these two systems. It provides a space where ordinary people can be musicians and musicians, ordinary people. 'Professionals', non-professionals and amateurs co-exist musically. The church provides a space for the growth and development of the amateur musicians in society, where in the professional world of music, their role is undermined.

The chapter that follows bears testimony to the fact that self-taught, 'church-trained' musicians have built up a rich musical tradition for themselves. It argues that formal music training is not necessarily a pre-requisite for the accomplishment of musical competencies and musicianship.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE MUSICAL HISTORY OF BETHESDA TEMPLE

Historical Development in Bethesda Temple.

Bethesda Temple is regarded as an 'Indian' church since its membership is predominantly Indian. Thus, in order to understand and appreciate the establishment and musical growth of Bethesda Temple, one needs to briefly take into consideration the historical, political and social factors that have affected the Indian population since their arrival in South Africal. Clearly such factors have helped to shape, mould and affect the history of this institution as it is known today.

In 1860 the first group of Indians arrived in Natal as indentured immigrants under a labour contract between the Indian and South African governments. Between 1860-1911, there was a steady growth of indentured Indians into Natal (Henning, 1993:192). Given the fact that the lucrative sugar industry in Natal demanded a consistent and abundant work force, Indians were recruited for two major reasons. They were recognised as being

skilled in agriculture and were required to supply the labour needs of the colony at the time. Their contribution to labour in Natal also included working on the mines and on the railways (Munsamy, 1997:73). Apparently, Indians chose to emigrate from India in an attempt to escape a life of permanent poverty. Furthermore, "the conditions under which the Indians came included the fact that they would be treated as equals to all other citizens" (1997:73). However, this did not occur.

One of the results of being thrust into a totally westernised, industrialised society, was that the social and cultural lives of Indians inevitably underwent drastic changes (Henning, 1993:156). In addition to feeling alienated, Indians in Natal represented a diverse ethnic group, having being recruited from various parts of southern India, in particular, Madras, Calcutta and Bombay (Brain, 1983:243). Not only were they composed of different linguistic groups, they also lacked leadership in South Africa (Henning, 1993:192). Thus due to their various geographic origins in India, divisions amongst them in Natal arose from the fact that they were linguistically, socially and culturally separated. Although they were a diverse group, the government chose to treat them as one particular category of people. In so doing, their various religious persuasions, social and cultural needs, ethnic characteristics and qualities were totally unacknowledged and ignored.

In South Africa, Indians lived entirely at the mercy of White Colonial settlers. Their poor work status ensured that they remained on the lower economic rungs of society. In the early 1900's, there were several factors that had a negative influence on the growth,

development and general welfare of Indians in the country. Poor living conditions, educational and medical facilities, uncertain employment or the lack of it, were the main factors that retarded economic growth and opportunities for advancement of any kind (Henning, 1993:192).

Various governmental legislations from as early as 1872, dictated the terms by which Indians were to be treated. The government promulgated various acts which controlled admission of Indians into the country as well as within certain areas around the country (Meer, 1969:44). There also existed laws which restricted them from trading and from owning land (1969:44). Such conditions ensured that Indians in South Africa remained oppressed, deprived and prohibited from making any successful headway in life.

Of the Indians who arrived in Natal, only five percent were Christian (Brain, 1983:243). These Christians sought their respective denominations amongst the established churches which were Roman Catholic, Methodist, Anglican, and later Lutheran and Baptist churches. Brain reports that these denominations were not actively involved in evangelism between the years 1860-1911 and, as a result, this period of Indian settlement in South Africa did not result in the conversion of many Indians to Christianity (Brain, 1983:229).

According to Brain, Christians were the only people in the early years of settlement who were actively involved in social welfare work among people of all races and religious backgrounds. The Christian churches were the only organisations that concerned

themselves with the welfare of the aged, orphan and the destitute. Christian missions were also responsible for establishing proper educational and medical facilities, where the government subsidy failed to provide adequately for these essential services (Brain, 1983:229).

Fatima Meer, who has undertaken extensive sociological research on Indian South Africans, has discovered that "within the Indian community, Christian Indians have played a vital role in bridging the gap between the two impinging cultures, that of the east and the west. They provided the first clerks, educationalists, doctors, lawyers and paved the way for the westernisation of Indians generally" (1969:251).

Indians have always been a very religious people, and perhaps their survival in South Africa has been largely dependent upon their unshakable faith in a higher power. In dealing with fears like alienation, the effects of urbanization and modern industrialization, perhaps this deep religious philosophy provided a means to their adjustment in the country. The church, and Bethesda Temple in particular, provided a 'comfort zone' to the social, political and economic setbacks suffered by a large number of the Pentecostals in South Africa. Within this environment, people were accepted from all walks of life, each one being important in God's eyes. Every person was treated as either a 'brother or sister', and all members shared equal status within the church. "Bethesda has become a microcosm which overcomes the chaos created by the world" (Oosthuizen, 1975:221). Christian faith was secure in the belief that problems and difficulties were controlled by a much greater force. Bethesda Temple thus created a

community, providing its members with a sense of hope and dignity in a political climate which otherwise denied all sense of humanity.

The history of Bethesda spans sixty-seven years dating back to 1931. The first Christian meeting, marking the beginning of Bethesda, was held at the Durban Corporation Barracks on 17 October 1931. Corporation Baracks was one of the slumyards inhabited by Indians who sought employment in the urban areas. The church, founded by Pastor John Francis Rowlands in Durban in 1931 was an offshoot of the Pentecostal movement that originated in Pietermaritzburg in 1925. Pastor J.F. Rowlands claimed that he had received a "clear vision from the Lord in 1931" to establish a church. He felt that God had spoken to him through this vision to establish a church and to evangelise, particularly amongst Indians in South Africa (Bethesda Temple Diamond Jubilee brochure: 1991).

Bethesda Temple is presently situated at 29 Carlisle Street, Durban. This site has remained its premises since 1936, having been refurbished in 1958 to its present state. The name, Bethesda, meaning 'house of kindness', is also the "name used for the branch of the Full Gospel Church of God amongst the Indian community" (Oosthuizen, 1975: Forward). Even after his death in 1980, Pastor J.F. Rowlands is remembered and acknowledged for establishing the work of 'Bethesdaland' and spreading the gospel of Jesus Christ in Natal and generally in South Africa. Pastor J.F. Rowlands "became one of the most dynamic evangelists and spiritual leaders, and head of the biggest Missionary Movement among Indians in this country" (Oosthuizen, 1972:22). Although founder and

leader of Bethesda, he was very ably assisted by his brother Pastor Alex Rowlands and pioneers of the Indian Pentecostal movement in Durban, Pastors F.Victor, J.Vallen, C, Geofrey, V.R.Enoch and A.A.Kenneth. Of these, Pastor A.A.Kenneth is the only surviving member and continues to faithfully fulfill his duties at Bethesda Temple, Durban.

During the 1930's and 40's the majority of the people at Bethesda Temple were Indian, with ten percent Coloureds and five percent Whites also attending. However, given the Group Areas Act of 1950, people were racially segregated and members were forced to relocate their homes. As a result of this relocation, membership became largely Indian. Bethesda Temple soon grew by leaps and bounds and this necessitated the opening of various branches all over the Durban- metropolitan area.

At its inception, Bethesda's congregation numbered about hundred members. But this figure swelled considerably as members were actively engaged in evangelism amongst people of all races and religious backgrounds, particularly in the very early years. Evangelism took many forms. In the early days, it is reported that individuals and groups of 'Bethesdaites' went visiting door to door in an effort to spread the Christian faith by encouraging people to follow Jesus Christ and to attend church (Enoch, 1998). Evangelistic campaigns were a major draw-card for non-Christians and gave them insight as to what was offered spiritually at Bethesda. Enormous tents, capable of housing thousands of people, were erected if alternate venues were unable to accommodate the crowds. Furthermore, Bethesdaites evangelised on a personal level, distributing tracts.

bibles and talking to people in the streets, at work and within the larger community. In fact, any encounter with a non-Christian provided an evangelistic opportunity.

There are many converts in Bethesda, particularly from Hinduism to Christianity. Various reasons are cited for this conversion. Some Hindu converts claim that Christianity offers a sense of direction, hope and security which they feel Hinduism does not offer. Furthermore, some are "convinced that Hinduism has no answer to sickness and disease" (Oosthuizen, 1975:219). Although this statement tends to be a controversial one, it should be considered a personal opinion rather than a generalisation. Divine healing and exorcism are two of the church's main strengths. Many non-Christians converted after experiencing healing in one or both of these areas (1975:201).

In the early days, Pastor J.F. Rowlands presented the gospel message in a dramatic form. His huge evangelistic campaigns were acclaimed as 'Bethesdascopes', which consisted of a dramatic presentation of the sermon accompanied by music and a slide presentation. This vivid, dramatic presentation of the gospel added a new, 'live' dimension to Christianity in comparison to the traditional evangelistic approaches practiced by the established churches. This practice literally made the gospel 'come alive' and therefore appealed to thousands.

In the early days, non-Christians were very impressed with the community work in which Christians were involved (Enoch, 1998). This could also be cited as another reason for conversion to Christianity in the early years. It is reported that converts to Christianity

were generally those of the 'lower-class' in society. Many of them were employed as waiters, stewards, chefs, drivers or chauffeurs, carpenters, delivery men, hotel maids, factory workers, employees of the Durban Corporation, domestic servants and gardeners or farmers (Oosthuizen, 1975:201). However when one compares these professions with those members who are enrolled as members of Bethesda today, the list includes doctors, lawyers, businessmen, teachers/lecturers, school principals, managers, university and college students. This meaningful shift is indicative of the fact that Indians, "through sheer hard work and a stoic approach to life", have progressed socially and advanced economically and now also occupy positions on the upper levels in the social hierarchy (1975:201).

The above discussion outlines in some detail the patterns and trends regarding church behaviour that Pastor J.F. Rowlands prescribed for the early church as well as for the contemporary church. There has been a reconsideration of, and transformation in certain traditional styles of religious practice. Recognisable changes, particularly in the styles of music and religious expression, have taken place at Bethesda since 1931. However, the basic belief and faith in God, coupled with an evangelistic mission, has remained unshakable over the years. Change is inevitable, since tradition is not fixed, but is reinterpreted as generations come and go.

Musical History and Development in Bethesda.

Since its inception, the church has boasted of a rich musical heritage. Musicians who were actively involved in the early years established a strong musical tradition that

continued through to the following generations. Younger church musicians have aspired to follow in the footsteps of older church musicians. As older church musicians retired and created space for new musicians, they were more often than not, succeeded by younger family members. In this way, there has been a constant flow of musicians within the church.

The history of the church documents the various committees, groups and organisations that existed, and still continue to exist in its time. Men, women and children alike were represented and catered for in the organisation of the church and its various activities through men's fellowship, sister's fellowship and children's church. With music being central to all church activities, several music groups emerged within the church to provide an effective medium for evangelism.

It is necessary to provide a brief background of the circumstances surrounding the musicians in order to appreciate their commitment, growth and contributions to the musical history of Bethesda. The majority of the musicians were untrained and musically non-literate. Several reasons can be cited for the lack of music education.

For many, it was not financially possible to acquire music education, particularly during the first half of the century. Indians were historically deprived of education during the first half of the century and education was considered a luxury that very few Indians could afford. Those who were fortunate enough to have received some education did so at the sacrifice and expense of other essentials. Several 'white' music teachers taught

privately. However, with segregated living arrangements, these private teachers lived distances away, which added to the cost of music lessons. It was also understood that these 'white' music teachers were very strict and stern. Therefore music lessons, for a few, were seen as a drudgery rather than a pleasurable, enjoyable learning experience (Davis, 1998).

Many musicians could not afford to own an instrument. Therefore, borrowing and sharing instruments amongst relatives and friends was common practice in the early days. Some musicians who were employed purchased instruments using the 'higher purchase' or 'layby' system of purchasing. Later, when financially possible, the church did purchase some instruments. However these remained the property of the church and had to be housed in the church, used only during rehearsals and church services.

The majority of church musicians were the sole supporters of their families. By day, they were in full-time employment so as to provide substantially for their families. Full-time employment meant that very little time was available after working hours to pursue extramural activities. Nevertheless, musicians committed themselves to their music and regularly spent hours on rehearsals and performances. This was all accomplished during leisure time. Music groups were regularly invited out to perform at gospel concerts, other church branches of Bethesda Temple and social functions in the community. Most often performers were unremunerated. Travelling costs were paid by the members of the groups. Given the subsistence levels of some of the musicians, membership in a music group meant a financial sacrifice as well as a commitment of their leisure time.

Marriage, relocation and various demands of the groups were factors that constantly affected group membership. Consequently, musicians often learned to play several instruments in order to substitute missing group members. For example, instrumentalists had to be able to perform as vocalists when necessary, and vice versa. Hence, creativity and versatility were essential tools in accommodating changes of varying kinds in order for groups to survive.

Against this bleak backdrop, however, musicians committed themselves to their music. Amidst an historical, political and social milieu that tended to prohibit, hinder and retard musical advancement of any kind, the musicians at Bethesda Temple strove to establish, maintain and transmit a musical tradition and cultural heritage that are well known. Following is a discussion of some of the major musical groups and practices that spawned within Bethesda Temple, between 1931-1998, contributing significantly to the church's musical history and development. The summary is in no way exhaustive.

The Pastor's Own Orchestra.

The Pastor's Own Orchestra was the first music group that formed. This group comprised male musicians, who regularly accompanied Pastor J.F. Rowlands on his early travels in and around Durban. Pastor's Own Orchestra was instrumental and vocal, and included the banjo, guitar, saxophone, clarinet and piano. The Pastor's Own Orchestra was forerunner to the 'Kashi Orchestra'.

The Kashi Orchestra.

'Kashi' is the name of a holy Hindu city in India and means 'salvation' (Peter, 1998). Pastor J.F. Rowlands discovered this name whilst on his travels in India. Due to its meaning and origin he felt it was an appropriate name for an Indian gospel music group. The Kashi Orchestra, founded by Jack Peter in 1946, comprises men and women and is instrumental and vocal in nature. Instruments include guitar, violin, tabla, accordian and clarinet, played by the leader, Jack Peter. The group was established after Jack Peter was miraculously saved from drowning while attending a spiritual camp. Acknowledging that it was God and other Christians present, who saved his life in 1944, he thereafter dedicated musical talent and abilities solely to God's work. Prior to this incident he was a very active member of a non-Christian band, 'The Ranjeni Young Men's Orchestra'. They were said to be the finest Indian band during the 1940's, and their history spans some fifty years (Peter, 1998).

In the formative years of his evangelistic work among the Indian people in Durban, Pastor J.F. Rowlands was criticized for converting Hindus, in particular, to Christianity. Christianity was conceived as "a white man's religion" (Peter, 1998). Pastor Rowlands felt therefore that there was a need to uphold 'the Indian identity' within the church. Through Indian vernacular music, the people would realise that God is no respecter of race, colour and creed. Music in the church, particularly through the Kashi Orchestra, thus served as an important cultural link with the past for Indians at Bethesda Temple

during the particularly harsh, uncertain conditions of Indian South Africans in the first half of the century.

Singing and performing in the Indian vernacular languages (Hindi, Tamil, Telegu) distinguishes this group from all other music groups at Bethesda Temple, and thus it remains unique within the context of church music. According to Jack Peter, "it is very important that the Indian Christian does not lose his/her identity, and parts of their culture" (Peter, 1998). This group is significant in that it forged an identity for Christian Indians within the broader context of Indian society.

In the 1940's the South African Broadcasting Corporation allowed half an hour of Christian broadcasts during Easter and Christmas time. The music for these programmes was very successfully performed by the Kashi Orchestra, in conjunction with the appropriate Easter and Christmas messages that Pastor J.F. Rowlands preached. The music for this half hour radio broadcast occupied at least twenty-four minutes of the entire broadcasting time, and was arranged and produced by Jack Peter, who was and still remains the sole arranger of music for the group (Peter, 1998). The popularity of the Kashi Orchestra spread as a result of the radio broadcasts, and Bethesda Temple was recognised and well known.

Pastor J.F. Rowlands travelled widely and extensively preaching the gospel throughout the south and north coasts of Natal as well as the Natal midlands. The Kashi Orchestra accompanied him on most of his early travels and thus enhanced the gospel message through music. During these church services, the group performed musical items from their repertoire which consisted of old Hindu devotional songs. These songs were learned through the limited recordings that could be found in the country at the time, as well as recordings brought from India by Pastor J.F. Rowlands and others who travelled there. While the melodies of these songs were retained, the lyrics were accordingly revised and adapted for Christian purposes. The group continues to perform today in the vernacular languages.

By accompanying Pastor J.F. Rowlands on his travels, the Kashi Orchestra was afforded opportunities to perform on a regular basis. Sometimes this included up to three or four times on a Sunday, and up to seven days a week. Frequent performance opportunities meant that the group had to acquire a rapidly increasing repertoire, which they developed as the need arose. Even after Pastor J.F. Rowland's death in 1980 the Kashi Orchestra continued to perform regularly at Sunday services and other social occasions within the community. Although Jack Peter has always remained his leader of the group, membership has changed through the years.

The Highway Hosannas.

Mr. Reuben Timothy founded this group in 1962 at Bethesda Temple. It consisted of a mixed group of eight to ten male and female musicians of varying ages. This group uniquely featured lead, bass and rhythm guitars. According to the leader and founder of the group, Reuben Timothy, "the guitar was a big feature in the 60's in Rock'n Roll popular music. In order to keep the young people in the church and give them what they

heard on radio and record, I tried to introduce a different style of music into the church.

We brought into the church new tempo, beat and instruments" (Timothy, 1998).

The group performed extensively at Bethesda and various Christian venues. During Bethesda's early evangelistic campaigns which often lasted two weeks, the Highway Hosannas performed every night. Further, they were also noted to have performed at four different churches around Durban on certain Sundays (Timothy, 1998). Various social functions, church services and gospel concerts provided regular performance opportunities.

Rehearsals were very intensive and could last for up to twelve hours. These were held most often at the leader's home, sometimes at Bethesda Temple. Rehearsals lasted until every note was perfected. As a group they traveled widely around South Africa. Their popularity seemed to have resulted from the fact that they introduced a new style of gospel music into the church. Thus they were very popular and performed extensively at various venues.

The popular musical style of the Highway Hosannas allowed many youngsters, for the first time in Bethesda Temple's history, to respond favourably to church music and hence identify with it. Prior to this, church music was only associated with hymn singing and organ accompaniment. This group seemed to parallel musically the performance practices of the popular music world. The musical needs of the youngsters were being met and thus the Highway Hosannas gained popularity.

The Ishamichael Trio.

In 1962, Mr. Israel Prakasim, Mr. Sharma Kenneth and Mr. Michael Abel formed a trio with guitar accompaniment. The name of the group was derived from a combination of their first names. The trio emerged by chance after these three friends were invited to sing at one of the church campaigns. Recognising the talents of these men, they were encouraged by Pastor J. F. Rowlands and members of Bethesda Temple to continue their musical performances. Being a contemporary of the Highway Hosannas, the trio's music could similarly be described as a popular music genre. The repertoire consisted of contemporary American gospel songs which they re-arranged to their vocal suitability and taste. Song lyrics were frequently adapted for their use. The songs were extremely rhythmical and 'catchy' and therefore appealed to everyone. The response and encouragement that they received from congregations was a highly motivating factor in their growth and development as a group. The Ishamichael Trio regularly participated in the Christian Easter and Christmas radio broadcasts that were exclusive to Bethesda Temple, and their popularity also spread via this medium. Although no professional recordings were completed by the trio, at least eighty-seven songs from their repertoire were recorded on a cassette player and taken to India by a famous visiting Indian musician. The group disbanded in 1970 (Abel, 1998).

Bethesda Old Scholars Association. (BOSA)

Commonly referred to as BOSA, this group of males and females was formed in 1968. It comprised ex-members of the Bethesda Sunday School, hence the name 'Bethesda Old

Scholars Association'. The primary aim of the group was to uphold and promote the work of Sunday Schools amongst the churches. They distributed bibles and tracts to various Sunday Schools that they visited. This effort was financed from money collected at jumble sales and other fund-raising activities that they organised. Members of BOSA believed that the future of the church depended on the growth and development of young children in Sunday Schools. Hence, they fostered activities to achieve their goals. Social work within the community was closely aligned to the Christian principle of 'giving and sharing' that was further supported through their music. Apart from performing at Bethesda, they performed at other venues in Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

The Rose of Sharon' was a moving, dramatic presentation staged by BOSA at the Pietermaritzburg show grounds before an audience of approximately twenty-five thousand people, who had gathered to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bethesda's work in Pietermaritzburg. 'Singspirations' was an annual event organised by BOSA. This took the form of a gospel variety concert in which various local gospel groups were invited to participate (Davis,1998). Such events provided ideal opportunities for the development of Christian talent. BOSA does not perform as extensively as they used to. Their most recent performance was at the seventieth birthday of their leader, Mr. B. Davis in July 1998. The members met together after many years to commemorate his birthday, and they sang many of their favourite songs on this occasion.

The Glee Singers.

This vocal group was formed in 1975 and consisted of men and women. The Glee Singers performed under the able direction of their leader Mrs. Ruth Lee. Although not a member of Bethesda Temple and a trained classical musician and teacher, Mrs. Ruth Lee, was invited by Pastor J.F. Rowlands, to assist with the musical direction at the church in 1962 (Lee, 1998). She specialised in choral training and introduced four and six part harmony to the people. She encouraged and organised opportunities for the group to perform by producing various anthems and Easter and Christmas cantatas at Bethesda Temple. The music for these cantatas was sung from original sources substituting lyrics with biblical passages appropriately chosen for special themes and occasions. Some popular productions were 'King of Kings', 'Alleluia, He Shall Reign', 'No Greater Love', 'Second Coming', and 'Love was Born at Christmas' (Lee, 1998). Seeing that members were non-literate, the vocal parts were learned by the choir members through listening and imitating the sounds being played on the piano. Her successor was Mr. Stephen Enoch who initiated the formation of the Bethesda Choir.

The Bethesda Choir.

There has always been a resident group of musicians at Bethesda Temple to lead the singing in the church. Since 1971, the choir has been performing under the direction and leadership of Mr. Stephen Enoch. In 1958, at the age of fourteen years, Mr. S. Enoch, became the organist at the church, where he remains the resident organist. Highlights of the choir's endeavors include a radio and television broadcast in 1986 and 1988

respectively. Easter and Christmas cantatas were celebrations for which the choir prepared. Songs and appropriate messages for these programmes were ably written by Mr. S. Enoch during his period of leadership at the church. As a trained musician Mr. S. Enoch contributed tremendously to music in the church. Apart from being the organist at Bethesda Temple, he was also the music director for a period of time. As choir director, he attempted to teach the choir basic music theory to encourage music literacy. In spite of his attempts, however, most music learning was conducted through a process of imitation. Mr. S. Enoch also wrote and directed a major musical production in the 80's called 'Time Is Running Out', which has been performed at venues in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. In addition, a similar work though much smaller, entitled 'Who Will Roll The Stone Away', was also produced (Enoch, 1998).

The 'Praise and Worship' Music Group.

This group of resident church musicians have recently taken over the responsibilities and function of the previous church choir. The present group comprises singers, pianist, keyboard-player, drummer, bass and rhythm guitarists, saxophonist and flautist. The role of this group is discussed in detail in chapter four in the context of music learning within the church.

In One Accord.

This is the most recently formed group in Bethesda Temple. A capella in nature, In One Accord was spawned in 1996 and consists of soprano, alto, tenor and bass male voices. Their vocal style is similar to American gospel a capella music. In 1997, they produced

their first audio cassette and compact disc. Their repertoire consists largely of rearrangements of popular hymns and gospel compositions. Practices are held regularly as the group is invited out to perform very frequently. Performances are generally restricted to Christian related venues and social occasions. Rehearsals are utilised for improving old songs and learning new songs to increase their repertoire. To date, they have not composed any original works. A new song is learnt purely by listening to the original track and imitating it. The song is practiced until the desired sound and effect are achieved. Changes to the original composition are made when the original arrangement is unsuitable for the vocal abilities and needs of the group. It is thought that In One Accord is the first Indian male a capella gospel group to have established themselves locally.

Bethesda Temple established the Indian gospel music tradition in the greater Durban area. The music tradition represented a combination of American gospel music and some characteristics of Indian devotional music. In a sense, this syncretic musical style in the church symbolised a compromise between eastern and western church music. Through music, an attempt was made to 'Indianise' church music and to provide a means of reorientation and adaptation to the Western culture that was thrust upon Indians in Natal during the early 1900's. Given the fact that Indian Christians were a minority group within the larger Indian community, members of Bethesda Temple were further marginalised due to their affiliation with the Full Gospel and Pentecostal movements in the church, rather than with the mainstream denominations. Bethesda Temple can therefore be categorised as a sub-culture within the Indian Christian community in the greater Durban area. Music served as an important source of identity amongst Indian

Pentecostals, who were characterised as 'charismatic' in their style of music and form of worship, well before other denominations.

This chapter has presented a brief outline of the social and political history of Indian South Africans with particular reference to the role that Christianity has played in their lives. The chapter also presented an overview of various key music groups that represented the musical history of Bethesda Temple. The emergence of such groups provided a means of establishing social networks. The practices of these musicians not only reflected broader musical trends, but highlighted the cultural diversity within the church. Furthermore, it demonstrated how music has been a significant medium through which a range of social, religious and cultural identities and experiences are negotiated. Finally, the music tradition at Bethesda Temple was essentially based on human effort and co-operation, contributing towards community-building.

CHAPTER FOUR.

MUSIC EDUCATION AND THE CHURCH

Having discussed the processes and procedures pertaining to non-formal music education in chapter one, this chapter explores to what extent these are applicable to musicians and music learning at Bethesda Temple. The case studies in the latter half of this chapter are considered important as they present not only ways in which music is learnt and transmitted within the church, but also as a social history of individual musicians. It is necessary, at the very outset, to provide some description of a typical Sunday service at Bethesda Temple in order to articulate the function and prominence of music within the church.

Musicians begin to play at least five to ten minutes prior to the commencement of a service. The congregation may opt to sing or listen to the music. The service commences with a greeting and welcome by the priest, after which an appropriate portion of scripture is read. The following fifteen to twenty minutes comprises a time of 'praise and worship'

which is led by the musicians. Although this time of 'praise and worship' involves corporate music-making, it also allows for individual spiritual expression within a communal setting. The purpose of this time is to express adoration and praise, gratitude and thanksgiving unto God through the medium of music. Music is largely responsible for invoking the presence of God and creating an atmosphere that supports and maintains spiritual expression. Participants engage freely in spiritual and musical expression which includes singing, clapping, raising hands, moving or swaying to the beat. Music is played continuously unless otherwise indicated by the priest or music leader, and proceeds fluently from one chorus into the next. Songs are frequently repeated and often the congregation's response to the music determines the repetition of songs. Communal participation is valuable in this context. The role of the musicians within the context of 'praise and worship' is to draw, encourage, support and uphold the participants through the act of spiritual expression. It is understood that musical intensity is related to spiritual intensity. Therefore, as the music intensifies participants are transported into higher levels of spiritual communication. 'Praise and worship' is gradually brought to a close with a prayer pronounced by the priest or member of the congregation.

The remainder of the service is shared between conducting customary church activities such as taking up the collection/offertory, making announcements, performing special music items and the preaching of a sermon. Appropriately chosen hymns and choruses are interspersed throughout the service, punctuating the service at specifically designated points. Thus, music in the context of the church, although primarily a means of expression, also functions to facilitate the proceedings of a service from one point to

another. While being musically engaged in the service, the congregation might consciously or unconsciously be aware of another separate activity being conducted with musical accompaniment. For example, whilst the collection is being taken, music is played to direct and focus attention on spiritual expression, rather than on the activity itself. Music within the church directs and focuses attention on spiritual expression and serves to divert attention from so-called 'non-spiritual', yet essential, customary activities. However, when Communion is administered (a monthly celebration) or a baby is Christened, music serves to validate the significance of the ritual.

The service culminates with the sermon, the duration of which is entirely dependent on the preacher. Sermons are generally half to one hour long. To conclude the message, the preacher may request the singing of a suitable chorus or hymn that enhances the meaning of the message. Generally after the sermon, people with specific requests are prayed for. During this time, the priest or spiritual 'elder' lays hands on people and prays individually for them. Whilst the musicians play quietly, the congregation's role is to support and uphold the activity by opting to sing, pray silently or meditate. At the close of the service, a recessional hymn is sung as the congregation departs.

Music-making is likewise central to the proceedings at customary 'home services' and other social occasions, where the 'church band' is absent. People sing, clap, raise hands, move to the beat and dance with or without musical accompaniment. Generally, participants engage in some sort of spiritual expression with which they are comfortable. Some participants choose not to use overt, bodily expression during the service and

'absorb' from the atmosphere instead. Whilst s/he may, to an observer appear detached from the proceedings, such individualised, inconspicuous spiritual behaviour is acceptable within the church.

From the previous description, it can be seen that the role of music is functional and integrated into church life and activities. The primary function of music within the church is to invoke the presence of God in the particular environment and thereafter to support, maintain and uphold this atmosphere. Music is therefore not merely a means of entertainment. The accomplishment and effectiveness of this goal is dependent, to a large extent, on the power of music. The performance of music within the church is a means to a greater end rather than an end in itself.

With music being central to the church, it is imperative that musicians are spiritually and musically equipped to fulfill their role within this context, which may be described as amateur music-making in a community context. In an article entitled, "Cultural context in musical instrumental learning", Cope and Smith identify two approaches to instrumental learning, which are determined by the goals of the learner. (1997:287). In one approach the goal is to produce a musician with a wide range of technical skills founded upon a sound theoretical knowledge of music (1997:287). In the second approach, which may be applied to musicians at Bethesda Temple,

.... musicians have more context-specific skills and do not necessarily extend their intuitive understanding of music into an explicit theoretical one. Their skill may be constrained by technical limitations resulting from a lack of formal tuition (1997:287).

Musicians at Bethesda Temple acquire skills spontaneously within the context of playing. Learning consists of the acquisition of tunes for religious expression and the instrumental technique and ability to perform them. Hence, learning is not focussed on scales and exercises divorced from the context of performance. While it is necessary to be able to play scale-like passages and exercises, these are learnt individually according to the preferences and ability of each learner. Therefore, within the context of the church a wide range of skills, abilities and tastes are catered for. This allows for greater accessibility concerning music learning.

Church music rehearsals are not merely seen as a practice session for improving musical techniques and skills, but as an opportunity to simultaneously develop social relationships with other musicians as well as instrumental skills and technique. With this aim in mind, musicians attempt to achieve this outcome with every musical performance. Music rehearsals are held regularly every week and musicians are expected to attend them. A music rehearsal is usually one-and-a-half to two hours in length. An opening and closing prayer marks the beginning and end of each rehearsal. The music director is generally responsible for co-ordinating 'praise and worship' at church. However, competent singers from the music group are also given opportunities to lead. The co-ordinator is informed by the music director prior to the rehearsal so that s/he can prepare accordingly. Preparation consists of selecting the appropriate choruses, preparing the music sheets and generally to oversee the proceedings.

The large majority of Bethesda Temple musicians are self-taught. Emphasis is placed on the ability to perform, rather than on the acquisition and accumulation of theoretical knowledge. Since most of the musicians at Bethesda Temple are musically non-literate, time is not spent teaching musicians to become literate. Rehearsal time is used to develop aural, instrumental, improvisational and creative skills. The following quote identifies and describes the foundational basis of learning within the church.

Learning to listen and listening to learn prepare performers of diverse musical cultures and styles for improvisation as the ultimate level of musical performance (Campbell, 1991:185).

Campbell's view of the centrality of aural capacity to musicianship is closely supported by Priest who maintains that "the aural experience is the central core of musicianship. If musicianship is the central aim of instrumental [learning], ...then [learning] methods should be aurally based and other activities be made subservient to this" (1989:177). Musicians are highly dependent on aural capacity at Bethesda Temple, since many of them are non-literate.

A tune is learnt by listening to it several times and then imitating its sound. Learning in this way does not necessarily attempt at exact imitation, but an individualised version of the original. When the basic structure of a song is familiarised, musicians improvise within the framework. Improvisation requires musicians to spontaneously create music by drawing from a store of memorised music materials. The process of improvisation entails the adaptation and manipulation of materials within the given framework.

Competency within the context of the church is based on the ability to play fluently within a given framework, and with sensitivity to the spiritual context of the music. Spiritual sensitivity is seen as essential to musical competency within the church. Music competencies within a church service or rehearsals occurs within the context of a shared, social experience. The relationship amongst musicians and between the musicians and congregation is important as the one group supports the other in mutual stimulation. For instance, musicians receive their musical and spiritual cues from the congregation and vice versa. As in music-making in Africa, effective communication stems from a continuous reflection on the progress of the situation, particularly by the musicians (Chernoff, 1979:67).

Music-making in Bethesda Temple more often than not relies on the efforts of amateur musicians. Regarding amateur music-making in community environments, such as music bands and choirs, Brand states that:

Socially the significance is tremendous. Through their music-making, ...the young learn to live with each other. In striving for a better performance they blend their efforts in a common aim. They rehearse for untold hours, and even find it possible to buy expensive instruments and other equipment. Their commitment is immense and they give of themselves unstintingly (1979:16).

Several musicians were interviewed for the purposes of this study. Amongst the various interviewees from the church, similar patterns of musical behaviour emerged from the analysis of the interviews. The predominant response was that musicians were self-taught via an aural approach. Most musicians were economically deprived of formal music

education. However, this did not disadvantage or deter their progress towards musical competency. A natural love of music and the desire for musical expression motivated the majority of musicians to pursue alternative methods of music learning in the absence of formal music education. Some of their experiences are described below.

Communal living and the extended family household was a characteristic feature amongst Indians in the early days of their settlement in South Africa. Living under these conditions, close contact at all times and in all circumstances was inevitable. To the advantage of established and aspiring younger musicians such a communal setting provided a space where sharing in all aspects of life was encouraged and developed. Music was one of the common elements that brought people together socially. Musicians assisted, supported and uplifted one another. Music was aurally transmitted in a communal context. This is clearly the case in the extract from Jack Peter's story, founder and leader of Kashi Orchestra;

I didn't receive any formal music training. We were too poor for that. I was self-taught. I never went to school, and I never learnt, but it was just through inspiration, that I took on such a difficult instrument, the clarinet. In the early days, we were so poor, I used to do errands for extra money. I heard of a friend of mine who wanted to sell his clarinet. My mother took a lottery to get the fifteen pounds to pay the instrument. My family was very involved in music from the very early days. My father and my uncle were involved in vernacular music and so I grew up amongst the finest musicians and I got my inspiration from. So naturally in me, when I went out on my own, with my own group, bits and pieces that I had picked up from the very early days came back to me automatically (Peter, 1998).

For some interviewees, becoming a church musician was part of a family tradition. John Prakasim, member of Pastor's Own Orchestra, reports:

I came from a family of musicians. I have ten brothers and all of them are musicians in some way or another. They are all able to sing or play some instrument. It was very difficult, in fact, impossible not to be influenced musically in a family such as mine. Our cousins are also very musically-minded and perform as well. Whenever we got together as children, which was often, it turned out to be a music concert as each one wanted a chance to perform (Prakasim, 1998).

Musicians who were born into musical families felt no compulsion to carry on the family tradition. One's natural love of music remained the intrinsic motivation for developing musical interests and competencies. Michael Abel, nephew of John Prakasim and member of Ishamichael Trio, reiterates:

From the time I was 6 years old, I have been singing solos and duets. Even though I was born into a family of great musicians, I was not pushed into all of this performance. I chose to do it because I loved and enjoyed it (Abel, 1998).

Being a musician in the 1930's and 40's also gave one a sense of social status. Bernie Davis from BOSA stated that "in those days if you owned an instrument and could play, then you were a 'somebody' " (Davis, 1998). This meant that a musician was recognised publicly as a performer and therefore a cut above the status of ordinary community-dweller. A musician was revered for his/her ability to draw people together. Musicians were constantly surrounded by others who enjoyed being entertained.

Learning amongst peers and other musicians was one of the most widely spread, popular forms of music transmission, especially in the early days of Bethesda Temple's establishment. Bernie Davis comments:

My family was never musical at all. The family never owned any sort of musical instrument. I picked up a bit of music from the 'street-corner' boys, whenever we hung around together. One of the boys had a banjo, and the rest of us borrowed the instrument and shared and learnt from each other (Davis, 1998).

Most of the musical groups emerged as a result of good relationships between friends. Socialisation was fundamentally based on relationships between members of society. Music was the common element amongst friends and important relationships were established in group performances. Michael Abel, member of Ishamichael Trio states:

The best times together as a group were the rehearsals. We simply loved being together as friends. Our musical performances were secondary to our friendship. But because of the very close bond that existed between the three of us, whatever music we produced together reflected the social bond between us. We loved music and we enjoyed being with each other and this was the key to our success (Abel, 1998).

Likewise, Rufus Frank, member of In One Accord, admits:

It is so good to know that above all we are the best of friends. When we get together we have lots of fun and laugh a lot only because we enjoy an extra special relationship as friends. When it comes to our music, we practise hard and get serious to produce the best we can for God. When people watch us perform, they can clearly see the rapport we enjoy as a group. This is something not seen amongst professional groups. Music is about relationships between people and this is seen in our group (Frank, 1998).

Clearly then, the underlying principle to musical success extends beyond the production of music. The process of music-making is considered more important than the product itself.

In the absence of a formal system of musical notation, players relied almost entirely on their listening skills. Musicians listened to the original copies of the music and thereafter attempt to reproduce the sounds.

In the early days of my commitment to the orchestra, it was only practical. Everybody who was involved in the vernacular work, was self-taught. In the early days, we did identical copies of the original music. By listening you had a genuine feeling for the music. The musicians were very talented in this way; they had no teachers, but they learnt very fast. We were very sharp in learning this way, by listening and copying (Peter, 1998).

However, for the benefit of group performance a system of notation is used resembling that of 'lead-sheets' used by jazz musicians. The person in charge of a rehearsal will either prepare recorded music or 'lead sheets' for the rehearsal. A 'lead sheet' consists of the lyrics of the choruses written out with the key/chord structures written above the words. In this way a common, suitable alternative to music reading is accomplished. Each musician /singer is aware of her/his place in the music as they are able to read and follow the words as well. If lead sheets are unavailable, as is sometimes the case, then all musicians listen to a recording of the song and the harmonic structure will be corporately worked out. Those who are more adept at this aural procedure are valuable to the group as it allows everyone to achieve rapid progress during the short rehearsal time. Alternative ways of learning and arranging music according to the limitations of the group are made by any musician/s at any point of the rehearsal time. Any suggestions, advice and contributions which may or may not be used, are accepted as valuable as these will encourage the growth and development of the given music learning process. Ultimately the entire church will benefit musically from such a process of mutual sharing and participation. The development of a keen aural awareness, competent performance

technique and a creative, sensitive ability to improvise are the key principles at the heart of music learning amongst the musicians at Bethesda Temple. For these musicians the learning process consists of listening, observation, imitation, practice and performance, and a process in which the standard, western classical notation is seldom used. Furthermore, learning is frequently achieved through 'trial and error'.

Music learning based on 'role models' and imitation is evident in the church. Many stories are recited by parents and older members of Bethesda Temple as to how their young children imitated and copied the performances of famous, popular Christian performers that visited the church on a regular basis. Pastor J.F. Rowlands frequently invited international artists to perform at Bethesda Temple, particularly from India and America. Furthermore, Pastor Rowlands frequently visited India and often returned with collections of recorded Indian music which was unobtainable in South Africa at the time. Thus, congregants were ensured constant exposure to international and local artists of repute. The musical characteristics of these musicians were imitated by local musicians in the church. Jack Peter was one of the few Indian Christian musicians who sustained the Indian tradition of music.

In the records that came from India, they were all outstanding musicians and singers. Every one of them was of the best in their country, and they had to sell their product in a foreign country. You get inspired when you listen to these recordings and those in concerts, so in the early days, we got inspired and picked it up from them. I did not have any one particular great man as my idol. There were so many great musicians in the Indian history of music, their work was truly outstanding, that inspired me so much, I could not name them all. You select according to your talent and to your taste what is good for you and you follow it up from there. When I got my first clarinet in 1942, I used to imitate my band leader as he performed. My friends used to be my first audience (Peter, 1998).

Heather Jacob, pianist at Bethesda Temple in the 80's and 90's, also appraises the talents and abilities of local musicians as a source of inspiration upon which her musical success was built:

My inspiration also came from local and other musicians who had developed fairly well. Their progress motivated me further on in my development, not only overseas visitors and musicians at the church, but also many local church musicians who are of high repute. The main influences were mostly church oriented. I listen to a lot of American gospel music. By this music I am greatly inspired (Jacob, 1998).

Keith Kenneth, former pianist at Bethesda Temple and brother of Heather Jacob, admits that one of the role models in his music career was his sister. Although he began formal music training at an early age, he stopped shortly thereafter:

I watched my sister very closely, listened to the sounds she made and the patterns of her music chords. She probably did not even know that in a sense she was my teacher. All I wanted to do was to play the piano well. When I started music lessons the process of learning to read was too long and I also realised that I was lazy to read. So I stopped these lessons and began learning by observing and imitating my sister. When I felt confident enough, I started improvising on my own. I also listen a lot to American gospel music and jazz in particular. My style is a fusion of various styles that I enjoy. By listening, observing and imitating I have taught myself tremendously (Kenneth, 1998).

For many church musicians, the church was the only place in which they were allowed to perform. Bethesda's church doctrine was very strict regarding attendance at secular venues. Church members were prohibited from visiting non-Christian entertainment venues such as cinemas, discotheques and night-clubs. Therefore, the only performance opportunities included church venues and related social functions. God-given talents and abilities were to be fostered and developed within Godly environments. To this day musicians generally respect and adhered to these teachings.

Heather Jacob, who is still musically involved in the church, reports how experiences at Bethesda Temple and in local church-community situations got her started off as a performer and how such experiences contributed to her overall growth as a musician.

With regard to performing, most of my playing was done in church. I started playing at the age of twelve at a small 'house church'. This experience was my first public performance. From there on, I moved on to play at other churches that required a pianist and invited me along. Being able to play at church, helped me to gain the confidence I needed to play in public. Being in a church like Bethesda Temple, where so many accomplished musicians reside, enabled me to achieve a greater sense of excellence in my own music. Also being in Bethesda,(the mother church), a role-model church for all of 'Bethesdaland', continuously encouraged, motivated me towards a higher standard of excellence in my music (Jacob, 1998).

Similar comments were expressed by the well-known leader of Highway Hosannas, Reuben Timothy, who also accredited the church for providing him with opportunities that stimulated his musical growth and development:

When I got involved with the Highway Hosannas, I had no time then to pursue music lessons. But belonging to the group gave me opportunities to put into practice all that I had learnt in my initial music lessons and tutorship, when I was very young. Financially, the church did not assist, but it provided the opportunities and the chances and a platform to perform our music. You can have the best band and the best musicians, but if you didn't have the stage, then your music was not heard by others (Timothy, 1998).

As a church musician, one has to be extremely versatile as changes may occur spontaneously. The music leader may not adhere rigidly to the original song structure and one has to be listening all the time to "what is happening musically in order to fit your part in" (Jacob, 1998). Furthermore, the leader receives the cue from the congregation. If s/he senses that participants are being uplifted through song, then the song is repeated

many times. If the leader senses that the congregation is not 'flowing' with the musicians, then s/he is at liberty to change the song spontaneously. Very often, individual musicians become bored with playing the song in the same way over and over again, so each repetition is seen as an opportunity to improvise and embellish the existing tune. It is often during these song repetitions that individual musicians allow their own creativity to flourish and develop.

Music at Bethesda Temple has changed considerably over the decades. Many people have viewed these changes as improvements compared with the position and state of music at Bethesda Temple since its establishment in the 1930's. Initially, the organ was the only instrument that accompanied singing in church. Church music has remained stereotyped for many centuries. It has always been associated with hymn-singing and organ accompaniment. Many older, well-established churches still have a choir leading the singing with organ accompaniment. However, with the accessibility to music technology, certain denominations have opted to replace the once popular church organ with synthesizers, digital keyboards and other electrical instruments.

Presently, the Bethesda Temple music group consists of keyboards (piano, synthesizer), guitars (bass, lead, rhythm), drums, saxophone, flute and some percussion (suspended chime bars). The introduction of electronic instruments into the church required that Bethesda Temple also be equipped with an amplification system. Furthermore, the fact that more instruments have been included in church music means that more competent musicians are required to play them. Thus, the face of church music has been transformed

from the single church organ to a very modern church band with musicians exhibiting varying performance styles and techniques. Stylistic changes, new instrumentation and music technology are inevitable within the church environment, as the church also needs to develop in accordance with changing needs of society. Bethesda Temple has always been regarded as a church that is 'up-to-date' and 'abreast of the trends' and the changes in the music at Bethesda Temple over the decades reflects how people have coped with continual changing societal structures.

This chapter demonstrates how a study of music reflects broader historical and economic conditions in a society. In unpacking the processes and procedures of music-learning in a non-formal context, it highlights how music skills acquisition may be effectively based on a process of imitation, mentorship and mutual sharing. Furthermore, music provides for networking and community-building within a context of learning that is conducive to both communal and individual expression. Finally, it posits that within the church, music is a means toward social and spiritual growth rather than being product-related.

CHAPTER FIVE.

CONCLUSION

Chapter two provides an outline of the definitions and practices of formal and non-formal music education which are presented as two approaches to music education in South Africa. The discussion reflects different conceptualisations about the roles and functions of music in Western, 'traditional' African societies, and the church environment respectively, and demonstrates how music, society and education are interdependent systems. This study has concentrated specifically on contexts conducive to philosophies of music-making rather than on methodologies of learning. Therefore, it is not my intention in this study to critique the formal approach to music education as practised in South Africa, but rather to suggest that this approach represents **one process** of music learning amidst alternatives that may be equally effective. South Africa is a diverse country and just as there are many musics and musical practices in our country, there are ways and methods of acquiring skills and techniques of expression. I argue that in adjusting, realigning and extending our present philosophy of formal music education, it

is necessary to acknowledge alternative ways of thinking, feeling and learning about various indigenous and popular musical practices in South Africa. Furthermore, non-formal approaches to music education should not be regarded as 'alternative' approaches resorted to in the absence of formal methods of learning. Rather, non-formal approaches to learning need to be considered as vital, dynamic processes that may complement and support philosophies in formal music education.

The aim of this study has been to focus on music skills acquisition within the context of the church, Bethesda Temple, which I have identified as a non-competitive, participatory environment. Within this context, I have examined the development of aural and performance competencies by way of alternative methods of instruction, such as aural transmission, imitation and mentorships. The objective of this study was to parallel similar insights drawn from non-formal music education in traditional African societies, with particular reference to the context of music-making and learning, with that of the church environment, and to apply these insights to the current debate on reform in South African music education.

The study is based on three related theories drawn from Small, Blacking and Campbell, which have been developed through their research in music education in both Western and non-Western societies. Christopher Small criticises the formal Western-based approach to music learning as it emphasises a concern for the **product**, giving little attention to the **process** of music-making (1977:193). He maintains that music should be

seen as a means to an end and not an end in itself. Insights drawn from this philosophy of music-making in African societies and other non-Western cultures can be similarly applied to music-making within the church. Music, in this space is seen as a process to a greater end and is based on communality and a shared social experience.

In analysing the approaches to non-formal music education in African societies and relating them to Bethesda Temple, the most common characteristic is that the approach to learning is communal in nature. It is based on the premise that every member of a social group is considered a musician and is therefore regarded inclusively. The contribution of each member in society, from the very youngest to the oldest, is regarded as invaluable. At Bethesda Temple, the musical and spiritual experience is similarly dependent upon communal participation and such relationships between musicians and congregants contribute towards community-building.

That nobody is excluded from music-making in Venda society alludes to the fact that music is seen as a human capacity. (Blacking, 1967:191). Within the context of music-making at Bethesda Temple, everyone is endowed with musical ability and within the context of public worship in church, this ability is enhanced. Musical expression is further enhanced through communal participation which is directed towards spiritual upliftment, but nevertheless allows for individual expression and exploration.

Music-making at Bethesda Temple is contextualised within public worship. It is therefore context-based and content-specific. The regularity and nature of church services ensures that the process of music-making reflects on-going musical and spiritual experiences. These experiences are valuable in that participants are able to come to terms with their individual and corporate roles in the community.

In order to ascertain the relevance of music learning amongst the Tshokwe to Western music education, Barbara Schmidt-Wrenger, remarks that it would be futile to learn Tshokwe songs and dances in isolation from their social and cultural contexts (1985:84). This would be considered an incomplete, meaningless experience, since African music is context-specific and the social experience is central to musical performance. Nevertheless, she maintains that we have much to learn about the African philosophies of life and music-making, which can transform and extend our existing philosophy. In sum then,

...the most important aim in music education, no matter what 'sort of music is learned and practiced,...is to create our own social reality by making music together,... not looking for an aesthetic and most perfect result from a musician's point of view, but instead trying to realise what is going on with us individually and as a group while making this music this way (1985:85).

Communal music-making activities in African societies and within the church consolidates a sense of belonging and group identity. Within Bethesda Temple, group solidarity and the sense of belonging is of extreme importance to congregants who experience within the church context a place of solace and community-building.

My investigation is similarly supported by Merriam's proposition that music should not be studied in isolation of various social and cultural conditions in a society, and that consideration of such factors are integral to the understanding of music. The integration of music, society, culture and education have been demonstrated in exploring the music practices and learning within the church environment and in traditional African societies. Further, it has been illustrated how music has similarly served to reflect the cultural, social and political realities of the members of Bethesda Temple, particularly between 1930-1980. Every aspect of life was shaped by religious beliefs and activities. For instance, members of Bethesda Temple were forbidden to participate in all forms of secular entertainment, especially while Pastor J. F. Rowlands was alive. This prohibition encouraged the development of various music groups within the church, since people were forced to provide their own means of entertainment. Christian gospel music prior to the 80's in particular, was therefore regarded as the primary means of entertainment for members of Bethesda Temple. Furthermore, that Pastor J. F. Rowlands was a great musician himself meant that he represented a role model for aspiring musicians in the church. Many interviewees accredited Pastor Rowlands for his contribution in this regard.

Generally groups of friends established music groups. Most interviewees from Bethesda Temple stated that the process of music-making and the success of group performances relied on social relationships, and that a friendly, co-operative, relaxed environment was conducive to learning. Thus music learning was an enjoyable experience. Although music groups strove for musical excellence and to give of their best in all performances, the pursuit of individual virtuosity and technical proficiency was not their main focus. In

other words, music-making as a social and religious experience was not sacrificed in the pursuit of musical excellence.

The method of 'learning to listen and listening to learn' as described by Campbell, is the dominant one employed by traditional European folk, African and Jazz musicians. Similarly, this approach is advanced within the church. With such an approach, musical literacy is de-emphasised and the development of skills occurs as part of a shared social experience. Furthermore, a non-literate, non-formal approach based on aural capacity caters for diverse musical styles and practices.

Finally, the communal, extended-family system, characteristic of Indian South African living conditions in the early 1900's, further fostered the emergence of such musical practices, activities and methods of music learning. The socio-cultural and economic conditions of the early musicians at Bethesda Temple helped to shape, nurture and direct musical practices, that later contributed towards a rich music tradition within a local setting. The philosophy of 'Self-Help' has been the corner-stone of life in general for Indians in Natal (Zuma in Munsamy, 1997: Foreward). Such a philosophy has supported their approach towards music education in the absence of formal music education.

In addressing issues of multiculturalism in South African music education, Goodall proposes that the new key term in South Africa is to be "access" (1996:27). By extension, access to alternative methods of musical learning as well as to alternative modes of music transmission should be considered. In reviewing the proceedings of the 1995 SAMES

conference, themes raised in the 1998 ISME conference and the directions in the current OBE programme in schools, it is evident that changes are underway. OBE emphasises team effort and group work which is closely aligned to Small's proposal that in advancing towards the vision of a potential society we will need "to restore lost communality to music" (1977:208).

Given the multicultural nature of South Africa, the previously Eurocentric paradigm in music education needs to be replaced by a method that acknowledges all representative musical styles and practices in the country. Furthermore, consideration needs to be given to those philosophies of music education that embrace less formal learning systems and contexts. It is hoped that this study will offer further insights into skills acquisition in a non-formal context and contribute towards current debates in music education based on communal music-making. This thesis has attempted to demonstrate how such models can be found in the church and in African societies.

In broadening our conceptualisation of music and learning, new perspectives signalling alternative ways of experiencing and learning music in dynamically changing environments will become evident. It is hoped that this investigation of music learning in a non-formal context, such as the church, may contribute towards new visions and methods in music education, which seeks not only to educate people in the skills of music-making, but also emphasises personal growth and community-building. If this thesis has challenged normative beliefs regarding music and music education in South Africa, then the intention of such a study is fulfilled.

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