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Communicating Crisis: Musical Effervescence in South African HIV/AIDS Interventions

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Abstract

South Africa suffers the highest incidence of HIV/AIDS in the world, and despite the widespread institution of programmes by the government, non-governmental organisations and civil society to reduce the risks of exposure, infections continue to grow at a rate of 400,000 per annum (HSRC 2014). Due to the scale of the epidemic, the South African media has become saturated with HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns, producing a media clutter that has resulted in widespread indifference, particularly amongst the youth.

This dissertation investigates the role of music, and the performing arts more broadly, within HIV/AIDS interventions in South Africa. More specifically, it focuses on the mechanics of individual and collective engagement through music. Applying a reworking of Durkheim's (1912) theory of effervescence, which postulates the importance of human contact in creating environments conducive to heightened emotional states, the dissertation utilises data generated from both qualitative and quantitative research to scrutinise the application of music by three disparate HIV/AIDS campaigns: The Treatment Action Campaign, which mobilised communities through the use of well-known liberation songs to pressure the government into implementing a national anti-retroviral plan in 2004; 'Lucky, the Hero!', a participatory musical theatre production, which capitalises on global pop to persuade young South Africans to know their HIV status, and *ZAZI*, a mass media women's reproductive health campaign, which deploys audio-visual media in an attempt to catalyse a national discussion regarding women's rights and sexual health.

The study concludes that each of the three case studies exhibit a different type of musical effervescence through which they are largely able to energise participants and galvanise support for their specific goal, even if only for a short time. This research aims to contribute to a growing body of arts-driven health and social intervention scholarship.

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List of Abbreviations

AIDS - Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome

ALP - AIDS Law Project

ANC - African National Congress

ART - Antiretroviral Therapy

ARV - Antiretroviral

AZT - Azidothymidine (an ART)

EE - Educational Entertainment

ETC - Educational Theatre Company (Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management)

FAP - Forum for AIDS Protection

HIV - Human Immunodeficiency Virus

HSRC - Human Science Research Council

KZN – KwaZulu-Natal (South African Province)

MK - Umkhonto we Sizwe

MSF - Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)

MTCT - Mother-to-Child Transmission

NAPWA - The National Association of People with AIDS

NCGLE - The National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality

NGO - Non-Governmental Organisation

NSP - National Strategic Plan on HIV, STIs, and TB

PWA - People with AIDS

PLHIV - People Living with HIV

RDP – Reconstruction and Development Programme

SANAC - South African National AIDS Council

SAPS - South African Police Service

STI - Sexually Transmitted Infection

TAC - Treatment Action Campaign

TB - Tuberculosis

UN - United Nations

UNAIDS - Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS

UNICEF - The United Nations Children's Fund

UNMDG - United Nations Millennium Development Goals

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

WHO - The World Health Organisation

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short notice and informing me of upcoming TAC events prior to her departure from the group.

Preface

On April 27th 1994, at the age of six, I sat on the floor of my living room in northern Scotland and watched Nelson Mandela be sworn in as the first black president of the newly democratic South Africa. Of course, I had no idea gravity of the situation. I could not have possibly known the struggles that millions of South Africans had faced for generations to reach that point, nor could I imagine the troubled times that would lie ahead for future generations, or indeed that I would somehow become involved twenty years later. In the little under two decades prior to my plane touching down in Cape Town International Airport in late 2013 the country had plunged into what many have come to call its second struggle, that of HIV and AIDS.

Though it is not possible to pinpoint exactly, the genesis of this research can be roughly traced back to a series of events as an undergraduate music major. I was introduced by a mutual friend to Peter Okeno, a doctoral student from Kenya conducting research on music and reconciliation in the context of the Rwandan genocide. Though at the time I had little experience with the discipline of ethnomusicology, and even less with Rwandan music, the conversations were inspiring. I had never situated music (a commodity in the west to be enjoyed, bought, and sold) within such a serious and harrowing world event. How could music help Rwandans reconcile after such an unthinkable tragedy? All my studies in Western art music were of little help to me when considering such a question, but a seed of quiet curiosity had been sown regarding both the potential of the arts in human experience and the music of the African continent.

Soon after this, I happened across a recently published book, *Composing Apartheid: Music for and Against Apartheid* (2008). A volume edited by Grant Olwage, a lecturer at the School of Arts, University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, its chapters cover a broad range of topics around the use and composition of music in apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa. Music and

politics seemed to intersect in ways that could at times promote and at others dissolve the status quo of institutionalised segregation. Peter had studied his undergraduate degree on a scholarship in South Africa and spoke animatedly about the vibrant cultures and music scenes during those early conversations. By the time I was completing my masters degree, with a thesis that explored the early jazz influence on the music of the French and American avant-garde in the 1920s, I was more aware of the importance of music and the performing arts within many of the cultures across the African continent, though perhaps rather less learned on the specifics than I would have liked. It was at this time that I was formally introduced to the discipline of ethnomusicology. I was fascinated by how the use of comedy skits, theatrical devices, dance, and music in which whole communities are involved, played numerous and often overlapping roles in maintaining and suspending social structures, norms, and values. The cultural importance of music was becoming very clear to me.

For a long time, I had been curious about the presence of music in protest and social movements. Indeed, as a student with a keen interest in how music may be rendered meaningful to individuals and to groups, I became fascinated with the role music had played in the South Africa's struggle for liberation. It was during this time, throughout the 2000s, that South Africa's transition to liberal democracy was facing its most pressing challenge to date, the country's bourgeoning HIV/AIDS epidemic and the struggle for universally accessible treatment. The same rights-based activism that had characterised the struggle against apartheid was being redeployed by organisations such as the Treatment Action Campaign to fight for every South African's right to health. Indeed, there is a bitter irony to this redeployment. In response to leading ANC member's sponsorship of AIDS dissidence and quackery, struggle veterans like Simon Nkoli and Zachie Achmat were forced to turn the weaponry that helped to bring down apartheid (symbols of unity, community mobilisation, street protests, struggle songs, mass disobedience, and more) against the once leading voice for South Africa's liberation. If irony cannot be found within the ANC's less than exemplary history in responding to the AIDS crisis, then it most certainly can in

the neoliberal economic policies of consecutive ANC governments that have largely failed to restructure the country's social and economic landscape commensurate with the rhetoric of liberation that was so vehemently promoted prior to 1994.

With all this in mind, this research presents a way of understanding the performing arts, particularly musical experience, as a method of HIV/AIDS-related communication and engagement in the context of historical inequality, continuing structural violence, and an emerging climate of fatigue around the subject of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. I do this by presenting ethnographic accounts of the performing arts in promoting social and health action in an era of falling HIV/AIDS awareness, continued high-risk behaviours, and a saturated AIDS-related mediascape. Music and the performing arts have historically been used to educate, entertain, and cultivate social change in South Africa, and Africa more generally. But in the context of HIV/AIDS, what do the performing arts bring to the process of health communication and mobilisation around a topic that is suffering from over two decades of media messaging? With musical experience as the central focus, I try to unpack some of the mechanics of mobilisation and public engagement through arts-driven interpersonal experience.

My training as a musician, I believe, affords me at least some level of understanding about the important role music can play in creating connections between people. Although it is important to state that as an outsider to South Africa's history and continued political and economic struggle, I may never fully understand the many nuanced meanings such music may represent to the South Africans who have laboured, and continue to do so, for their fundamental human rights. While conducting my fieldwork in South Africa, I came face to face with the devastating effects that the epidemic has wrought. I spoke with people who had lost loved ones, friends, and family; people who had marched in solidarity with those who are infected and affected by HIV. But I also witnessed dialogues among community members tired of the economic and

social status quo, and the uplifting impact of participation and musical experiences in a variety of contexts. Though music is often only considered for its entertainment value, rather than contributing meaningfully to a given situation (in this case campaigning or awareness raising), the social and connective qualities of music can be powerful motivators for individual and collective action, as well as therapeutic in its expressive nature. Thus, this research is the culmination of almost a decade of growing interest in the emotive, communicative, and mobilising qualities of music, and its deployment against the ongoing South African AIDS crisis.

Chapter 1. Campaigning for Bodies and Minds: Music in Humanitarian and Health intervention

The late morning sun streams into the office through a wall of paned windows, casting crisscrossed shadows across the walls as the velvety red curtains dance in the breeze from an open window. The room is decorated with various Southern African ornaments and a large patterned rug leads towards two thick wooden chairs with intricately embroidered padding. The ambience is open and welcoming. I can feel the warmth of the Western Cape sunshine on my face and it reflects off the many glass photos that dress the office walls. In each of them is the same person, smiling broadly and genuinely, and often with company: Professor Jimmy Earl Perry, Director of Musical Theatre and Community Engagement at The Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management, Stellenbosch University. As I sit on a luxurious armchair across a large wooden desk, I listen carefully to his considered thoughts on communicating through the performing arts.

> **Prof. Perry**: *What we have done, certainly not on as large a scale as 46664,[1] is present a mass awareness event that tries to do a similar thing: basically make people aware that the virus still exists and you have a responsibility to help it go away, that's the bottom line.*

He pauses for a second, as if choosing his words wisely, and momentarily glances at the iPhone sitting on the dark hardwood desk between us, innocuously recording every flutter of the curtains, shuffle in our chairs, and uttered word. He sighs deeply, and after a moment of contemplation continues:

> *Look, these Bob Geldof and Live Aid, and all of these concerts have their incredible intent of what they wanted to do. I just, however, think that here is where the fine line comes on accepting those kinds of events, as you say, the efficacy of them, how effective they are: do they make any difference? I say yes*

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[1] 46664 was a series of high profile and celebrity-driven HIV/AIDS charity concerts organised by the Nelson Mandela Foundation to raise awareness about the increasing health crisis in South Africa. The concerts were performed between 2003 and 2008, both within South Africa and internationally, and included domestic and international recording artists.

and no. Artists, for example, are often paid huge sums to come to these events, and help spread the message, they may expect a three-bedroom suite at a hotel, they may drink a lot, and possibly other things to make themselves feel relaxed, that sort of thing. So for me, those events, what they were trying to affect: I don't think they reached the optimum of what they could have done. I don't discount, however, the intent. For instance, I don't think at the first Mandela concert [46664] that there was very much literature passed out, I don't know how available condoms were. We all saw on television the performances, and I personally, but again here is where anyone's interpretation of a song will be diverse as ever, I hardly thought any of the songs had any relation to a person changing their behaviour. For me, that was a huge PR exercise for many different things, but as I said, I appreciated the intent.

GW: So you'd prefer to have seen clearer links between the music and the songs on the one hand and the desire to change behaviour on the other?

Prof. Perry: To inspire you to do something, or even just to go back to your community and knock on that HIV- infected person's door next door and say 'hi, how are you doing? Here's a bowl of soup', as opposed to ignoring them. One doesn't have to do what we are doing to make a difference; it could be the smallest gesture. The bigger campaigns at least managed to get people talking about AIDS. It's still a major problem in many rural areas for people to talk about HIV and AIDS; they can't get it off their lips. Actually, forget rural areas, when my brother died, my mother had for years told everyone he died of cancer. She couldn't say he died of AIDS-related complications. Anything on that scale that gets more people to put the letter and words on their lips in order to get a conversation started was invaluable at the time.

(Discussion with Prof. Jimmy Earl Perry Director of Musical Theatre, The Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management, Stellenbosch University 29/10/2013).

Over the last three decades, South Africa has emerged at the epicenter of the global HIV/AIDS epidemic. At the time of writing this thesis 6.4 million people are living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa. Despite the widespread institution of

programmes by the government, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and civil society to reduce the risks of exposure, South Africa has the largest population living with the virus of any country in the world, and that number is steadily growing (HSRC 2014). Recent surveys have further suggested that there is still much work to be done to address high-risk behaviours, HIV/AIDS awareness, and stigma, with estimates suggesting that as many as 40% of people living with HIV (PLHIV) experience discrimination as a result of their HIV status (HSRC 2014; HSRC 2015). The scale of the South African AIDS crisis has left many to wonder why one of the most economically developed nation states in Africa has had one of the worst public health records of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Communicating HIV/AIDS-related information and raising awareness have become principle concerns for many non-governmental organisations (NGOs) as well as the South African government itself. In 2011 the South African government expressed its commitment to effective communication strategies for social and behavioural change as part of its National Strategic Plan (NSP) on HIV, STIs, and TB between 2012 and 2016 (SANAC 2014). Despite this pledge, the number of new infections is increasing every year with the latest figures showing 400,000 new HIV infections in 2012 alone (HSRC 2014). Data such as this, coupled with the numerous and widespread mass-media HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention campaigns operating in the country, suggests that many South Africans have become indifferent to the crisis. Indeed, Susan Levine's suggestion that 'people are either actively resisting the media interventions or an unable to easily engage in safer sex practices' (2007b: 76) is as relevant today as it was little under a decade ago. This thesis discusses the roles played by music within current HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention campaigning in South Africa. It hypothesises that recent interventions are utilising both interactive and mediated musical experiences to engender heightened emotional and affective states among their participants in an attempt to animate and mobilise groups and individuals towards campaign goals.

My analyses apply a reworking of French sociologist Emile Durkheim's (1912) theory of collective effervescence. This is done by broadening his original analyses and descriptions of religious ecstasy within large groups to account for similar phenomena engendered through musical experiences that were observed throughout the data collection process of this research. I do this by combining Durkheim's theory with more contemporary, and often music-related, concepts that overlap with or bear striking similarities to effervescence, such as affect, entrainment, the embodiment of sound, and musicking. Through this conceptual lens, I explore the affective and emotional potential that can be created through interpersonal contact, participatory music making, and through the mass media. I argue that the concept of musical effervescence usefully links the interventions discussed in this research by describing three differing forms of Durkheim's phenomenon utilised by the three campaigns that are analysed in this thesis (which will be discussed later).

Music and musicians are no strangers to public health and humanitarian interventions, and examples of global music-based mass media campaigns can be found from as early as the 1980s, with charity singles such as Band Aid's Do They Know it's Christmas? (1984) and USA for Africa's We Are The World (1985). Indeed, South Africa's own AIDS awareness pop concerts, in the form of the 46664 international performances, drew heavily from these early campaigns. However, the volume of campaigns that have been staged in the attempt to confront the country's AIDS epidemic and educate South Africans on HIV and related issues, appears to have created a climate of indifference that is most evident amongst the nation's youth. As early as 2002 it was becoming apparent that many middle-class South Africans were becoming weary of the oversaturation of AIDS-related discussion in the media (Levine and Ross 2002). Levine and Ross term this phenomenon 'HIV information fatigue' (ibid: 96), but I argue that it is not simply the content of such media and campaigning that is becoming fatigued, but the communicative approaches themselves. In the opening epigraph to this chapter, Professor Perry, of the Africa Centre for

HIV/AIDS Management, intimates that, though there may have been merit to holding large-scale celebrity driven mega-events such as 46664, their efficacy within South Africa's AIDS crisis appears to have been limited. Despite the number of campaigns (health, marketing and advertising, political, and humanitarian) that draw from music and musicians to help achieve their goals, surprisingly little has been written on the role of music within campaigning.

The influence of music on decision-making marketing and advertising has been acknowledged and discussed frequently in the academic literature. The focus of such analyses has often been commerce-driven and as a result has concentrated on concerns such as how to divert consumer attention away from marketing tactics (Huron 1989), or how best to capture the attention of a prospective audience (Alpert and Alpert 1990; MacInnis and Park 1991; Oakes 2007). Scholarship within the disciplines of ethnomusicology and musicology has also discussed the issue of music in advertising in some detail. For example, perhaps the most comprehensive historical account of music and marketing can be found in Taylor's *The Sounds of Capitalism* (2012). He argues that radio advertisers realised early on that the music they chose for their commercials would have a significant impact on the subsequent marketability of the product. Taylor contends that the jingles of early twentieth-century radio, coupled with a growing American pop music industry, paved the way for advertising companies to enlist musicians as brand ambassadors. Indeed, he argues that since the emotional connections created between music and listeners have been harnessed to sell products, there is little distinction between music within advertising and advertising within music among influential artists. Further, Cook (1994) analyses spheres of meaning and association presented through audio-visual television commercials and Turino (2008) approaches the subject from a semiotic perspective to suggest, similarly to Cook, that objects or products can become meaningful by way of association with various media.

> As we know from advertising, the constant repetition of a certain cluster of
> words, images, and ideas […] endemically links those images or symbols with

each other, making their fit seem true or natural, even if they are not. These indexical clusters of formally (and perhaps logically) unrelated signs begin to be organically connected through the repeated experience of them together. Connections among the signs become fact in our experience and begin to be taken for granted, ultimately going unnoticed, regardless of whether there are real connections among the objects of those signs. This is precisely the goal in directing people's thinking and shaping common sense (ibid: 197).

Focusing on music within health campaigning more specifically, and considering the development of academic fields such as medical ethnomusicology – with seminal works from Barz (2006); Barz and Cohen (2011); Koen (2008); and Barz, Lloyd, and Koen (2011) – I argue that recent trends in ethnomusicological, anthropological, and edutainment scholarship present a platform from which to launch an in-depth discussion of music-driven intervention strategies in South Africa. The work of Kathleen van Buren has discussed not only music within HV/AIDS campaigning in Africa (2010b) but further, the role of applied ethnomusicology within HIV/AIDS action and health advocacy (2010a). Indeed, edutainment scholarship has long argued for more robust interaction between the varying educational and entertainment aspects of communication strategies (Singhal and Rogers 1999, 2003). These trends will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, but for now it is still worth noting that such research has pioneered in-depth analysis on music and AIDS in Africa and presents a formidable base from which to launch an ethnomusicological discussion of music-driven HIV/AIDS communication in South Africa.

Despite a huge amount of scholarship dedicated to the study of HIV and AIDS on the African continent, it is only recently that AIDS has begun to be discussed as a social, political, and economic problem as well as a biomedical one. With such a change in direction comes the realisation that such a deeply context specific issue would likely require more than a purely biomedical solution. Given that the main mode of HIV transmission in South Africa is unprotected heterosexual sex, the relative preventability of infection contrasts uncomfortably with the

high numbers of new infections each year in, leading to questions concerning how best to communicate HIV/AIDS-related information and empower people to implement such knowledge in their own lives. Inclusive approaches to public health are currently being used to address structural and economic barriers to implementing healthy and safe lifestyle choices as well as educate on HIV/AIDS (Singhal and Rogers 2004; Tufte and Mefalopulos 2009). Edutainment, or educational-entertainment (EE), has become a front line weapon against the epidemic, with South African television soap operas emerging as particularly effective (HSRC 2014).

This study is primarily concerned with the lived experience of those directly affected, but not necessarily infected, by the HIV/AIDS in South Africa, and how they respond to music and arts-driven campaigns. In order to understand such experiences, I analyse three case studies. This first of these is the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), a non-profit organisation formed in 1998 to challenge the government's dissemination of harmful misinformation about HIV, sponsorship of quackery and unproven alternative medications, and AIDS dissidence. The group successfully mobilised communities through the use of well-known liberation songs to pressure the government into implementing a national anti-retroviral plan in 2004. Due to the organisation's use of emotionally charged rights-based struggle rhetoric, songs, and protest methods, along with the proximity of the emergence of the country's HIV/AIDS crisis to the end of the anti-apartheid struggle, TAC becomes an important bridge in this thesis between political struggle in South Africa, on the one hand, and the HIV/AIDS struggle on the other. TAC's success in pressuring the then government to implement a national public anti-retroviral programme in 2004, along with their use of community music making not only at their marches, but in the form of an HIV positive choir, The Generics, ensures that any discussion of music-as-intervention in the context of HIV/AIDS in South Africa must discuss the organisation's substantial impact.

The second case study focuses on an applied musical theatre production called

'Lucky, the Hero!'. The show, which lasts roughly one hour, is the flagship community engagement project of The Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management at Stellenbosch University. Organised and performed by the Centre's own Educational Theatre Company (ETC), which comprises a small group of peer educator actors, the show is accompanied by the non-profit HIV testing group, @Heart, in order to provide immediate on-site testing for those who want to know their status. This analysis discusses the effects of live participatory musical and theatrical performance on large groups of participants. This case study hopes to bring a discussion of music into the well-established literature on applied and participatory music theatre intervention for social change.

The final case study discussed is *ZAZI*, a mass media women's reproductive health campaign, which deploys audio-visual media in an attempt to influence attitudes and behaviours regarding women's rights and sexual health. *ZAZI* was launched in 2013 with the release of a song and music video of the same name to encourage a discussion on women's rights and gender inequality in South Africa. Given that South Africa has some of the highest sexual violence statistics in the world, and there are over a million more women living with HIV than men, HIV/AIDS awareness and empowerment have been placed high among the campaign's priorities. The campaign specifically focuses on young women. By discussing *ZAZI*, I hope to draw the discussion back to mass media campaigns and the use of highly mediated musical formats in order to structure a more coherent and complete line of argument.

This research aims to contribute to a growing body of arts-driven health and social intervention scholarship by analysing some of the mechanics behind how music is at times able to mobilise and animate those involved in musicking experiences to individual and collective action. It seeks to advance such questions as: how is music (and the various performance, participatory, and affective elements that underpin and accompany it) being used to communicate health information and engage with South Africans around HIV/AIDS prevention, and further, how and why do people respond to such media?

This chapter ends by moving towards more recent developments in health campaigning in general, and HIV/AIDS intervention in South Africa specifically, by discussing the emergence of 'edutainment', what Singhal and Rogers (1999) define as the process of creating and implementing a campaign strategy designed to both entertain and educate. Through a critical examination of the literature on edutainment, I discuss how recent developments in such scholarship prescribe new strategies of community and individual mobilisation, drawing links between the social nature of music and musical effervescence, and current generation edutainment. In doing so I lay the foundations for the analyses of the case studies presented in the latter chapters of this thesis. By opening a discussion on how music might mobilise and move us, as well as examining current scholarship on its implementation in areas of public health I hope to leave the reader sufficiently armed with the conceptual tools necessary to follow the specific arguments and deductions made later in the body of this thesis.

The history of South Africa has been exceptionally troubled, but throughout the struggle against colonialism and state-sponsored racism, and indeed within the country's many cultures, music has always played an important role in organising, galvanising, and mobilising for change. This will be discussed in far more detail in chapter three, but for now it is enough to note that this theme has continued into the country's struggle against HIV/AIDS. I believe that understanding the affective power of music in campaigning is an important step, not only in contributing to the ethnomusicological literature on musicking as it relates to Durkheim's effervescence, but further in developing robust HIV/AIDS intervention strategies for the future.

Music in Health and Humanitarian Campaigning

Though difficult to pinpoint an exact date, examples of what might loosely be construed as health 'campaigning' can be found as early as the mid-eighteenth century. In his discussion of the history of global public health, George Rosen

(2015) suggests that in order to address the situation of critically high infant mortality in England's larger cities, reformers successfully lobbied the British parliament to reduce gin trafficking in 1750. He continues that 'the significance of the campaign against gin resides not alone in its effectiveness, but even more in the circumstance that it was one of the first efforts to secure social reform through organised pressure on Parliament' (ibid). More recently, movements in various incarnations have been working towards health related goals for decades. But if we fast-forward from Rosen's gin reformers to the early digital age of the 1980s, we begin to we see a dramatic increase in the use of mass media, performing arts, celebrity involvement, and popular music to promote global or regional health and humanitarian awareness.

From Audrey Hepburn's work with UNICEF[2] in Ethiopia to Dionne Warwick, Elton John, Gladys Knight, and Stevie Wonder's collaborative cover of *That's What Friends are For* (1985),[3] the increased globalisation and communication technologies in the 1980s created a new celebrity niche for awareness of public health and humanitarian issues (Cooper 2008). As a result of their immense global profile, much has been written about music-related awareness campaigns, (Garofalo 2005; Westley 1991; Ullestad 1987; Gill 2010; Choiliaraki 2013; and Müller 2013), however this legacy and continued influence on current campaign strategies has not been perused with the same enthusiasm from an ethnomusicological perspective.

The Legacy of Band Aid on Health Campaigning in South Africa

For decades music has been an inextricable component of public health messaging in South Africa with both music and musicians playing significant roles in the many campaigns that have more recently attempted to break the

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[2] Audrey Hepburn was appointed as Special Ambassador for UNICEF in 1988 and was one of the first celebrity ambassadors appointed to a humanitarian group. According to a UNICEF press release 'she raised the consciousness of millions of people about countries they never knew existed' (ahepburn.com).
[3] *That's What Friends are For* was a benefit single released to raise funds for the American Foundation for AIDS Research and remained a number one hit for three weeks the year following its release.

silence around HIV/AIDS.[4] Indeed, a number of AIDS advocacy groups in South

Africa have adopted an international template of musical campaigning that has

been used to influence people since the early 1980s. It is in this decade that the

charity single and benefit concert method of fundraising for global health and

humanitarian causes exploded into the western consciousness. For Garofalo

(2005), by the end of the decade there was scarcely a progressive movement

that did not have its own mega-event that drew attention to social or health

issues such as AIDS, child-abuse, racism, corporate exploitation,

environmentalism, and homelessness with an intensity that was previously

unheard of.

In 1984 Bob Geldoff, the then lead singer of the Irish punk band 'The Boomtown

Rats', brought together some of the biggest names in the British musical

entertainment industry at the time to collaborate on a charity single. This group

of artists became the super group Band Aid, with its charity single and music

video, *Do They Know it's Christmas?* (1984). Band Aid and Live Aid (1985), a

series of benefit concerts organised by the same celebrities, arguably became

templates for later pop mega-event campaigns that followed. They were the

first major musical collaborations orchestrated to raise global awareness and

funds to provide relief for a crisis on the African continent: widespread famine

in Ethiopia.[5] The financial success of Band Aid has resulted in a wealth of similar

pop music-driven humanitarian campaigns over the past 30 years, including

several reincarnations of the original 1984 single.[6] The methods used by Band

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[4] Including the international 46664 concerts (organised by Nelson Mandela Foundation and named after his prison number in Robben Island), African Musicians Against HIV/AIDS, the Treatment Action Campaign's use of old struggle songs and community musicking, the United Nations MDGs *8 Goals for Africa* music video to coincide with the 2010 FIFA World Cup, and Annie Lenox's *Sing* campaign, to name only a small number of well known examples.

[5] A case can be made that George Harrison's 'Bangla Desh' (1971) was the first purposefully composed charity single, the proceeds of which were donated to provide relief to the millions of refugees in the newly independent state of Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan) following the 1971 Liberation War. However, for the purposes of this study, I am largely focusing on Africa.

[6] The most famous of these came a year later in 1985 in the form of Michael Jackson's collaboration with a collection of famous North American artists collectively known as 'USA for Africa' with their single *We Are the World*. In South Africa, the anti-crime campaign 'Shout', along with a collection of local artists, has released two music videos, one original song of the

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Aid – celebrity advocacy, musical narratives, shock tactics to appeal to emotions – have become commonplace since the 1980s and I will refer to these approaches throughout this thesis as the 'Band Aid method'.

Though international organisations such as the United Nations (UN) and The World Health Organisation (WHO) have been implementing strategies to combat disease since the Second World War, it is in the 1980s that concerns over global health shifted into the western public focus and health campaigning became a global phenomenon. This shift was an important one, as it was the first time that ordinary people, who were not normally involved in matters of world health or humanitarianism, were invited to contribute to interventions. For Rojek (2012), Band Aid and Live Aid marked a turning point in how funds were raised for global humanitarian causes and some of the world's worst crises were brought directly into people's homes through mass media. *Do They Know It's Christmas?* was an enormous hit and went on to become the UK's top selling record at the time, raising over 110 million GBP for the cause (Kapoor 2013). At the time *Spin Magazine* noted that 'Band Aid's "Do They Know It's Christmas?" captured the imagination of Britain and America. […] A tiny voice raised against an incalculable tragedy' (Guccione Jr. 1986: 6). The success of this celebrity-driven mass media approach paved the way for other initiatives and organisations to incorporate similar methods into their own campaign strategies.

The immediate effect and enduring legacy of Band Aid in public health awareness campaigning cannot be understated. The following year, another collaboration of stars, this time gathering in the United States, recorded their own charity single, *We are the World*. This new super group included American

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same name in 2012, as well as an earlier cover of John Farnham's *You're The Voice* in 2010. In 2014 Bob Geldof created 'Band Aid 30' which released a cover of *Do They Know it's Christmas?* to raise money to fight the Ebola outbreak in West Africa, and most recently, African artists from across the continent have come together to create a music video for the 'No Xenophobia' campaign in response to the 2015 violence against foreign nationals in South Africa called *No More*.

heavyweights such as Michael Jackson and Lionel Richie, along with some of the Band Aid artists, and was collectively known as 'USA for Africa'. *Spin Magazine* understood that with its release 'the tiny voice became a booming chorus' (ibid). The description of the 'booming chorus' is fitting in a number of ways. It was of both metaphorical and literal significance. The metaphor of the chorus seemed to allude to the sheer breadth of reach these artists could achieve and the media hype that inevitably surrounded the creation of a temporary super group for a one-time charity single. But it is also literal in the sense that each of these super groups, and indeed the phenomenon has become something of a charity single trope, actually presented themselves singing in unison in a booming choral chorus. The article continues that, together with Live Aid, the voice 'became a thundering anthem and the world shook with its mighty sound and shuddered with its mighty implication' (ibid).

Kooijman (2008) notes that as a teenager at the time, *We are the World* filled him and his peers with positivity and pleasure, recounting how enthralled he was by the collective star power and altruism of the spectacle. However, he goes on to admonish the campaign for those very same reasons, arguing that the artists involved in USA for Africa used their status and musical talents to 'provide relief with optimism and good cheer' in the face of human suffering (ibid: 21). Indeed, campaigns like USA for Africa or Band Aid can be charged with providing well-meaning and positive sentiments around situations of global health crisis and human suffering, but ultimately this is a superficial analysis. What Kooijman fails to understand is that the feelings he and his peers experienced were very likely intentional, and more importantly, fundamental to the success of the campaign. The often urgent or dire subject matter is couched within charity singles designed to create a hopeful and uplifting experience. Indeed, as a child growing up in Scotland I was exposed to the same optimism and good cheer that Kooijman mentions, as *Do They Know It's Christmas* was played every year from around November until the end of the calendar year in shopping malls and other public spaces. Despite the subject matter, the song was not generally associated with human suffering, but with the sentiments of

generosity that are so enthusiastically presented around that time of year in the United Kingdom (and indeed the west more generally). This is, of course, not to say that my own experience of the song is the only interpretation. Rather, it is to suggest that the often harrowing issues raised through such songs are often expressed within narratives of positivity. Kooijman is, however, in good company; many scholars accuse celebrities of trivialising humanitarian issues and using them as opportunities to improve their own reputations without realising that these methods are necessary for the immediate emotional response that these campaigns seek (Kapoor 2013; Nickel 2012; Cooper 2008). What these assessments omit is an understanding of the performance mechanisms employed by the Band Aid model of celebrity intervention, something that I discuss throughout this research. While Band Aid, USA for Africa, and Live Aid may have been very successful, this success is measured within very specific parameters. In short, Band Aid's *modus operandi* was to raise money, and it did so very effectively. However, problems begin to occur when the Band Aid method is applied to campaigns with different strategic goals.

Some of the largest South African HIV/AIDS campaigns have drawn inspiration from the international benefit campaigns of the 1980s, but their capacity to affect change appears to be limited. A useful example of this can be found in the 46664 AIDS awareness and relief concerts held in South Africa and internationally between 2003 and 2008, South Africa's AIDS mega-events. The first of these concerts was held in Cape Town and drew from internationally recognised musicians such as Eurhythmics, U2, Beyoncé Knowles, and Robert Plant, to name a few, with sponsorship from corporate drinks giant, Coca-Cola. Barz and Cohen (2011) note that the lineup for the first in the 46664 concert series bore striking similarities to that of Live Aid as many of the musicians who had been involved in the historic concert had also provided their services to the 46664 venture. In fact, the two campaigns 'presented an almost unsettlingly similar approach' (ibid: 12). Given that the flagship Cape Town 46664 performance raised millions of dollars for the cause of HIV/AIDS prevention and

awareness, it is widely regarded as a success, but this success is measured through the narrow lens of funds raised. Critics of the concerts argued that though many allusions to HIV/AIDS were made, there was little meaningful engagement either with people living with HIV or HIV/AIDS-related issues and prevention information as 'actual discussion of AIDS were generally limited to spoken interludes during the concert' (ibid). Given that South African national HIV/AIDS prevalence in 2012 had risen to 12.2% of the population from 10.6% in 2008 (the year of the final 46664 concert) – a real world increase of 5.2 million new infections (HSRC 2014: xxiv) – it is reasonable to suggest that success, defined only in terms of funds raised, may not translate into successful prevention.[7]

Perhaps one of the more striking pitfalls of celebrity engagement is oversimplification. For the most part, celebrity advocates, though informed on their charity's goals, are not trained experts in their chosen field of philanthropy. Dieter and Kumar (2008) suggest that oversimplification of complex issues into slogans or sound bites only serves to present a false simplicity of reality. They state that

> The "analysis" rests in the language of rock songs, Hollywood, and Ronald Reagan. The world is painted in black and white and good is pitted against evil.

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[7] This potential rift between monetary success and awareness of a specific issue can be further exemplified by Band Aid 30, Geldof's latest incarnation of the Band Aid franchise, to raise funds to combat the 2014 Ebola outbreak in West Africa. The venture raised over one million GBP in the first few minutes of its release (Jeffreys and Allatson 2015). However, some expressed discontent with how the song represented Africa, and questioned the need for another Band Aid (ibid). Indeed, West African artists formed their own super group, Africa Stop Ebola, to tackle the outbreak. While Band Aid's main focus was to raise funds, Africa Stop Ebola sought to both reduce the spread of the virus as well as prevent further outbreaks by circulating health information on Ebola transmission (eNCA interview with Carlos Chirinos 2014). Each campaign contributed to the Ebola prevention cause, the fight against Ebola prior to Band Aid 30 was shamefully underfunded, but it is clear that the two initiatives have very different approaches and respective goals. For Wildenthal (2013: 105), effective humanitarians not only 'forge powerful yet evanescent bonds with their donor publics through the media' as celebrities often do, but also 'carry out actions requiring great personal bravery and endurance; and they rely on cooperation from local people at the sites of the humanitarian crisis.' Africa Stop Ebola was the result of artists reaching out to people within their own region and actively engaging with West Africans in their own languages as part of a locally based initiative, though it is important to note that at this stage there is no data on the efficacy of the Africa Stop Ebola campaign.

> Nuance is inevitably lost. Historic experience is disregarded. Celebrities provide their followers with easily understood, morally couched messages, but the process of development is much more complex (ibid: 260-261).

Whether or not one agrees with the suitability of the methods, Band Aid and Live Aid indisputably started something of a revolution in humanitarianism. It set a mould for future mass media, fund raising, and musical intervention to galvanise support for a cause. They set a precedent for a now familiar campaign model of music videos and live concerts. The 1980s was the beginning of a new age of global campaigning, one in which social issues, popular music, and celebrity endorsement became inseparable.

Music in Advertising

Marketing campaigns have been using music to sell products since the earliest days of radio broadcasting (Taylor 2012). Ever since a correlation was made between consumer behaviour and profitability, it is within the disciplines of marketing and business that we find a large body of literature on the subject of music and decision-making. The use of music in advertising has been extremely successful; so much so that we barely notice its involvement. However, just as we should not consider audiences as passive listeners or viewers (Hall 1980; Askew 2002; Levine 2007a; Cavicchi 2002; Schechner 2004; Stone 2008), we further should not consider consumers as passive entities that simply absorb messages presented in adverts. People are likely to employ reasoning to determine the credibility of statements made in advertisements, since over periods of time 'consumers become sensitive to the means by which advertisers establish authority' (Huron 1989: 569). In order to circumnavigate this almost instinctual reaction to new information marketers must find new ways of overcoming skepticism and sensorial appeal has proved an effective means through which this may be achieved.

According to Huron 'music permits the conveyance of a verbal message in a nonspoken way' and that 'utterances can sound much less naive or self-

indulgent when couched within a musical phrase rather than simply spoken' (ibid: 565). Thus framing messages within music – what he refers to as 'lyrical language' – affords the ideas or proposals held within advertisements certain resilience to scrutiny or credibility judgments. Indeed, avoiding direct instructions in order to promote their reception is not a particularly new concept. An old Confucian adage suggests that '[r]ulers should always avoid giving commands […] for commands, being direct and verbal, always bring to the subject's mind the possibility of doing the opposite' (cited in Kertzer 1988: 13). Though this kind of subconscious suggestion may seem manipulative when presented in such insidious ways in capitalist consumer culture, there are indeed similarities between the use of music in advertising and in health campaigning, at least in terms of the underpinning theories. For example, both forms of campaigning may use music as a way to bring their message to large numbers of people, or frame those messages within music to avoid directly telling people what to do. Indeed, one might easily argue that the entire concept of edutainment is borne out of these same principles.

Research into music and advertising from scholars of ethnomusicology and musicology has sought to analyse the various musical approaches taken by marketing over the years. According to Taylor (2012), one of the first major forays into musical influence in advertising was in 1962 when Phil Davis, a respected jingle composer, was commissioned to compose a song for Beneficial Finance. Davis explains that

> [t]he lyrics and music of a service commercial, like Beneficial Finance, go beyond the literal. A man may have a pressing financial problem, which may or may not be in the forefront of his consciousness, but from which he basically seeks relief. Literally, this is a serious situation; yet, to write lugubrious lyrics or music would deepen the severity of the pressure. So the musical commercial producer does the inverse. He composes happy lyrics and music that suggests to the listener a possible happy solution to the problem (Davis, cited in ibid: 108).

What is interesting to note about this extract is how similar this conception is to the models applied in modern health campaigns. As has been mentioned earlier in this chapter with relation to *Do They Know It's Christmas?*, despite dealing with issues of poverty, hunger, or disease, campaign messages are often hopeful and are often set music that reflects this in order to create some kind of positive energy or effervescence. According to Taylor, 'NBC Executive Frank A. Arnold wrote in 1971 "[…] the great common denominator of broadcasting was music," because the great variety of regions, languages, classes, and so forth made it difficult to devise a programme with mass appeal' (Frank A. Arnold cited in ibid: 26). This would appear to be one of the pivotal aspects of music in all forms of campaigning – its mass appeal. In an early study on music and behaviour in advertising, Gorn (1982) published what is considered one of the first studies of music in advertising titled 'The Effects of Music in Advertising on Choice Behaviour: A Classical Conditioning Approach.' As Johnson and Wagner (2011) suggest, the study found that products would be viewed more favourably if associated with some object or thing that is met with a positive response. They state the following:

> Gorn found that a large majority of the individuals in the study, 79%, "liked" the music. In another group only 30% "disliked" the music. The results of this experiment demonstrate that purchase intent can increase when the product is paired with "liked" music and that exposure can be less impactful when "disliked" music is played. Similarly, other research has found that disliked music can result in lower brand evaluations as compared to when a liked musical selection or no-music is used in an advertisement (ibid: 124).

This problem is still being considered today. A third dimension is added when dealing with edutainment or other health initiatives as they must not only strike a balance between standing out and appeal, but must do so while not overshadowing the medical information or messages within the music.

It is clear that music has the potential to offer certain influential components to marketing campaigns including entertainment and memorability, as has been the case since its use in early radio (Huron 1989; Taylor 2012). But more recently, music has taken on a more sophisticated set of roles in advertising. It grants marketers access to a wider range of emotional appeal through sensory stimulation. Appealing to the senses can give brands and products more aesthetic and emotional value (Hultén, Broweus, and van Dijk 2009). Indeed, as Howes and Classen (2014) argue, the more an idea or object can be associated with sensory input, such as certain sights, sounds, or smells, the easier it is to create personal and emotional connections to it (ibid). Since we are often not overtly aware of these marketing techniques, these values may seem true, innate, and appealing. This can be thought of as 'cultural synesthesia', a phenomenon through which associations are made between objects and values are strengthened through a combination of multiple sensorial cues (ibid). Howes and Classen give the example of such a sensorial association in incense becoming synonymous with Christian prayer and an olfactory sensory trigger for divinity (ibid). Such associations can become powerful triggers in creating mass indices around a brand or product. Indeed, as Turino explains, '[s]hared experiences […] can lead to common indexical associations among groups of people, and the mass media, especially advertising, is in the business of creating mass indices' (2008: 9-10). These mass indices, or associations, are important not only in creating a brand, but also in bringing people together around that brand. Though this concept will be discussed further in chapter four, it is worth highlighting a prominent South African example of this. Drewett suggests that the contemporary use of struggle songs mobilises listeners 'around sonic memories that can empower them, reminding them of what has been achieved and allowing them to take pride in their allegiance to those resistant sounds' (2008: 296). Thus, those sounds help to create a community around a particular product/campaign/idea through common association.

Edutainment

Many of the same techniques used by consumer industries to market their

products are applied to the marketing of health and ideas about health. Although it is easy to be swept away by celebrity, mass media, and international coverage ubiquitous with the kind of campaigning discussed earlier in this chapter, this is only one window into mass media communication. Communication methods that have been gaining traction in South Africa in the post-apartheid era have been emerging in the form of development initiatives that have a great deal more in common with television or radio advertising, soap operas, or theatre than the mega-events of the 1980s. The concept of edutainment is not new, an early example can be found in Popeye's influence on spinach consumption between the 1930s and 1950s, which still continues to this day (Sirikulchayanonta et al 2010), however, the application of edutainment to the South African AIDS crisis developed largely from the late 1990s. It has since become one of the main educational devices used to communicate health information. The South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, and Behaviour Survey states that 'television (TV) programmes were identified by about half of pre-adolescents aged 12–14 years, youth, and young adults as the most influential source of information that encouraged them to consider HIV as a serious condition' (HSRC 2014: xxxviii). As such, TV programmes, including dramas and soap operas remain the most popular vehicles for communicating HIV/AIDS information.

Tufte poses the question '[h]ow do you make people not just knowledgeable about HIV/AIDS but really make them change behaviour and especially take preventive measures to avoid the spread of the disease' (2008: 327)? Defined by Singhal and Rogers as 'the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behaviour' (2004: 5), edutainment initiatives are not only responsible for the vast majority of South Africa's HIV/AIDS awareness raising, but indeed deal with other pressing social issues relevant to the lives of many South Africans. According to Cousins, '[t]he "power" of edutainment is described as stemming from its ability to rouse

emotions, role-model "positive" attitudes and behaviours, bring taboo topics like HIV/AIDS and sexuality into the public eye, stimulate discussion, and illustrate the consequences of healthy and unhealthy behaviour' (2009: 11). The opening question posed by Tufte quite plainly underscores the main objective of edutainment initiatives: to elicit behavioural change, and how to achieve this through the arts.

In addition to role modelling, empathy plays a key role in this form of engagement, so it is important to note the connections made between the performed narrative and the audience. In South Africa there have been a number of drama-based edutainment initiatives (all of which occupy the second generation of edutainment initiatives), these include: *Soul City* (1994-2012), *Beat it!* (1999-2006), *Soul Buddyz* (2000-2011), and *Khomanani* (2007-2009). Augusto Boal, the Brazilian theatre director and author of *Theatre of the Oppressed* (1973), would likely characterise this use of empathy as a form of Aristotelian catharsis, in which the viewer vicariously experiences the emotions and feelings of those characters as presented in the narrative (ibid). This state may then go on to engender behavioural change in reality.

The overarching concept of edutainment has many of its roots in the 1970s, with the then radical ideas of theatre director Augusto Boal. Boal's (1974) concept of 'Forum Theatre' engaged actors and audiences in ways not previously heard of. It not only allows, but rather expects audience members to participate directly in on-stage events, altering the outcome of the narratives that reflect pervasive social problems, and changing dialogues to reflect the realities and expressions of everyday people (ibid). Boal refers to these one-time participatory actors as 'spectactors' (ibid). This 'everyday person's' theatre is therefore not simply a vicarious intervention, but one in which the dual reality of the spectator allows him/her to connect directly with its content. By undermining the well-recognised divide between audience and actors, this kind of participatory performance was able to connect with people directly.

Tufte (2005) outlines three major shifts in edutainment development communication discourse since its inception. The first generation is considered as the so-called 'expert-driven' initiatives in which social marketing techniques were used to promote a social good. These social marketing techniques draw heavily from the kind of standard marketing discussed earlier to 'sell' a non-commercial product. The second generation began to focus towards societal as well as individual change. Rather than focusing specifically on the personal experience of individuals, the inclusion of social structures and collective thought broadened the potential scope and influence of these initiatives and would go on to become an important pillar of edutainment scholarship to come. The move away from the individual towards the social helps to influence the environment in which individual choices are made. By doing so, initiative organisers hope to create a landscape conducive to behavioural change (Singhal and Rogers 2012). However, the third and current generation of edutainment initiatives attempt to address broader issues, including biases, socio-economic barriers to the implementation of information, or prejudices. For Tufte, this generation focuses on

> problem identification, social critique, and articulation of debate, challenging power relations and advocating social change. There is a strong recognition that a deficit of information is not at the core of the problem. Instead the core problem lies in a power imbalance, in structural inequality, and in deeper societal problems. Solutions are sought by strengthening people's *ability to identify* the problems in everyday life, and their ability to act – collectively as well as individually – upon them. Empowerment is the keyword of the third generation EE (2005: 166).

In an interview, Brazilian educationalist, Paulo Freire outlined what he deemed to be fundamental tenets for the development of marginalised peoples or sections of peoples. He suggested the following: 'the need to conquer space, to challenge normative, moral, and social borderlines, and to arrange a critical dialogue on pertinent issues as a pathway towards social change' (ibid: 167).

Tufte then suggests that this 'offers a means through which EE interventions can be connected to the questions of power, inequality and human rights' (ibid: 167-168). It is clear that the most recent shift in edutainment discourse is towards power structures and struggles faced by subaltern peoples.

Although much good has come from these initiatives, the methods can still be problematic. Perhaps one of the largest problems with edutainment is in its fundamental link with entertainment itself and by extension the entertainment industry. For Singhal and Rogers (2012), the reputation of the entertainment industry to promote vacuous televised productions and the idea that entertainment has become the antithesis of learning creates an additional hurdle for edutainment programmes. Edutainment campaigns need to be acutely aware of cultural understandings of play, entertainment, and leisure time. Cousins suggests that '[t]here may be forms of resistance to E-E at the reception end, such as audience members undertaking selective exposure, perception, recollection, and use of edutainment messages' (2009: 10). Furthermore, epistemological differences have emerged in how we 'conceive audiences as either passive recipients or active participants in the communication process' (Tufte 2005: 167). This is particularly interesting to this study as it helps to illustrate some of the fundamental differences in interaction and engagement between different campaigns and their audiences. Tufte suggests that ['t]his is reflected in the different approaches that exist within EE where strategies range from media-borne social marketing strategies to empowerment strategies as Augusto Boal's liberating theatre' (ibid). The connection of edutainment campaigns to questions of power is an important one; it reminds us that fundamental development issues, in this case HIV/AIDS, cannot be treated in a vacuum. Structural violence, inequality, gender-based violence, post-apartheid macro-economic policy, and lack of economic restructuring play significant roles in the proliferation of HIV and must also be addressed (the political economy of HIV/AIDS in South Africa will be discussed in chapter three). Interestingly, Tufte suggests that '[a]pplying EE in accordance with post-colonial, alternative, citizen-oriented and often grassroot-driven

development theory and practice is, as I see it, an appreciation of new languages and formats in liberating pedagogy' (ibid: 167). Tufte's observation of the shift towards citizen-based empowerment communication programs places this study in the advantageous position of analysing recent trends in edutainment and development scholarship as they relate to fundamental concerns of anthropology and ethnomusicology.

An Ethnomusicological Perspective on HIV/AIDS Campaigning in South Africa

Music and health are no strangers to one another in social sciences scholarship. The potential therapeutic properties of music have been known for thousands of years. According to MacDonald, Kreutz, and Mitchell '[m]usic has been imbued curative, therapeutic, and other medical value throughout history. Musicians, therapists, philosophers, as well as other artists and scholars alike have documented its physical, mental, and social effects in treatises from as early as 4000BC to the present' (2012: 3). This chapter has covered a number of topics related to music within health and humanitarian campaigning, and though the subject has been approached from a number of angles, questions should be raised concerning what an ethnomusicological approach to campaigning can contribute to these discussions. Over the past fifty years, scholarship on music and health has taken on a progressively action-oriented role (van Buren 2010). This is perhaps most apparent in the traction gained by music therapy (Pavlicevic 1997; McFerran 2010; Bunt and Stige 2014; Wheeler 2014, Aigen 2013). Despite the widespread acknowledgement of music therapy as a viable alternative form of treatment for conditions as diverse as mental health or developmental conditions, the study of music and health is gradually branching away from standard clinical settings of traditional western music therapy towards a more context-based and experiential understanding of wellbeing. The shift can be seen in scholarship such as Tia DeNora's musings on music in everyday life (DeNora 2000) and community-based musical healing (Denora 2013; Ansdell 2015).

Music therapy is, however, by no means the only or main source of analysis or

discussion on the subject of music and various forms of healing. Scholarship in ethnomusicology has been considering music and the performing arts more broadly within healing practices for decades. The work of Steven M. Friedson (1996), whose research explores the local healing and medical practices of the *nchimi* (healers) of the Malawian *Tumbuka* people, presents a detailed ethnographic account of the lived experiences of healers and their patients. He emphasises the importance of the human context of Tumbuka healing and the complex intersections between the *nchimi*, music, spirits, and the process of healing (ibid). More recently, as Koen, Barz, and Brummel-Smith suggest, ethnomusicologists have begun to explore 'holistically the roles of music and sound phenomena and related praxis in any cultural and clinical context of health and healing' (2008: 4). This holistic exploration of healing has become known as medical ethnomusicology. Whereas music therapy has largely treated health as a predominantly biomedical concern, medical ethnomusicology broadens the scope of such research to discuss long-standing healing practices as they are applied to a person, or groups of persons, as a whole, as well as within specific cultural contexts (ibid; Kauffmann and Lindauer 2004). Such scholars, whose work results in 'practical action outside of universities', such as music therapists, medical ethnomusicologists, and indeed some communications scholars fall under the broad rubric of 'applied' research (Titon 1992: 315). This is particularly important to this thesis, since not only does it acknowledge the limitations of approaching health and wellness only through biomedical means, but positions current ethnomusicological discourse towards broader considerations of how scholarship might be practically applied within the lives of peoples being researched.

Purely bio-medical information-based attempts to address the HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa often do not take into account the complicated historical, political, and economic propellants of the disease, and barriers to implementing such information (Kalipeni, et al. 2003; Youde 2007; Beckmann 2009; McNeil 2011). Ethnomusicological approaches to the discussion of HIV/AIDS communication will invariably ground problem identification or application of study findings

within a deep, often localised, understanding of socio-economic factors that may contribute to the crisis. Indeed, this is reflected in wider trends of interest in, and openness to, alternative forms of conceptualising healing, illness, and wellness (Koen 2008). For Koen, this 'broad-based interest includes a deeper awareness that spirituality and belief are essential to include in the outmoded mind-body description of the human being' (ibid: 4). Health messaging built upon such understandings of illness and wellness is more likely to engage meaningfully with affected peoples.

Medical ethnomusicology has developed to form part of a wider network of cross-disciplinary research known as the medical humanities. The medical humanities (or health humanities as it is sometimes referred to) play an important role in bridging what can, at times, be a sizeable gap between biomedicine and diagnoses on the one hand, and the people whose lives are affected by illness, on the other (Bleakley 2014). The influence of structural inequality on health and wellbeing in South Africa brings into sharp focus the need for integrated approaches to HIV/AIDS, and the continuing need for the kinds of critiques of modern biomedicine readily found within the medical humanities (Levine 2012). Indeed, current trends of medical standardisation rarely take into account the particularities of the patient or the contexts in which they must operate (Human 2011). In few places are such discrepancies more apparent than in South Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis. Koen's position, that healing or transformation (physical or spiritual) is intimately interwoven within personal sensitivities, values, norms, consciousness and 'engaged and propagated through one's body and being', forms an important pillar on which recent AIDS-related medical ethnomusicology discourses rest (2008: 156).

It is difficult to discuss South Africa's recent history in any detailed way without touching upon the topic of HIV/AIDS (van Buren 2010). Trends in both international and domestic South African anthropological scholarship have illustrated this (Henderson 2011; Fassin 2007; Hunter 2010; McNeil 2011; Neihaus 2013; Decoteau 2013; Aulette-Root, Boonzaier, Aulette 2014) and

clinical and epidemiological accounts of the AIDS crisis in Africa abound. Earlier scholarship on South African music has focused on the country's rich musical heritage, exploring the many divergent histories that have come to characterise its sounds, including segregation and disempowerment prior to and during apartheid, labour migration, and songs in political struggle (Coplan 1985; Ballantine 1993; Erlmann 1991, 1999). These are indeed some of the very same driving forces behind the HIV epidemic.

More recently, however, following from the earlier discussion of the emergence of medical ethnomusicology as a sub-field of the discipline, scholars have been approaching the subject of AIDS in Africa (Bourgault 2003; Barz 2006; McNeill 2011; Cohen 2011). Rather than focusing predominantly on overall health trends or biomedical solutions, although of course these are discussed, this body of work shifts the focus towards, but not limited to, coping with HIV and loss through songs and community music making (Alviso 2011; Eller-Isaacs 2011; Cole 2011), living with stigma and violence (Aulette-Root, Boonzaier, Aulette 2014), and public health education and social change through music and the performing arts (Bourgault 2003; Barz 2006, 2011; van Buren 2011; Reed 2011; McNeill 2011).

Perhaps one of the earliest and most significant of such ethnographies was conducted in Uganda by ethnomusicologist Gregory Barz. His book, 'Singing for Life', explores methods employed by rural Ugandan communities to educate, communicate, and cope with HIV/AIDS, what he states as 'the role of music in efforts to shout in Uganda' (2006: 215). The 'shout' became a slogan and device created to aggressively break a culture of silence that emerged around the disease all over the continent (ibid). There were a number of reasons why Barz's work stood out both from the ethnomusicological scholarship at the time, but also research on HIV/AIDS in Africa. Barz emphasised the need to 'approach the disease as a culturally defined and determined social phenomenon' (ibid), rather than simply a biomedical or epidemiological situation. Barz further made strong connections between local knowledge and the ritual systems in place for

disseminating that knowledge, and the biomedical information involved in effective HIV prevention. This is something that McNeill (2011) would note several years later is still being largely ignored in South Africa.

Barz explores relationships between music, song, instruments, and 'traditional' knowledge. He underscores localised approaches to health and healing through music, drumming, dance, and theatre performances as being complementary to biomedical information in rural communities with little access to medicine or other health resources. The book navigates a number of narratives and dialogues that include first-person reflections of coping with HIV and interviews with individuals – mostly women – who utilise various culturally specific social advocacy techniques in order to transfer knowledge, promote health education, and empower those already living with HIV. The discussion around motivation and resolve are particularly relevant since Barz and many others point out that a significant number of women in both Uganda and South Africa are unable to practice the safe sex health advice so often presented by government and NGO HIV prevention initiatives due to their subordinate status within sexual and marital relationships (Barz 2006; McNeill 2011; Hunter 2010).

Themes of embodiment are opened up as Barz presents intertwining narratives of rural Ugandan PLHIV's expressions of living with the virus. In one such example, he writes of sitting in on one group of women who danced ceremonial courtship dances to drummed rhythms, as one of the women, Mama Noelina, describes 'Look at them. It makes them feel better when they dance. They're *dancing their disease*!"' (Barz 2006: 78, emphasis already present). The example illustrates not only the potential therapeutic quality of musicking and dancing with others, which will be discussed later in this research, but also the new perspectives such ethnographies can create in the global cause to understand, prevent, and eventually eradicate HIV infections.

Another significant contribution to the literature on HIV/AIDS and music in Africa comes from Fraser McNeill's *AIDS, Politics, and Music in South Africa*

(2011). McNeill focuses largely on the impact of the epidemic on socio-sexual relationships in post-apartheid rural South Africa, dealing with peer education and the manner in which knowledge is presented, represented, and disseminated in the old Venda homeland in what is now the Limpopo Province of South Africa. In a similar vein to *Singing for Life*, McNeill explores various local methods that are used to pass on knowledge, notably young girl's initiations into womanhood. He argues that, in Venda, knowledge is associated with experience and as a result, information is passed down from the elder to the younger generation. The conception of experience as knowledge, however, creates problems in dealing with negative or stigmatised life issues such as sex, death, or disease. In such cases, ritual, including song and dance, may create a safe space in which such knowledge may be given and received (Ibid). He states that as a result of these views, knowledge can be dangerous in Venda, '[p]otentially hazardous information, such as that pertaining to sexual health or death, is conventionally transferred through lyrics of songs in highly prescribed ritual contexts, under the protection of ancestral hierarchy or a Christian God' (ibid: 154). He continues that music 'acts as a medium for the complete and safe transference of ritual knowledge whilst the songs, dances, and milayo [laws] of imitation represent the desire for continuity in healthy social and sexual reproduction' (ibid). Music, in this case, creates a degree of separation from the subject matter. This is important as it underscores the need to understand local conceptions of knowledge and the potentially damaging effects of disrupting them. Thus, in such situations improperly formulated external information runs the risk of being harmful.

McNeill notes that the peer educators, who are often young women – those affected most significantly by HIV/AIDS in Venda and South Africa in general – are largely shunned by the community and by virtue of their biomedical knowledge, which the elders do not possess, and which is being disseminated outside of the safe environment of the initiations (ibid). They are label as reservoirs for the disease. Indeed, similar issues are noted by Susan Levine (2007a) when she suggests that popular expressions of disbelief towards

HIV/AIDS-related information are used by many in South Africa, Lesotho, and Mozambique to distance themselves from the disease, and the moral judgement and stigma associated with it. In an attempt to circumvent hierarchal systems of knowledge transfer; McNeill's (2011) peer educators employ music as a method of engaging people. By employing well known and locally resonant songs, they invoke religious, political, and social sentiment and allegiances as buffers to soften the introduction of dangerous knowledge of HIV/AIDS and condom use. They then combine this with attention grabbing shock-tactics, such as the replacement of 'Jesus' with 'condom' in the 'well known Lutheran hymn "Jesus, Jesus, Jesus is number one! No matter what the people say, but Jesus is number one"' (ibid: 159). McNeill explains that by adopting such genres the biomedical information is cloaked in 'Vendaness', and further suggests '[f]or the educators – and project designers – this serves to legitimate the performance and its raison d'être' (ibid: 178). Thus, culturally resonant music may help to legitimise the introduction of new knowledge within contexts that are usually hostile towards information not recognised within local frameworks.

McNeill's study presents the account of a rural South African approach to the epidemic and usefully illustrates a number of ways in which music and dance are used not only to distance subject and object in the case of girl's initiations and legitimise biomedical knowledge, but also to push back against it in expressing folk cosmologies of the virus. What is interesting to note is how these two bodies of knowledge have filtered into one another, creating local comprehensions of the virus that include pseudo-biomedical notions of bodily contamination and pollution. *AIDS, Politics and Music in South Africa* presents one of the few in-depth ethnographies of South African AIDS prevention that illustrates the difficulties in introducing unmediated information into local systems of understanding health and illness.

By approaching the subject of HIV/AIDS by way of detailed and long-term ethnographies these studies present a thoroughly human experience of the health crisis in Africa. These ethnomusicological accounts largely remove

themselves from medical accounts of the crisis which favour statistical analyses and numerical surveys, or similar forms of quantitative data gathering (Maher 2002; Fordham 2014), for more personal and reflexive encounters with their informants. For ethnomusicologists, this focus on people and experience over numbers is nothing new, but equally serves to refresh the discourse on the African AIDS crisis that was, and in many ways still is saturated with biomedical accounts while paying little, if any attention to the epidemic's marked economic, political, and historical enablers and personal stories.

Recent cross-disciplinary scholarship has further illustrated a developing trend in HIV/AIDS literature towards more personal engagement with those affected by the virus and the everyday issues faced by those living with HIV. Patricia Henderson's ethnographic study of people's experiences of living with and caring for those living with HIV in the KwaZulu-Natal township of Okhahlamba illustrates the importance of local repertoires of expressing grief and intimacy; Mark Hunter's *Love in the Time of AIDS* (2010) draws from extended ethnographies of intertwining narratives of love, illness, and economies of intimate relations within rural informal settlements in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN); Anna Aulette-Root, Floretta Boonzaier, and Judy Aullete's *Women Living with HIV* (2014) focuses on coloured women's struggle with marginalisation, gender inequality, and self-image, drawing from interviews with HIV-positive women in Cape Town. My own research continues in a similar vein as those above in drawing from the personal experiences of those affected by HIV and directly involved in various education and prevention programs discussed later.

It is in light of the above developments in ethnomusicology and anthropology, particularly the emergence of music-related scholarship on the subject of HIV/AIDS on the African continent, that I suggest the time is right for an ethnomusicological approach toward HIV/AIDS communication and campaigning in South Africa. Five years prior to writing this thesis, van Buren (2010) argued that the climate was ripe for ethnomusicologists to become more aware of the applied role their scholarship could play concerning AIDS in Africa,

and indeed current trends in edutainment scholarship call for more intimate engagement with communities towards restructuring imbalances that may provide barriers to implementing safe and healthy life choices (Tufte 2005). This recent shift in communication strategies aligns edutainment scholarship with the aforementioned perspectives of medical ethnomusicology, and the discipline as a whole, which while generally concerned with the study of all the world's music in a variety of spheres, tends to focus on small, localised contingents of musical practices.

Chapter Outlines

The overall structure of the research is intended to move from broader and contextualising discussions of HIV/AIDS campaigning and the issues surrounding HIV in South Africa to more nuanced and empirical analyses of real world applications of music within South African AIDS intervention. In this chapter, I discussed mass media and global health campaigning and the emergence of celebrity advocates throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. The 46664 concerts of the early 2000s presented the world with a South African version of a standardised template of awareness-raising pop concerts. In the broadest sense, the mega-event concerts and the case studies examined in this thesis are all forms of edutainment. Thus the development of edutainment and the importance of understanding power relations between those intervening and those to whom campaigns are directed is fundamental. This chapter has further outlined the justification for this research insofar as it builds upon recent literature on the subject of HIV/AIDS on the African continent, and argues that the time is right for an ethnomusicological discussion of music within health communication.

Chapter two presents the conceptual framework through which this research analyses the three differing music-driven HIV/AIDS campaign case studies. This chapter discusses Durkheim's theory of collective effervescence and how it may be applied to a contemporary understanding of arts-driven communication and engagement. It explores issues surrounding collective and individual musical

experiences creation and maintenance of affectively charged environments, drawing from music-related theories such as affect, entrainment, and musicking. The chapter concludes by outlining the data gathering methods used throughout the fieldwork conducted for this research.

Chapter three considers the complex and multi-layered issues that have led to the current political economy of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. The country's collective history is one of oppression, subjugation, domination, and struggle. The chapter discusses ongoing issues of structural violence faced by South Africa's most vulnerable as well as the socio-economic and political impositions forced upon South Africans by both foreign and domestic aggressors that helped to create the climate and infrastructure through which a virus like HIV could flourish. It provides a brief overview of HIV/AIDS-related stigma and social expressions of fear and blame that surround the epidemic as well as various responses to the virus. Finally, the chapter discusses the importance of music and the performing arts within South Africa's history and many of its cultures. The first three chapters present a broad overview of the theoretical issues and concepts as well as the contextual backdrop from which this research develops.

In chapter four the focus is narrowed from a broad discussion of the the epidemic to an analysis of music in health and social action as it has been applied by South African civil society in AIDS advocacy. The Treatment Action Campaign presents one of the most well-recognised examples of music as protest and mobilisation since the anti-apartheid demonstrations and civil action collectively described as the struggle. This case study allows us to examine the role of music and song within social movements in terms of mobilising change and creating a more accepting environment for those living with the virus. TAC is an important stepping stone in the narrative of AIDS in South Africa as it was not only the first group to publicly speak out directly at the government, eventually taking them to court in order to force public HIV treatment, but they were also one of the first movements to attempt to normalise an otherwise highly stigmatised disease. The now infamous 'HIV

Positive' t-shirts, reworked struggle songs and imagery – for example, the clenched fist – stand as historical testament to their commitment to changing the national discourse from one of dismissal and stigma, to acceptance and treatment.

Chapter five introduces 'Lucky, the Hero!', a mini musical-theatre production performed by the Education Theatre Company in the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management at Stellenbosch University. This chapter discusses the role of music within the creation of affective atmospheres and effervescent assemblies in a live interactive performance setting. 'Lucky, the Hero!' employs numerous performance-based and interactive communication methods, including dance, music, humour, and audience participation in order to educate on HIV/AIDS, promote tolerance, and encourage participants to take an HIV test and know their status. This chapter discusses how this mini-musical performance uses these devices cross-culturally to channel energy and excitement towards social and physical awareness, positive attitudes, and on-site HIV testing.

Chapter six discusses the audio-visual based HIV/AIDS-related initiative *ZAZI* (2013), a John Hopkins women's sexual and reproductive health campaign featuring South African artist Zonke Dikana and Johannesburg-based poet Nova. The focus of this chapter is to outline how audio-visual interventions (music videos) engage with their target audiences and explore the methods through which such mass media campaigns attempt to elicit positive responses. I introduce the term micro-effervescence to describe the phenomenon of momentary mobilisation towards a specific campaign goal that emerges from the focus groups and survey data collected for this analysis. The chapter further analyses two comparison videos to the *ZAZI* campaign in order to contrast the various techniques applied to audio-visual campaigning for HIV/AIDS awareness and behaviour change: Interpol's *Proud to Be* campaign (2012), which incorporates a promotional song and music video of the same name, featuring Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour; and Annie Lennox's *Sing* campaign (2007), which again features a promotional song of the

same name featuring The Generics, the HIV positive choir formed by members of TAC.

The chapter introduces quantitative data collected through screening three music videos to young people in the Cape Town area, in order to empirically examine responses to such media. I present data from surveys completed by grade 12 learners at Gardens Commercial High School in Cape Town. The purpose of the screenings and feedback analysis is to understand the critical response directly from the 'target audience' of these music video based campaigns. By combining data from response scale surveys with more indepth feedback from the participants in the form of group interviews this chapter is able to interpret wider conclusions gleaned qualitatively from the discussions while cross-examining those interpretations with quantifiable data.

Chapter seven is the final concluding chapter of this dissertation which brings together the varying threads of thought that permeate this research. It is argued that musical effervescence is a useful concept for describing the various, yet similar responses to music-driven interventions that emerge from the case studies analysed in this thesis. In a climate saturated with HIV/AIDS discourses from varying approaches, alternative methods of communication are required to break through growing attitudes of indifference towards the AIDS crisis. Following from South Africa's history of music-driven political and social mobilisation throughout the liberation struggle, the emergence of similar techniques in the form of TAC, and the historical use of music and the performing arts in many South African cultures to educate and promote social change, I argue that the application of musical effervescence continues a long history of arts-driven calls to action in South Africa. Musical effervescence draws from music's innate social qualities as well as its ability to entrain and collectivise movement and thought to mobilise both individuals and communities.

Some Notes on Terminology

South Africa's history makes labels, particularly those describing ethnicity, race, and socio-economic status problematic. During the apartheid years, the country was divided into four groups: black, white, coloured, and Indian. Indeed, the term 'coloured' is particularly contested and unresolved but remains a formal designation in South Africa largely relating to a population group of mixed heritage. I use these terms throughout this thesis as necessary, since they refer to cultural and ethnic differences that are important to understanding HIV/AIDS in South Africa.

Further, the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) are not interchangeable terms when describing their respective biomedical conditions. It would be incorrect to conflate HIV with AIDS, thus 'HIV/AIDS' or 'HIV and AIDS' is often preferred. They are, however, inextricably linked. As such there are instances in which the term HIV/AIDS can be used to describe both the virus and the syndrome such as in terms of their social expressions or responses, or in descriptions of the epidemic writ large.

Chapter 2. Theorising the Effervescent: Conceptual Frameworks

It doesn't matter if you're in Mpumalanga in a village or here in the urbanised Cape Town, everyone will know the songs and they'll react to it. If a lyric has a meaning that affects you in any kind of way then it can be considered impactive. The power and meanings in songs are found right the way through them. When your feet are moving, and your hands are clapping, or you're doing a chicken neck [dance], as well as processing whatever the lyrics are, they're all going to work simultaneously to give an even stronger impact on what it means to you, and how you'll respond to it. Everyone is going to have a different opinion on what makes them tick when they hear a certain beat, lyric, or voice, everyone will react slightly differently. (Conversation with Prof. Jimmy Earl Perry, Director of Musical Theatre, The Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management, Stellenbosch University – October 2013)

Standing at the back of an expansive community hall, I do my best to prepare my recording equipment with cold and numbing fingers. I am in the small Free State town of Clocolan setting up my camera to document a 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance to members of the Community Work Programme (CWP).[8] The old and slightly dilapidated town hall still has a certain majesty to it, despite falling into disrepair. Whatever its original purpose, it still retains a sense of grandeur. The old hall is frigid. My breath condenses immediately in the cold air and rises in slow columns. Strip blinds billow in the draft of broken windows and peeled paint dusts the scratched and broken hardwood floor. I take a few moments to explore the interior, partly to look for a better angle to shoot from and partly to explore this regal old building. I eventually find myself up in the stalls. Below me, men in hats and gloves set out rusty metal chairs missing much of their foam cushioning, and bars of brilliant morning sunlight strike through the hall from high narrow windows temporarily illuminating streams of tranquil dust. I watch from my perch in the stalls workers in orange uniforms trickle in and before long

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[8] The CPW is a government programme designed to promote community cohesion. Particularly focused on women and young people, the programme seeks to bring communities together for common purposes such as litter removal or small repair services, as well as providing an income for its members.

the hall echoes with the din of scraping chairs, movement, and Sotho chattering. The lights go up and the chattering fades. The show is about to begin.

The CWP participants seem engaged throughout the performance as it traverses its narrative of HIV/AIDS awareness and acceptance. After an hour, the show begins to build momentum towards its finale and I see subtle gestures of anticipation from the audience. The soft and breathy sound of the actor's voices reverberate up toward the rafters as they set up for the grand finale, their voices echoing slightly on the reflective whitewashed walls of the once grand hall. The final anticipatory pitch is held by the collection of voices for a moment before the introduction of an up-beat drumbeat. The singers step from side-to-side, clapping to the beat while singing with full accompaniment provided by the booming PA system. By the time the musical finale is in full swing, the participants have shaken off their inhibitions. I watch as a small number of women at the front begin to stand and move their bodies to the high tempo pulse, as a syncopated digital brass section punctuates the melody of a reimagined version of 'I will Survive'. Some dance alone, while others feverishly encourage others to join them. It begins with a small cell of women at the front of the audience, and spreads throughout the participants until they are all on their feet, caught in the euphoria of music, dance, and shared emotional energy. But just as the participants have lost their inhibitions, the song is over.

As the last notes of the finale fade from the PA system, the coordinator of the CWP, an easy-going man in a casual jacket, jeans, and shoulder-length dreadlocks, is handed a microphone and immediately shouts 'do you want to hear that again!?'. Everyone is surprised, since we all expected him to ask for volunteers to come up and talk about the show or their experiences of HIV/AIDS, but the audience unanimously demands an encore of the final song. The theatre group, who are not immune to their own methods of creating affectively charged environments, are more than happy to oblige. As the beat of 'I will Survive' once again pumps through the PA system, everyone is on their feet, dancing, and moving their bodies. The song comes to its climactic end to rapturous applause. Many women are still dancing, and as the actors are leaving the performance area, Olivia, one of the actors, suddenly jumps upon a fellow peer educator and throws her arms around her in glee, before they both leave the stage. As I pan my camera back and forth, taking in the spectacle as best I can, the above words from a casual

conversation with Professor Perry repeat in my mind. People seem to lose themselves within the moment, and in that moment inhibitions are lost and socially constructed paradigms of behaviour break down. The reactions are spontaneous, invigorating, impacting, and very real.

(An account of part of a 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance in Clocolan, Free State, South Africa – July 2014)

Figure 1. Participants (in orange uniforms) dance and clap along with the Educational Theatre Company during the finale of a 'Lucky, the Hero!' show in Clocolan, Free State.[9]

Introduction

How can the kind of spontaneous, powerful, and at times seemingly overwhelming displays, above be accounted for? Within participatory musical experiences, unlike most situations, these kinds of powerful, dynamic, and emotive spectacles are normal and encouraged. In this chapter, I discuss some of the approaches to understanding such phenomena. This chapter constructs the overarching conceptual framework around which this research is built. It draws fundamentally from Durkheim's concept of effervescence, which describes passionate and contagious emotional and affective experiences felt

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[9] Still image from video taken by the author.

among large social assemblies (Alexander and Smith 2005). Throughout this thesis, however, I will argue that effervescence is also felt at an individual level. Building upon these notions are various related theories that specifically draw music into an understanding of collective experience and help to more fully account for the emotional surges experienced through interactive music making. By combining Durkheim's concept of effervescence with more contemporary theoretical input, including entrainment, affect, and musicking, this research can more thoroughly consider the affordances (DeNora 2000; Krueger 2010) of music as they relate to HIV/AIDS campaigning in South Africa. The chapter concludes by outlining the methods and techniques applied during the seventeen-month period of fieldwork in order to gather the data required for the analyses that follow.

Creating Connections: Theorising Musical Effervescence

Emotional responses (or indeed multiple emotional responses) elicited from listening to, or engaging with music are well documented.[10] Though there is a wealth of literature on the subject of music and emotions, this thesis requires a more focused discussion of how music can move us and the mechanisms behind such processes. As suggested by DeNora (2000), music can exert a very powerful effect on human behaviour and experience. It can 'influence how people compose their bodies, how they conduct themselves, how they experience the passage of time, how they feel – in terms of energy and emotion – about themselves, about others, and about situations' (ibid: 17). Given the sheer scale of the influence music can have on us we are inevitably drawn to questions concerning how this occurs and why we often seek out musical experiences.

The analyses that follow in the latter chapters of this thesis are built upon the understanding that musical experiences can not only engender emotional responses but also create connections between people, which may translate

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[10] For a broad overview of recent scholarship see Juslin and Sloboda (2001, 2010).

into some kind of individual or collective action. This action can be thought of as the result of heightened emotional states enabled by musical experiences or events. Indeed, for sociologist Emile Durkheim (1912) interpersonal contact was an incredibly powerful experience, he suggests that 'the very act of concentration is a very powerful stimulant' (ibid: 215). He observed that when people come together in large groups a type of intense and visceral 'electricity' may be felt among them (ibid). The analogy of electricity helps Durkheim to explain the more primal and unmediated elements of concentration, given that electricity, though powerful and extremely useful, has the potential to be wild and dangerous if left uninsulated or uncontrolled (Pickering 2001). Durkheim (1912) coined the term 'collective effervescence' to describe phenomena in which individuals become highly animated, sometimes into quasi-delirious states through focused communal activity. He argued that the body is integral to emotional experience and, as a result, assembling large numbers of bodies could energise them into emotionally charged forms of action. Durkheim thus uses the term effervescence to describe the potential power of 'social force' at its inception, insofar as it is able to potentially 'substitute the world immediately available to our perceptions for another, moral world in which people can interact on the basis of shared understandings' (Alexander and Smith 2005: 215).

Though Durkheim's focus was on collective and religious experience, this concept may be extrapolated to describe states of arousal experienced both individually and collectively, and in wider social settings in which Durkheim's key elements are all present: concentration of people, focused attention, and an initial catalysing agent. In his descriptions of Australian Aboriginal religious practices, for instance, Durkheim argues that through collective effervescence it is possible to align the attitudes and opinions of those involved and increase susceptibility to external suggestion.

> Every sentiment expressed finds a place without resistance in all the minds, which are very open to outside impressions; each re-echoes the others, and is

re-echoed by the others. The initial impulse this proceeds, growing as it goes, as an avalanche grows in its advance. And as such active passion so free from all control could not fail to burst out, on every side one sees nothing but violent gestures, cries, veritable howls, and deafening noises of every sort which aid in intensifying still more the state of mind which they manifest (1912: 216).

Further, he suggests that the act of connecting with others, assembling as a collective, can not only stimulate a tendency towards collective thought and action (Shilling and Mellor 1998), but could further introduce and strengthen the potential for forms of action far beyond that which could be expected of individuals under regular conditions.

> There are occasions when this strengthening and vivifying action of society is especially apparent. In the midst of an assembly animated by a common passion, we become susceptible of acts and sentiments of which we were incapable when reduced to our own forces; and when the assembly is dissolved and when, finding ourselves alone again, we fall back to our ordinary level, we are then able to measure the height to which we have been raised above ourselves (Durkheim 1912: 209-210).

This speaks to a fundamental issue concerning effervescence: it is a temporary phenomenon. Though the experiences and emotions felt during the effervescent assembly are often intense, as Durkheim notes, they do not maintain such intensity when one finds oneself alone once again. The duration of the heightened states elicited through various performance-driven collective effervescence will be discussed throughout this thesis, with some forms of engagement appearing to last longer than other, however, as with all emotional states, they will eventually fade.

Further, the idea that emotions and values can be injected into the collective from external sources, and transmitted from one person to the next within that collective is pivotal to Durkheim's theory (von Scheve 2011). That these emotions often occur in the absence of any verbal communication between

participants suggests an alternative means of emotional transference. Indeed, as Collins notes, 'at the centre of an interaction ritual is the process by which participants develop a mutual focus of attention and become entrained in each other's bodily micro-rhythms and emotions' (2004: 47). The concept of entrainment, then, that is 'a process whereby two rhythmic processes interact with each other in such a way that they adjust towards and eventually "lock in" to a common phase and/or periodicity' (Clayton, Sager, and Will 2004: 2) provides an invaluable instrument for describing the mechanics of synchronicity in musical effervescence. Given that music unfolds over time, it is reasonable to suggest that it can structure embodiment more forcefully than other time based performing arts such as theatre or poetry (DeNora 2013). DeNora argues that since music is organised through rhythm and pulse, it is able to 'align inchoate or unruly bodies into shared time' (ibid: 3). The significance of this sharing of time can be summarised in what she calls 'creative synchrony' within the music making process, and suggests that the importance of music as a communicative tool can be found in the way it is able to create places, both spatially and temporally, for 'intimate and often precise forms of communicative coordination, and thus bonding' (ibid). This 'creative synchrony' can be thought of as a useful device in engendering collectively constructed ideals and behaviour, the kind observed by Durkheim.

Further, entrainment is pivotal to understanding the importance of music in social life (DeNora 2013: 3). Throughout Durkheim's observations, he notes that the collective expression of the effervescent assembly naturally gravitated towards rhythmic and musical activities such as song and dance.

> And since a collective sentiment cannot express itself collectively except on the condition of observing a certain order permitting co-operation and movements in unison, these gestures and cries tend to become rhythmic and regular; hence come songs and dances (Durkheim 1912: 216).

This, I argue, is no coincidence. Music is a highly participatory medium of

expression, and indeed one that is interwoven within Durkheim's own understanding of effervescence. Where Durkheim described song, dance, and rhythmic chant as products of an effervescent assembly, this research argues that they can be, and often are, also fundamental components in their creation. As Turino suggests, by 'moving and sounding together in synchrony, people can experience a feeling of oneness with others' (2008: 2-3). Through creating what Turino refers to as 'social intimacy' through participatory musical experience emotions, feelings, and affective states associated with the musical event are often felt to be innate or true (ibid). The emphasis on the importance of interpersonal contact in creating a shared state of being is an important component within musical effervescence as it pertains to creating and maintaining heightened states, thoughts, activities, and more.

For Turino, the power and importance of music lies in its tendency towards social cohesion. He posits the idea of 'sameness' through musical performance, suggesting that group musical performance may at times create a space in which people may transcend 'personal differences of class, status, age, gender' (ibid: 8). Turino's 'sameness' bears striking similarity to a phenomenon that noted anthropologist Victor Turner (1969) referred to as *communitas*. For Turner, *communitas* describes periods of social equality among community members, through which regular social hierarchies are temporarily suspended and replaced by what he refers to as anti-structure, a state of unstructured society governed by commonality and solidarity over social stratification (ibid). He describes this as the process 'of giving recognition to an essential and generic human bond, without which there could be *no* society' (ibid: 97). For Turner, *communitas* is usually engendered through ritual process or rites of passage (ibid). These events are often community-wide and co-performed, potentially drawing from a wide variety of performance media, including music. Thus, it is common for the performing arts to be intimately involved in liminal processes through which deeply imbedded views or prejudices may be stripped away to temporarily reveal our shared basic humanity.

Developing Durkheim: Musicking in Musical Effervescence

In English there is only one word for music, but that is not so say that it should considered as a single commodity or the sum of its structural parts (Turino 2008). Indeed, the notion that music is not one specific 'thing' is not a particularly new concept, and was being explored in early ethnomusicology scholarship. For most ethnomusicologists, music is a fundamentally human phenomenon; it is made by people for other people and is thought of as humanly organised sound (Merriam 1964; Blacking 1974). Within these foundational sentiments of ethnomusicology can be found the seeds of understanding music's potential power. Perhaps the most theoretically developed discussion of the social nature of music was encapsulated in the simple term 'musicking', as presented by Christopher Small (1998) – though earlier incarnations of the concept were discussed by John Blacking (1974). The fundamental idea behind musicking was that music was not something to be considered abstractly, but rather should be thought of as a human act, and further one that does not discriminate based on so-called musical ability. Small's main objective was to change how we think about music; to change our understanding of music from something we listened to, visually represent in scores, buy, sell or own, to one that incorporates the entire act of performance, including people (performing or listening), places, actions, and relationships involved. He posits that "to music" is 'to take part in any capacity, in a musical performance, whether by performing, by listening, by rehearsing or practising, by providing material for performance […] or dancing' (1998: 9). Though the conception of music as a dynamic and inclusive process is interesting in its own right, it has further implications for this discussion of musical effervescence insofar as it offers a channel into understanding participatory behaviour mediated by musical experience. Describing the term, Small argues

> in making no distinction between what the performers are doing and what the
> rest of those present are doing, it reminds us that musicking […] is an activity in
> which all those present are involved and for whose nature and quality, success
> or failure, everyone present bears some responsibility (ibid: 10).

For Small, then, musicking describes a fundamentally universal activity and involves all those participating in the musical experience, an intrinsically 'human encounter' (ibid). The ramifications of conceptualising music this way are profound. It means that we can largely overcome the false dichotomy between music performance and reception, and begin to rethink what we mean by performance in terms of human encounters and experiences. Irving Goffman defined performance as 'all the activity of a given participant on a given occasion which serves to influence in any way any of the other participants' (1959: 15). Thus, if we are to take Goffman's understanding of performance as our starting point, a great many situations become refocused as performance spaces in which people co-perform with others.

There are a number of important overlaps between Durkheim's ideas of effervescence and Small's concept of musicking that help to account for music's potential to move and persuade people. Elaborating on his theoretical model, Small argues:

> The act of musicking establishes in the place where it is happening a set of relationships, and it is in those relationships that the meaning of the act lies. They are to be found not only between those organised sounds which are conventionally thought of as being the stuff of musical meaning but also between the people who are taking part, in whatever capacity, in the performance; and they model, or stand as metaphor for, ideal relationships as the participants in the performance imagine them to be: relationships between person and person, between individual and society, between humanity and the natural world and even perhaps the supernatural world (1998: 13).

Within this statement there are a number of points to consider. The first lies in the fundamental act of participation in musicking. Durkheim believed that we are naturally inclined towards communal and collective activities as opposed to the often alienating emphasis on modern individualism found in the post-

industrial west (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Music is no exception. Though there are many forms of participatory musicking (anything from listening to an iPod or playing in a band) it is those most immediately participatory forms that are the often most socially cohesive (Turino 2008).

Indeed, music is often the vessel through which emotive collective public experiences are manifested, perhaps though live performance or recorded music at a club or bar that induces entrainment through dancing (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Musical experience may enhance human life as a result of its social nature, and indeed a great many musics have their foundations in these social values (ibid). Much of the world's music is not primarily predicated on the accuracy of the notes, melodies, or harmonies, but on the level of participation and musicking from those involved (Turino 2008). It is not unfounded then to suggest that the importance of much music, and indeed some might argue the origin of music,[11] lies in social interaction. As a result, the potential to capitalise on the social importance of music in order to create what Durkheim (1912) would characterise as collective and empathic effervescent assemblies, is a particularly powerful one.

Durkheim's effervescence is based on a similar conception of public and collective experience as Small's musicking. Though at times they can become extreme, emotional responses catalysed from coming together in large groups are actually quite common. Emotions, like music, are fundamentally social in nature (Collins 2004). Not only do emotions arise from situations in which individuals interact and engage with others, they are often enhanced in their perceived magnitude if they are shared with or among other people (ibid: 299). Shared musical experience can create a sense of shared agency and outward displays of physical entrainment, such as dancing, may lead to a gradual relinquishing of self-consciousness that ultimately leads to an enhanced sense

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[11] See Walter Freeman's chapter 'A neurobiological role of music in social bonding' in *The Origins of Music*, edited by N. Wallin, B. Merkur, and S. Brown (2000).

of free self-expression (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Thus by introducing the concept of musicking to Durkheim's effervescence we can begin to construct a theory of the kind of music-induced effervescence that will be analysed throughout this thesis. By turning our attention both towards the humans involved in making and participating in music, as well as the effects of such embodied musicking, we can begin to understand some of music's profound influence.

The awareness of one's own individual involvement in the movements of a collective whole is fundamental to effervescence. Durkheim believed not simply that collective effervescence resulted in the release of an enormous amount of energy, but further that the energy would be constructive to new moralities and ways of thinking (1912). This phenomenon was termed *effervescence créatrice*, or creative effervescence, and as Olaveson describes, it is 'a phenomenon during which new ideas in morality may emerge, as well as ideal conceptions of society' with the belief that such ideas can be realised (2001: 101). Though the main focus of his analyses was religion, Durkheim also applied his concept to account for the wave of effervescence found in the French Revolution. It is during these periods of heightened revolutionary rhetoric that 'men believe themselves transported into an entirely different world from the one they have before their eyes' (Durkheim 1912: 226). Collective effervescence is experienced as a result of coming together into a collective to focus on a particular person, idea, space, activity etc., that lies outside of normal everyday life. The phenomenon occurs, in part then, due to its rarity, since, though we are indeed social beings, focused gatherings of large groups of people are not every day occurrences for the vast majority of people (ibid). This process strengthens and nourishes individual minds through intense emotion (Mellor 2001). As Mellor argues, 'collective emotional revitalisation also gives rise to new collective ideas, ideals, and values' (ibid: 169).

Durkheim describes people under the influence of collective effervescence as if they are outside of their own normal existence and influenced by some superhuman force (Pickering 2001). Within such quasi-transcendent states of

being, it is not so surprising that beliefs in ideal conceptions of relationships between people and wider society are, at times, thought to be attainable. Though Small does not use the same sort of evocative language, similar principles can be found within his concept of musicking, describing the practice as a place for modelling 'ideal relationships as the participants imagine them to be', in terms of both person-to-person interaction but also interaction between the individual and the wider society (1998: 13). Thus, the described effects of Small's musicking bear striking similarity to those of Durkheim's effervescence. For the purposes of HIV/AIDS intervention, belief in the attainability of new status quos may become powerful motivators for informed action.

Affect

Intimately linked with the concept of effervescence and of equal relevance to this research, is the concept of affect. Indeed, there will be a number of occasions in this thesis where the term 'affect' or 'affective' will be used to describe some emotionally charged state or object, and it is worth discussing the phenomena this term can describe in order to theorise the often ineffable and indescribable effects of musical effervescence. Affect may be thought of as describing the bodily experience of emotions and is often discussed in relation to our interaction with stimuli, whether human or nonhuman. Unlike feelings or emotions, which are largely well defined and easily described, affect can be experienced as entirely nebulous states of arousal and thus is one of our more detailed means of describing those experiences elicited through musicking, collective effervescence, or individual and mediated musical exposure such as through recorded music or music videos. As such, it is important that we explore this phenomenon in some detail.

The 'affective turn', as it has become known in sociological writing in recent years, is the latest in a line of paradigm shifts, following from its predecessors the linguistic and cultural turns. For Hurley and Warner the turn 'signals a renewed interest in embodiment and sensorial experience' (2012: 99). In addition, and of particular note for this dissertation, they continue that 'the

arts, maybe particularly the time-based performing arts, are especially relevant here for their bodily entanglements in their production and their sensate lures in their reception' (ibid). Fundamentally speaking, the turn towards affect represents a scholarly desire to understand the parts of human behaviour that are not fueled by rational or cognitive processes: preconscious behaviour and attitudes that are moulded by social and cultural convention.

Insofar as it is possible to define affect, Seigworth and Gregg offer the following tentative definition:

> Affect, at its most anthropomorphic, is the name we give to those forces - visceral forces beneath, alongside, or generally *other than* conscious knowing, vital forces insisting beyond emotion - that can serve to drive us toward movement, towards thought and extension, that can likewise suspend us (as if in neutral) across a barely registering accretion of force-relations, or that can leave us overwhelmed by the world's apparent intractability (2010: 1).

Affect becomes a fundamental conceptual component of this research, whose aim is to examine the mechanisms through which the time-based performing arts, particularly music, are able to mobilise individuals and communities towards specific goals. Are those individuals aware that their opinions may change in affectively charged group settings as Durkheim described, at least in those moments? Perhaps, for the most part, probably not. Affect, therefore, is a useful tool in understanding the social psychology of mass movements, behavioural change, heightened emotional states, and both group and individual manipulation.

Affect is often observed in response to some external force, but for Seigworth and Gregg, these external influences need not be forceful at all (ibid). They suggest that affect tends to occur or transpire 'within and across the subtlest of shuttling intensities: all the minuscule or molecular events of the unnoticed' (ibid: 2). Affective responses are likely to result from ill-defined affective

moments or unnoticed affective cues, perhaps phenomena which are so ubiquitous that they often go unnoticed. Affect displays, conscious or otherwise, can outwardly indicate affective processes among individuals or groups, oftentimes in physical manifestations, perhaps through specific behaviour like dancing (or unintentional movement to music), facial expressions, or other gestures. These visceral, often bodily responses that express a reaction to something beyond human emotion are often manifested by subtle or innocuous triggers. Given that it is now possible to store and share tens of thousands of songs on electronic devices the size of matchboxes, what Small (1998) would refer to as the organised sounds of musical meaning, is now highly portable. Indeed, DeNora argues that since music is portable it can be 'flexibly introduced into settings through user-friendly technologies' and continues 'music can be a stealthy art – potentially insidious' (2013: 3). It would seem that music, being an everyday phenomenon, ubiquitous in all cultures and walks of life, is an excellent medium through which 'minuscule and molecular events of the unnoticed' may be compounded into larger affective responses.

Affect is fundamentally connected to our experience of life, and to what Sarah Ahmed calls the 'messiness of the experiential' (2010: 22). For Seigworth and Gregg, within an affective process, 'a body is as much outside itself as in itself - webbed in its relations - until ultimately such firm distinctions cease to matter' (2010: 3). The term 'body', although used more generally by Seigworth and Gregg to describe objects in terms of their reciprocity to or co-participation in the affective environment, can in this sense also describe people. Thus affect, and the bodily responses it can produce should be thought of as fundamentally connected to relations and encounters with the world, and given the importance placed by Small (1998) on person-to-person relationships and encounters, or those between people and wider society, any understanding of musically motivated person-to-person intensities should also understand their affective nature.

There are a couple of distinctions to be made between affect and more

established areas of psychology, such as moods or feelings. Firstly, affect does not simply describe emotional states. According to Wetherell 'conventional psychological research on emotions is far too narrow and restrictive to support all the things social research could do in this area' (2012: 3). She continues that 'terms used by psychologists (sadness, anger fear, surprise, disgust and happiness) do not adequately describe the range and variety of affective performances, affective scenes and affective events' (ibid). This is not to say, however, that affect and emotions are not intimately linked. Emotional input is fundamental in connecting body and brain. Emotions are fundamentally a social phenomenon; they are felt through interpersonal interaction from some of our earliest stages of development during infancy. These emotionally profound interactions are often musical in nature, exhibiting characteristics of speech and movement generally not found elsewhere, such as unusual rhythm or pulse, pitch, or elongated and exaggerated annunciation or duration. Malloch refers to this phenomenon as 'communicative musicality' (1999: 47). According to Krueger (2013), musicality is essential to some of the most basic forms of embodied interpersonal communication between infants and caregivers. What this suggests is that empathic musical communication seems to be hardwired into our earliest development. There is something more universal about how we respond to musical stimuli than is often readily acknowledged and, further, it begins to shed light on how music is able to occupy the more emotional avenues of our minds, even when exposed to previously unheard music.

When it comes to emotion in music, it is clear that music does not contain, within itself, the emotions we may experience upon listening to it. These responses are the result of complex cultural histories, experience, and education (Hesmondhalgh 2013). Mass media and mega-event campaigns that utilise the Band Aid method rely heavily on the universality of music to create a sensorial and emotional response. Increasing exposure to mainstream, usually Western, media through globalisation in the digital age has allowed the conventions that afford music such emotionally persuasive qualities to become ubiquitous in many parts of the world. This is not to suggest that feelings,

moods, or emotional responses will be the same across cultures; rather, that similarities in how music is perceived and experienced may now occur in many disparate cultures.

Indeed, since affect describes states of arousal which are oftentimes so interwoven with our everyday existence that we are unable to recognise them, or account for them, affect is often discussed in terms of its outward bodily manifestations. As a result, the body, or embodiment, becomes important in our understanding of social phenomena. This is not to say, however, that affect completely evades cognition, rather the two interact in subtle ways. For Seigworth and Gregg, 'sensate tendrils constantly extend between unconscious (or, better, non-conscious) affect and conscious thought. In practice, then, affect and cognition are never fully separable - if for no other reason than thought is itself a body, embodied' (2010: 2-3). Affect allows us to account more complexly for social phenomena, such as those described by Durkheim, by opening up new angles for understanding previously overlooked micro-encounters and unnoticed stimuli. Ahmed notes, in what she calls an 'outside in' approach, our sensitivity to atmospheres in various social situations and the influence such atmospheres may have on our demeanour (2010: 36). Thus the study of affect illustrates an avenue through which simultaneously deeply personal and deeply social responses may be articulated.

Throughout Durkheim's (1912) analyses of collective effervescence, he makes a number of references to songs, chants, rhythms, dances, and various other forms of cultural expression.

> If we set aside the funeral rites – the sombre side of every religion – we find the totemic cult celebrated in the midst of songs, dances, and dramatic representations (ibid: 224).

Thus, affective musical experience may contribute to the creation of effervescent assemblies through co-performance and musicking. This study

brings together two highly influential theoretical concepts to an analysis of some of South Africa's most recent developments in HIV/AIDS intervention. Further, combining these two concepts allows us to consider music, and the emotional and affective states it can engender, as creative forces, essentially understanding musicking as a potential phenomenon for social change, as it has been throughout South Africa's history.

This research can then apply theoretical concepts such as entrainment and other everyday musical phenomena to the study of individual and collective human behaviour as it pertains to edutainment interventions. Within music performance we find the building blocks of collective effervescence, and indeed, as Durkheim describes, within effervescent assemblies is the tendency towards embodied artistic expression. Since music and rhythm can be thought of as both a facilitator and product of effervescence then the concept of entrainment is important in understanding how participants can become 'tuned in' to one another through non-verbal means. Entrainment allows us to account for the kinds of unspoken synchronicity observed in music-driven effervescent assemblies, in which thoughts, ideas, values, morals, and emotions may be shared, and participants become part of a larger whole. Conventional wisdom would suggest that emotions, and indeed affect displays such as those expressed by effervescent assemblies, are seen as irrational, passionate, and potentially carnal or unmediated responses to stimuli and by that virtue they are often considered to be unpredictable or dangerous (Baumeister, DeWall, and Zhang 2007). But this is not necessarily the case, in fact emotions (along with cognition and self-regulation) are fundamental to our ability to successfully evaluate a situation and alter or maintain our behaviour accordingly (ibid). In short emotional input is fundamental to healthy decision-making.

Drawing from creative effervescence, one might suggest that when bodies are entrained then, so too are thoughts and actions. Entrainment, therefore, is an important component of the kinds of shared (or collective) experiences and emotions engendered through musicking. It contributes to the shared

communitas and smoothens the transition from individual to collective and vice versa by creating temporal rhythms for participants to synchronise with. This research aims to create an analytical lens through which motivation and engagement through musical experience may be examined. Though Durkheim described effervescence as related to large numbers of people, such as whole societies or communities, I propose that the phenomenon is just as apparent in much smaller denominations of people and indeed individuals.

Methodology

The data for this research were collected during a period of 17 months between late 2013 until mid 2016 during which I conducted fieldwork in the Western Cape, Free State, and Mpumalanga provinces of South Africa, with much of my time spent in and around the city of Cape Town. As this study deals with different styles of campaigning, I applied different data gathering methods to each of my case studies as needed. However, some approaches were still universally applicable. As is common in ethnomusicological research, the overarching methods used in compiling the data were ethnographic in nature, encompassing detailed descriptive accounts of performance events, participant observation, interviews, informal discussion, and field notes. Participant observation was the cornerstone of my ethnographic fieldwork and was applied to two of the three case studies in this research ('Lucky, the Hero!' and TAC). Participant observation, broadly speaking, describes a data gathering technique in which the researcher involves themselves in the 'everyday activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people' (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011: 2). This intimate involvement allows the researcher to observe both explicit and tacit elements of a performance event and wider culture (Spradley 1980). Ethnomusicologists tend to be most concerned with the way people make music, and the subsequent social and cultural dynamics of such music making (Berger 2008). As such, participant observation of a musical event becomes somewhat refocused onto a much smaller snapshot of social and musical interaction, which are then extrapolated to consider their wider cultural significance. Of course, this extrapolation from microcosm to wider implication

is based on the interpretation of the ethnographer and, in this respect, such an approach allows for multiple interpretations of the same event and the data collected (Fetterman 2010). Further, within the very name of participant observation is the concept of knowing (learning and understanding) by doing, and further that such learning must involve relationships with those willing to share their knowledge with a researcher, even if it can never fully be understood by outsiders (Nettle 2005).

Given that HIV/AIDS in South Africa is overwhelmingly transmitted through heterosexual sex, the subject of this research is of a personal nature. The subjects of sex and HIV are considered taboo in much of Southern Africa. Indeed, HIV/AIDS is still heavily stigmatised in South Africa and the legacy of state-sponsored AIDS denial and the cost in human suffering is still very real to those who lived through it and lost family and friends. As a result, I felt it was important that I become affiliated with an institution with a strong history of community engagement. In doing so I would be able to participate in the interventions I sought to study rather than merely observe as an outsider. In order to achieve this, I became affiliated with The Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management at Stellenbosch University. The Centre has been actively involved with the local community, educating farm workers and communities in the Cape Winelands for over ten years and more recently expanded to operate nationally. The Centre has an internationally recognised reputation for health awareness, allowing me to gain access to the country's HIV/AIDS activism networks, most notably members of TAC.

In South Africa, few things are as immediately noticeable, and noticed, as race. As such, I had to address my status as a European researcher in often impoverished and underprivileged areas of both rural and urban South Africa. Though affirmative action programs to improve the economic status of previously disadvantaged people have begun to address the problem, race and class remain deeply interconnected and entrenched. Thus, in South Africa, being of European descent remains synonymous with higher socio-economic

status, and for many, particularly in older generations, white skin still carries with it the legacy of hundreds of years of racism. The country's long and troubled history of prejudice along racial lines deeply intensifies the already potentially problematic insider or outsider status of the researcher (Rabe 2003). This was most noticeable when attempting conversations with older generations, and though I was able to somewhat overcome these issues with help of interpreters, I found that there was still some discomfort amongst some people in talking to me. Fortunately, throughout my time in South Africa I was able to speak with social activists, school learners, and community members who were perfectly willing to share their thoughts with me. Given that the vast majority of HIV interventions are directed towards young people, most of my fieldwork exchanges were with South Africa's youth (the post-1994 generations who have become known as 'born frees'), who have significantly less issue with race and class.

Within ethnographic inquiry and analysis can be found an intrinsic contradiction between interpretation of data and the necessary flexibility required to study human behaviour on the one hand, and issues of subjectivity on the other. Indeed, ethnography is somewhat unusual insofar as it requires consistent reevaluation of the researcher's position, and continual analysis through the data collection process.

> Whereas in most research, analysis follows data collection, in ethnographic research, analysis precedes and is concurrent with data collection. An ethnographer is a human instrument and must discriminate amongst different types of data and analyse the relative worth of one path over another in every turn in fieldwork, well before any formalised analysis takes place (Fetterman 2010: 2-3).

However, as a human instrument of both data collection and interpretation, the ethnographer is fundamentally afflicted with human flaws and preconceived notions of what they expect to discover in the field. Thus, I had to be mindful

that my own understanding of events is one based on observations and data that are inevitably influenced by my own subjectivity. The interpretation of such data is influenced by a number of factors, including my own personal history, my training as a musician and researcher, and my class and culture as a middle-class Western European. Indeed, as Rajendran (2001) notes, 'because qualitative inquiry depends, at every stage, on the skills, training, insights, and capabilities of the researcher qualitative analysis ultimately depends on the analytical intellect and style of the analyst' (2001: 2). The human instrument that Fennerman (2010) describes, then, is both the core strength and fundamental weakness of ethnography. I try to counteract these issues by acknowledging when necessary the possibility of my own personal subjectivity, and the effect this may have on the subsequent analysis. While it is important to be aware of these limitations though in order to engage in more reflexive scholarship, such ethnographic approaches still provide credible, engaging, and personal accounts of events, and were therefore utilised throughout the data gathering process of this research.

My time in South Africa was split into three parts: one twelve-month period from September 2013 until September 2014, a further four month trip the following year in 2015, and a final one month visit in July 2016. While in South Africa, after formalising the affiliation with the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management, I set up a workspace within the Centre in order to more easily stay informed of the theatre group's performances. I began by interviewing the Director of Musical Theatre, Professor Jimmy Earl Perry and sat in on the theatre group's daily rehearsals. These early dialogues resembled conversations more than structured interviews so as not to appear impersonal or interrogative, as some interview techniques can be (Murchison 2010). By sitting in on the rehearsals, I was able to become part of the collective conversations. At times my opinion on a scene or song was asked for and duly given. Each tea break in the performances allowed me to start building a relationship with the actors and before long I was invited to support their vocal warm-ups by playing chromatically increasing pitches on the piano as the group sang major scales in

all twelve keys. Over time, my presence in the Africa Centre became less and less noteworthy and eventually it became the norm.

During these twelve months I accompanied, documented, participated in and observed fifteen 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance interventions in the Western Cape, Free State, and Mpumalanga provinces. I will admit that I was not expecting to hear American pop hits from the 1960s to the present day within a South African HIV/AIDS musical theatre intervention often performed in the rural interior of the country. As such, 'Lucky, the Hero!' did not fit within my preconceived notion of an HIV/AIDS intervention typecast by my readings in edutainment scholarship. South Africa is a large country, roughly 1.2 million square kilometres. As a result, I spent many hours in close quarters with the theatre group in the Africa Centre's mini-van on our way to the performance locations from their Stellenbosch centre of operations. Indeed, once the last lyrics had been sung, the final HIV test completed, and the equipment packed away for the day, I spent the vast majority of my time with the actors during their free time, in diners, restaurants, bars, hotel lounges, and on one particular evening, shooting, arranging, and editing scenes for a movie audition that one of the actors wanted to submit. I'd find out later that his audition was successful. Accompanying the group on tour granted a significant amount of time to building friendships with the different members of the theatre group. Reciprocity was established by ensuring that my time with the theatre group was as fruitful for them as it was for me. I would discover quite early on that my camera would prove very useful in facilitating this two-way flow of value, as I shared many of the high-quality images with the Africa Centre.

Further, being involved in performances in a number of South Africa's provinces allowed me to observe interactions between the performers and audience members, and the techniques employed by the ETC throughout some of the country's different cultural groups. While on tour with the group, as there were usually two to three shows per day, I often elected to video record the morning's performances and photographically document the performances in

the afternoon. This approach allowed me to gather large amounts of qualitative data that captured specific moments of, for example audience participation and interaction.

Figure 2: Members of the Educational Theatre Company pose with participants.[12]

I was aware of the multiple meanings that could be generated by photographs, in part by their occupying the dual ground of both subjective art and objective representation. As Sontag (1977) notes, those who view images are sitting in Plato's cave, interpreting photos and creating narratives to suit what they see. The same issue applies to my own fieldwork photographs, with readers able to draw potentially radically different meanings from the ones presented in this thesis. Though this is a difficult issue to overcome, it can at least be mitigated. It is for this reason that the photographs presented in this text accompany detailed ethnographic accounts, what Geertz (1973) might refer to as 'thick description.'

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[12] Photo taken by the author.

Photographs of events have functioned as extensions of the temporally fleeting worlds I hoped to capture. The still image, I have found, more so than film is a highly evocative medium in the sense that the representation of the now lost space in time can be studied in all its intricacies, and thus one can recall more easily those seemingly lost sights, sounds, and smells. Titon (2008) expresses a similar attitude towards the still image when he suggests that photographs 'substitute for experience by evoking out memories of it. Like a photograph taken or a brochure brought back from a holiday abroad, they are documentary and evocative at the same time' (ibid: 33). In my own fieldwork, my photographs often told different and more intimate stories about each captured moment than was recorded either by the videos or my own eyes at the time, and I was able to analyse the particular moment and find new facial expressions, different body language, or interactions that I had previously missed.

I experienced the highs and lows of the 'Lucky, the Hero!' shows during each performance, as the characters played out their narratives. Given much of this research is focused on the heightened states engendered through music performance, it would have been a mistake not to involve myself as much as possible in those performances. Conquergood and Soyini Madison refer to this as 'radical empiricism', 'an embodied mode of being together with Others on intersubjective ground' (2012: 185). The data gathered through audio-visual recording reinforced the still images mentioned earlier. Not only was I able to examine effervescent assemblies while outside of those emotionally charged contexts, but I was further able to analyse in greater detail those interactions and compare responses across demographics such as age or sex.

In addition to participant observation, informal discussions were held with participants immediately following the events. By doing so I hoped to better understand the participant's responses that I had been observing during the performances while the feelings, moods, and emotions of the participants were still present. Due to strict time constraints, however, these discussions often

only contributed marginally to the data when compared with the observations, as it was often not possible to spend much time discussing the show before the actors were moving onto the next location. Indeed, dotted throughout this thesis can be found brief interludes of personal biographies in order to frame particular discussions within the context of lived experience. Due to these same time restrictions, it was unfortunately not possible to engage with participants of the 'Lucky, the Hero!' shows sufficiently to gather such personal biographies. Additionally, the ETC rarely returns to the communities in which it has already performed due to funding issues. Finally, to better gauge the necessity of the intervention and the reasons for utilising musical theatre as a communicative medium I also conducted semi-structured interviews with the directors of the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management. It was not necessary to interview members of the ETC as much of what would have been asked became apparent throughout the time travelling together.

Through my affiliation with Stellenbosch University and the African Centre for HIV/AIDS Management I was able to interview long-serving members of the Treatment Action Campaign. I approached the Director of the Africa Centre, Professor Jan Du Toit, concerning how best to make contact with TAC. I was aware that the Africa Centre had worked closely with TAC in the past and hoped to be able to make use of those connections in order to gain access to the AIDS advocacy group. I was put in touch with Mandla Majola, District Organiser for Khayelitsha, Cape Town's most populous township.[13] We later met and conducted an interview in the TAC regional office in Khayelitsha. Following this, I met with former General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula and spoke with her about her experiences as an AIDS activist and her personal journey after discovering her HIV status. In March 2014 I attended a demonstration organised by TAC outside Cape Town's parliament building to protest the government's lax pharmaceutical patent laws. I later returned to the Cape Town township to

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[13] Khayelitsha is the largest township in the Cape Town metropolitan area. Poverty and sexual violence are endemic in the township, and it is one of the hardest hit areas by HIV with an antenatal prevalence of 34% in 2012 (Cox V et al 2014)

observe an additional rally, a joint community and TAC protest outside the Khayelitsha Magistrate's Court in June 2014, in order to observe TAC's form of public demonstration. By observing TAC's demonstrations first hand, I was able to experience the protests from within as much as possible, despite being a noticeable outsider to the Khayelitsha community in particular.[14] The events that sparked the protest in front of the Magistrate's Court were well reported in local South African media such as *News24* and *Independent Online News* as the protests were in response to the alleged rape of congregation members by a local pastor.[15] Sexual violence, as will be discussed later in this thesis, is one of the driving social factors behind the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and the allegations sparked outrage in the community. Throughout these protests, I attempted to engage with the protesters but my obvious outsider status prevented many from speaking with me. I was able to have a small number of brief interactions with both TAC and local community members, though for security reasons, these were not recorded. In this instance I used a notebook to scribble descriptive accounts of the scene as well as the results of the brief exchanges with community members.

Since each individual will respond slightly differently to a given stimulus, it is important not to overlook the personal experiences that comprise the fabric of collective experience. Mindful of this, I have interspersed biographical snapshots of some of the people I have met during my fieldwork throughout the analyses chapters. These brief biographies, as Farmer (2005) argues, help to situate often desensitised discussions of phenomena within real world personal stories. In doing so, this research hopes to represent individualised accounts as well as observations of collectivity within AIDS activism and intervention.

In addition to the aforementioned ethnographic research methods, I made use

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[14] According to the latest census run by the City of Cape Town (2011), Khayelitsha's white population stands at little over 300 people out of a total population of 2.9 million. Thus, white residents of Khayelitsha account for 0.1% of the total population.
[15] See: http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Local/City-Vision/Rape-victims-cry-out-for-justice-20150716

of questionnaires and feedback analysis in the final case study of this thesis: *ZAZI*. Though it would have been preferable to use more personal means of data gathering, the use of surveys was necessary in this case as the main catalyst for the proposed national conversation on women's rights in South Africa came in the form of a song and music video that was dispersed via mass media outlets including TV and radio. Since the campaign utilises highly mediated forms of communication rather than the more intimate and immediate forms of musicking presented in the previous case studies, I had to mould the methods I used to suit the campaign medium. It was, however, still possible to include person-to-person interaction in the form of focus groups, once the participants had completed their questionnaires. A further two music videos, Annie Lennox's *Sing* (2007) and Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Youssou N'Dour's *Proud to Be* (2012), were screened alongside *ZAZI* to serve as comparison AIDS-related audiovisual campaigns. Details on the construction of the questionnaires and the organisation of the screenings are discussed further in chapter six. A follow-up study was conducted in 2015, focusing specifically on *ZAZI*, to probe some of the themes that had emerged in the previous study. The methods and rationale behind them are discussed in more detail in chapter six.

Due to a number of considerations (the fact that the ETC travels throughout the country, safety concerns in impoverished areas, and the scope of mass media campaigning), I did not live in any of my research sites. The nature of my research required me to visit numerous research sites with little prior experience of the culture or language, and thus potentially hindering my ability to engage meaningfully with the participants. Fortunately, as this research focused largely on young people who were often still in school, many were both fluent in English and willing to discuss their experiences with me.

Throughout my time in South Africa, my status shifted along the continuum between insider and outsider, never fully resting on a definite place for long. I may have been an insider amongst the theatre group, but I was an outsider to the participants we travelled to; I may have built a friendly and personal rapport

with the staff at Gardens Commercial High School, but I was very much inevitably outside of the teenage world of the school learners; and I may have had strong connection among the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management with access to networks of AIDS advocacy groups, but they would not be enough for some to see past the old divisions etched into South African consciousness by years of racial oppression.

Chapter 3. Structural Violence and the Political Economy of HIV/AIDS in South Africa

I powerwalk through the market streets of downtown Cape Town after my train has delivered me to the railway station over an hour later than the scheduled arrival time. I navigate through the small stalls selling colourful cell-phone cases and South African paraphernalia as I walk through the central business district towards Cape Town's parliament. A young man in dark sunglasses standing by a stall breaks off his conversation with his associates, raises his hand in my direction and shouts 'Italiano!? Italiano!?' Thoroughly confused, I shake my head and continue walking: I already feel as though I will arrive at my destination late. I smile to myself: has the South African sun tanned my Scottish skin so much after only a few months that I could be mistaken for an Italian? I cross a busy street at a large set of traffic lights and find what I am looking for. Four large flagpoles flying the South African national flag mark the grand entrance to the houses of parliament. As I reach the building the protest is already well underway. The sound of indecipherable slogans shouted through megaphones punctuates the clamourous scene as a row of ten or more demonstrators hold up a large black banner, which simply proclaims 'PEOPLE OVER PROFITS'.

I stand for a moment to take in the scene: an undulating sea of protestors surround the gates of the parliament building, itself presented before the dramatic backdrop of Lion's Head and Signal Hill. I had heard about this protest from TAC's former Secretary General Vuyiseka Dubula during a brief chat with her at the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management. Professor Jan du Toit, affectionately named Prof. Jan, Director of the Africa Centre, had set up the encounter after one of his many meetings with TAC members. TAC has joined with Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) and other activist groups to protest the unusually high number of pharmaceutical drug patents accepted every year in South Africa. The country's current patent laws, which are now under review,

allow drug companies to extend their patents through minimal alteration to their medicine's formula, or by combining various drugs into one pill. Such practices, TAC argues, maintain pharmaceutical company monopolies over expensive medicines while prohibiting the introduction of more affordable generic versions.

The whitewashed walls of Cape Town's Parliament shine in the autumn sun. The locked gates and considerable police presence seem to represent a physical and metaphorical barrier between South African civil society and those in the elite upper echelons. However, the multiracial protest that fills the courtyard, with the white H.I.V positive t-shirt – specially made for this event with the slogan 'bad patents = death' on the reverse side – as their symbol of unity, is a testament to how far the country has come from its colonial past. It stands in striking contrast to the grandiose grey and black Louis Botha monument directly opposite parliament's gates. Upon its stone perch, declaring Botha as a farmer, warrior, and statesman, it stands facing its back to the parliament: it almost seems as if he cannot bear to watch.

As I mingle amongst the one thousand-strong crowd, pickets and clenched fists held high, I try to imagine how this scene compares to the early TAC demonstrations at a time when the will of the South African people was pitted against that of the newly formed democratic government. I try to imagine the urgency that must have been palpable. What is striking about the scene in front of me is the reality that, despite TAC's, and indeed South African civil society's, landmark victory in forcing the government to commit to a national HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention plan in 2004, they, and other organisations, are still fighting for the rights of every South African to be able to access affordable medicines ten years later.

Prélude to a Disaster: Creating the 'Perfect Storm' of AIDS in South Africa
Few issues highlight South Africa's economic, political, ethnic, and social divisions like HIV/AIDS. As Patricia Henderson notes, since the virus

overwhelmingly affects black South Africans, the illness 'became intertwined with the re-evocation of the divisions and suspicions of South Africa's past' (2011: 119). For example, she notes that a commonly held belief during the early years of the epidemic, and shortly after the first democratic elections, was that a jealous and resentful white minority were attempting to poison South Africa's black majority after losing control of the state (ibid). Of course, HIV/AIDS does affect the lives of black South African's far more than any of the country's other demographics, and though poisoning may not be at the root of the health crisis, the causes and propellants are no less troubling. This chapter constitutes the final of the introductory chapters. Now that the theoretical underpinnings for the analyses that will follow later have been established, it is important not to overlook the histories and politics of HIV/AIDS, racial oppression, and the various political and economic drivers of the epidemic in South Africa. In essence, addressing issues that have led to the 'poisoning' of the poor, and that militate against the implementation of beneficial HIV/AIDS-related health practices.

It is important to provide context to human suffering by situating ethnography within the overarching economic, political, and social environment (Decoteau 2008; Farmer 1992; Biehl 2005). In order to discuss South Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis in its correct context, then, it is necessary to discuss the modern history of the country and the conditions which directly affect the current political and economic climate. In his discussion of disease and human suffering in Haiti, leading medical anthropologist and physician Paul Farmer (2005) notes the following:

> The world as we know it is becoming increasingly interconnected. A corollary of this fact is that extreme suffering—especially when on a grand scale, as in genocide—is seldom divorced from the actions of the powerful. The analysis must also be *historically deep:* […] deep enough to recall that modern-day Haitians are the descendants of a people kidnapped from Africa in order to provide our forebears with sugar, coffee, and cotton (ibid: 42).

Considering Farmer's views, any analysis of AIDS in South Africa must be historically situated within the context of decisions made by the powerful and how they have come to affect the powerless. A comprehensive history of South Africa is far beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is important to understand that the country's HIV/AIDS crisis does not exist in a vacuum. The intertwining histories of dominance, struggle, exploitation, racism, and emancipation have directly and indirectly influenced the social, economic, and political landscape of South Africa. The discussions in this chapter are broad and across a range of different, yet very much interrelated topics. However, each must be addressed in order to properly contextualise the current HIV/AIDS epidemic. Farmer explains such interconnectedness of history, sociopolitical and economic context, and lived individual experience by noting that such experiences (for example physical and sexual violence), can be thought of as the embodiment of social forces such as poverty, racism, and inequality (ibid). Indeed, it is imperative to understand the causal links between large-scale social forces and individual distress, suffering, and disease (Farmer 2001, 2005, 2009; Posel 2008; Hunter 2010). A comprehensive understanding of the virus, then, should take into account interrelated themes of structural violence, political economy, and human agency. In short, when it comes to HIV/AIDS in South Africa, history matters.

The chapter opens with a brief overview of the exploitative labour practices of South Africa's colonial and apartheid eras. Once this historical foundation of systematic oppression has been established, the chapter moves into a discussion of the economic and political legacies of such exploitation and subjugation, and the structural inequalities that still permeate post-apartheid South Africa. This is followed by a review of South Africa's post-liberation civil and governmental responses to the AIDS crisis. Considering Framer's (2005) argument that the suffering of the most vulnerable cannot be adequately understood outside of the decisions made by the powerful, it becomes important to situate the epidemic not only within the legacy of structural

violence left by institutionalised and systematic oppression, but also the policies and decisions of South Africa's post-apartheid elites. Finally, the chapter concludes by offering a discussion on the historical use of music and the performing arts as a means of navigating and moulding social relationships, community education, and mobilising for social change in South Africa. In doing so the chapter provides a springboard from which to analyse the case studies to come in the following chapters.

Migration and Economic Exploitation During the Colonial and Apartheid Eras

In 1795 the British took control of the Cape from the Dutch state. The early 19th Century saw the British extend control over the region with the expansion of the Cape and Natal Colonies. This resulted in a number of frontier wars including conflicts with the Xhosa and Zulu peoples, as well as earlier Dutch settlers (or Afrikaners) (Ross 1999). The discovery of gold and diamonds in the interior of what was then Afrikaner administered land motivated the British to occupy these areas and begin extracting their mineral wealth (Thompson 2001). The discovery intensified pre-existing, but still largely informal racial segregation exercised by earlier settlers, as cheap black labour was used to mine the deposits. Trains from as far North as Uganda brought thousands of labourers to what is now the wider Johannesburg and Witwatersrand area creating a migrant labour system that is still, in many ways, operating today, though on a much smaller scale (Jeeves 1985; Segatti 2011).

By 1910 the first recognisable borders of the contemporary South African state had been drawn by British annexation of the Zulu kingdom and the two Afrikaner republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) into the Cape and Natal colonies (Ross 1998). The Union of South Africa, a dominion of the British Empire, was governed by a coalition parliament consisting of the Afrikaners and the British. The first legislative blow to non-Europeans passed by this parliament came in the form of the Native Land Act (1913). Although this was not the first law to limit the rights of black Africans in the previous colonies or republics, it was the first law to formally strip people of the right to be self-sufficient (Kallen

2011). The Act was designed to regulate black ownership of arable land in the newly formed country and further prevented them from renting farms from European farmers (Feinstein 2005; Higginson 2015). The result of such legislation, and the introduction of taxation, was that black South Africans had little choice other than to find work outside of lands they had previously depended on. Such work was found in few places other than the gold and diamond mines (ibid). Black Africans were allocated small plots of predominantly in-arable land large enough to 'justify' extremely low wages, while small enough to ensure they could not be entirely self-sufficient, thus ensuring a constant flow of labour to the mines. As one historian suggests, 'the final outcome of the whole process was that, for the African people of South Africa, land was no longer abundant; in areas they could still own, land was scarce and it was labour that was plentiful' (Feinstein 2005: 48).

The migrant labour system was 'an integral part of the way in which the government, with the support of industry, and in particular the mining industry, structured South African society from early in the 20th century' (Lurie 2010: 344). It effectively served to break down the social fabric of rural South African life, with the family at its core (Hunter 2010). The system largely prevented black men from settling in urban areas while simultaneously forcing them into long periods of time working away from their families, often housed in enormous single sex accommodation (ibid). For Patricia Henderson (2011), the migrant labour system that was orchestrated by successive racist governments destabilised rural family structures.

> Due to sets of pernicious influx control laws, the separation of parents and children was particularly common in rural areas, where both men and women inevitably sought work beyond their home areas. South Africa's children and youth have thus long been involved in fluid child-care arrangements whereby not only adults, but also children, have been mobile in pursuit of schooling, work, health care, and political safely (ibid 85).

Population displacement, migrant labour, and geographic mobility have been identified across the developing world as risk factors for the transmission of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and TB (Lurie 2010). Indeed, European colonialism in Africa in the nineteenth century, and the labour systems designed and implemented by those administrations, paved the way for what some researchers have described as a 'perfected storm' for the sub-Saharan African HIV/AIDS epidemic (Faria et al. 2014). Rapid European colonial expansion and industrialisation across the African continent created conditions of interconnectedness – through vast rail networks – and economic exploitation that have allowed the virus to flourish. For Susan Hunter, 'the emergence of HIV/AIDS in Africa is the result of the convergence of long-developing trends in human history, technology, philosophy, and evolution' (2003: 10). As with all colonial exploits, the interests of the governing European state and private commerce took precedence over indigenous populations and thus subjugated peoples saw very little of the capital flowing to, and gains flowing from the region, causing enormous social imbalances along racial lines.

The mineral wealth-based economy of South Africa's mines created the need for an almost exclusively male workforce leaving women with few options to earn an income. Since the mines were often far from the labourer's home communities, and contracts would often last for several months, coupled with new disposable incomes and few economic opportunities for women it is unsurprising then that a booming sex trade flourished in and around mining areas (Hongoro, Tadele, and Kloos 2013). A combination of the presence of ulcerative diseases, such as syphilis from the sex trade, and below standard hygiene practices in sexual health clinics appear to have contributed to the rapid expansion of HIV across the sub-Saharan continent (Pépin 2012). In terms of South Africa's current HIV/AIDS crisis, movement and intimate person-to-person contact are at the forefront of any capacity for the virus to spread, and the migrant labour system that was streamlined by consecutive racist governments has contributed significantly to the epidemic (Brummer 2002).

During the 1948 general election, the National Party took control of the Union of South Africa and immediately began to enshrine the dominant position of white South Africans into law through what it referred to as apartheid (literally translating from the Afrikaans to mean 'apartness'). When considering the structures that directly and indirectly influence South Africa's current HIV/AIDS epidemic, it is difficult to understate the ongoing legacy of apartheid. This legislated system of segregation and racially motivated social engineering has played a major role in cultivating conditions in which black and coloured South Africans are far more likely to be living in poverty and without marketable skills or access to education than their white compatriots (Home 2005).

Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, South Africa's apartheid regime increasingly restricted the civil liberties of black South Africans through the enforcement of racially discriminatory laws. The Population Registration Act (1950), which introduced identity cards stating racial classification for all citizens over the age of eighteen, enshrined racial classifications in law and restricted movement of all other ethnicities. Further legislation went on to prohibit different racial groups from living within the same 'location' (Group Areas Act 1950), prohibit romantic or sexual relationships between different races (Immorality Act 1950), prohibit inter-racial marriage (Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 1949), separate public and private amenities (Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1953) and education (Bantu Education Act 1953).

The laws passed by the apartheid regime continued and intensified existing exploitative labour conditions and by the 1970s the government had begun to move black South Africans to what it termed 'Bantustans' or 'homelands' (Beck 2000). These were rural areas mostly devoid of natural resources into which large swathes of ethnic groups were forced to live, thus dividing the black majority of South Africa's population along ethnic lines, stripping them of citizenship, and creating conditions in which economic success was nearly impossible (Kivnick 1990).

Further forced removals were carried out within major metropolitan areas, uprooting families and livelihoods often with little to no warning. The result of such action was the creation of large underprivileged areas, or townships, on the outskirts of urban centres, as black South Africans travelled to find work (Hunter 2007). For Aullette-Root, Boonzaier, and Aullette '[t]he structural changes that destroyed communities, jobs and homes, along with the psychological trauma of these changes and the removals themselves created new neighbourhoods with high levels of unemployment, crime, and alcohol and drug abuse' (2014: 20). It is this psychological trauma that has led to some of the most pressing issues facing South African society.

Resistance to minority rule took many forms from a number of different organisations, from peaceful protests to civil disobedience, over the decades of colonial and then later domestic subjugation through the apartheid regime.[16] To simplify, in response to increasing restrictions on civil liberties and racist policies, a collective movement, headed by the African National Congress (ANC) and labour unions, increasingly resisted the apartheid state. By the 1950s and 60s, the exiled military wing of the ANC, *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (MK),[17] was encouraging civil disobedience campaigns, industry strikes, and utilised guerilla tactics to target the nation's infrastructure in an effort to make the state ungovernable. As a result, then president F. W. de Klerk was impelled to negotiate an end to apartheid. This saw the unbanning of the ANC, the release of Nelson Mandela from prison, and multi-racial and fully democratic elections by 1994. Though some of the specific social problems that resulted from political and economic disempowerment, such as gender inequality, poverty, and substance abuse will be covered in detail later in this chapter, it is pertinent at this stage to note that it is difficult to understate the repercussions the apartheid policies had on the social, economic, and individual wellbeing of black

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[16] Most notably from organisations such as the African National Congress, the Pan African Congress (PAC), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), the South African Coloured People Organisation (SACPO), and the South African Congress of Democrats (SACD).
[17] *Umkhonto we Sizwe*, or MK, literally translated from Zulu to mean 'the spear of the nation', was the armed wing of the ANC.

South Africans. Further, and most crucially, these repercussions are still being felt today.

Poverty and the Economy of Intimacy: Inequality and Neoliberalism in Post-Apartheid South Africa

For many, South Africa's transition to democracy, avoidance of civil war, and the ANC's exemplary rhetoric of reconciliation and transformation after decades of legislated institutional racism was a triumph (Fassin 2007; Robins 2008). However, the ills of the past – and indeed their continued impact on the present – cannot simply be relegated to the confines of official institutions, such as the Truth and Reconciliation Commission or Apartheid Museum, if they are to be overcome (Fassin 2007). Indeed, the haste to celebrate South Africa's liberation often overlooks the lack of social and economic mobility the country has experienced over the last two decades (Robins 2005). Robins refers to this as the fetishising of first generation human rights, such as freedoms from discrimination, at the expense of second generation socio-economic rights (ibid). Few issues highlight the continuing disparities that were left in the wake of apartheid than HIV/AIDS. Indeed, for Fassin, the country's AIDS crisis reveals that though civil liberties have been acquired, this has not translated into social equality, and though political violence has ceased, structural violence has not (ibid: 28-29).

It would be incorrect, however, to suggest that South Africa has not made any advances towards a more economically equitable society. Prior to 1994, the clear definition between the 'haves' and 'have nots' was drawn distinctly along racial lines, whereas in post-apartheid South Africa these lines have begun to blur (Bottomley 2012). An emerging black elite and low-income white communities allude to the gradual weakening of social and economic structures of privilege that were once indistinguishable from race (ibid). Further, as I have already mentioned in chapter one, I spent much of my time at the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management in Stellenbosch University, a predominantly

Afrikaans institution, historically restricted only to those of European descent. Today, and for the past 10 years, the centre has been actively involved in combating a national health crisis that disproportionately affects the lives of black and coloured South Africans. However, despite some moderate advancement in fiscal empowerment and social welfare, South Africa remains economically polarised (van der Berg 2006).

In 2005 distinguished medical anthropologist Paul Farmer (2005) noted that, though the apartheid era has ended, many of the structures set in place by its policies of social and economic engineering are still present.

> The dismantling of the apartheid regime has not yet brought the dismantling of the structures of oppression and inequality in South Africa, and persistent social inequality is no doubt the primary reason that HIV has spread so rapidly in sub-Saharan Africa's wealthiest nation (ibid: 45).

The structures of oppression that Farmer mentions refer to conditions in which members of a certain social order are subjected to various forms of systematic humiliation, acts of violence, oppression, or suffering (ibid). He uses the term structural violence to describe such circumstances, explaining that 'the concept of structural violence is intended to inform the study of the social machinery of oppression' (Farmer 2001: 307). Critically to this discussion, he continues to argue that structural violence 'is violence exerted systematically—that is, indirectly—by everyone who belongs to a certain social order: hence the discomfort these ideas provoke in a moral economy still geared to pinning praise or blame on individual actors' (ibid). It is not my intention to indulge in the kinds of 'generalised, one-dimensional conceptions of poverty and AIDS' (2011: 85) that Patricia Henderson warns are becoming prolific in contemporary anthropology. As such, it is important to consider the wider social, political, and economic issues surround such suffering. To understand the political economy of AIDS in South Africa, this research must engage meaningfully with Farmer's 'structures of oppression' as they relate to the country's public health concerns,

and discuss their considerable influence on individual agency.

Poverty is perhaps the single largest contributor to South Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic since it is directly linked to other influences such as education, inequality, migration, and substance abuse. Indeed, it has been one of the main problems discussed by the United Nations in recent years with the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (UNMDGs) citing it as its number one issue to tackle of eight global development goals (UN MDG Report 2014). For Henderson, poverty and AIDS are 'both forms of structural violence inflected with the political' (2011: 85). Indeed, according to Decoteau, 'there is still much to be learned […] about the intricate causal relationship between neoliberalism, urbanisation, and disease epidemiology, as postcolonial countries the world over fight to stem the tide of increasing informality' (2013: 26). This informality refers to South Africa's 'informal settlements', large areas of makeshift housing usually without even the most basic sanitation or amenities, in which the vast majority of the nation's poor reside. Biehl (2005) refers to such areas as 'zones of abandonment', arguing that it is in such places that the voiceless and marginalised reside, dismissed by the state and on the fringes of the body politic. Few zones of abandonment are as intentionally architected as South Africa's impoverished areas, since, as is the case for many of South Africa's current problems, they trace their history back to colonial subjugation and later the policies of the apartheid regime. Many of these zones originally were areas either in which populations of black or coloured South Africans settled to be closer to the cities at a time when they were not permitted to live in them, or areas in which they were forcibly placed.

According to the South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence and Behaviour Survey, HIV prevalence is significantly higher among residents of urban informal areas, strongly indicating a relationship between urban (and to a lesser extent rural) poverty and risk of HIV transmission (HSRC 2014). The prevalence of the virus in urban informal areas is 19.9%, but this number drops to 13.4% in rural informal areas, 10.4% in rural formal areas, and 10.1% in urban

formal areas (ibid). Further, 25% of the South African population is unemployed, of which young black South Africans bear the heaviest load (Statistics South Africa 2013). 71% of the nation's unemployed are between the ages of 15 and 34 (ibid). As of 2011, the South African government raised the lower poverty line to 433 ZAR (39.4 USD/24.6 GBP) per month and the higher line to 620 ZAR (56.5 USD/35.1 GBP). The latest report states that 45.5% of the country's population was living in poverty in 2011 (Statistics South Africa 2014: 12). South Africa today is still very much recovering from hundreds of years of racial oppression and in many ways the legacy of this bygone era still remains. Many of the circumstances fueling South Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic that are discussed in this chapter, such as economic marginalisation and entrenched poverty, can be traced back to the policies of apartheid.

More troubling than these numbers is the distribution of South Africa's wealth in the post-apartheid era. Black South Africans, particularly women, bear the brunt of this poverty with 54% considered poor (ibid: 27). Although the number of people who can be described as 'poor' in South Africa is decreasing, one must remember that one must only earn 1.85 USD per day in order to be considered 'not poor'. According to Statistics South Africa, 'there is still tremendous disparity between the average income levels of a white-headed household and a black African-headed household' (ibid: 20-21). The study presents a numerical value of a phenomenon that is apparent upon a cursory glance at the country's political economy: that white South Africans still enjoy a standard of living far higher than their black or coloured compatriots.

In his discussion of the South African state's post-apartheid political and economic policies, with particular reference to the Marikana incident of 2012,[18] Satgar argues that

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[18] Between the 10th of August and the 20th of September 2012, a series of mine worker strikes in the Marikana area of South Africa culminated in the mass shooting of demonstrators by the South African police, killing 34 and injuring a further 73. The incident sparked further mine worker strikes as well as condemnation towards the single dealiest use of force in South Africa since the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

during nearly two decades of freedom, South Africa's liberation movement internalised a neoliberal approach to economic management, and after half a decade of such economic management it declared the post-Apartheid state a "developmental state" (2012: 34).

He questions the legitimacy of the government's claim based on two decades of policies of industry privatisation (ibid). Indeed, South Africa's post-apartheid record is at times strikingly at odds with the ANC's original *raision d'etre*, and the principles outlined in the Freedom Charter, such as 'the people shall share the country's wealth' (Historical Research Archive 2013).[19] The Freedom charter, as Satgar (2012) suggests, can easily be interpreted through a lens of national redistribution of the country's resources and the cultivation of a more equitable society, a document that outlines the foundations of a South Africa in which the state looms large. Indeed, at the time of its certification, South Africa's constitution was hailed as one of the most progressive in the world. But the reality of post-apartheid South Africa is often quite far removed from the one envisioned both in the Freedom Charter and the country's liberal constitution (von Lieres 2008; Robins 2008).

In his discussion of social movements and right-based activism in post-apartheid South Africa, Robins (2008) notes the abrupt shift in the ANC's rhetoric during its transition from liberation movement to ruling political party. The former militant language of revolution, socialism, and national liberation was replaced with less threatening keywords such as transformation, citizenship, empowerment, and nation building. Indeed, this was further accompanied by a shift in political ideology and fiscal policy towards capitulating with a more orthodox neoliberal framework (ibid). In short, upon taking control of Pretoria the ANC was 'rudely reminded of the limits of political power in a country

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[19] The Freedom Charter is a statement, documented in 1955, in which the South African Congress Alliance (of which the ANC was a constinuent part) outlined their core principles of self governance and human rights.

characterised by centuries of social and economic inequality and racial domination' (ibid: 3).

Post-liberation South Africa sits on a fault line between rights-based liberal rhetoric on the one hand and free-market economic policies on the other, what von Lieres refers to as 'an explosive mixture of liberal and non-liberal politics' (2008: 22). This neoliberal direction is particularly visible within South Africa's healthcare system. In the immediate aftermath of the country's liberation, the ANC released their 1994 National Health Plan, part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), that outlined a state-run, democratic, and equitable national health service (ibid). However, it soon became apparent that such laudable goals would be impeded by fiscal policy. By 1996, The Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, which implemented fiscal restraint, privatisation of industries and services, and export-oriented production, was already substantially obstructing the kind of redistribution outlined in its predecessor, the RDP, and distancing itself from previous goals of social welfare (Robins 2005; Baker 2010; Narsiah 2002). One of the major issues with South Africa's neoliberal fiscal policy direction is that, as Pellegrino suggests, 'inequalities in distribution of services and treatments are not the concerns of free markets (cited in Farmer 2005: 162). Indeed, the economic and labour policies of the post-apartheid state have been so at odds with its claim to developmental status that some scholars have dismissed such rhetoric as 'propagandistic and declaratory' (Satgar 2012: 37).

It is clear that, though many political and economic factors have significantly contributed to the breadth of the AIDS crisis, this particular outcome could have been largely avoided. In his discussion of the political economy of sex in South Africa, Hunter (2007) argues that by not considering the influence of rising poverty and neoliberal government policies in the post-apartheid era, scholars run the risk of affirming the inevitability of the scale of the epidemic. This is despite the need for robust discussions of the social, economic, and political propellants of AIDS. In terms of the relationship between poverty, informality,

government policy, and HIV, he states the following:

> Characterised by the presence of one roomed *imijondolos* (roughly 'shacks')
> and a population that is typically young, unmarried, and without secure work,
> informal settlements are testimony not only to the failure of the state to create
> viable jobs and build adequate housing, but to a set of dynamics that have
> been largely neglected in the study of the AIDS pandemic (ibid: 690).

More than two decades have passed since South Africa's transition to democracy, and though incidence of both absolute and relative poverty have fallen since 1994, South Africa continues to display some of the highest levels of inequality in the world (Robins 2005; Bhorat and van der Westhuizen 2012). As a result of neoliberal state economic policies, income inequality in the decade following the end of the apartheid regime increased, despite years of relative economic stability (Seekings and Nattrass 2005). Further, race and gender remain significant obstacles to economic empowerment (ibid). Despite some efforts by consecutive South African governments towards economic transformation, through social welfare reform and affirmative action initiatives, fiscal resource shifts towards South Africa's poorest have largely been insufficient in reducing social inequality. As one scholar argues, 'if they [fiscal resource shifts] do not translate into improved social outcomes, they are rather meaningless' (van der Berg 2006: 226-227).

South Africa's surging HIV/AIDS epidemic represents a failure of the post-liberation state to redress the political and economic injustices of apartheid and colonialism (Decoteau 2008). Enormous discrepancies in wealth along racial lines lead to uneven distribution of infection, not limited to HIV/AIDS, as well as access to medical treatment (Hunter 2007). Without the kinds of economic restructuring that could have prevented the spread of infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS or TB, South Africa's poor continue to be significantly more at risk.

Now that I have briefly discussed some of the political and economic circumstances that have contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, the following section is dedicated to understanding many 'high risk' situations and behaviours as symptoms of the aforementioned issues. South Africa has one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world with 64,514 sexual assaults reported to the South African Police Service (SAPS) between 2011 and 2012 (Rape Crisis 2012). This is likely to be a conservative figure given the number of sexual assaults that go unreported, and these numbers are concentrated within South Africa's urban underprivileged areas.

> Here [in Khayelitsha] rape is a very serious problem. We have three or four reported rape cases every day. Not per week, not per month, every day. And those are the cases that actually get reported. How many go unreported? No one can say for sure. There is no question that Khayelitsha's high AIDS statistics are the result of high levels of rape and sexual violence (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

As HIV can be transferred through sexual contact, these statistics further strengthen the epidemic's grip on the country. To add insult to injury, victims then face the possibility of being infected after such an encounter and are often too afraid to get tested. Scholars have largely attributed these high levels of sexual violence, particularly rape, to what has become known as a 'crisis of masculinity' (Reid and Walker 2005). As Decoteau suggests, 'the dehumanisation of black men under apartheid and the high rates of unemployment inaugurated by deindustrialisation have triggered a "crisis of masculinity" causing men to act out their frustrations on women's bodies' (2008: 318). Intimate partner violence, conservative constructions of masculinity, gender inequalities at a personal and societal level, and sexual violence are some of the principle factors that militate against individual agency in sexual contact (Mswela 2009; Jewkes et al 2010). Indeed, violence often

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prevents women from taking any kind of control of these sexual experiences and thus cannot enforce safe sex practices (Jewkes et al 2010).

For Hunter (2010), state sponsored decentralisation of industries such as textiles, paper, metals, and plastics, from urban to rural areas marked one of the first shifts in reassigning gender roles in South Africa. Women were more populous in the rural areas and the emergence of 'industrial women' coupled with widespread male unemployment in the 1980s began to erode the largely male-dominated family structure. Women were beginning to wait longer before getting married and asserting themselves as independent social and economic entities (ibid). The presence of women in traditionally male gender roles further exacerbated the crisis of masculinity described by Decoteau (Kandirikirira 2002). Through what Kandirikirira refers to as 'exaggerated masculinity', disempowered South African men became increasingly aggressive within intimate relationships and sexually unaccountable (ibid: 119). She argues that self-worth and masculine identity became defined by having many lovers, many children, and demonstrable wealth' (ibid). Thus, the erosion of social norms of masculinity in terms of material wealth, economic opportunities, and bride price only served to strengthen an increasing trend of sexual violence.

This gradual piecemeal female empowerment from historically patriarchal structures became ever more apparent in 1994 with the transition to majority rule and then in 1996 when the new South African constitution was certified.[20] The post-apartheid South African constitution engenders a liberal attitude towards its people, and given the racist laws that preceded it, this is no real surprise. But in such a dramatic shift from the masculine hetero-normativity of the apartheid state, to the progressive ideologies of the constitution, some areas of everyday life have been affected in unforeseen

[20] South Africa's constitution was certified by its judiciary rather than ratified by the legislature in accordance with the thirty-four constitutional principles contained within the interim constitution. Ex Parte Chairperson of the Constitutional Assembly: In Re Certification of the Constitution of the Republic of SA 1996.

ways.[21] The transition to democracy radically changed prevailing social orders and catapulted the new nation into a modern and progressive state of being. As Decoteau argues, the new constitution's focus on rights was at times 'problematically positioned in opposition to gendered "traditions"' (2013: 166). Thus, the new ideologies espoused by the state often clashed radically with older and more conservative masculine values of South Africa's many cultures and that of the apartheid state itself, and has shed light on extreme gender violence and oppression (Conway 2007; Hunter 2010; Decoteau 2013). Further, public debates about sexuality often problematically present a false dichotomy between 'modernity' and 'tradition', and often culminate in what some scholars have referred to as the 'criminalisation of tradition' (Decoteau 334). That is to say that historical societal norms and values are often blamed for the kinds of extreme sexual violence found in South Africa without adequately acknowledging the various economic and psychological impacts of extreme poverty, disempowerment, institutionalised racism, and other forms of structural violence.

According to Bhana and Pattman (2011), the authority of masculinity can often be undermined by low-income men's inability to live up to a socially prescribed provider status among South Africa's urban poor. Similarly, Niehaus suggests, in discussing his fieldwork in rural Mpumalanga in the late 90s, that 'a foremost challenge for young men was to demonstrate their masculinity' (2005: 72). In his ethnography of sexual violence in the area of Bushbuckridge and interviews with self-identified rapists, many offenders were under the age of twenty-five and largely unable to meet the standards of masculinity expected of them in their community, such as courting young women with gifts and romantic gestures (ibid). He states that 'many young rapists were insecure and unable to assert their masculinity by other means' (ibid). For Neihaus then, an inability to express norms of masculine dominance can manifest itself through sexual

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[21] Examples of this hetero-normativity can be found in narrow legal definitions of rape which exclude any non-vaginal penetration or contact and thus ignored all other instances of forced sexual acts, including male-on-male rape (Posel 2005).

violence and further help to account for the trend. Moreover, low-income South African women, including those in the coloured communities, also often demonstrate limited agency in their sexual debut, and later experiences of sexual intimacy (Lesch 2004). Lesch found in her study of young coloured women in the Western Cape that they generally did not perceive their own apprehensiveness, discomfort, or pleasure as important considerations for their male partners, while acknowledging that such male dominance is largely fostered by disparities in equality and power within these relationships (ibid). 'Success' in masculinity, then, is purported to be situated in notions of wealth, social status, income, and power (Boonzaier 2005). Such 'success' has been undermined by entrenched poverty, the restructuring of post-apartheid South Africa's labour markets, and the country's developing discourses on women's rights (ibid).

Though South Africa's sexual violence epidemic is the most widely publicised, this is only the most visible aspect of widespread gender inequality from which numerous social HIV/AIDS risks can be traced. Hunter (2010) argues that what he refers to as 'provider masculinity', that is the importance placed upon a male's ability to provide material wealth to a potential intimate and/or romantic female partner, can account for various forms of coercive or unequal sexual and intimate relationships. For South Africa's urban poor, sex and intimacy are often intertwined with gift-giving and the exchange of material goods in which younger women are often propositioned by men with disposable incomes (Hunter 2010; Aullette-Root, Boonzaier, and Aullette 2014). These relationships are distinct from transactional sexual relations found in sex work, but maintain a number of the same problems, most notably that women involved in gift-giving relationships are often unable to enforce safe sex and thus further unable to take control of their own sexual health. In a study on youth sexual relations in a KwaZulu-Natal township, Bhana and Pattman found that 'love is embedded in money, constructions of gender and not separate from sexual coercion and the pain of violence' (2011: 966). Gender norms in South Africa for girls may include social pressure to engage in high-risk sexual

activity, early sexual debut, be in a relationship, or be submissive or passive (Cousins 2009). Gender norms for boys, however, may include social pressure to demonstrate sexual prowess, have multiple partners, provide material goods, and exercise control within those relationships (ibid). As a result, 'intimate cross-gender relations may thus be characterised by violence, inequality, non-communication about sex, and pressure to engage in unsafe sexual behaviour' (ibid: 7). As Henderson suggests, for the nation's poor, South Africa has become 'a world where relationships of intimacy and kinship bear the weight of structural forms of violence growing out of particular political economies and violent histories of dispossession' (2011: 21).

Further symptoms of structural violence and extreme poverty can also have a profound influence on gender inequality and sexual violence. Substance abuse, particularly alcoholism, is a common symptom that presents throughout South Africa's urban informal areas. Alcohol abuse or related problems vary according to age, social class, occupation, gender, and socio-economics, with binge drinking most prevalent among young urban coloured males (Peltzer, Davids, and Njuho 2011). This has several implications for HIV prevention, such as increasing gender violence, high-risk sexual behaviour, or negatively influencing consistent condom use. It further militates against urban poor women's ability to take control of their sexual health. Informal drinking establishments have been identified as increasing the probability of risky sexual encounters (Kalichman et al 2008). Indeed, South Africa has one of the highest rates of alcoholism in the world (Peltzer, Davids, and Njuho 2011).

Though scholars have noted that beers and spirits had been brewed in Africa long before European settlement, and in many sub-Saharan African cultures drinking alcohol is viewed as primarily a masculine social activity, this does not account fully for the unequal distribution of alcoholism among South Africa's poor (Mager 2010; Mfecane 2011). However, such paradigms of masculinity, when coupled with extreme poverty and alcoholism directly influence sexual violence, condom use, and HIV incidence. Unprotected sex leads to high risk of

sexually transmitted infections (STI) which in turn, by virtue of their often ulcerative effect on genital tissue, allows for higher risk of HIV infection. This risk is far higher for women than it is for men due to the larger mucosal membrane of the female genitals. Recent research has singled out alcohol abuse as one of the main contributors to the spread of HIV in the country, and the latest national HIV/AIDS study lists 'high risk alcohol drinkers' as one of the main target groups at risk of HIV infection (HSRC 2014). Within this discussion of the political economy of HIV/AIDS, it is unhelpful to remove South Africa's sexual violence epidemic from its context of poverty and structural violence, which in turn present symptoms such as substance abuse, high crime rates, rape and other forms of coercion or sexual violence.

The Zebra Discussion? Coloured Communities in the HIV/AIDS Crisis

In the discussion of the systematic disenfranchisement and marginalisation of South Africa's population it is important not to ignore the impact such social engineering had on the country's coloured communities. These communities in the Western Cape, where the parts of this research were conducted, account for a significant amount of the province's low-income population. They inhabit some of the largest townships surrounding Cape Town, known collectively as the Cape Flats. Coloured communities experienced racial discrimination differently to other South Africans, and as a result, the political and economic effects that propel HIV/AIDS incidence within coloured areas will not be identical to those among other groups. This backdrop further helps situate the later analyses of the various data presented in chapter six, as up to half of learners at Gardens Commercial High School who participated in the studies and interviews self-identified as coloured.

Perhaps the biggest obstacle to any discussion of coloured history is the dominance of European voices in articulating early encounters with South Africa's indigenous pre-colonial population, and later records regarding slaves from South East Asia. Mindful of this however, there is still benefit in examining the history through which the diverse cultural and ethnic groups that became

known as 'coloured' was formed. In contrast to the term's use in the USA, in South Africa 'coloured' does not refer to black South Africans, but rather a very broad collection of cultures and ethnicities that have developed, largely in the Western Cape, over the centuries. In the early years of Dutch settlement in the Cape, the KhoiKhoi and San peoples were often abducted during skirmishes by European militias and forced into slavery under the rising 'Cape Gentry' (Dooling 2007). As the descendants of the Khoi Khoi and San peoples, Cape slaves from South East Asia and India, black, and White South Africans, 'Coloureds are popularly regarded as being of "mixed race" and have held an intermediate status in the South African racial hierarchy, distinct from the historically dominant white minority and the numerically predominant African population' (Adhikari 2005: 2). Adhikari articulates this well when he notes that the term 'alludes to a phenotypically varied social group of highly diverse cultures and geographic origins' (2005: 2). For Adhikari, coloured South Africans have largely slipped through the cracks of the standard dichotomic narrative of white supremacy and black subjugation (ibid). Despite their intermediate status during British colonial rule, coloured South Africans often continued to live in poverty and subject to abuse and discrimination long after the abolition of slavery in 1808 (Aulette-Root, Boonzaier, and Aullette 2014).

Though very much brutalised under apartheid, attrition of coloured rights was an altogether slower process than that of the black South Africans. Where black people had been systematically discriminated against since the earliest European settlement, albeit informally, coloured rights remained theoretically similar to those of Europeans in Cape Colony under British colonial rule. The pace of erosion of coloured liberties, however, quickened around the 1910 union with the eligibility of coloured representatives in parliament being removed. Further laws in the 1920s and 30s targeted coloured education (Juvenile Affairs Act 1921, Apprenticeship Act 1922) and by the 1950s coloured South Africans were also being forcibly removed from cities, predominantly in the Cape, to government prescribed 'locations' (Adhikari 2005).

Adhikari notes that because 'the primary objective was to assimilate into the dominant society, politicised coloured people initially avoided forming separate political organisations' (2005: 4). This desire to assimilate into the dominant Western culture of colonial South Africa, and the systematic and exponential refusal to allow such integration has left the coloured culture in an unusual position within the country's political economy: not white enough for apartheid but not black enough for the ANC. This in-between identity is perhaps most observably manifested today in the lack of economic opportunities, and at times the stripping of former opportunities from coloured communities under the ANC's Black Economic Empowerment (BEE)[22] initiative.[23] The significance of this crisis of identity resonates in today's struggle with HIV/AIDS. The policies of apartheid discriminated with equal vigour against coloured South Africans as black South Africans. The result is that coloured communities share the burden of chronic poverty with black South Africans in the Cape. However, their relative immunity in those early years coupled with a hope to assimilate into the dominant culture of the country, and a history of division wrought by apartheid has led to further marginalisation. Impoverished coloured communities are marginalised within an already historically underprivileged 'non-white' demographic.

It is well known that South Africa's AIDS crisis has unfolded along racial lines, with black Africans bearing the brunt of new infections. However, despite a relatively comparable number of coloured (4.7 million) and white (4.5 million) South Africans in the country's population, 3.1% of the coloured community suffer from HIV/AIDS while this number drops to below 1% in the white population (HSRC 2014, Statistics South Africa 2015). Further, in attempting to untangle the many social properties of the South African HIV/AIDS epidemic a

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[22] Black Economic Empowerment is a programme launched by the South African Government to redress the racial imbalance of the South African working population and provide more economic opportunities to previously disadvantaged people.

[23] One of the most notable examples of this is the decimation of the Kalk bay, predominantly coloured, fishing industry. Under BEE coloured fishermen, some of whom had been fishing those waters for generations, have found it increasingly difficult to gain permits to do so by virtue of their 'not black enough' heritage (Cargill 2008).

number of themes reoccur. One of the more prominent is that of women's rights, and gender inequality. Women in coloured communities are subject to similar forms of patriarchal social hierarchies found in many of South Africa's cultures (Aulette-Root et al, 2014). Coloured women, by occupying a lower status than that of men within an already marginalised demographic, are on the fringes of the fringe. Coloured women, as such, bear a similar burden of marginalisation when compared to their black African compatriots.

Stigma

Across the globe, since HIV was first discovered it has been associated with fear, discrimination, misrepresentation, and blame (Visser and Sipsma 2013; Whittaker 2009; Parker and Aggleton 2003). Treichler (1987) characterises HIV/AIDS as an 'epidemic of signification', referring to the meanings and judgements cultivated around the virus across the world. Indeed, it is possible to hold multiple simultaneous interpretations of AIDS in mind, such as biomedical and supernatural understandings (Robins 2008). The transferal of social responsibility for the virus onto the disempowered is common in various contexts across the globe, from America's 'gay plague' to South Africa's women's disease (Farmer 1999; Decoteau 2008). Indeed, this geography of blame (Farmer 1999) is often interwoven with structural inequalities and inveterate racism. In South Africa in particular, these forces collided with one another to develop into narratives of African (male) sexualities as dangerous, uncontrolled, and promiscuous (Robins 2008).

Studies have shown that ARV therapies can reduce both internally and externally imposed stigma by diminishing associations between HIV/AIDS and death or disfigurement, and thus further normalise the disease (Zuch and Lurie 2012; Peltzer and Ramlagan 2011). However, negative attitudes and opinions towards PLHIV remain high, with the South African National HIV Prevalence, Incidence, and Behaviour Survey suggesting that discriminatory 'attitudes remain in spite of the excellent progress that has been achieved by many countries in the East and Southern African region, including South Africa' (HSRC

2014: 99).

Stigma is a significant hindrance for those living with HIV, but it is not experienced uniformly across the board. Following from the discussion of gender inequality presented earlier in this chapter, Aulette, Boonzaier, and Aulette-Root note that 'there are differences in regard to the extent to which men and women are blamed for their actions that supposedly led to their HIV-positive status' (2014: 43). Goffman (1963) describes stigma as a set of attributes that define social relationships for the negative, and indeed unequal social structures and the low status of women within black and coloured communities further increase their risk of stigma and blame. Aulette, Boonzaier, and Aulette-Root (2013) further suggest that in societies such as these in which masculine hegemony goes largely unchallenged, women are deemed less valuable, less intelligent, or weak if they conform to their gender role, and behaving improperly - often worthy of punishment - if they act outside of those formulae. Thus, not only are South African women more at risk of contracting the virus through various physiological and socio-economic vulnerabilities, but HIV-positive South African women from the hardest hit communities are discriminated against twofold, and 'HIV stigmatisation, therefore, adds to the "normal" marginalisation of women' (ibid 43).

Further, Delius and Glaser note an awkward silence between parents and children on the subject of sex in modern South Africa which they characterise as an 'alarming failure of communication between parents and children on sexual issues' often leading to information being sought from peers (2002: 27). Indeed, through surveys of young adults by students at the University of Cape Town, Levine and Ross (2002) found that very few respondents noted having gained their understanding of HIV and surround issues from their parents. One particular respondent even suggested that parents are still too embarrassed to openly discuss sex education with their children (ibid). Western Christian influences of purity and prudishness, which filtered into the collective consciousness from the early twentieth century, coupled with often absent

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migrant parents have additionally contributed to this breakdown of communication (Okyere-Manu 2013). Further, while gender-based violence has increased, socially constructed understandings of sexual violence as shameful, or at the very least not something to be openly discussed, has contributed to a climate in which this behaviour can thrive, as well as resultant problems (unwanted pregnancy, illegitimate abortions, and HIV), to be concealed from public view, despite the very obvious physical and emotional effects on the victims. Given that 19.1% of the country's population (roughly 9.8 million people) do not have access to a complete high school education, the lack of open discussion of sex and sexuality at home between generations has serious implications for understanding safe sexual practices (Statistics South Africa Census 2011).

HIV-related stigma contributes to rising numbers of new infections in a number of ways, arguably the most damaging of which is the negative influence it can have on decisions to know one's HIV status, and thus begin treatment (Visser and Sipsma 2013). According to the Human Sciences Research Council 'stigma towards and discrimination against PLHIV remains a major barrier to effective HIV prevention, as well as to the provision of treatment, care and support' (2014: 99). Since HIV in South Africa is primarily transmitted through sexual intercourse, and more easily infects those with other, often ulcerative, symptomatic sexually transmitted infections (STI), HIV became strongly associated with sex workers, transactional intimacy, and judgments of morality that surround casual sex (Grünkemeier 2013). Thus, stigma is fundamentally intertwined with the 'othering' of PLHIV (HSRC 2014). Hodes notes that even after the USA and Europe had reduced their AIDS mortality rates by 84% in the 1990s, South African advocates 'were presented with the daunting task of reforming public opinion about HIV as a disease of shame and death when, for the majority of HIV-positive South Africans, this remained the stark reality' (2011: 159). In the face of such stigma, blame, and the silence that descended over the subject of AIDS in the early decades of the epidemic, reinforced by state-sponsored AIDS denial (which will be discussed in the following section), it

is unsurprising then that early HIV campaigns in sub-Saharan Africa offered the opposite expression of making as much noise about HIV/AIDS as possible. The 'shout' became the counterbalance to the culture of silence (Barz 2006).

Civil and Governmental Responses to HIV/AIDS in South Africa

There is currently no cure for HIV and, as a result, prevention is at the forefront of all efforts to reduce increasing incidence. This section turns the focus of this thesis towards the responses of the consecutive post-apartheid South African governments and civil society to the AIDS crisis, in an effort to illustrate two points: (1) the mismanagement of the AIDS crisis almost immediately post-liberation, and related to this, (2) why alternative methods of communication are not only necessary, but also long overdue. Due in part to the timing of South Africa's transition to full democracy in 1994, the country's national response to AIDS was far slower than much of the rest of the continent. The new government inherited various social, economic, and political problems from the apartheid regime, and was faced with the task of navigating the nation out of its longest recorded economic recession (Marias 1998). But the categorical denial in the face of overwhelming evidence, first of there being a health crisis at all, and later the causal link between HIV and AIDS, would spark a national movement for ARV implementation that would become known as the 'second struggle' (Powers 2014). As a result, HIV/AIDS activists have been grappling with a legacy of confusion and misinformation for almost two decades. Indeed, Nelson Mandela, despite becoming outspoken on AIDS in the years following his presidency, accepted his government's failure to act upon the issue (Youde 2007).

Governmental Responses, Mismanagement, and AIDS Denial

Drawing heavily from the work of Susan Sontag (2013) on the metaphors of illness, Treichler (1999) refers to HIV/AIDS more broadly as an 'epidemic of signification', arguing that where science has been able to understand AIDS in the very specific context of biomedicine, the struggle with HIV/AIDS lies in its

signification and metaphors: dangerous sexualities, unsafe practices, 'othering' of the sick, and contaminated people and places. I have mentioned this earlier, but it is worth repeating, as it is particularly important to acknowledge this when discussing the post-apartheid South African governments' responses to the burgeoning epidemic, and in particular the highly criticised and often demonised positions taken by key policy makers.

While other African governments began to address the emerging sub-Saharan African HIV/AIDS crisis as early as 1986 (Senegal) and 1990 (Uganda), the South African government's response was not only delayed, but blighted with controversy. Perhaps the most instrumental figure within this contentious period was South African deputy president (1994-1999) Thabo Mbeki, who later took over office from Nelson Mandela to become South Africa's second post-liberation president (1999-2008). For Fourie and Meyer 'Thabo Mbeki's controversial views on AIDS and his two government's objections to, and foot dragging on, treatment rollout have rendered him infamous amongst the local and global AIDS community, scientists and most of South African civil society' (2010: 1). If anything, with an estimated 330,000 preventable deaths attributed to policies of denial in Mbeki's government between 2000 and 2005, Fourie and Meyer's comments are quite understated (Chigwedere et al 2008). The controversial views that Fourie and Meyer (2010) mention include opinions on the links between HIV and AIDS that are exemplified in a speech given at the 13th International AIDS Conference held in Durban. He stated

> extreme poverty is the world's biggest killer and the greatest cause of ill health
> and suffering across the globe. […] As I listened and heard the whole story told
> about our own country, it seemed to me that we could not blame everything
> on a single virus' (Mbeki in Decoteau 2013: 80).

Though Mbeki's identification of poverty as a core issue driving the AIDS crisis was accurate, his denialist rhetoric on the causal link between HIV and AIDS was reactionary and dangerous (Fourie and Meyer 2010). The enduring slogan

'break the silence of HIV/AIDS' was unveiled during the same conference, and continues to be used by activists and organisations, such as TAC, to this day. But despite AIDS messaging dominating South Africa's public health discourses and mass media, and due in so small part to the manner in which the subject was dealt with by the Mbeki government, reluctance to openly discuss AIDS in South Africa still manifests itself in homes, classrooms, and places of work (Morrell 2003; Visser and Sipsma 2013).

The then Minister of Health, Dr. Manto Tshabalala-Msimang echoed Mbeki's skepticism of scientific consensus on the link between HIV and AIDS and criticised the use of ARV therapies, suggesting that their toxicity may be more harmful to patients than AIDS itself (Nattrass 2012). However, it would be wrong to lay all responsibility at the feet of Mbeki and Tshabalala-Msimang. Cracks began to emerge in the government's response to the AIDS crisis very early on in the new democracy's history. Various botched efforts and Department of Health embarrassments would erode confidence in the government's ability to control the epidemic long before Nelson Mandela left office, but these will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

There are a number of possible reasons why the epidemic was overlooked in the early years of the new South Africa. The nature of the virus, as a slow acting attack on the body's immune system over a number of years, may have misled many into believing the problem was not an urgent one. Indeed, after only a brief period of majority rule, the prospect of facing a national health crisis that disproportionately affects black South Africans would have been difficult to accept. The Mbeki administration maintained that a government funded HIV/AIDS treatment programme would be too costly and ineffective, despite evidence to the contrary illustrated some years earlier in the form of Brazil's public sector ARV rollout initiative. For Biehl (2004), Brazil proved that AIDS medication could not reasonably be withheld from citizens of the developing world. Given his relative muteness on the subject since leaving office, it is difficult to know Mbeki's true motivations behind his vehement denial of

HIV/AIDS. This, of course, is not helped by his fervent rejection of his government's AIDS dissidence while in office, and avoidance of directly stating his position on the matter. Geffen refers to Mbeki's tendency to sidestep such issues as 'obfuscatory waffle' (2010: 48). We can, however, glean some understanding from what he did say while in office. For Mbeki, the AIDS epidemic seemed to be connected strongly to 'dark continent' discourses and prejudicial views of 'African sexuality' (Arnfred 2004). In 2001 Mbeki opened the World Conference Against Racism with some remarks that help to illustrate his position. He blamed racist views of black people as carriers of disease.

> Thus it comes about that some who call themselves our leaders … take to the streets carrying their placards, to demand that because we are germ carriers, and human beings of a lower order that cannot subject its passions to reasons […] Convinced that we are but natural born, promiscuous carriers of germs, unique in the world, they proclaim our continent is doomed to an inevitable mortal end because of our unconquerable devotion to sin and lust (Mbeki in Arnfred 2004: 10).

At face value Mbeki's claims seemed to hold at least some credibility, after all, apartheid had dehumanised and economically exploited black South Africans to a staggering degree, and after hundreds of years of brutal repression the ANC still certainly held the moral high ground. Mbeki argued that the Western scientific consensus of the causal relationship between HIV and AIDS, and particularly its categorisation as a sexually transmitted infection, was rooted in 'deeply entrenched white racial stereotypes of black Africans' (Mybrugh 2009: 2).

The timing of the emergence of AIDS in South Africa played a significant role in how the government responded to it. For Posel, 'AIDS made its presence felt at the moment of South Africa's rebirth' (2008: 21). Though incubated under minority rule through the oppression of millions of South Africans, the force of the epidemic was not fully realised until the years following the country's

liberation (ibid). Mbeki held that in order to overcome the problems left by colonialism African solutions must be found to African problems (McNeill 2011). And once again at face value, were it not for the terrible cost in human life that resulted from it, he could be forgiven for seeking solutions from Africans to solve problems that affected them, but again his deeply held convictions concerning race, colonialism, and liberation led to extreme short-sightedness in the face of a growing health crisis.

Mbeki's African renaissance, as it became known, called for a revival of traditional African practices that in some cases, such as his endorsement of female virginity testing as HIV prevention, were openly at variance with international medical convention, scientific consensus, and indeed the ANC's own proclamation to uphold equal rights for all (Arnfred 2004). In this specific example, not only was the practice medically dubious but also reinforced existing gender imbalances, as outlined earlier in this chapter. As Arnfred notes, virginity testing 'appears to place an unjustifiable burden of responsibility for controlling the spread of HIV on the shoulders of young women; the custom totally leaves out the responsibility of men and poses no challenge for masculinities' (2004: 11). For McNeill this 'was an attempt at the decolonisation of consciousness; an endeavour to foreground African-initiated science and question convention' (2011: 118). This was one instance in a long line of governmental steps that contributed to a climate of confusion around HIV/AIDS transmission and prevention, or indeed encouraged harmful practices. Mbeki and his government's refusal to commit to comprehensive ARV rollout was the result of what Anfred terms his inability to 'dissolve', rather than merely expose racial dichotomies (2004: 8).

Though South Africa's state sponsored AIDS denial peaked under the leadership of Thabo Mbeki, government mismanagement of the impending AIDS crisis began almost immediately following liberation, during the Mandela administration. Between 1995 and 1997 South Africa's first post-apartheid government suffered a series of staggering embarrassments early on in the

narrative of HIV/AIDS in the country. The most notable were the so-called miracle cure Virodene, which under scientific scrutiny turned out to be nothing more than a chemical solvent, and the over-priced theatre flop that was *Sarafina II* (McNeill 2011). Both of these debacles contributed to a growing discontent of the government's handling of the epidemic. They present a useful account of some of the factors that conspired to keep South Africans at risk of infection: the manner in which the government deviated from standard ethical and financial procedures, mishandled enormous sums of the national Department of Health's budget, and refused to address legitimate criticism in the spirit of the party's own democratic principles.

In 1995 the Department of Health commissioned a theatre production with the goal of raising national awareness of HIV/AIDS. Internationally recognised playwright Mbongeni Ngema was consulted on the subject of penning a sequel to the immensely popular anti-apartheid musical *Sarafina*. Ngema was awarded a 14.27 million ZAR tender to implement the production (Fourie and Meyer 2010). The inflated cost of the project raised questions about the legitimacy of governmental oversight. For Fourie and Meyer

> Despite the fact that this money constituted a significant portion of the national AIDS budget, the Minister of Health fast-tracked Ngema's appointment and this led to criticism from the official opposition in parliament as well as from the white-owned media that the correct tendering procedures had not been followed (ibid: 94).

Indeed, it later became apparent that the Department of Health had sent notice of tender to only a handful of theatre companies, some of which were given little time to respond (Phila 1996). The department received only two proposals: one from Opera Africa, estimating a total cost of 600,000 ZAR, and Ngema's 14.27 million ZAR proposal (ibid). Despite mounting concern from the ANC's political opposition and the national media, the government remained defiant in its support of the project. Following accusations of mismanagement,

the relationship between the government and South African civil society, particularly AIDS activists and organisations, began to deteriorate (Fourie and Meyer 2010). This was one of the first signals of a developing AIDS orthodoxy within the government, and national Department of Health in particular, with anything outside of that orthodoxy slandered as 'counter-transformationalist, disloyal, or even racist' (ibid: 94). The problem with this kind of rhetoric was that it constructed AIDS advocacy groups as enemies of the government, rather than legitimate critics (ibid).

The audibility of the accusations of corruption regarding the cost, tender, and lack of oversight of *Sarafina II*, coupled with its designation as an unauthorised expenditure after investigation by the public protector, and subsequent shelving under the Mbeki administration, marked what critics would come to describe as a governmental position of corrupt and reactionary AIDS anti-intellectualism or anti-science (ibid; Geffen 2010; Mbali 2013). Unfortunately, the *Sarafina II* fiasco would only serve as an indication of what was to come in the following years, as the division between consecutive governments and AIDS civil society continued to grow. In her discussion of AIDS and politics in South Africa at the time, Schneider (1998) explains the immediate consequences of conflating political allegiance and public health. She argues that 'essential tenets of the AIDS Plan, in particular the non-discriminatory aspects, have become diluted or lost (ibid: 6). *Sarafina II*, ironically illustrated the government understood that edutainment (in this case musical theatre) was emerging as at the forefront of HIV/AIDS education in South Africa, while simultaneously continuing a policy of 'foot dragging' (to borrow Fourie and Meyer's term) on the subject of HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention.

By 1998, the country was grappling with its next AIDS scandal. Virodene was an ineffective AIDS medication developed by H. F. Verwoerd Hospital technician Olga Visser and her husband Jacques Siegfried 'Zigi' Visser. The developers were awarded a 3.7 million ZAR research grant for their work regardless of insufficient evidence to suggest that Virodene could in any way combat AIDS

(Fourie and Meyer 2010). The mishandling of government funds, however, would be the least alarming revelation during the Virodene scandal. A report from the University of Pretoria and the Gauteng Health Department later showed that the main compound within Virodene was actually the industrial solvent Dimethylformamide (DMF) and proved beyond reasonable doubt that the so-called cure was harmful to humans (ibid: 2010). DMF is a chemical solvent used in the production of, among other things, plastics, pesticides, and adhesives, which the European Union Dangerous Substances Directive classifies as toxic. To make matters worse it soon became very clear that the Virodene researchers had deviated radically from standard protocol and ethics for conducting human trials. As Mybrugh suggests, the researchers

> had jumped straight from discovering the literature on the supposed anti-viral properties of the substance (which they had misread) to testing the drug on human subjects, had no toxicological experience themselves, and had massively miscalculated the safe dosage of the drug (2009: 4).

As was the case in the *Sarafina II* fiasco, Minister of Health Nkosazana Zuma defended both the actions of the Virodene developers and the department. For much of the South African media at the time, in supporting researchers who announced results without peer review and who conducted unauthorised and unethical human trials on the seriously ill, the Minister's continued support was tantamount to announcing that mitigating the AIDS crisis was less of a concern than party loyalty and pride (Mail and Guardian 1998).

What I have attempted to illustrate through various historical examples is that the scale of South Africa's AIDS crisis could likely have been mitigated if governmental responses had focused less on party politics and more on redressing the structural inequalities of the past. Indeed, the government's actions and attitudes to the grim realisation of South Africa's HIV/AIDS problem ranged from the underestimated and miscalculated to the criminally mismanaged. For Visser and Sipsma (2013), as a result of the racist politics of

South Africa's recent past, the Mbeki administration in particular underestimated the scale of the crisis and prioritised economic issues over and above the growing epidemic. The confusion wrought by institutionalised denial of an increasing global, regional, and national problem led not only to the delayed availability of treatment options but also engendered doubt in the minds of a dying population. What I hope to have illustrated is the interconnected nature of various contributing economic and political problems that help to propel the HIV/AIDS epidemic in South Africa. Responses to the crisis have begun to look beyond the epidemiology and biomedicine of the virus to understand and address the political and economic engines of the problem. But educational HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention campaigns must be sufficiently well armed to not only break barriers of silence, stigma, and indifference, but as a result of years of state-sponsored AIDS dissidence, must further contend with a legacy of mistrust and confusion.

Civil Responses and an Emerging Culture of Silence

McNeil (2011), in his ethnography of HIV/AIDS education in South Africa's Venda communities, echoes a sentiment that has been observed across the entire country when he notes that the Venda people are often reluctant to discuss the taboo topic of AIDS. He suggests that 'degrees of separation' are created to maintain distance between individuals and subjects of intimate or mortal nature, the result of which is the creation and maintenance of a culture of silence around issues like HIV/AIDS (ibid: 19). Though much of the responsibility for the scale of South Africa's AIDS crisis belongs to the country's early post-apartheid government's neoliberal fiscal policies and lack of economic restructuring, the social stigma associated with HIV is not so simply explained. Since HIV is a serious infectious disease with a high mortality rate if left untreated, fear of infection is an understandable position for those who do not know how to protect themselves from HIV transmission, but indeed fear and silence on the issue must be overcome for those same reasons. For Morell, in the early 2000s this silence was pervasive, and could be found not only in social and personal spheres, but also in institutions such as schools, where

teachers and learners remained guarded on the subject, 'unable or unwilling to reflect personally on issues of gender and sexuality' (2003: 42).

The 'break the silence' slogan mentioned earlier in this chapter, as Morell notes, is one that seeks to create a climate of acceptance through an audible proclamation of one's status. The statement is an act of defiance towards the dominant status quo of silence through highly audible means. Indeed, audibility would become a central theme for AIDS activists in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In the wake of the Mbeki government's denial of the fundamental principles of the epidemic, and an increasing death toll from AIDS-related complications, a small group of activists, led by liberation struggle veteran Zachie Achmat, founded the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) to demand access to ARV medication. TAC will be discussed in greater depth in chapter three, but for now it is sufficient to note that TAC was the first major grass-roots response to the AIDS crisis that sought to mobilise South Africans into mass action, and developed directly out of the culture of resistance and rights-based activism engendered by the liberation struggle (Robins 2008; Grünkenmeier 2013). As a result, many of TAC's methods involved large demonstrations, community involvement, high-profile publicity stunts, and liberation songs, the latter of which provided one of the most contrasting expressions against the silence they hoped to address. NGOs, with TAC spearheading the movement, protested and campaigned for years to force the Mbeki government to make antiretroviral therapies (ART) available through the state healthcare system. The final blow to AIDS denial was issued by a successful lawsuit filed by TAC in 2002 against the Minister of Health which demanded mother to child (MTC) ART be available through the state's healthcare system.

While discussing the approaches taken by TAC throughout the struggle for access to ARV treatment, former General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula states the following:

> People used to ask us, why would you continue to be non-violent towards a

state that is violent to you? Because it is violence when the state uses the police to shoot at HIV-positive people when they are demonstrating for access to treatment. It's state violence when the state closes ranks and doesn't want to provide treatment right across the board. They don't say 'maybe for children' or 'maybe for this and not for that'. The reason is that we [TAC], from the onset, considered the ANC government as the legitimate government of South Africa. Therefore, our approach was never going to be the same as if we were approaching a white, non-democratic state *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016).*

For Dubula then, the official governmental stance on, and policies concerning the HIV/AIDS epidemic were tantamount to state violence against an oppressed minority of South Africans. Such parallels between the pre and post-liberation governments strengthened the suitability of methods used within the liberation struggle towards the second struggle for an HIV/AIDS treatment plan.

Though TAC was one of the most influential organisations to speak out about the growing HIV/AIDS crisis, they were not the first. In 1994, *Soul City*, an edutainment soap opera produced by the Soul City Institute for Health and Development Communication, laid the foundation for numerous other HIV/AIDS-related television dramas to follow.[24] For Tufte within *Soul City*, 'we see the spreading, or diffusing, of culturally and linguistically adapted, localised, receiver-informed and receiver-oriented messages with broad geographical coverage' (2001: 26). Indeed, the soap opera is very successful and has reached millions of South Africans throughout its twelve seasons. In addition, the Soul City Institute also produced a second television drama *Soul Buddyz*, which first aired in 2000 and focuses on children's health and wellbeing. In a similar venture to the *Soul City* and *Soul Buddyz*, the South African Department of Health's soap opera series *Khomanani*, developed in 2001, attempted to capitalise on the success of the *Soul City* model of both mass media and

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[24] It is worth noting that the Soul City Institute is also involved in a number of other intervention activities including local community peer education, research, publishing and distributing material.

community engagement. Finally, perhaps one of the most extensive mass media approaches to HIV/AIDS can be found in loveLife. Launched in 1999, loveLife draws from various media, from billboards to television adverts to raise awareness about HIV/AIDS. The campaigns are well funded, often highly visible, and draw from a range of media readily available to most South Africans (Thomas 2004).

It is clear that there are a large number of initiatives in the South African mass media designed to promote open discussion about HIV/AIDS and related social issues, reduce fear and stigma, and normalise the disease. This small selection of campaigns, which does not include many prominent interventions such as the Brothers For Life campaigns,[25] the 46664 concerts, DramAidE,[26] or the television advert-based Scrutinise campaign,[27] illustrates not only the volume of HIV/AIDS-related mass media initiatives in the South African media, but also the large numbers of people these campaigns have reached. The enormous amount of HIV/AIDS messaging and the multiple resultant AIDS-related discourses available in South Africa's soundscapes, airwaves, and media have indeed influenced the overarching culture of silence described earlier. Various self-reporting studies have suggested that the aforementioned edutainment and mass media campaigns have had a positive influence on HIV/AIDS awareness, multiple concurrent sexual partners, and condom use (Talking Points on loveLife 2012; Tufte 2001). However, as will be argued in the coming chapters, this success may have had unexpected consequences for future HIV/AIDS communication strategies, as more young South Africans appear indifferent to the current use of mass media communication in the country's already saturated media.

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[25] Brother's for Life is a John Hopkins funded organisation, launched in 2009, that creates HIV/AIDS and domestic violence awareness initiatives directed specifically at men.
[26] DramAidE is a non-profit organisation affiliated with the University of Zululand and the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Established in 1992, it uses interactive theatre, music, and other performing arts to encourage individuals and communities to make healthy HIV/AIDS-related life choices.
[27] Scrutinise was a John Hopkins and USAID television campaign, launched in 2008, that used animated characters in adverts to persuade young South Africans to scrutinise their sexual behaviour.

The Performing Arts and Social Change in South Africa

Given the deeply embedded complexities that contribute to South Africa's AIDS crisis, and alarming developments concerning attitudes towards safe sexual practices, stigma, and HIV awareness (HSRC 2014), it is clear that alternative approaches to HIV/AIDS communication are necessary to invigorate a subject that has been the subject of discussion for decades. Indeed, one might reasonably argue that the earlier methods of communication themselves, such as television adverts, billboards, and expert-driven campaigns, have also become fatigued. There are many reasons to utilise the performing arts within health communication and campaigning, but in this section I want to discuss some of the reasons why music, and the performing arts more broadly, are important tools for expressing and receiving ideas, mobilising large numbers of people, and community and individual therapy in South Africa.

In order to understand the significance of the performing arts within the context of HIV/AIDS, it is first necessary to discuss the manner in which music has been used in South Africa's past. Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis to outline all the instances in which music and the performing arts have been, and continue to be used to educate, entertain, or mobilise, it is still useful to briefly discuss the importance of music in South Africa's history, cultures, politics, and everyday life, and indeed that of the wider African continent, as a platform from which to launch the following analyses of music in health interventions.

African cultures have been using performance, music, song, or comedy to educate community members and develop social relationships for generations (Kivnick 1990). The performing arts often play vital roles in maintaining, and at times suspending, the social structures that hold such communities together. To give one example, the *Okumkpa* play, a masked performance that occurs in Nigerian Afikpo Igbo communities, acts as a medium through which participants are able to remove themselves from their regular social status within their

community in order to speak freely about issues that may otherwise cause offence or damage the social order (Ottenburg 1997). Throughout the ritual, actors are believed to be spirits rather than people (ibid). These masked spirits may then play the roles of particular people in the community to humourously act out comedy skits that tacitly reference issues or grievances. This anonymity distances the person from both the grievance and the other party, and thus does not disrupt the social hierarchical norms of the community. Often disputes are presented in the form of comedy sketches and at times these performances may even be directed towards highly esteemed members of the society (ibid). Simon Ottenburg notes that as a result young or middle-aged men are able to make social commentary on their community and leaders in ways that otherwise 'would be impossible to utter, unmasked, in public' (ibid: 341).

Indeed, similar themes appear in South African music and song. The topic emerged during a conversation with prominent AIDS activist and former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula. Discussing the use of song in the South African social movement, she states:

> Sometimes it is in understanding the songs and the types of choices of words that we use to understand whether this is a happy song or not a happy song. That dates back to a time when I was a little child, I remember when people wanted to say something to someone but they didn't want to be direct and confrontational they would use songs, you know, to go about delivering that message in a way that didn't sound like you were rude of confrontational. To not upset the balance of things *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016).*

Music is a fundamental part of the everyday lives of many South Africans. The performing arts play important roles many ceremonies, initiations, rites of passage, and rituals in rural South African cultures (Kivnick 1990; Blacking 1985; Erlmann 1991; Meintjes 2004; McNeill 2011). As Kivncik notes of the Venda and Tsonga speaking peoples, 'all men, women, and children participate in music

making as part of involvement in other cultural activities' (1990: 94). She continues that such cultural activities serve to maintain cultural unity and social integration, and argues that such practices are particularly important among disempowered peoples (ibid). Music, dance, and ritual action are further used in Xhosa female initiations known as *Ukuthombisa*, a performance ritual that prepares a young woman for adulthood and marriage (Sirayi 2012: 64). For Sirayi (2012), each ritual is performed with elaborate costumes worn for the purpose of entertaining the audience, both humans and spirits. He continues that singing and dancing play important roles in the ritual and notes 'the boys and the girls sing and dance to entertain themselves, to educate, and initiate […] These are popular songs that are sung for joy and for sex education' (ibid: 65). Importantly, these initiation songs bring together two main themes of this thesis: joy (or at least some form of emotional connection to the message and subject matter of the initiation) and sex education. Implied within Sirayi's description of the purpose of the ritual is that the function of the songs (to educate initiates on reproductive health) is fundamentally connected to the emotional expressions of the music. The lyrics of these local songs contain knowledge to be passed on in prescribed ways, largely through interactive group performance. Although initiates are kept in isolation for many days as part of the initiation, much of the ritual is performed to the community and thus the event bears many of the elements that educational campaigns strive for: entertainment, educational material, emotive or moving content, and group participation.

In many ways, life in rural South Africa is organised around one's particular community. Broadly speaking, members of a community learn the principles of their music and dance through the process of socialisation (Kinvick 1990). That is to say, as members learn to function within their society they also learn, almost as a by-product of social maturation, the performance-based aspects of rural life (ibid). Indeed, Zulu *ngoma* dance rituals, usually performed during social transition ceremonies such as initiations or weddings, are 'integrally tied to an expression of Zulu-ness in song and dance' (Meintjes 2004: 177). For

Erlmann (1991), the term *ngoma* covers a wide range of male performance music and group dances. He states that the 'patterns of *ingoma* are inseparably linked to choral songs in call and response structure, and as such constitute a complex statement of the unity of dance and song in Zulu performance culture' (ibid: 95).

Further South African cultural practices that illustrate the importance of the performing arts to education, social wellbeing, and community cohesion can be found in Venda female initiations rituals. Perhaps the best known of these, due in no small part to the work of ethnomusicologist John Blacking, is a three-part initiation *Vhusha*, *Tshikanda*, and *Domba* through which young unmarried women are prepared for sexual maturity and adulthood. Throughout this rite, participants perform specific dances in symbolic formations while singing, often in elaborate polyphony, to accompanying music from the community (Blacking 1985). Blacking notes that the region was one of the last in South Africa to be influenced by European contact and further suggests that 'the influence of Europeans remains relatively superficial' (1967:16). Again this rite is extremely important in Venda culture since it marks a girl's journey from childhood to womanhood. McNeill explains that in Venda, 'a young woman can only perform the songs and dances of the *vhusha* initiation ceremony, where she is taught how to manage bodily pollution, after her first menses' (2011: 4). Thus, these rituals form pillars around which Venda social life is constructed, sex education is transferred, and life skills are taught to newly initiated adult members of the community. He further suggests that 'boundaries between ancestral spirits and human beings are blurred in the interests of maximising conditions for the promotion of fertility and the reproduction of "the Venda nation"' (ibid: 76). Much like in the *Okumkpa* of the Afikpo Igbo mentioned earlier, by blurring such boundaries of reality, information considered taboo, dangerous, or powerful, such as knowledge concerning reproduction and fertility, might be safely transferred from one generation to the next.

Domba is perhaps the most famous of Venda rituals due to the 'Python Dance'

in which male and female participants dance separately in fluid rows imitating snakelike movements. This dance ritual is performed to vigorous and rhythmic drum accompaniment and men are encouraged to scout for potential future wives in the female snake. McNeill continues that the *Domba* performance facilitates control and maintenance of the social order within Venda culture (2011: 77). Importantly, it also further illustrates that separating Southern African artistic expression into western pigeonholes actually strips those performance practices of their cultural significance. In the case of the *domba* the ritual could not be completed if one element (drumming, dancing, songs etc.) were to be removed.

Africa's oral knowledge has been, and continues to be, transmitted from person to person and committed to memory for future generations to learn. The significance of these oral narratives cannot be understated, since they are often the main vehicle for the continuation of information and wisdom accumulated over generations. In her discussion of mass media in Africa, and the conventions utilised by communities prior to European colonisation, Bourgault (1995) argues that performative elements were commonplace in the memorisation and transferal of important information.

> Knowledge was memorised by bards who specialised in the storage and transmission of information. They used heavily rhythmic patterns, repetitions and antitheses, alliterations, assonances, and a host of formulaic expressions as tools of their trade. Knowledge and wisdom were said to reside in those persons able to transmit information with artistic flourish through accepted stylistic conventions (ibid: 8).

Bourgault reminds us that the role of such performances was not simply to impart knowledge, but to entertain (ibid). Indeed, for Kivnick, in many of South Africa's cultures, 'music is intimately linked to […] oral literature' (1990: 96). As such, it becomes impossible within such practices to separate music, performance, and entertainment from education. Indeed, the entire concept of

edutainment as defined in chapter one would not be unfamiliar to the bards of knowledge to whom Bourgault refers. This is an important point to consider: interactive, community-based, educational entertainment media has been used by the various peoples on the African continent for numerous purposes for as long as there have been people inhabiting it. Indeed, Bourgault (2003) recalls being struck by the originality of the grass-roots AIDS interventions she witnessed during her time in South Africa during the early years of its democracy. She notes that 'South Africans were adapting folkways — recitation, song, dance, dramatic styles, and so on, that had moved them in the past, to the in- formation needs of AIDS prevention' (ibid: xxv). In this respect, what might be considered a relatively recent phenomenon, such as educational theatre or edutainment, used to invigorate the stagnant subject of HIV/AIDS in South Africa, are often neither particularly new or innovative within the context of oral narratives that stretch across the sub-Saharan continent.

With particular reference to South Africa's AIDS crisis, music is being utilised as a means of suspending hierarchical social orders in order for younger voices to be heard. As Gunner (2003) notes, the popularity of the Zulu vocal genre *isicathamiya* has been harnessed by young men to address HIV/AIDS-related issues that would not normally be permissible outside the specific nexus of song.

> The gravitas which the genre can command means that even very young
> groups who enter into its performance space, its specific modality, become
> invested with its authority. Thus a group of extremely youthful singers can sing
> with the same fervour as older groups, yet bring to it a particular set of
> performance skills and command the attention of their audience (ibid: 42).

Thus, by expressing themselves through song, younger generations draw legitimacy from the the authority of the genre, and as a result are able to address those of much higher social status on issues that may otherwise be considered restricted subjects.

<u>Liberation Songs in the Struggle for Emancipation</u>

Turning our attention to the South Africa's more recent political history, music has further been used to comment on, and radically reshape, the country's social and political landscape in both more urban and more recent contexts. For music scholar Christopher Ballantine, South Africa's 'colonisers brought not only guns (for the heathen flesh) and bibles (for the soul), but - with equal pride - the trappings of an entire culture, including its leisure activities' (1993: 4). The twentieth-century history of the country was undoubtedly dominated by the struggle against European colonisation and apartheid. It is unsurprising then that throughout the country's recent history, South Africa's music and performing arts have been intimately linked with the shifting social and political issues that shaped the lives of the vast majority of South Africans. When discussing the coded messages that can be presented through music and the arts, Scott (1990) suggests that in order to fully understand what he refers to as 'hidden transcripts', that is particular ways of speaking or behaving that appear deferent while simultaneously and covertly express discontent, we have to understand the broader culture of the subordinate people. He argues that 'the realities of power for the subordinate groups mean that much of their political action requires interpretation precisely because it is intended to be cryptic and opaque' (ibid: 137). This requires experimentation and comes with considerable risk, since one must rely on the ambiguities of language, interpretations of silence or non-silence in interactions or performances (ibid). The performing arts, and music in particular, became an important vehicle for both overtly and cryptically voicing dissent, as well as mobilising large numbers of people towards political objectives throughout minority rule in South Africa.

Throughout the political struggle, songs were used to bring unity, strength, and purpose to those who felt they had none. As Schumann (2008) notes, South Africa's political activists would sing their liberation songs while in prison, facing the police, during trials, or even just in everyday situations in order to keep their morale high. For Bozzoli 'the song style lent itself to mass participation, for

the main singer would sing a line and then the audience would follow his lead'
(2004: 224). Participation allows for collective emotion and grieving. The
practice reinforces a sense of community, particularly in the face of an
oppressive state. For Gilbert (2005, 2007) songs represented an avenue through
which ideas and solidarity could spread in a highly restrictive context. When
conventional channels of communication disappeared, songs took their place as
the voice of the people. She continues that these songs are 'often created and
disseminated orally, are easily remembered, and if popular can spread with
remarkable rapidity across wide-ranging social and geographical landscapes'
(ibid:11). In particular, songs could address specific issues, whether a specific
politician, as in the case of '*Naants'indod'emnyama, Verwoerd* (Beware,
Verwoerd),[28] originally composed by Vuyisile Mini, or the training of South
African freedom fighters in neighbouring countries, as in the case of *Shona
Malanga* (Shorten the Day). In these two examples, the latter expresses far
more of what Scott (1990) would refer to as a 'hidden transcript' than the
former, insofar as the meanings of *Shona Malanga* are cryptic and encoded
within the narratives of the song. *Shona Malanga* does not overtly reference
the liberation struggle, it is a song popularised by domestic workers and the
content describes their one day off per week, what they referred to as 'Sheila's
day' (Schumann 2008). But as struggle veteran Sifiso Ntuli notes, 'the song was
adapted to the condition we found ourselves in, so instead of saying: "we'll
meet on Thursday, on Sheila's day, it became, we'll meet where we would
rather not meet, in the bushes with our bazookas"' (cited in Hirsch 2004). In this
respect, Sheila's day became synonymous with coming together in solidarity
and resistance to the state.

Allen (2003) argues that South African music is well-suited to generating
multiple meanings and presenting itself as a text that may be interpretable in a

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[28] *Naants'indod'emnyama, Verwoerd* makes specific reference to Hendrik Verwoerd, a South
African politician who served as Prime Minister of, first, The Union of South Africa (1958-1961),
and later The Republic of South Africa (1961-1966) before being assassinated while in office. He
is considered the 'architect of apartheid' for his major role in the implementation of the
country's white minority rule (Waldmeir 1998: 253).

number of ways through various layers of meaning.

> Both the semi-improvisational, mosaic-type structure of the lyrics, and the inference that there are deeper levels of meaning that may be reached by the listener, are distinctive characteristics of lyrics in traditional and popular, musical and poetic forms throughout southern Africa (ibid: 235).

Lyrics, however, are only one aspect of a song that can be interpreted as meaningful. Allen continues that coded messages can be implanted and reinforced through association with a particular group or cause (ibid). Perhaps the most well-known example of this is the now current South African national anthem *Nkosi sikelel' iAfrica*, which makes no lyrical reference to the country's political struggles, but was still banned by the apartheid state as it became synonymous with the ANC, since it was used to open and close their meetings. Many of the nation's struggle songs had no known composer (Schumann 2008). Each song was so well-known by demonstrators and activists that they were able to use this to their advantage and take refuge in the relative anonymity of the music. Thus, the significance of music lies not only in its lyrics – although lyrics are profoundly important in educating and commenting on social issues (Scott 1990). Meaning can be found embedded in its melodic, rhythmic, and other sonorous qualities, which may also signify localised meanings, and provide the impetus for what DeNora (2010) refers to as 'action forms'.

Given the close proximity of the end of the apartheid regime and the realisation that South Africa was on the brink of a national health crisis, it is unsurprising that music would become an important part of the struggle for HIV/AIDS treatment, and then further utilised in awareness and prevention programmes. In South Africa music has a long history of mobilising people to political action, consoling one another, and subversively commenting upon social or political issues long before the Afrikaner National Party came to power in 1948 and began implementing their vision of the apartheid state (Coplan 1985). Indeed, South Africa's musical culture was heavily influenced by African American music

during the early twentieth century, and then later during the Civil Rights Movement. American artists had been travelling and performing throughout South Africa as early as the mid-nineteenth century. During this time American vaudeville groups and minstrel shows were particular popular (Ballantine 1993). Perhaps one of the most popular of these was Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers, who spent much of their time in the country between the years 1890 and 1898 (Erlmann 1988). During the twentieth century, according to Ballantine, 'for several decades, urban South Africans were held in thrall by American culture - but above all by the activities and achievements of blacks in that society. Where American culture fascinated, *black* American culture infatuated' (1993: 13). This fascination with African American culture would bring with it some of the very sounds that would become synonymous with social and political mobilisation, such as jazz and later soul. These sounds would go on to become associated with the expressive content of the budding American Civil Rights Movement (Muller 2008).

The purpose of this closing section is to illustrate that there is a long history of implementing the performing arts to affect social change, educate community members on specific issues, and build community cohesion. When considering the use of music and the performing arts as vehicles to communicate HIV/AIDS awareness and engage with individuals and communities, it is important to recognise that similar practices have been occurring across the African continent for countless generations. Given the context of fatigue surrounding both the subject of HIV/AIDS and the methods of delivering awareness messages, it is unsurprising that the performing arts are becoming increasingly visible within South African HIV intervention. It is within this rich history of music-related and music-driven social and political change that this research analyses the mechanics of engendering mass action within South Africa's current health crisis. By utilising music's mobilising and motivating potential to construct HIV/AIDS communication, such interventions continue a long history of music and performing arts-driven education and social transformation.

Conclusion

South Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis is as complex as it is widespread. Various interconnected histories and narratives weave together to create a wider fabric that helps to account for the decades of suffering that many South Africans have had to endure. It is clear, as with many post colonies, that the legacy of extreme racial oppression lives on in the structural violence experienced every day by many, mostly poor, South Africans. As Farmer (2010) argues in reference to the political economy of health and illness in Haiti, it is clear that 'severe poverty constrained personal and collective agency and was experienced as violent and grossly unfair: the lash wasn't gone so much as transformed' (ibid: 293). The metaphor of the transformed lash is particularly poignant when applied to the South African context. Given the successive post-apartheid governments' eagerness to implement neoliberal economic and social policies, it is not difficult to apply a similar metaphor to the changing face of oppression in South Africa. Within the context of neoliberalism, sexual violence, entrenched poverty, and structural inequalities, notions of human agency and individual choice become increasingly compromised.

Books have been dedicated to the subject matter covered in this chapter, and it has therefore not been possible to comprehensively discuss every aspect of the history, economics, and policies that surround the South African AIDS crisis. However, this chapter has outlined some of the more pertinent aspects of the crisis, as they apply to this research, in order to frame the analyses to come in the context of structural violence, denial, stigma, racial prejudices, inequality, the many roles played by South Africa's performing arts, and the various civil and governmental reactions to HIV/AIDS. It is clear that structural changes are necessary in order to reverse the growing number of new HIV infections, but it is equally important to maintain impactful and meaningful HIV/AIDS intervention and health-related engagement with South Africa's most vulnerable. Mindful of this, the following chapters are dedicated to discussing the processes through which arts-driven HIV/AIDS interventions engage with their participants.

Chapter 4. Building a Social Movement and Creating a Brand: TAC in the Early Years of the South African HIV/AIDS Crisis

'Song helps us deal with the challenges in front of us, whether it's apartheid, whether it's AIDS, whether it's inequality, the problems in the mines, whether it's unemployment, or challenges experienced by young people in schools, one of the ways to deal with these things is by singing' (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC, June 2014)

Introduction

South Africa currently has the world's largest national HIV/AIDS treatment and prevention programme (Bekker et al. 2014). But, as was outlined in chapter three, the implementation of that programme, which began in 2004, was slow and blighted by controversy. Both the Mandela and Mbeki government's responses to HIV/AIDS illustrated varying degrees of ignorance to, and underestimation of, the country's growing health crisis. By the late 1990s, it had become clear to a number of former struggle activists that the status quo of denial would require some form of response from South African civil society. The Treatment Action Campaign was formed in 1998 to demand the implementation of a national ARV rollout plan, and would go on to spearhead that response. The motivation behind TAC's campaign for universal HIV/AIDS-related healthcare was based in the understanding that health and life are fundamental human rights (Robins 2008; Overy 2011).

This chapter analyses some of the methods used by TAC to mobilise and energise large numbers of people towards their original cause of national ARV rollout, and their continued efforts to both reduce new infections and increase HIV/AIDS awareness. Although much of TAC's high profile AIDS activism was carried out during the late 1990s and early 2000s, the group continues to play a pivotal role in lobbying the government towards more efficient treatment plans,

fair pharmaceutical patent laws, and funding to under-stocked rural clinics. They are further involved in combating the political, economic, and social drivers of the AIDS crisis, most notably sexual violence and gender inequality. Drawing from interviews with TAC members, and data from their former and recent marches, I argue that TAC employs music as a means to evoke emotions and affective responses based in the recent history of South Arica's liberation struggle. By embedding their messages and demands within the rhetoric of human rights-based activism, TAC is able to tap into reservoirs of powerful and latent emotional potential largely fueled by politically charged songs from the country's journey towards democracy. TAC's methods capitalise upon the collective kinship created by the shared experience of black South Africans as they strove for independence and the fall of the apartheid regime, in order to manifest effervescent assemblies. I argue that through such methods TAC provided a conduit for expressing individual fear and anger as a collective, and in doing so created a therapeutic platform for its members at a time when there was no treatment for HIV available to the nation's poor.

Further, I suggest that TAC represents the first major example of creative effervescence within HIV/AIDS advocacy and campaigning in South Africa. TAC serves as an important case study, not simply due to its history of music in AIDS advocacy, but insofar as it uses a variety of methods to market itself and publicise its messages, including the famous H.I.V POSITIVE t-shirt and creating media sensations through acts of defiance and civil disobedience. TAC provides a useful point of contact between the theoretical concepts of effervescence, affect, entrainment and collectively felt atmospheres, as outlined in chapter one, and the application of these theories in the context of everyday South Africans' struggle for HIV treatment. TAC further serves as a link between the marketing techniques used by advertisers and similar technique employed by South African HIV/AIDS interventions.

This chapter opens with the story of a young black South African woman who grew up in the twilight years of the apartheid regime and, as a young woman,

experienced the kinds of structural violence that have been discussed earlier in this thesis. She became HIV-positive at a time when ARVs were not available on the government health service and thus out of reach for the majority of South Africa's poor. It happens that this young woman, Vuyiseka Dubula, went on to rise to the very top of TAC's leadership to become General Secretary. By opening with Vuyiseka's story I hope to frame the following discussion of TAC within the lived experience of someone who not only suffered under the structural inequalities wrought by apartheid but went on to contribute to, and eventually lead, a social movement that fights for the health and rights of all South Africans.

The second section of this chapter traces a history of TAC to give an overview of the climate in which the organisation emerged, the endemic corruption and mismanagement of the government's health funding, and subsequently the reasons TAC found it necessary to employ tactics based in the struggle in order to have their voices heard. The history of TAC is one of grass-roots community intervention in state politics, and in examining this story this research gains a better understanding of the power that culturally resonant and musically driven motivational techniques can have on mass mobilisation toward confronting a common social and health issue. The chapter further discusses the methods – most notably the use of songs – that were employed by TAC in the late 1990s and early 2000s, and continues to employ in its social advocacy today, to achieve its goals of mobilising large numbers of people to collective action. I discuss the value of songs and the meanings attached to them in mobilising communities towards social justice, health education, and community support. Though liberation songs have been mentioned in this thesis, this chapter expands the subject in order to discuss not only the historical importance of music in South Africa, but also its emotive potential as bearers of potent evocative meanings and memories. I then continue to discuss songs in terms of the experience of those involved in TAC's current protests and campaigns by drawing from ethnographic material gathered from public demonstrations in the communities in which TAC operates, most notably the Cape Town township

of Khayelitsha. In this section, I seek to paint a picture of the influence that spontaneous and emotionally charged incidents can have on the ambience and character of a demonstration. Finally, after broad contextualisation of the organisation's tactics, I analyse a small number of songs used by TAC's HIV positive choir The Generics. By doing so this chapter attempts to balance the conceptual framework of music in social movements in the context of post-apartheid South Africa with the lived experience of those currently and historically involved in the campaign against HIV/AIDS.

Vuyiseka's Story

Experience is not well conveyed through statistics, graphs, or charts (Farmer 2005). Even ethnographic accounts of events can fall short of conveying the personal experiences of those involved. Farmer notes that what he refers to as the 'texture' of affliction is better expressed and felt through 'the gritty details of biography' (ibid: 31). It is for this reason that I introduce the story of Vuyiseka Dubula, a prominent AIDS activist and former General Secretary of TAC. Vuyiseka's experiences early on in the South African AIDS crisis are representative of millions of South Africans, and further, her later involvement in AIDS activism provides insight into the experiences of individuals within a collective movement such as TAC, and indeed within their methods of collective mobilisation. Stories are direct and compelling, they ground phenomena within the context of lived experience and breathe life into events that might otherwise be rendered impotent by way of their fettered presentation.

Vuyiseka was born in 1979 in the small rural town of Idutywa in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, in the former Transkei Bantustan. She came from a low-income family and as a child she and her sisters stayed with her aunt, as her father left to find work over one thousand kilometres away in Cape Town. She was not able to visit him often due to the strict racial segregation laws implemented by apartheid. Indeed, oftentimes when she did try to smuggle herself into the city, she would be caught by state authorities and unceremoniously sent back 'home'. As was mentioned in the previous chapter,

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Vuyiseka's experience of living with extended family is one typical of many rural South African children. 'I didn't grow up with my parents', she noted during our conversation, 'that obviously has an impact on any child to live without your parents, you live with your extended family.' Vuyiseka's childhood was further blighted by domestic abuse, something that she acknowledges negatively impacted her mental wellbeing as she grew into adulthood.

> I didn't really realise my childhood exposure to violence, domestic violence at home, had an impact in my upbringing, had an impact in who I was, and my identity as I became a young woman. I grew up in an environment where girls don't say anything, you allow things to happen to you, and you don't even question anything to happen, if that happens to you, you question nothing. *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016).*

Vuyiseka's experience embodies many of the symptoms of structural inequality implemented by successive racist governments in South Africa discussed in chapter three of this thesis. A number of years later, during the 1994 general election, despite being under the age of eighteen, Vuyiseka travelled to Cape Town to vote. The following year, during the first term of majority rule, she moved to Philippi, what was then one of the youngest townships in Cape Town during the democratic dispensation.

> We moved a lot. We lived in Nyanga Bush, which is now Crossroads [an impoverished area near Cape Town International Airport] where most black people were not staying in formal houses, they were staying in tents like your squatter camps. Then we moved to a plastic house, to a shack, now we have a one bedroom RDP[29] house in Philippi, which we stay with my dad and my sisters *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016)*.

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[29] RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme) housing is a government initiative instituted in 1994 to address South Africa's chronic housing shortages by creating affordable accommodation for the country's pooerest communities.

Vuyiseka went to school in Cape Town's largest township, Khayelitsha, and then later in the suburb of Mowbray. It was not until 2001, however, that her life took a radical change of direction. By this time the issue of HIV/AIDS in South Africa had developed throughout the late 1990s into a burning topic of discontent among the country's growing number of AIDS activists, something that Vuyiseka admits she knew very little about at the time. At the age of twenty-two, she decided to satisfy her own curiosity and take an HIV test. Her result came back positive and her CD4[30] count was extremely low.

> In any other developed country, I would have been put on ARV treatment immediately. Instead, I was sent home to eventually wait for my death because that's what people did at that time. There was a lot of silence and people died in silence. I did the same. But the counsellor who counselled me during my HIV test mentioned that there was an MSF clinic in Khayelitsha, which was just starting in 2001, that was running visibility studies about whether it was possible to implement an ARV plan in under-resourced areas. Of course when you first get tested nothing matters except the shock: anger, fear, everything else. Nothing that she said about the clinic really made sense for me. I just said 'whatever, you told me there's no treatment, so even if I go there, I'm still not going to be treated', it's like, 'you know what, I just want to go home and die' *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016).*

The silence that Vuyiseka spoke of was endemic throughout much of South Africa when it came to HIV and AIDS during the early 2000s. In many ways, Vuyiseka's story to this point could have been the story of thousands of other young South African women growing up during the waning years of the apartheid regime and the subsequent post-apartheid AIDS crisis. 'I went home

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[30] CD4 (Cluster of Differentiation 4) cells are a type of white blood cell that fight infection. HIV targets and destroys these cells leading to the onset of opportunistic infections, and eventuly AIDS, once an individual's CD4 levels drop below 100-1500 CD4 cells per cubic millimeter of blood.

and waited for my death', she stated in such a matter of fact way during our interview, 'but it never happened'. Vuyiseka waited to die for three months before realising that it was not going to happen immediately. It is at this point, however, that Vuyiseka's story differs from many in South Africa. She visited the MSF 'Ububtu' clinic suggested to her by her counsellor. It was at this small clinic in Khayelitsha that Vuyiseka was introduced to TAC.

> I started as a volunteer in Samora, in Mitchells Plain. My volunteering was essentially an accident. I wanted to know more, I wanted to know as much information as possible for myself. But the more I knew about HIV, the more I began to think I'm definitely sure I'm not the only one who doesn't have this kind of information *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016)*.

For Vuyiseka, her experience at TAC taught her not just about the science behind HIV/AIDS, but also who was responsible for the increasingly dire public health situation in South Africa. She started a TAC branch in her own community in Nyanga that initially comprised only her immediate family. As they became more informed on the issues surrounding HIV, each family member brought someone else into the branch until their numbers had swelled to over fifty members. In 2004 Vuyiseka began ARV therapy after TAC's landmark victory in the constitutional court. She then spent six years as a TAC treatment literacy coordinator in the Western Cape, travelling as far as Saldanha, Vredendal, and George. Eventually, Vuyiseka rose through the TAC ranks to become General Secretary.

Describing her experience as a person living with HIV in a time when AIDS was a death sentence for those unable to afford private health care, Vuyiseka noted how TAC facilitated channeling the anger and fear she felt at the time.

> You know, honestly, there is no coping mechanism for being diagnosed when you have an illness and then being told there is no treatment for it. Of course

being part of a movement makes you forget about yourself and you think of the bigger issues and you no longer become the centre of the problem, but you try to use your anger your fear and channel it towards something that could possibly be benefited by generations after you. So at least it displaces the fear, so much that it's not about you, the fear is now a collective fear, not just an individual fear. So that was part of what the movement did to help us. Being part of a collective and being part of a movement, knowing that you're doing something, even if you're not going to live to benefit from it, does give you that satisfaction that even if you die, you know that you've done something. *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016)*.

Vuyiseka refers to the collectivising of fear by coming together with others and channeling those emotions towards a common good. Being part of a social movement helped to partially shift the burden of her experience from individual to collective shoulders. This sentiment is echoed by Robins when he argues that by contrast to the private sector orthodox biomedical approach to HIV/AIDS in South Africa, 'TAC activism creates the conditions for more collectivist responses to HIV treatment' (2008: 132). Vuyiseka's experience was one of communal support, often through singing. 'Songs, as you know, are a part of life', she exclaimed during our discussion 'in the history of South Africa, singing is very much part of our cultures'. She further spoke of the therapeutic qualities of collective music making during the rallies, but also the limitations of such therapy.

Singing at the demonstrations was very therapeutic because you could feel the anger in the song, you could connect with the other person who was feeling the same pain, but at the same time, you are alone at night. That's why I am saying, yes, you could be part of a movement, that helps to a certain extent because it does create that togetherness, but at the end of the day you are left with your thoughts on your own at night *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016)*.

This is a powerful statement, and it touches a core issue in HIV/AIDS interventions that rely on collective effervescence: that no matter how affectively charged or emotionally resonant a performance or intervention may be, and no matter how uplifted the participants, eventually they will be alone with their own thoughts, opinions, and feelings once again. Effervescence, in all its forms, does not last forever.

Vuyiseka did not die, but many AIDS activists in the late 1990s and early 2000s did. Her story is one that speaks to both the structural inequalities that led to her HIV-positive status, the powerful motivating, therapeutic, and mobilising effects of music making, and the interplay between collective and individual experiences and emotions. The reason I open this chapter with this personal biography is to appropriately set the scene for the following discussion of TAC within a lived context.

'Wake up! Demand it! Sing!' TAC's Struggle Heritage and Community Mobilisation

TAC is a Cape Town based HIV/AIDS activist organisation. Founded in 1998 by former struggle activist Zackie Achmat and close friends, the group gained international recognition for their efforts in affecting change on issues of HIV acceptance and ARV rollout in South Africa. Though TAC was not the first AIDS advocacy group to operate in the new South Africa,[31] what is notable about them is the prominence attainted by a group with humble beginnings. As Grebe suggests, 'the group is now widely considered the most important AIDS activist organisation in the world and certainly the most successful of South Africa's post-apartheid social movements' (2011: 849). This is in part due to the methods TAC deployed to present their message. As Robins describes it, TAC 'deployed global discourses of science, medicine, liberal rights and social justice

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[31] Organisations such as the National Coalition for Gay and Lesbian Equality (NCGLE) founded by Achmat and Simon Nkoli, the National Association of People with AIDS (NAPWA) and the AIDS Law Project (ALP), all of which Achmat was involved with to some degree, had all been operating to promote LGBT and PWA rights prior to TAC.

together with grassroots mobilisation' (2008: 101). The result was a potent mix of rights-based rhetoric, biomedical knowledge, community mobilisation, and moral imperative.

The story of TAC begins in the late 1990s, at a time when Nelson Mandela was still president and when the spirit of democracy and new beginnings was running high. It begins prior to the troubled days of Thabo Mbeki's presidency and subsequent state-sponsored AIDS misinformation and denial already covered earlier in this thesis, however these would become the issues TAC primarily sought to address. As Geffen states, the narrative that has dominated much of TAC's existence has been the struggle 'to stop Mbeki, [former Minister of Health] Tshabalala-Msimang and the state from supporting charlatans selling AIDS cures and from promoting what was in effect AIDS anti-science' (2010: 1). TAC was a grassroots response to what Robins refers to as the 'unrelentingly moralising and stigmatising' (2008: 107) responses to the epidemic: Treichler's (1987) 'epidemic of signification' in which specific meanings and judgements were cultivated around the virus and those afflicted. Achmat called for the formation of an AIDS activist group at a memorial service held for long-time friend and fellow LGBT rights advocate Simon Nkoli, who had died of AIDS-related complications (Grebe 2011). On the 10th December 1988, which happened to be International Human Rights Day, Achmat and a small number of friends and activists fasted on the steps of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town and handed out flyers calling for ARV treatments to be made available to the public (Robins 2008). Such publicly visible and audible 'stunts' would go on to characterise much of TAC's narrative.

TAC was founded in an era of evolving global AIDS activism. The late 1990s saw improved ARV treatments being made available to people living with AIDS (PWAs) in the global North. The discovery of effective treatments had the effect of radicalising AIDS activists in South Africa as they began to fight for the kind of improved health and extended life expectancy simply not available beforehand (Mballi 2013). In 1998 researchers conducting prevention of mother-to-child

transmission in Thailand concluded that a course of the drug azidothymidine (AZT) could effectively prevent MTC transmission (ibid). Of course, this lead to calls from advocacy groups for the drug to be made available in South Africa. These calls were met with reluctance from the Department of Health over the cost of the therapies.

Audibility in Deafening Silence: TAC's Brand Recognition and Marketing

It quickly became clear that the Mbeki government was not going support a national HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment plan. As a result, TAC took to the streets to start bringing this issue to the attention of the general public in the manner which the original small group of members were most familiar with, through the kinds of rights-based activism rooted in the struggle for liberation. However, for Robins, 'although grassroots mobilisation was primarily in back African working-class areas, TAC's organisational structure and support networks crossed race, class, ethnic, occupational and educational lines' (2008: 117). While TAC's social activism networks stretch far beyond the borders of South Africa, its main focus was to lobby the government for a national ARV plan in quite immediate ways (Robins and von Lieres 2004; Grebe 2011), so it is on such practices which this chapter focuses. According to Grebe (2011), the organisation's struggle heritage can be easily identified through various strategies and symbols rich in political meaning cultivated over years of opposition to South Africa's minority rule, including, but not limited to, the right-fisted *Amandla!* salute, struggle songs and dance, and referring to one another as 'comrades'. He continues that TAC's reliance on the lexicon of the anti-apartheid struggle was rooted in strong community-like ties, trust, and 'the centrality of moral appeals and strongly symbolic gestures' (ibid: 852).

However, it is important to note that there were some intrinsic differences between the struggle for liberation and the struggle for ARV rollout, particularly regarding TAC's relationship with the democratically elected government. Despite the protests, demands, and litigation that TAC directed toward the state, the group viewed the ANC as the legitimate government of South Africa.

We were a non-violent movement. We could not throw stones or fight like we would have if we were dealing with a non-democratic state. We, from the onset, considered the ANC government as the legitimate government of South Africa. Our approach was a collaborative and combative approach. Remember that most of our members were ANC supporters and members, so we tried to engage with the state as much as possible. Taking your own government to court is, of course, a very confrontational strategy, litigation was our last resort *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016).*

Since many of TAC's early members were political activists during apartheid, it is unsurprising that many of the methods that the group used to galvanise support for their cause are similar to those found in the country's liberation struggle. Arguably the most potentially meaningful of the symbols and culture TAC acquired were the songs and dances. Geffen notes that 'when TAC members are together, you can bet that songs will be composed with tunes borrowed from the struggle against apartheid' (2010: 190). Drawing inspiration from the liberation struggle helped strengthen TAC's legitimacy (Grebe 2011). As Robins argues, 'TAC avoided being slotted into "the conservative white camp" through the creative re-appropriation of locally embedded political symbols, songs and styles of the anti-apartheid struggle' (2004: 665). By aligning itself with such powerful cultural and political symbols, TAC was able to utilise rhetoric reminiscent of that found in the liberation struggle to mobilise large numbers of South Africans during marches, public demonstrations, and civil disobedience campaigns. Since HIV/AIDS overwhelmingly affects those living in impoverished or low-income communities, and economic status is still largely divided along racial lines, TAC was further able to challenge accusations that it was anti-black, and simply in opposition to the ANC, by motivating members of township communities to march with their cause (ibid). There are few areas of the collective South African consciousness that have not been influenced by apartheid and the subsequent struggle for freedom. As a result, the

involvement of struggle songs and rhetoric is likely to create what Turino (2008) calls 'mass indices' around TAC's brand through association with liberation music and sonic memories and emotions held therein. In this sense, the associations of the music are transferred to the new movement, ironically challenging the very same people, the ANC, who were so instrumental in overthrowing the previous government at which those old songs were originally targeted.

TAC's modus operandi (at least in those early years) was to challenge the deafening silence around the emerging South African AIDS crisis. The lack of public, or indeed private, discourse on the subject of AIDS has been discussed at some length in chapter three, but it is worth mentioning again in order to establish that TAC's early approach gathered a great deal of media attention onto an otherwise mute issue. TAC members simultaneously educated themselves on the science of AIDS, the constitution, and issues of structural violence that militate against individual agency.

> We had to educate ourselves because the state was not going to do it. When I first went to the MSF clinic, I met someone who was a peer educator, a TAC peer educator. Firstly, she was HIV positive, very positive thinking, she had a child living with HIV, she was active and she was so knowledgeable. Then I asked her how come she knows so much information and she's just a patient like me. She told me about how TAC was trying to advance information on HIV among its members and local communities. I guess I just walked into the clinic at the right time *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016).*

By developing their understanding of the science of HIV/AIDS and combining that with knowledge of the state's constitutional obligation to provide public healthcare, TAC successfully developed what Biehl refers to as 'a centralised and business-like management of an AIDS epistemic community' (2004: 106).

Further, in its community mobilisation, TAC did more than just appropriate the culture and symbols of the struggle. Grebe (2011) notes that TAC did not merely passively reflect its political roots, but rather, by appropriating the culture of the struggle, reshaped its legacy. Indeed, one of TAC's most enduring symbols, the H.I.V POSITIVE slogan, was drawn, not from the struggle, but was borne out of the culture of silence and denial that was quickly building around the issue of HIV/AIDS. In 1997, the then Minister of Health Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma announced that she would push for the introduction of compulsory reporting of AIDS cases to the government, dubbed 'notification'. The following year while the plans for forcibly disclosing HIV positive people were being discussed, what became a high-profile act of AIDS stigma violence turned national attention towards the safety of PWAs. In December 1998, Gugu Dlamini a 36-year-old woman from the KwaMashu township near Durban publicly declared her HIV positive status. According to Grünkemeier, 'shortly afterwards, some of her neighbours turned on her and stoned and stabbed her to death for shaming the community' (2013: 85). Given the extreme stigma associated with HIV/AIDS all over the world, and particularly in South Africa, the newly formed TAC responded to the murder of Dlamani by creating what is now one of its most well-known insignia, the world famous H.I.V POSITIVE slogan (ibid). The slogan appears on many of TAC's banners and t-shirts, and has become an emblem for the group. The slogan's purpose was, in part, to turn stigma, shame, and isolation into a badge of honour, and create solidarity with those who continued to remain silent (Robins 2008). The use of such bold and assertive tactics gives us a useful entry into considering how TAC built such strong support. The stigma associated with HIV encouraged people to search for someone to blame, and the easiest targets were those who were infected (Geffen 2010). TAC's slogan was a visual, yet palpable proclamation that they would not be silent. This slogan was branded onto t-shirts, placards, and banners, and displayed at their demonstrations and marches in an attempt to shine a spotlight on the issue. In terms of collective versus individual identity, the H.I.V POSITIVE slogan and other symbols of community solidarity, helped to create a welcoming and inclusive social environment that sought to counter

ever increasing stigma (Robins 2008). For Robins, 'it is through these activist mediations that it becomes possible for the social reintegration and revitalisation of large numbers of isolated and stigmatised AIDS sufferers into a social movement and caring community' (ibid: 132).

TAC's campaign drew from well-established marketing methods and coupled them with the energy of public demonstrations filled with struggle music and rhetoric. They built their brand and became ever more recognised through various publicity-grabbing ventures from the beginning (such as fasting in the steps of the cathedral), to brand slogans. Further media interest was gathered by a high-profile visit to Achmat by former president Nelson Mandela upon hearing that he would no longer take his medication as long as ARVs were not available on a government treatment programme for all South Africans. During the visit, Mandela wore a TAC H.I.V POSITIVE t-shirt and further highlighted the international recognition that TAC was beginning to build when he noted that 'people far beyond our borders are aware of the principled stand that he [Achmat] has taken' (Mandela cited in Siyayinqoba Beat It! 2002). Further high profile events included TAC's importation of the generic medication fluconazole from Thailand, for the treatment of systemic thrush, a common opportunistic condition that affects PWAs (Mbali 2013). In doing so TAC ignored pharmaceutical giant Pfizer's drug patent on the product in South Africa.

The methods used to garner support for TAC's cause highlight the parallels between different types of campaigning. TAC blended struggle activism with modern social marketing techniques to create a powerful mix of passionate, local, and rights-based activism with savvy brand recognition and advertising. Indeed, these techniques are not so exclusive from one another since, as was noted in chapter one, music has been used in advertising to motivate people towards purchasing products since the earliest days of radio broadcasting.

'We couldn't throw stones; our songs were our stones': Liberation Songs in the Treatment Action Campaign

Given the relative proximity of South Africa's first democratic elections to the founding of TAC, and the significance of its original membership comprising mostly struggle veterans, it is important to discuss the influence of, and similarities to the liberation struggle. Further, in order to understand the importance of struggle songs in the creation of effervescent assemblies within the political and social movement TAC has helped to create around South Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis, it is necessary to contextualise them within the country's history of resistance to first the colonial powers and then the apartheid state. In South Africa, songs have been used to express solidarity among its oppressed populations since before there were any recognisable borders of the country we now know today. The hymns and melodies of composers such as Bokwe, Caluza, and Sontonga were used as anthems for the some of the earliest resistance movements, and these songs were usually in the form of hymns or other spiritual music (Erlmann 1991). As noted in chapter three, music, song, and dance went on to play integral parts in protests, celebrations, funerals, union meetings, and training camps throughout the apartheid years (Michie and Gamede 2013). For Gilbert, 'South African liberation music can be thought of as 'the ubiquitous but largely informal and un-professionalised genre that was probably the dominant musical medium of popular political expression' (2007: 423). Given the nature of the apartheid state's brutal response to dissent, the informality of this genre is unsurprising. Scott notes that songs and other oral traditions, 'due simply to their means of transmission, offer a kind of seclusion, control, and even anonymity that make them ideal vehicles for cultural resistance' (1990: 160). Thus song can be thought of as a fluid and expressive tool through which counter ideologies and morale-boosting ideas or messages may be transmitted and impressed in the public consciousness, while simultaneously evading standard methods of censorship.

Liberation songs have been a common expression of the desire for freedom across many ages and geographies. For struggle pianist and composer Abdulla Ibrahim, in the documentary film *Amandla! A Revolution in Four Part Harmony* (2002), it is unlikely that there has ever been a liberation or protest movement that has not, at some stage, used music or song to rally people to their cause, keep up morale, or mourn those who have fallen or been arrested. Indeed, the songs used in TAC's protests played crucial roles in mobilising people to join their marches and the movement more broadly. Many of these had been reworked from older struggle songs with new lyrics to sing about the scourge of AIDS, and the inadequate response from the government. In my discussion with Mandla Majola, a TAC veteran of 15 years and district coordinator of TAC's Khayelitsha office on the outskirts of Cape Town, he outlined some of the ways in which these struggle songs could mobilise people to action. He stated:

> There is a song that has been used in many political movements [Sings the first few lines of struggle song *My Mother* with altered lyrics.]

> *My Mother was a kitchen girl,*
> *My Father was a garden boy,*
> *That's why,*
> *I'm an activist,*
> *I'm an activist,*
> *I'm an activist.*

> So songs from the past can be effective to fight for other things. Some of the songs reflect what we have experienced, some of these songs reflect what we are experiencing, for example, the song *We Are Fighting For Our Rights*, you'll hear people singing it at a lot of different protests. It's a song that stakes the claim of why we are here: we are here because we are angry about a particular incident that has taken place in our community, or we are here because we demand justice, we are here to demand our rights. That is an experience felt by us, by our friends, by our comrades, and we feel that support. So our songs

Two things become apparent from Majola's words. The first is that songs took on far more significance than simply to energise or collectivise thought among participants who were in opposition to the government's AIDS denial views. Within the music was a history of collective action, struggle, dignity, perseverance, and bittersweet victory. An important element of emotional responses to music is how quickly we are able to interpret meaning from them. For Sloboda (2010), there is a wealth of evidence that suggests short musical segments, sometimes as short as one second, can elicit both affective (chills, movement, and other pre-cognitive bodily phenomena) and emotional responses. He suggests 'that such emotions may be 'read off' the musical surface, rather than through deep structural analysis' (ibid: 503). Thus even by merely referencing the struggle within their songs TAC could rely on members of their community and the wider South African population to be aware of the connotations by reading them off the surface of the songs.

The second is, as has been highlighted earlier in this chapter, that the struggle against apartheid and the subsequent struggle against HIV/AIDS were both movements towards the same goal. Each movement involved ordinary people fighting for what should have already been theirs: their rights. During apartheid many rights were withheld, while the more recent government sponsored denial of HIV/AIDS withheld adequate healthcare, and thus perhaps some of the most fundamental of human rights, the rights to life and good health. Though much changed with the fall of the apartheid regime, one thing remained the same, and still does to this day; it is black South Africans who suffered the most, regardless of the government in power.

Implicit within Majola's words is that struggle songs have been reworked to sing about HIV/AIDS not simply because of the proximity between the fall of apartheid and the emergence of the epidemic or that many of TACs original

members were also struggle activists (though that does contribute to the emotive potential of such songs), but also because music is an extremely potent medium of expression. It is able to motivate people through a multitude of affective and sensorial ways. By discussing the feelings and experiences of collective groups, Majola's description of TAC's use of struggle songs alludes to the connective and physical nature of musical participation. Such interpersonal connections develop rapidly from the songs' ability to entrain bodies and minds, and simultaneously invoke the memories and emotions that are bound up within them. These then become powerful motivators to mobilise against issues, which we have already noted, bear similarities on a fundamental level to the previous struggle, through the redistribution of a familiar spirit of defiance and unified struggle against oppression that resonates collectively among participants.

During my conversation with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, she touched upon the power of songs and the potential potency of delivering their messages and demands of a public treatment plan, through the performing arts. Indeed, the metaphor of songs and dances as weaponry, both during the liberation struggle and the movement for ARV treatment rollout, is a common one.

> As the struggle became intense, so the songs became intense. The choice of songs, the embarrassment, the celebration, the no celebration, the way we depicted the state as uncaring, and sometimes they are reminding us of the apartheid government. We used similar words in those songs. We used similar methods to call out the perpetrators like the older comrades in the fight against apartheid. Sometimes we stripped some of these ministers naked, took off their wigs through the songs because we are a non-violent movement. We couldn't throw stones; our songs were our stones *(Interview with former TAC General Secretary Vuyiseka Dubula, Stellenbosch – 28/07/2016)*.

Songs that were composed within South Africa's liberation struggle are often stripped back and use a minimum of, often poignant, words to present their message. They are therefore heavily reliant on the music itself to engender and maintain emotional and affective intensities. Since struggle songs were largely composed by unknown groups of South Africans as immediate expressive responses to everyday injustices, they are inherently participatory from the moment they are composed, and are reworked as needed throughout their use. Music's sonic qualities facilitate forms of collective and social action through what Keil and Feld refer to as 'being in the groove together' (1994: 167). It is the connections created by collective music making, whether composition or performance, that fuels the emotive potential of such songs.

Though somewhat generalising, Ballantine notes that music in South Africa in the pre-apartheid era was 'informed by a set of concerns in many ways different from those that inform the music and practices of the years after the early 1940s' (1993: 2). By the 1950s songs and other expressive forms had taken on a more overtly political tone in the face of state-sponsored racism and discrimination (ibid). Music and songs played a number of particular and significant roles in South Africa's history; some helped to counterbalance the divisions created by apartheid and channel anger and frustrations towards those responsible, while others vehemently demanded black civil liberties be recognised, and others still communicated sorrow at the loss of dignity, freedom, and those who fought for those ideals. For Ballantine, music epitomised the kind of equality that uprooted the foundational sentiments on which the apartheid ideology was based. He argues that when

> the white and racist South African state was devising an ideology and a programme for fragmenting black South Africans, by turning them against each other by reinforcing and artificially cultivating ethnic and racial differences, black jazz musicians and audiences were insisting not only on their necessary unity as blacks and South Africans, but also on their status as fully fledged and equal members of the international society of human beings (ibid: 8).

Therefore, by employing music as their voice, not only were black South Africans afforded a certain amount of anonymity in their criticisms of the state, but they further self-consciously identified themselves as participating within a much larger collective of socially and politically aware activists, one diametrically opposed to the divisions that apartheid had attempted to force upon them. Indeed, this still holds true for contemporary activists, not only in TAC, but in numerous protests and demonstrations around the country. For activist and music producer Sifiso Ntuli, struggle songs communicate in far more powerful and meaningful ways than just rhetoric. He argues that

> A song is something that we communicate to those people who otherwise would not understand where we are coming from. You could give them a long political speech – they would still not understand. But I tell you: when you finish that song, people will be like "Damn, I know where you niggas are coming from. Death unto Apartheid!" (cited in Hirsch 2002).

Ntuli's words speak to the powerful mobilising effect that music has been observed to have, something that will be discussed a great deal in this thesis. For now, it is enough to merely note that a call to action presented through song, as Ntuli suggests, can often motivate more vigorously and emotionally than regular rhetoric. Indeed, within the vast majority of struggle songs can be found a call to action, or at the very least a call for change, either overtly within the song's overall message, or implicitly through lamentation of the status quo. This rallying cry is perhaps one of the reasons they have become such a staple of South Africa's protest movements (from anti-xenophobia marches, miner strikes, student protests, or housing demonstrations). DeNora argues that under certain circumstances music can be thought of as a 'non-verbal accomplice' of particular action forms, suggesting that 'getting the music "right" is simultaneously a way of trying to make action "right", not merely in the embodied and technical sense but as a way of prospectively calling out forms of emotional and embodied agency that are comfortable and preferable, that

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"feel" right in emotional and embodied terms' (2000: 114). In short, songs can engender emotional and embodied action that seems to emanate naturally from such expressive catalysts.

In terms of embodied action, as will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, one can hardly find a better example than the Southern African dance, *toyi-toyi*. *Toyi-toyi* is an energetic jogging dance that became a popular means of embodying the percussive intensity of many of the demonstrations against the apartheid state. A prominent feature in rallies, celebrations, and funerals, the dance is thought to have 'originated on the guerrilla training grounds of Zimbabwe to keep up the endurance and the spirits of the freedom fighters' (Michie and Gamede 2013: 262). Indeed, as Durkheim suggests, both mournful and celebratory events share a number of traits conducive to eruptive emotional surges and argues that both are 'made up of collective ceremonies which produce a state of collective effervescence among those who take part in them' (Durkheim cited in Kemper 2011: 68). *Toyi-toyi* involves jogging, usually with knees relatively high, with the arms raised above the head while chanting rhythmically to a consistent pulse provided by the pace of the jog. The call and response structure of the chants are said to imitate the sound of gunfire, and the chants often praise noted veterans of the liberation struggle (Mabizela 2000; Hirsch 2002). Musician Hugh Masekela recalls that *toyi-toyi* was used as a way of intimidating the enemy: 'Because we can't beat these people physically, you can scare the shit out of them with a song' (ibid). *Toyi-toyi* presents an overt example through which rhythm, pulse, and entrainment can engender collective action. The dance and chants help to create connections between individuals and entrain their movements. These connections arguably contributed to heightened emotional states and a sense of safety as a collective whole. As one liberation struggle activist recalls: '*toyi-toyi* made us not see the bullets and the guns that the whites used to shoot us' (cited in Michie and Gamede 2013: 262).

Liberation songs, when used by TAC in the context of HIV/AIDS awareness, treatment, and prevention take on what Mattern (1998) would describe as a pragmatic role. He describes the pragmatic form as occurring when 'members of one or more communities use music to promote awareness of shared interests and to organise collaborative efforts to address them' (ibid: 29). Though Mattern's theory of pragmatic musicking is conceptualised in terms of political awareness, the term is applicable still to the social struggle of HIV/AIDS awareness, not least due to the political history of South Africa's struggle songs and the high-profile legal battles between TAC and the South African government. Fundamental to the pragmatic use of arts in action is the coming together of people, whether communities, subcultures, etc., in some level of shared commonality to address issues broader than those of the individual. What has become known in the study of social movements as 'collective identity' can be described as 'the social construction of a facticity – that is the objectivated reality of an identity assigned to a group, organisation, or movement' (Hunt and Benford 2004: 436). What Hunt and Benford call collective identity – 'the feeling of shared personhood' (ibid: 434) – and its close relative collective effervescence, can create mutually enabling environments from which affective states can be translated into effervescent assemblies.

Majola echoes this sentiment when he suggests that the connection with the past does more than simply legitimise the cause at hand, but rather it actually creates a point of connection between the current activists and those who suffered and died to gain the freedom South Africans are now able to experience, thus invigorating the current movement. He states the following:

> I think the emotion of the songs to the greater extent affects how our messages are heard. Many of our songs have an attachment to our past, to the songs that were sung by our elders, our predecessors. That is our homage. What we are experiencing now and what they experienced then. Sometimes we change the songs. We change the words to relate to our present day struggles. But the people know what that song is, they know the rhythm and

the flow, but they change the words. They can tell that this song was a song that has been sung for a long time (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

It is clear that the meaning of the songs is not necessarily dictated by the lyrics. Rhythms, harmonies, and melodies, and the new lyrics blend with old associations to create something new. For Roy 'the effect of music on social movement activities and outcomes depends less on the meaning of the lyrics or the sonic qualities of the performance than on the social relationships within which it is embedded' (2010: 2). These social relations are fundamental to the creation of a cohesive effervescent assembly. It is quite clear that the motivation towards action that music can create is intimately linked with its ability to create connections between people, whether through historical reference (such as in liberation songs) or entrainment through sharing space and time. Social relationships and communitas, engendered through music and participation could be thought of as the connective tissue, without which the muscular power of the movement, protest, or demonstration would not function.

TAC is not the only organisation to understand the influence songs can have on decision-making or mobilisation to a specific cause. As McNeill (2011) notes, in a culture in which knowledge of HIV is associated with infection, such as in rural Venda, information to do with death, disease, sex, or reproduction, is normally communicated within 'safe' ritual contexts through the performing arts, under the protection of religious deities or ancestors. In this context, Forum for AIDS Protection (FAP) peer educator HIV/AIDS experts have had to consider alternatives to standard didactic forms of education. As McNeill observes, the peer educators communicate their health messages through music (ibid). They intentionally select songs from the struggle, religious, or local folk songs in order to engender a sense of collective identity. This, along with the general reverence for the folk and struggle music, and the popularity and humour of other music affords the educators with some - although not always effective -

form of protection. Thus the peer educators use the old songs within a new context in order to shield themselves from critics by virtue of their associated legitimacy and venerated position.

This only views the exchange from one angle. Turner (1982) argues for a more nuanced understanding of performance within cultures. Rather than examining performance as just a socially prescribed representation of a wider culture, he argued that we should consider how each performance remoulds the meanings of the very culture it represents. In this respect, it can be argued that by continuing to use these old songs, whether they are struggle songs, religious, or folk, new life and new meaning is breathed into them by way of their re-appropriation into this new function. The meanings of those struggle songs have now been subtly coloured by the struggle for comprehensive state ARV roll out, and continue to be used by TAC (as will be discussed later in this chapter) which may or may not influence their future use in particular settings.

Part of the power of struggle songs comes from the fact that they are a form of emotional self-expression that cannot be taken away, not even by a repressive regime that denied black South Africans their basic human rights. As we will discuss later in this thesis, the voice (and indeed the body) is an extremely powerful communicative medium, not simply through the words and phrases one can construct but rather through the emotion that can be expressed along with them. This small number of examples helps to illustrate the role of songs in challenging the apartheid state (which is not to mention the many other forms of political rhetoric found in recorded music of the time, and international performances in solidarity with the struggle, which are beyond the scope of this thesis), contributing to the resolve of those who struggled against it, and how that legacy has been applied to the context of HIV/AIDS in the early 2000s. By considering the position of song within the liberation struggle and music's ability to mobilise, energise, and sustain large numbers of people to social and political action, this research is able to contextualise such use of liberation music in South Africa's struggle with HIV/AIDS.

'Songs that speak to the shock of the loss': The Generics and Community Support Through Song

According to Okigbo (2011a), the richness and diversity of South Africa's choral tradition cannot be overstated. Indeed, some of Cape Town's most impoverished townships are home to numerous gospel, *isicathamiya*, church, and other choirs or vocal groups. He continues that

> one can argue that choral singing functions as a significant form of community experience among black South Africans. It is a means of articulating and expressing various dimensions of communal experience, including conflicts, relationships, economic development or poverty, sickness and disease, and social responsibility (ibid: 285).

For many South Africans in the early 2000s, music and songs were the only available methods of coping with extreme circumstances, such as testing HIV positive, the injustices of gender-based violence, or lack of adequate HIV/AIDS treatments. In a sense, we might consider songs a form of community or group healing or therapy, in which community music making provides a medium for support among those affected. While interviewing TAC's regional coordinator in Khayelitsha, we touched upon the topic of community music and the kinds of therapy and healing it can provide.

> **Majola**: Sometimes we use song as a way of expressing anger, as a way of coping with the pain [of being raped or loved ones who have been raped, the pain of injustice and the pain of having to now live with HIV]. We cope through song. We come together through song. Those songs seek to give sympathy, empathy, support to those who have been affected.
>
> Let me give you a contradiction: the court is next to a swimming pool. The pool is always empty; the court is always full, full of young people. This contradiction highlights the problem in our community. You'll never see this kind of thing in Camps Bay, in Green Point, in Rondebosch, or in Stellenbosch.

In those areas the Magistrates court is always empty - the swimming pool is always busy.

GW[32]**:** Do you think the social nature of music helps to underscore the supportive role you describe?

Majola: Yes, absolutely it does. Forget about the struggle, forget about apartheid, forget about AIDS. Just look at Africans. If we have lost someone, one of the ways we deal with the pain, coping with pain, is we sing: songs that speak to the shock of the loss. Song helps us deal with the challenges in front of us, whether it's apartheid, whether it's AIDS, whether it's inequality, the problems in the mines, whether it's unemployment or challenges experienced by young people in schools, one of the ways to deal with these things is by singing. Wake up, demand it, sing! Singing helps us relate, singing tells us to be one, in a song we become one, we connect at an emotional level.

GW: So that emotional connection lends strength to the messages?

Majola: It does, it does, it really does. When we are out in the community, marching, singing, people who are just observing who aren't in TAC, they come and join us because the songs touch them. They want to be part of it because this is one of the ways of giving the public what they are screaming for. I love singing, but I can't sing, so I love being part of the group. I've been in TAC since the beginning, I've seen different generations of TAC, I've been here since 2000, TAC was formed in 1998. I've known so many people here and most of them have died because of AIDS. The songs helped them, it gave them strength, it gave them hope (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

The emotional healing quality of music is quite apparent in Majola's account of how people coped with their condition prior to public access to ARV treatment. For him, and indeed TAC and the wider Khayelitsha community, songs can be

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[32] GW is the researcher's initials.

thought of as more than calls to action, or the soundtrack to demonstrations or protests, they are coping mechanisms within a context seemingly bereft of solutions, and behind those songs is the implicit support of others. Songs and music can create a sense of equality, if only fleetingly, and group music making can help to create a supportive and empathic environment to give strength to others. Just as Barz (2006) notes the Ugandan women who dance their disease, so too do South African communities sing their sorrows together to cope with the shock and thus express powerful emotions.

As Majola explained to me during our discussion, this use of expressive culture, particularly songs, for education and healing has continued to be an integral part of TAC's community engagement to this day.

> **Majola**: One of the things that we've been doing is when people will come to us hoping to develop and put on a play, or a poem, is to educate them about what they want. Whether they want to talk about HIV education, condoms, or mother to child transmission prevention programmes, or whatever he or she wants to do. So the play or poem has accurate facts. It's the same with song. Many of our comrades, who are coming from the local communities, act as bridges when they return to those communities. A bridge is a term we use to refer to a group of people we use to connect with a given community. Those songs are aimed at either educating the community about HIV, creating awareness about HIV, sharing the pain of losing someone to HIV-related illness (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

Thus music, theatre, choirs, and poetry can become culturally resonant ways to engage meaningfully with local communities. The role of choirs and choral music in particular as vessels for collective expression, according to Okigbo (2011a), was most apparent during South Africa's liberation struggle, in which choral competitions would become platforms for subversive and quiet protest. Indeed, this is in keeping with TAC's various adherences to the well-established methods of mobilisation, motivation, and community support used during the

struggle. But this is not to say that political songs are the only type of music that bears currency in the collective consciousness of black South Africa. While discussing the use of music in HIV/AIDS peer education in South Africa's Venda communities, McNeill (2011) notes that since music's meanings can be understood on many levels, well-established musical repertoires such as hymns or political songs can become bearers of new messages. Boundaries between categories such as church music, folk songs, or liberation songs are ill-defined, and often overlap. McNeill argues that these blurred boundaries between categories are part of what makes the musical medium so potentially powerful, since anyone can lay claim to the multiple potential meanings generated over the numerous categories that struggle, 'traditional', or liberation songs might span (ibid).

The Generics

Though many of TAC's marches involve collective song and dance, the most explicit example of music, particularly choral music, as a form expressing and articulating experience, to borrow Okigbo's (2011a) words, within the organisation can be found in the HIV-positive choir The Generics. Their name is a reference to TAC's struggle to make generic versions of expensive pharmaceuticals, notably ARVs and treatments for opportunistic infections, available to all South Africans. The Generics was formed in 2001 to draw attention to the country's growing health crisis and rose to international prominence in 2007 while collaborating with Annie Lennox on her *Sing* campaign, which will be discussed in chapter six.[33] As is the case with TAC more

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[33] As Okigbo (2011b) suggests, choral music is widespread across South Africa. Indeed, a choir of PWAs singing for hope and change was not totally unique, since one particularly notable example of a similar enterprise had been established years earlier. The *Siphithemba* HIV positive choir from the KwaZulu-Natal province of South Africa had also been gaining international recognition in years leading up to the Generic's collaboration with Annie Lennox. *Siphithemba* was founded as a support group in 1997 at the McCord Mission Hospital in Durban, and 'brought emotional and material support to HIV positive people who has been deserted by friends and relatives' (Okigbo 2011a: 243). The support group, upon realising their collective enjoyment of music and dance, became a choir in 1998. The function of the choir is to form a sense of community and support for those living with HIV and the social stigma that often follows, what Okigbo calls music making as social intercourse and community ethos in performance (ibid).

broadly, the choir drew heavily from songs of the liberation struggle in order to express their own agenda, appropriating specific songs for their cause by altering the lyrics of the originals. There is an interesting parallel to be made between the uses of choirs such as The Generics or *Siphithemba* to console and mobilise action on South Africa's health crisis, and the often-overused choir trope found in many humanitarian audio-visual mass media campaigns.

To examine The Generics' use of emotionally charged socially, religiously, and politically resonant songs, it is useful to analyse a small number of examples from their repertoire. The choir's flagship song, which appears in Annie Lennox's *Sing* music video and is the title track for their 2003 album, is a rendition of the Zulu folk song *Jikelele* (loosely translated to mean globally, of the world, all over, or nationally).

Globally (Original)

I love Jesus

Because He blesses

All the people

Of the world (globally) x4

Nobody's like Jesus

Nobody's like Him

Jikilele (Original)

UJesu ngiyamthanda

Ubusisa abantu

Umhalaba wonke

Jikelele x4

Ofana noJesu

Ofananaye

Figure 3. Transcription of the Zulu hymn *Jikelele* (bars 1-8), Universal Gospel Choir (CD track 1 – Appendix 2) .[34]

The song is originally a Christian prayer to sing of the glory of God around the world, and a blend of African American gospel and Zulu hymn. *Jikelele* follows a call and response pattern throughout, which, by its nature, can involve large numbers of people in the performance. The use of the gospel genre is particularly interesting. Within the particular stylistic inflections that characterise the gospel sound (strong vocal presence, antecedent and consequent structure, lyrics referring to the Christian faith) can be found numerous themes of faith, and performance elements that can stimulate affective intensities, and engender participation and rhythmic entrainment (Hinson 2000). In his ethnography of African American gospel churches, Hinson (2000) notes the songs of praise sung by churchgoers often evoke intense

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[34] This is a transcription of the Universal Gospel Choir's (also known as the African Choir of Soweto) live performance of *Jikelele*, and was performed while on their 2007 Brazilian tour at the Ribalta Events Centre in Rio de Jeneiro (see http://www.ihaveadreamconcert.org/meet-the-choir/).

emotional reactions. The musical events, he describes, elicit various forms of musical participation such as clapping, ecstatic praise, and 'calling loud hosannas' among a sea of congregants equally as overwhelmed by the performance event (ibid: 208). Though The Generic's rendition of *Jikelele* replaces the references to 'Jesus' with 'AZT' (or azidothymidine, an ARV drug) as the object that is blessing people all around the world with life, except in South Africa, the associated meanings of spirituality, healing, and faith are implied through the music and potentially transferred to TAC, since many South Africans will be aware of the folk song's original meanings.

The Generics - Globally

We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV, all over

(All over, all over, all over)

We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV, all over

(All over, all over, all over)

We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV, all over

(All over, all over, all over)

The Generics - Jikelele

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV, jikelele

(Jikelele Jikelele Jikelele)

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV, ikelele

(Jikelele Jikelele Jikelele)

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV, ikelele

(Jikelele Jikelele Jikelele)

By comparing figures three and four, it is clear that The Generics make no notable alterations to harmonic properties of the original song. The descending call and response style is retained between the two tracks but with minor alterations to the rhythm of the choir's response. There are further alterations in the melodic contour of the main vocal line, in which The Generics singer largely mirrors the stepwise movement of the original in the opening bar. By bar

two, however, the melody replicates that of the original *Jikelele*. Rhythmically, the two melodies are largely indistinguishable from one another. Further, the two versions of the song are very similar in terms of timbre and texture, given that they are both arranged for solo vocals with choir accompaniment. The main difference between the two tracks can be found in the revision of the

Figure 4. Transcription *Jikelele* (bars 1-8), The Generics (CD track 4 – Appendix 2)

original lyrics. As was noted earlier in this chapter while interviewing TAC's Regional Coordinator in Khayelitsha, the meaning of the songs is not necessarily understood entirely in terms of its lyrics. Beats, rhythms, harmonies, and melodies all contribute to the evocative nature of music and by altering one of those elements, new meanings may emerge. By invoking the name of Jesus, the AIDS activists employ shock tactics in an effort to make their voices more audible and encourage people to listen to their message. McNeill (2011) notes a similar venture by Venda HIV/AIDS peer educators as they elicited mostly shocked and outraged responses from local community members by replacing references to Jesus with condoms in the 'well known Lutheran hymn "Jesus,

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Jesus, Jesus is number one! No matter what the people say, but Jesus is number one"' (ibid: 159). By likening AZT to Jesus Christ (and by extension God), they are actually imbuing AZT with the some of the emotions and meanings normally associated with South African spiritual life. These messages of hope and faith are particularly important since, as Okigbo notes, the HIV/AIDS crisis has 'created an unprecedented form of depression especially in South Africa's black community, comparable only to that experienced under apartheid' (2011a: 295).

The track opens with the spoken words:

> *This is a call for the national implementation of a mother-to-child transmission prevention program in all the maternity hospitals of South Africa. The song is iAZT siyayazi Jikelele.*

The Generics' version of *Jikelele* states its purpose over and above everything else. The use of such plain and unmediated words makes clear the urgency of the song's message. The song itself makes reference to global (*jikelele)* action against HIV/AIDS, since at the time, the South African struggle for ARV rollout was indeed a global affair due to TAC's international network of AIDS advocates and human-rights activists, and the international pharmaceutical companies that were attempting to prevent inexpensive generic versions of expensive AIDS medication from being distributed in South Africa. Thus it is a fitting title song for their album and their cause. By making few musical alterations to the original song, The Generics were able to tap into the meanings, memories, and emotional potential that are locked within those sounds. These latent emotional resonances become all the more powerful given the collective cultural history of songs within South Africa's struggle for human rights.

A further instance of The Generics appropriating well-known and emotionally resonant songs can be found in their rendition of *Senzenina.* Perhaps one of the best recognised of South Africa's struggle songs, *Senzenina* has been compared

to the American civil rights song *We Shall Overcome* for its lamenting yet stoic timbre (Michie and Gamede 2013).

What have we done? (Original)

What have we done?

Our sin is that we are black?

Our sin is the truth?

They are killing us, let Africa return

Senzenina? (Original)

Senzeni na?

Sono sethu, ubumnyama?

Sono sethu yinyaniso?

Sibulawayo. mayibuye iAfrica

Figure 5. Transcription of *Senzenina* (bars 1-8), Cape Town Youth Choir (CD track 2 – Appendix 2).

The single questioning lyrical motif that runs throughout *Senzenina* is powerful in its simplicity and uncompromising in its tenacity. It questions what black South Africans ever did to deserve such treatment and dehumanisation at the hands of the apartheid state (Lee 2010). The main vocal line laments 'what have we done?' before the rhetorical question is repeated twice by the choir's response. The power of this motif is that, despite being phrased as a question, it creates a syllogism that illustrates the absurdity of punishing or brutalising people based on nothing more than their ethnicity or race (Nkoala 2013). *Senzenina* represents a potent example of a non-militant song, both in content and tune that still manages to evoke and represent the anger, frustrations, and need for change at the moral injustices carried out by the apartheid government (ibid). The track does not openly reference the armed struggle, unlike songs composed from the 1970s and 1980s (when the armed struggle became more aggressive).

As mentioned earlier, the links between early struggle songs and church hymns make it difficult to separate faith and religion from the rhetoric of the liberation struggle. Thus parallel emotional affordances can be found both in gospel hymns and liberation songs on the one hand, and the revised renditions that are applied to the AIDS crisis. The emotional potency of such songs, coupled with the energy created through group performance, is then redistributed into the context of HIV and AIDS. With particular reference to *Senzenina*, Cherry notes that it 'is sad and slow, sung with pathos and humility rather than anger' (2015: 228). The sombre and reverent sound of older struggle songs such as *Senzenina* is related to their appropriation of melodies and harmonies from earlier Christian hymns (ibid). The pathos and sadness expressed in *Senzenina* is particularly fitting for re-appropriation by TAC and The Generics, not only insofar as it was an appeal to the government to implement a treatment plan and uphold every South African's constitutional right to healthcare, but also due to the grief of the uncertain and harrowing experience of living with HIV in a time when AIDS killed. Comparing the lyrics of the two songs illustrates that The

Generics' use of *Senzenina* sought to capitalise on the emotive power of the original.

The Generics - What did we do?

What did we do to you? (What did we do?)

What did we do to you Thabo Mbeki? (Thabo Mbeki)

We want AZT (AZT)

We want Biozole. (Biozole)

We want Nevirapine from you Thabo Mbeki (Thabo Mbeki)

What is our debt?

What is our sin?

Is it AIDS?

Please speak to Pfizer, speak to Glaxo

Talk to BMS to reduce prices,

What did we do to you Thabo Mbeki?

The Generics - Ingaba Senzeni Na?

Ingaba senzeni na? (Senzeni na?)

Ingaba senzeni na kuwe Thabo Mbeki? (Thabo Mbeki)

Sifuna AZT (iAZT)

Sifuna Biozole (iBiozole)

Sifuna Nevirapine kuwe Thabo Mbeki (Thabo Mbeki)

Yintoni ityala ethu'?

Yintoni isono sethu'?

Yintoni uGawulayo?

Nceda uthethe no Glaxo

uthethe no BMS athobe amaxabiso

Ingaba senzeni na kuwe Thabo Mbeki?

Figure 6. Transcription of *Ingaba Senzeni Na* (bars 1-8), The Generics (CD track 5 – Appendix 2).

Throughout The Generics version of the song, there are multiple allusions to the original *Senzenina*. The single main vocal call and double response from the choir are alluded to, though the harmonic structure is reimagined from ii-I-V-I into a I-ii-V-I harmonic progression readily found in choral music. The Generics ask 'what did we do to you Thabo Mbeki?' addressing the main refrain of the song 'what have we done?' directly to the then president of South Africa and the ANC. Indeed, in the opening few seconds of the track a female voice can be heard saying:

> This one is a special dedication to our president Thabo Mbeki. We are singing this song pledging solidarity with people living with HIV and AIDS, asking government to come up with a treatment plan for people living with HIV and AIDS: *Ingaba Senzeni Na*.

The references to *Senzenina* are very clear, and indeed, by naming Mbeki directly, the Generics employ a method of focusing collective attention on a

single person, utilised in much liberation music. Songs such as Vuyisile Mini's *Ndodemnyama* (Watch Out) have famously been used to openly engage politicians since the early days of the apartheid regime. Indeed, the vast majority of South Africa's struggle music makes some reference to, either apartheid politicians or venerated leaders of the liberation movement. Across the African continent, oral traditions such as poetry and story-telling are often accompanied by humming from the audience members, creating an inclusive performance (Okpewho 1992). This can be found in The Generics' version of *Senzenina*. Humming during story-telling allows for politically oriented monologues to be spoken over an emotive sonic backdrop (Nkoala 2013) and the same technique is applied by The Generics. The backing vocals gently hum their response melodies as the main vocal line implores 'Please talk to Pfizer, speak to Glaxo. Talk to BMS to reduce prices.' The songs dynamics shift back to the resounding volume of the introduction as the choir challenges for the last time 'what have we done to you, Thabo Mbeki?' However, *Ingaba Senzeni Na* deviates from the original *Senzenina* in a number of ways. The main vocal line, though often imitating the contour of the original is more embellished and often blends with the choir response in unison or to create harmony. This can be accounted for due to the use of the Xhosa language over the original Zulu, in which the phrase 'senzenina?' becomes 'ingaba senzeni na?', but the addition of the extra syllables gives the main melodic line more of descant rather than antecedent quality. Nevertheless, the uncompromising backing vocal question 'what have we done?' coupled with an impassioned and emotive vocal performance from The Generics is more than enough to make reference to the struggle song perhaps most recognisable for its lament of the suffering wrought by apartheid.

There is a great deal of irony in The Generics posing this question to Mbeki and his government. *Senzenina*'s refrain was originally directed, as with most liberation music, toward the Afrikaner National Party, the architects and enforcers of apartheid. In this instance, however, the inference is that Mbeki, and by extension the ANC, had become the very thing they fought so bitterly to

overthrow and regain their rights. Indeed, The Generics ask 'what is our sin? Is it AIDS?' alluding to the lines of the original that mourn 'our sin is that we are black?'. TAC is overtly equating their own struggle for life and health with the previous struggle for liberation. In doing so the group very clearly places the Mbeki government squarely in the role of the oppressor. In each case, new lyrics carry the messages that call for HIV/AIDS treatments to be made available. As a result, the songs become increasingly layered with meaning. The sense of urgency and militancy in some of the songs is juxtaposed with themes of consolation in the face of the crisis, much like the original struggle songs. A good example of this is The Generics' version of *Thula Sizwe* (Consoling the Nation), a liberation song that represents solace while simultaneously expressing themes of battle and conquest.

Be Still Nation
Be still, country, do not cry,
Jehovah will conquer for you.
Freedom, we will find/get it.

Thula Sizwe
Thula sizwe, ungabokhala,
uJehova wakho uzokunqobela.
Inkululeko, sizoyithola.

Thula Sizwe, perhaps most of all the songs discussed in this chapter, constitutes the most overt reference to the Christian faith. The song is a hymn that implores the nation to grieve for their fallen friends and family by assuring them that a stronger and higher power, in this case God (*uJehova*), is working towards freedom. Like *Senzenina*, *Thula Sizwe* is sung with sadness, but within the solemnity is a sense of resolve and consolation. The main lyrical themes of the song are support and encouragement at the loss of personal freedoms (Kritzinger 2013). The only alterations made by The Generics to *Thula Sizwe* are

the replacement of God, with TAC (shown in parentheses in figure seven), and the inclusion of HIV/AIDS as the scourge to be conquered.

The Generics - Consoling the Nation

Be consoled, Nation

Don't cry

Our TAC is going to conquer for us.

In HIV/AIDS our TAC will conquer for us.

The Generics - Thula sizwe

Thula sizwe,

Ungabokhala,

uTAC e wethu uzokunqobela.

e HIV/AIDS uTAC wakho uzokunqobela.

Figure 7. Transcription of *Thula Sizwe* (bars 1-8) with The Generics lyrics in parentheses (CD tracks 3 and 6 – Appendix 2).

Similarly to *Jikelele*, The Generics replace the original reference to God with TAC, further implying that TAC is the higher power that will conquer the scourge of AIDS in South Africa. Since the original song was used as encouragement, The Generic's replacement of God with TAC is not as boastful as it may perhaps on first impression seem. TAC's power comes from its members, those whom it is able to mobilise toward collective action, and thus the reference to TAC is not simply an allusion to the organisation, but rather to the people as a whole who comprise it. Other than the new lyrics, the two songs are indistinguishable from one another in harmony, melody, and arrangement.

By appropriating songs from the struggle into a choral group situation, by its very nature an interactive one (Okigbo 2011a), The Generics are able to take advantage of the multiple layers of meanings within the songs to sing for themselves, in the form of collective healing, and others, in the form of articulating TAC's demands within the expressive rhetoric of the liberation struggle, human rights, and divine intervention. Barz (2006) makes similar observations in his examinations of rural Ugandan social expressions of living with HIV/AIDS. In Uganda, community groups for women living with HIV are not out of the ordinary, and further that utilising performance (music, dance, drama) to communicate information and emotions on reproductive health and female sexuality is fairly common (ibid). He notes one particular instance in which he witnessed a group of HIV-positive women begin repetitive drumming patterns, while others in the group began 'dancing their disease' (78). An informant explains to a somewhat bewildered Barz that the women come to the community events 'for help, for community, and to dance' (Ibid). Implicit within this statement is the suggestion that these events provide some form of relief for the participants, and thus a form of healing or coping through music and dance.

For Majola, singing songs from the past can help to reinforce connections between the history of those songs, those who sang them, and the struggles they faced. Thus songs can be used to share the burden of suffering felt by

individuals by placing those worries on the metaphorical shoulders of the collective. Just as songs such as the solemn *Hamba Kahle Mkhonto* (Go well, Comrade) and the haunting *Senzenina* (What have we done?) were often sang at funerals to console those who had lost loved ones and comrades to the struggle, those same songs were later used again by everyday South Africans for very similar purposes. By repurposing struggle songs TAC and The Generics could not only sing familiar and comforting melodies and phrases to soothe the pain brought by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, but also they could further tap into the reservoirs of dormant emotional potential contained within them. Large numbers of people could be unified behind the rallying cries or mournful laments of songs that strengthen group identity, such as hymns, folk music, or struggle songs (Gray 2004). These songs encourage those who sing them that together people are strong.

Singing for Justice: TAC and the Khayelitsha Courthouse Protest

Hundreds of soles move across the sun-bleached mosaics and brickwork that make up the square, trampling the weeds that have sprouted from between their cracks and once reached ambitiously towards the sky. An imposing redbrick building emblazoned with the South African national crest looks out over the commotion with all the expected indifference of those who would have occupied the building some 50 years ago. I am in Khayelitsha, Cape Town's largest Township with a population just shy of 400,000 people (City of Cape Town Census 2011). It is one of the worst affected areas in the Western Cape with a staggering 27% of the adult population infected with HIV (www.baphumelele.org.za/home/information). It is mid-winter, but the sun is uninterrupted by clouds as I attend a demonstration outside the Magistrates' Court, in which the local community has joined with TAC to protest the alleged rape of two women in their community by Pastor Themba Dumisani Mathibela. At the time of writing this thesis the case is ongoing, but the number of charges against him stands at seven counts of rape, including members of his congregation. This is an archetypal rape case in Khayelitsha specifically, and South Africa more generally, as an influential male figure has allegedly taken

advantage of his position in the local social hierarchy to abuse women. It has already been noted in this thesis that gender inequality and sexual violence are significant symptoms of structural violence that are driving increasing numbers of new HIV infections in South Africa. As a result, the local community enlisted the help of TAC to draw attention to the matter.

I am driven from the TAC regional office to the courthouse by two TAC volunteers, so as not to travel alone. Khayelitsha's Remembrance Square bustles with activity as we arrive outside the Magistrate's court. I can hear the singing and raised voices over megaphones before I can see the clamour of activity. As our car pulls up across the road from the protest, I scan the surroundings: banners, homemade placards with messages such as 'NO MORE RAPE' and newspapers with Mathibela's face on the front page, women with ANC t-shirts brandishing the grinning face of Jacob Zuma, children so young as barely able to walk for themselves, seemingly oblivious to the commotion, and of course, the famous H.I.V POSITIVE slogan. The sounds of the demonstration echo for what seems like miles in the crisp, clear winter air, and by the early afternoon the once bright and colourful mosaics of Khayelitsha's Remembrance Square are covered, the square filled with bodies and resolve. Despite the bitter June breeze that sweeps across the vast cape flats, the protesters are very animated and vociferous: jumping and dancing around the various stone benches that are now dressed in graffiti.

Towards the beginning of my time there, I choose to observe from the edges of Remembrance Square before I make my way through the crowd. A group of men lined the short wall that snakes its way between the courthouse and the adjacent empty swimming pool, casually observing the proceedings before them. This would become something of a theme in my observations as participation in HIV/AIDS-related issues seemed to be, in part, influenced by conceptions of gender. An empty space on the wall becomes my perch for the moment. A few minutes into my observations, as I lean against the wall to soak in the atmosphere of the protest and muster the resolve to talk to some of the

participants (my natural introversion puts my comfort zone firmly at the observation end of the participant observation method), I hear the various shouts, whistles, claps, and intermittent *toyi-toyis* gradually replaced by an ever growing single melody. The unmistakable tune of *Shona Malanga*, literally translated to 'shorten the days' (until we meet again), a struggle song that covertly acknowledges the large numbers of youths who had left South Africa to train as guerillas in the 1970s (Schumann 2008).[35] The lyric are as follows:

Shona, Shona malanga shona (x2)

De ba na, de ba na, de ba na

Shona, Shona malanga shona (x2)

De ba na, de ba na, de ba na

Oh oh oh, oh oh oh (x4)

Shona, Shona malanga shona (x2)

De ba na, de ba na, de ba na

Shona, Shona malanga shona (x2)

De ba na, de ba na, de ba na

I yo I yo oh

Ay yi yi ya

Oh oh a lu ta continuar (x4)

As more protesters join the chorus of *Shona Malanga* they orient themselves towards one another and begin moving and clapping to a similar beat, smiling and dancing as they do so. Soon almost everyone at the protest is consumed by this rendition of the old struggle song, and in true liberation music fashion, despite the overwhelming majority of people getting involved, very few of them could have known where the musicking experience began. Throughout the song

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[35] *Shona Malanga* marks a period of transition in South Africa's freedom songs insofar as it reflects a change in attitude from peaceful resistance to armed struggle and civil disobedience. The metaphor of leaving to meet again became synonymous with guerrilla training. In the following years, the rhetoric used in the songs would become more overt, with songs such as *Sobashiya Abazale*, which openly references young people leaving South Africa, and their parents, to join militant groups in neighbouring countries (Hirsch 2002).

the number of whistles and ululations from the protesters significantly increases with the intensity of the collective experience.

One of the first things that struck me about this large gathering of people was that everyone participating seemed to be happy. Indeed, the more people became involved in the rendition of *Shona Malanga*, the more animated and excited they seemed to be. I believe that this is not incidental, but rather the point. Earlier, in the discussion of *We Are the World*, in chapter one, I noted that Kooijman (2008) criticised USA for Africa's use of music that appeared to create a pleasant atmosphere around the issue of human suffering. In the case of this particular protest, we are presented with another, more potent instance in which people are singing and enjoying the activity of musicking, while fighting the injustices of sexual assault and human suffering of HIV/AIDS with which sexual violence is fundamentally linked. Indeed, as Nelson Mandela once noted, the 'curious beauty of African music is that it uplifts even as it tells a sad tale' (Nelson Mandela cited in Michie and Gamede 2013). Negativity and anger are of course present, which will be discussed later, but the overwhelming emotional expression from the protesters is one of unity. I watch as they come together as one, regardless of age or gender, to rally against sexual violence in their community through songs that were historically used as expressions of hope and strength for those who sang them. The group is thus energised by the rendition of *Shona Malanga* as a collective. One particular protester later argued that songs are one of the ways that people express their anger, but they do so together, as comrades, collectively.

After a several repetitions of the song's main lyrics, the final melodies were being sung only by a few stragglers who were unwilling to follow suit as the chorus began to fade. At this point, perhaps due to being caught up in the emotive experience of the impromptu *Shona Malanga* performance myself, I decided to try to speak with some of the protesters. I made my way into the crowd and eventually began speaking to a woman called Lindiwe (Lindi for short). This was our conversation:

GW: Hearing you all sing just now was amazing, how did that happen?

Lindi: Thank you! Well, some people just start singing an old song like that and everyone just joins in because we know it. It's infectious I guess.

GW: How did you feel when you were singing? What impact do you think it has?

Lindi: We have an important message and singing is our way of expressing our frustration when nothing happens to these rapists. Many of us are angry at not feeling safe in our own community, but who is listening? So it feels good to be taking matters into our own hands and being outside the court singing so that everyone can hear us, that the government can hear us. It's not just him [the pastor]. He's in there and can hear us but it's a much bigger problem than that, so we have to really shout about it.

GW: Why do you think these old songs are still sung like this, so long after 1994?

Lindi: It's like a bridge, you know, between us and the past. We are still fighting because the struggle didn't end in 1994. The struggle continues, and that's why we are here. This pastor is part of the problem in this country and we are here showing him that we won't stand for it. The struggle continues for as long as there is crime, poverty, and rape, and we'll keep singing.

GW: Do you think the songs help motivate people?

Lindi: Of course! We could be here shouting for change but it's not the same without them [the songs]. When we sing, the songs are motivating us and that gives energy to the protest. People have been here for a long time and are still going. It didn't have to be *Shona Malanga*, it could be anything, we've been singing old and new songs all morning.

(*Interview with Lindi, Khayelitsha Magistrates' Court Protest – June 2014*)

I found it interesting that Lindi made more than one reference to 'shouting'. Barz (2006) notes that the 'shout' can be thought of as a metaphor that expresses the potential for social and behavioural change, and invokes the idea of defiance, further suggesting its appropriateness as a symbol in opposition to the silence surrounding HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa. In this sense then, we can understand Lindi's desire to shout about the problems of sexual violence that largely go unresolved or unpunished in Khayelitsha. During my conversation with Lindi, protesters were continuing to move around us in the square and the energy of the effervescent assembly was still high. A small group of no more than 10 people to my left had begun to chant rhythmically and jump up and down on the spot. Our conversation was accompanied by a small but animated *toyi-toyi*. I decided to continue chatting with Lindi rather than with the dancers, but the use of the dance is significant in itself. For Lindi singing was a way of voicing her and the community's frustration through songs that have political and emotional currency. However, this was not the only opinion I would hear. Others at the demonstration felt that song, like the *toyi-toyi* during the apartheid-era marches, could be used to intimidate. I made my way back through the crowd towards the graffiti clad wall I had leant on earlier to find the same group of men, who appeared not to have participated yet. I chose to try my luck at hearing another perspective of the demonstration. The following is an excerpt of a conversation I had with one of the men, who wished to remain anonymous, but for the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to as Mpilo.

> **GW**: What are you protesting for?

> **Mpilo**: We are protesting about the rape of two women from our community.

> **GW**: Why is this case important?

> **Mpilo**: It's important because he was a trusted member of the community and he abused that trust.

GW: Okay, and what do you hope to achieve?

Mpilo: We want justice. He should pay for his crimes and we are making sure he knows it!

GW: How long will you keep protesting?

Mpilo: We will be here every day this case is in court because we want him to hear us.

GW: How are you making yourself heard?

Mpilo: We are singing; they can hear us from our songs. We've been here for days; they know we are out here and that we are angry.

GW: Who are 'they'?

Mpilo: Them, the Pastor, government, the lawyers, the police, anyone who knows what is happening in our community and does nothing. We are singing to warn people that we won't let them get way with this.

GW: What songs are you singing?

Mpilo: We have made some of them for this case. We call the Pastor out by name so everyone will know him, and what he is. We want him to go to jail.

GW: Are they all original songs or are there any well-known ones?

Mpilo: We have a few old struggle songs that we sing as well.
(*Interview with Mpilo, Khayelitsha Magistrates' Court Protest – June 2014*)

There was a marked difference in the willingness to discuss the issue between Lindi, and Mpilo, but this distinction between men and women on the subject of HIV/AIDS or related subjects was common in my exchanges with participants

throughout my time in South Africa. There was further contrast in the rhetoric used by each of them. Whereas Lindi's concern was with justice, Mpilo's appeared to lean more towards retribution. By creating songs that call the pastor out by name for his alleged crimes, the protest would take on a far more accusatory tone, and illustrates that these songs can be multifaceted and used in different ways, depending on the desired outcome. For Mpilo at least, the songs were expressing anger and being used in a similar fashion to *toyi-toyi* to scare the pastor. This may also account for the use of protest songs and dances that represent a part of South Africa's struggle history that is more focused on armed struggle, rather than those earlier songs that were largely based on hymns (Denis-Constant Martin 2013).

The fact that the protestors had created new songs to call out the pastor by name as well as drawing from older liberation music illustrates the importance of song in directing large groups of people towards a specific goal, and in this case a target. Some participants of the protest sang directly at Pastor Mathibela, while others sang songs to bring the community together and energise the demonstration. The songs funneled the community's anger towards the pastor, and towards the goal of having both him and anyone else considering attacking members of their community, know that they will not stand for it. While I watched the event unfold, the creation of an effervescent assembly was clear. As *Shona Malanga* rang through the crowd, people were drawn into its call-and-response structure and implied pulse, drawn into shared space and time, and moving to the same beat. My observation of the numerous mini and ad hoc choirs or *toyi-toyi*-ers assured me that this was only one instance of many in which songs spontaneously erupted from the group in a surge of expressive emotional energy.

As I cast my mind back to the demonstration, there is something poetic in the scene that is unfolding before me. A community entrained in collective music making and *communitas* through songs that were originally sung to create solidarity and kinship in the face of apartheid's divisions and eventually

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overthrow it. The greying, weed-filled mosaics of Khayelitsha's Remembrance Square stands as a poignant metaphor for what has become of South Africa's sense of rainbow optimism that swept across the country the mid-1990s. But, indeed so too are those feet belonging to the protestors who, while *toyi-toying* and marching to the sound of those old struggle songs, trample the encroaching weeds from two decades of little effective action on South Africa's social and health concerns.

Conclusion

By focusing on TAC's continued struggle for effective HIV/AIDS treatment for all South Africans, and their use of methods reminiscent of those employed during the liberation struggle, this chapter has offered a stepping stone between South Africa's recent history, the theoretical issues discussed in earlier chapters, and the campaigns presented later in this thesis by analysing a real world example of these practices in action in an historically significant social movement. It is important to understand the history of TAC and the context in which it developed to understand the motivations of its members and South African civil society more generally. TAC drew heavily from human rights-based methods and rhetoric in order to achieve mobilisation and collective action towards ARV rollout. But to reduce the group to a social movement concerned only with access to AIDS medication 'underestimates the movement's work at the level of body, subjectivity and identity' (Robins 2008: 140). TAC facilitates the process of meaning making and cultivation of human dignity for those facing social exclusion, dehumanisation, and the prospect of bodily degradation and death, and this is often achieved though the performing arts (ibid). By understanding how TAC has used, and continues to use, the performing arts and liberation songs to engender mass action, this chapter helps to situate the following discussions within a broader socio-economic and political context of collective musical action in South Africa.

TAC serves as an important example of how songs and music can and have been used to build a powerful social movement. The combination of the methods

used within the country's liberation struggle, savvy social marketing techniques, and the emotive power of the struggle songs that TAC appropriated to its cause create a potent blend of emotionally resonant and engaging activism that has characterised TAC's history. The capacity of those symbols, songs, dances, and rhetoric in creating a temporarily interconnected community of bodies is paramount to the kind of mass mobilisation TAC was able to create. According to Atran (2004), cultivating kinship is an important step in building and releasing the surging emotions that characterise collective effervescence. Indeed, the ideals of social change present within South Africa's liberation songs helped to create a movement built upon and fueled by creative effervescence: the belief that ideals can be realised.

The music and songs that are present at TAC's rallies or demonstrations have many overlapping purposes and meanings. This is not unusual of South African music in general and struggle songs in particular (Allen 2003). In *Amandla: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony* (2002), former MK fighters note the duality between solidarity and mourning on the one hand and resolve on the other that was expressed through song. They recall that:

> Even when we were dying, the feeling was that when people have died, if you mourn them for too long it demoralises your spirit. So as a result, even when we used to go and bury some of our comrades who had been ambushed on the way, we never used to cry, we used to sing (cited in Hirsch 2002).

As was the case in the liberation struggle, within TAC and its own battle for the recognition of poor South African's human rights, music as an expression of grief would often lead to resolve and mobilisation. Simultaneously, mobilising against injustice would indeed become therapeutic. What is fundamental to this process is music's social nature and the interconnection of individuals that can result from group music making. Majola touched upon this in our interview when he stated:

I've been in TAC for a long time and in that time so many comrades have come and gone. Back then when we lost a comrade, or they got too sick to keep fighting, we leant on each other for support. We sang for the loss, but we also sang for strength (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

TACs unique brand of emotionally resonant songs, struggle heritage, marketing, and broad community mobilisation undeniably contributed to the success of the movement by gathering support and creating an outlet for the frustrations of a generation weary from decades of struggle.

Chapter 5. Lucky in Love? Musical Theatre in HIV/AIDS Communication

Raucous laughter echoes through the dimly lit restaurant area. Each table sits, unaltered and pristinely presented for guests who probably will not arrive, at least not tonight. It is mid-winter in Ficksburg, a small border town between South Africa and Lesotho, and I am sitting with the Educational Theatre Company on our first evening of our tour of the Free State province. Huddling around a small table, we are laughing at Percy's dejected expression: part humorously over-emphasising the emotion and part genuine disappointment at the bowl of chunky salsa-like soup placed in front of him, which on the menu was referred to as 'nachos'. The theatre group, the Directors of the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management, and I are the only patrons in a local guesthouse and the -10 degree temperature and clear cloudless skies of the evening suggest that it is likely to remain that way.

'There you go, Gavin.' A fresh drink is placed in front of me. I smile and thank Ricardo, the group's lead actor, before taking a sip and continuing our chat about work, relationships, music, and whatever else came to the fore. Sitting in the empty guesthouse restaurant, a log fire crackling in the corner under the sounds of Johnny Cash, the animated group's conversation never stays on one subject for long. The two barmen busy themselves with the everyday tasks of taking stock of the bottles in the fridges and cleaning glasses, as the kitchen staff bring out food and remove empty plates. The background music fades as Johnny Cash is replaced by a repeated drum rhythm, mostly on the toms and hi-hat increasing in volume with every beat. As the track fully fades in, the drum kit rhythm is accompanied by trombone glissandi and step-wise melodies. With the rasp of the syncopated trumpet staccatos that begin punctuating a flowing saxophone melody, the song reaches its main hook and the unmistakable sound of 1950s American swing. Florance, the group's administrator, who had been relatively quiet until this point, looks up from his glass with wide eyes, turns to his colleague sitting to his right and with an outstretched beckoning hand, exclaims 'Olivia, let's jive!'. All the table's conversations halt, as Olivia looks Florance up and down for a moment before smiling broadly and gracefully accepting his offered hand. The two shuffle and step in time to the walking bass pattern towards the bar area,

away from the chairs and tables, and begin swinging their hips and twisting their feet to the music. The pair do not take their eyes off each other as they appear to take on the persona of two 1950's dancers, hands spread out in front of them and tapping their feet with precision to the swung beats.

As the call and response pattern between the saxophone and trumpet section crescendos towards the song's finale over the comping piano, bass, and brass section, Florance and Olivia's dancing follows suit. Their movements become more animated as Olivia twirls on the spot while Florance freestyles for a moment. By this time, the two barmen have stopped attending to their duties behind the bar and usher the kitchen staff to come and watch the unfolding performance. The staff, the theatre group and I all laugh and clap along to the completely unexpected turn of events with huge smiles. Two middle-aged women from the kitchen staff begin stepping and dancing to the 1950s grooves as one of the barmen takes out his phone to photograph his colleagues. The atmosphere of the sleepy restaurant is completely transformed. As the final trumpet rasps of the swing track sound the end of the song, the two dancers from the theatre group strike impressive poses, with Florance sitting cross-legged on a chair and Olivia draped over the back of it. The applause echoed in the otherwise empty restaurant as we congratulated the two on their performance. The next track had already begun by this point, but the two dancers graciously decline the requests from the staff to continue and come back to join our table, beads of sweat appearing across their brows. A fresh round of drinks appears at the table from the now thoroughly entertained guesthouse employees, and our conversations continue as normal.

The spectacle reminds me of the powerful effects music can have on people. I am almost entirely certain that, up until hearing the sounds of the swing music, Florance and Olivia had no intention of becoming the centre of attention as they did. Of course, there were other factors that facilitated the display: the relatively empty bar area of the restaurant and one or two glasses of beer, but the key motivator for such an overt display of embodied sound was the swing music. How can music motivate such intense bodily movements, yet simultaneously seem so natural as to not raise any questions concerning why, even for those who utilise music's mobilising and motivating potential to their advantage almost every day?

Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the role of music in cultivating affective atmospheres and heightened emotional states within educational theatre performance. As is illustrated above, this chapter suggests that music is able to motivate powerful and unexpected bodily responses in even the most regular of situations, but is particularly powerful when experienced with others. Across the African continent, various forms of media have been explored to communicate health information. However, from drama outreach programmes, radio dramas, television soap operas, podcasts and more, edutainment has become a front line method of communication for health information on numerous public health issues including HIV/AIDS, malaria, Ebola, and family planning. As was briefly touched upon in chapter one, television drama has become a staple method of communicating information on HIV/AIDS in South Africa with the latest census estimating that around half of South Africans gained much of their current knowledge on the subject from edutainment soap operas (HSRC 2014). However, the same census also showed that there is still much work to be done if South Africa is to radically reduce the number of new HIV infections per year.

From late 2013 until mid-2014, I accompanied The Educational Theatre Company, which works directly out of the Africa Centre for HIV/AIDS Management, on a number of performance interventions throughout several of South Africa's provinces including the Western Cape, Free State, and Mpumalanga. The focus of my attention was their flagship HIV/AIDS edutainment community outreach programme 'Lucky, the Hero!', an hour long mini musical theatre production designed to educate South Africans on AIDS-related biomedical and social issues, and encourage them to know their HIV status. The theatre group is comprised of peer educator actors who are responsible both for the performances of the 'Lucky, the Hero!' productions, among other social awareness interventions, as well as testing and counselling services provided as part of each intervention.

Through an analysis of 'Lucky, the Hero!', I suggest that affective environments created throughout the show and interpersonal contact between both the actors and audience members, and among the audience themselves, are able to engender large and sudden emotional surges through the use of well-recognised global pop music, particularly during the show's finale. This presents a different application of effervescence than that used by TAC discussed in chapter four. Whereas TAC's methods were rooted in the specific historical and cultural memories of the music and rhetoric used, the ETC rely more heavily on community engagement through entrainment through pulse, familiarity of global pop, and participation to achieve similar results of energetic and emotionally charged environments. This chapter discusses the role of a number of what I term 'persuasive threads', that is subtle performance devices through various media – sound, interpersonal, visual, etc. – that weave together throughout the performance to help create emotional potential energy.

Due to limitations outlined earlier in this thesis concerning the time restraints of each intervention, this chapter does not present biographical accounts of participants. Though I acknowledge that this omits an important humanising and contextualising element from this case study, my analysis instead draws primarily from observations of fifteen 'Lucky, the Hero!' performances. As a result, I hope to have achieved some level of rigour in representing what I witnessed as a researcher. I focus specifically on audience responses throughout the shows and immediately following them, as well as qualitative observations of the numbers of participants who take an HIV test at each intervention.

Though much has been written about crowd psychology and collective behaviour in large group gatherings (O'Connell and Cutherbertson 2015), as well as applied theatre as social or health intervention (Prentki and Preston 2013; Prendergast and Saxton 2009; Nicholson 2014), there has been little attention focused on the significant roles played by music in creating and maintaining the heightened emotional states involved, even when the focus of

the research is musical gatherings such as festivals, raves, musical theatre, or indeed some religious ceremonies.[36]

I begin with the assumption that theatre is able to influence behaviour since much research has alluded to this phenomenon. The earliest example of this can be found in the work of German playwright Berthold Brecht in the early twentieth century, who argued that the cathartic nature of theatre should be strong enough to motivate people to reflect upon themselves in a phenomenon he referred to as 'epic theatre' (Styan 1981). Perhaps the most notable work to develop this approach to theatrical performance is Augusto Boal's *Theatre of The Oppressed* (1974) in which he argues for the invisible wall between actors and audiences to be torn down in order to be replaced by what he terms 'spectactors'. The inclusion of audience members into the narrative of the play was arguably the first serious discussion of participatory theatre as a medium for social change, in a type of performance that Boal called 'forum theatre' (ibid). Boal's conceptualisation of theatre for social change was heavily influenced by the work of Paulo Freire, most notably his pioneering work on education in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970). More recently Prentki (2012, 2015) has discussed the inclusion of specific character tropes from western presentational theatre into applied theatre, most notably the role of the fool in undermining power structures. Further, Somers' (2011) work has begun to discuss more theoretically nuanced approaches to applied theatre in small community settings. Despite the wealth of scholarship on applied theatre, there is little mention of the almost ubiquitous musical numbers within the shows. This chapter therefore studies the placement of music within the creation and maintenance of effervescent assemblies within 'Lucky, the Hero!'.

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[36] Even when discussing musical events such as outdoor music festivals, much research overlook the importance of the music itself in influencing crowd behaviour and instead focuses on intoxication, overcrowding, or 'festiveness'. For example see Earl et al (2004). Further, see Getz (2010) for a comprehensive literature review of festival studies and the discipline's theoretical focus in which the vast majority of musical input is overlooked.

'Lucky, the Hero!'

'Lucky, the Hero!' was written by television presenter and script writer Vicky
Davis, and arranged and directed by the current Director of Musical Theatre at
the Africa Centre and renowned stage actor Professor Jimmie Earl Perry. The
production is roughly one hour long and consists of seven short scenes
punctuated by narration and musical interludes. The Africa Centre has a close
working relationship with the HIV/AIDS testing and counselling non-profit
organisation, @Heart, which accompanies the theatre group on their
interventions to provide on-site rapid HIV testing facilities. Testing is of course
voluntary, but participants can know their status within a few minutes of the
show if they choose to do so.

Though 'Lucky, the Hero!' was created and developed from theatrical styles of
western presentational theatre, the show incorporates numerous instances of
audience participation throughout, in the sense that the 'fourth wall',[37] that is
the invisible wall between actors and audience that Boal hoped to eradicate, is
frequently broken, but not to the extent that it becomes a form of forum
theatre. The finale in particular, encourages the audience to get involved and as
such, the show should ultimately be considered a form of participatory theatre.
As Turino (2008) explains, the framing of the performance is important, insofar
as it helps create clear performance and audience spaces (stages, seating, etc.),
but ultimately 'if the main goal and effect of the music [and wider performance]
is to get everyone up and dancing, it is a participatory performance that simply
involves different functional roles' (ibid: 52).

'Lucky, the Hero!' follows the story of Lucky, a young 'lady's man' living on the
fictional "No Problems Farm", itself a reference to AIDS denial and silence. He
and his best friend, Two-time Tokie, are notorious in their community for having
many sexual partners and are proud of that fact, thus invoking the title
character's nickname 'Lucky'. When Lucky discovers he is HIV positive and

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[37] The term is largely attributed to the eighteenth-century French philosopher Denis Diderot.

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discloses his status, he finds himself shunned by the community. As a result, he takes it upon himself to educate the people of No Problems Farm on HIV and AIDS, disguised as his newly created alter ego 'Capt. AIDS-Fighter'.

Since the Educational Theatre Company performs throughout South Africa in various cultural contexts, each performance of 'Lucky, the Hero!' allows provision for a certain amount of improvisation, perhaps additional dialogue between the actors, or the use of vernacular phrases suited to the audience. Indeed, the various interactive moments within the show presuppose this eventuality. As such, every show differs in subtle ways from the last. That being said, what follows is a general synopsis of the play as it is scripted.

Scene 1

The mini-musical opens with a full character cast rendition of Marvin Gaye's *Heard it through the Grape Vine*. The song is almost completely reimagined due to copyright restrictions. Once the number has ended, the story's narrator limps onto the stage to set the scene. He explains how much he loves his hometown but laments the silent suffering of its people. The stigma of HIV/AIDS prevents anyone from talking about it. He even suggests 'And if you have the disease, oh then you better pack your bags and go stay out of town'.

Scene 2

The narrator introduces the title character to the audience while Lucky dances with a currently unknown young woman to Kurt Darren's *Losplappie* (translated from Afrikaans to mean 'loose rag', itself a reference to casual sexual encounters). The narrator is quick to remind the audience that HIV is indiscriminate of age, race, gender, or sexuality. Poor Lucky is rejected by his potential bedpost notch for refusing to agree to use protection. Upon hearing a Wynlands FM radio broadcast from DJ Chenin Blanc announcing the beginning of World AIDS Week, Lucky begins to worry about the consequences of his many sexual conquests and takes the radio DJ's advice to go for an HIV test.

Scene 3

The narrator reinforces that Lucky did the right things by going to get tested. Unfortunately for Lucky, his luck seems to have finally run out as his blood tests positive for HIV but is reassured by the nurse that this is not a death sentence. She tells him that if he stops partying, drinking, and smoking 'tik' (methamphetamine) and took the correct medication, he could live a very long and happy life. At this point, we are drawn back to Wynlands FM where DJ Chenin Blanc is discussing the current topic: What if I test positive? She reassures her listeners that they need not suffer alone and in silence. There are counselling programmes available through the clinics and that they should be open about their status to friends and family. Distraught, Lucky sits alone with his thoughts only for a moment before Tokie, Lucky's smooth talking and longstanding best friend, dances provocatively into the scene wearing sunglasses to a rendition of Right Said Fred's *Too Sexy*. Tokie engages with the audience, flirting and soliciting the participants, before turning his attention to Lucky. Lucky, however, has a more serious matter to talk to him about. After multiple reassurances from Tokie that he is Lucky's best friend and nothing could change that, he discloses his HIV status to Tokie, who initially baulks at the idea that Lucky might be infected with HIV. He later reveals his ignorance about the virus by shunning him. Lucky explains that he cannot infect others just by standing beside or interacting with them. Tokie, however, remains repulsed and makes his excuses to leave.

Scene 4

We learn that Tokie and the entire No Problems Farm community have abandoned Lucky because of his HIV status. Lucky visits his local clinic again and is comforted by a nurse who explains that ignorance is the cause of the community's response to him. They don't understand HIV and that is why they have ostracised him. He later calls Wynlands FM to ask for advice on how to cope with his situation and explains that the community has been fabricating stories about him and accusing him of being homosexual. DJ Chenin Blanc reassures Lucky that he is not a bad person for being HIV positive, quite the

opposite. She tells him that by knowing his status he is showing that he respects himself and others. At this point Lucky decides to take matters into his own hands and be positive about his situation. He exclaims that he has a plan of action before running offstage.

Scene 5

The scene opens with Tokie dancing in a club with a girl and it is not long before he has pulled out his best chat-up lines. Tokie's seduction appears to work because despite Nita (the girl) reminding Tokie that he is married, she decides to go back to his place anyway. When she mentions that they must use protection Tokie gets angry and says that real men do not use condoms. Seeing his offence, Nita retracts her condition that they must use protection and decides that condoms are not necessary. At this point an unknown figure dressed in red appears and sings about protecting oneself and getting tested for HIV to the melody of Frankie Valli's *Can't Take My Eyes Off You*, while handing condoms to both Tokie and Nita.

Scene 6

DJ Chenin Blanc opens with more information on HIV transmission and commends a young man who has been spotted all around No Problems Farm dressed in red and handing out condoms. She dubs him Capt. AIDS-fighter. The scene shifts to Tokie and Nita who are being intimate at Tokie's house. Once Tokie's wife Theresa appears, however, Tokie tries to cover up the situation with little effect. Nita, exasperated with the situation, reveals herself and the group begin to verbally fight. At this point Capt. AIDS-fighter appears and tells Tokie that his reckless sexual behaviour could risk infecting his wife and unborn child with HIV and that real men think of their families first not their sexual desires for other women. The group then continues to sing again about condom use to the tune of *Can't Take My Eyes Off You*.

Scene 7

Lucky is depressed as he feels as though his efforts have been in vain. Tokie exclaims that since Capt. AIDS-fighter came along everyone is talking about HIV and condoms. He does not feel like the man of the house any more. The community, however, think differently. Theresa and DJ Chenin Blanc berate Tokie for not getting tested, not using condoms, and his terrible treatment of Lucky when he disclosed his HIV status. Tokie realises his mistakes and wonders how to make this up to his best friend. At this point Capt. AIDS-fighter appears and reveals himself as Lucky. Tokie tries to apologise but Lucky rejects it, saying that it is in the past and they all need to move forward. They shake their own special handshake and they are friends again. The narrator explains how a positive attitude can change your own life and the lives of those around you. The scene ends with a reimagined rendition of Gloria Gaynor's *I Will Survive* with the lyrics altered reflecting the message of HIV as everybody's fight and not to simply reject those who are living positively.

Building a Collective Assembly through *Communitas*

I arrive with the theatre group on a cold bright afternoon at a state high school in a semi-rural area of Mpumalanga province. Passing an ominous sign announcing in three different languages (Zulu, English, and Afrikaans) an extensive list of prohibited items, clothing, and behaviour, awkwardly juxtaposed with the message 'Welcome to Nqobangolwazi Secondary School', we proceeded into the school grounds. Deon, the group's sound engineer, parks the mini-van in a dusty car park and we are directed to a large empty hall in which seats had been laid out. Every movement echoes in the expansive hall as light streams in through the high windows illuminating streaks in the pane's slightly chipped surface. A large wooden stage with faded orange curtains stands near the entrance while at the opposite end empty cloakrooms with tiled floors serve as temporary testing facilities for the @Heart team.[38] Brown dust

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[38] The @Heart Team provides rapid on-site HIV tests and counselling for all participants of the 'Lucky, the Hero!' shows, if they chose so. However, they do not stay in the community once the theatre group has left. Those participants who test possitive for HIV are referred to local community clinics and counselling services after their initial session with the @Heart team.

has collected in the corners of the empty hall but within the hour this area would be alive with the din of hundreds of teenage school learners, that is, of course, if the performance were to be a success. As was now custom, I help the theatre group bring their equipment into the hall and then set up my own. I choose not to use my tripod today since I've been observing the ETC for some time, I have a good idea of what to expect from the show and want to be able to capture it from a number of angles.

The hall is beginning to fill with school children. Florance, the group's administrator, and himself a performer in his own right, but not in the show's cast, finds himself on stage for some reason to help set up at the same time as Deon is setting the audio levels and making sure his playlist is in the correct order. As the sound check begins and the synthesised pop beats begin to flow from the speakers, Florance looks down towards the ever-growing audience of blue school uniforms. To the children's delight, he begins dancing humorously to the music during the sound check, bending his knees and throwing his arms above his head in amusing ways to roaring laughter from the crowd. A collective groan reverberates around the hall as Florance gives a little bow and leaves the stage, and the children return to talking amongst themselves. This was, by no means, the first display of this sort I had seen during my time with the theatre group. Florance is often the centre of attention before the shows, humorously interacting with participants as they trickled into the performance space.

These brief departures from the norm characterise the mood set throughout the entire production, from setting up the equipment and initial sound check, until long after the show has officially finished (this will be discussed later in this chapter). It is as if the show is reaching out to these school children not from a place of authority, as for example a teacher might, but as more approachable and empathic towards them. Empathy has become a cornerstone of applied theatre with some theorists arguing for empathic imagination and creativity front and centre in the applied theatre experience (Holland 2009). But in 'Lucky, the Hero!' empathy plays another role that is often overlooked in applied

performance interventions. It helps to create a sense of common ground between actors and participants. The theatre group manages to walk a fine line between playful departures from the hierarchical norms of the school environment while ensuring they do not entirely undermine the authority of the school staff. Similarities between the use of humour and theatre to circumvent hierarchies can be drawn between 'Lucky, the Hero!' and some of the examples of historical African performance mentioned in chapter three.

Figure 8. Florance dances on stage for a growing crowd of learners during the sound check for a 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance (Mpumalanga, August 2014).[39]

In many ways then the arrival of the theatre group, even before the show had begun, signaled the beginning of shared *communitas* in the performance space, in the Turnerian sense of the word, insofar as school learners, staff, and actors were all equal within that environment. For Edith Turner (2012) the phenomenon of *communitas* is closely linked to periods of social change and rites of passage. She argues that this phenomenon can be thought of as 'a

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[39] Photo taken by author.

group's pleasure in sharing common experiences with one's fellows' (ibid: 2). Thus, *communitas*, similarly to Durkheim's collective effervescence, can be used to describe periods of collective joy between groups of people (Olaveson 2001). Unlike Durkheim's model, however, Turner (2012) uses this term to describe situations not limited to religious ceremonies or rituals, but events in everyday life, and emphasised the sense of equality among members of the group as a key effect of the phenomenon. That being said, the terms can indeed be used almost interchangeably in their description of communal participatory engagement and the creation of emotive atmospheres among groups of people (Olaveson 2001).

With the equipment checked and the audience waiting, the show could finally begin. A reimagined version of *I heard it through the grape vine*, with new arrangement, harmonies, structure, instrumentation, and lyrics begins to blast through the group's PA system and fill the performance space. The song, almost unrecognisable from its original counterpart, is filled with fresh sounds and harmonies, with an upbeat digital piano, drums, and synthesised backing track. The attention of the audience now well and truly on the performers, as the narrator introduces 'No Problems Farm' and the characters that live and work there. Throughout the performance, there are numerous instances of audience participation. One such instance that always has the crowd roaring with laughter is one in which Lucky's best friend Two-Time Tokie, notorious in No Problems Farm as a womaniser, is first introduced into the narrative.

A thumping bass drum fills the hall as a rhythmic acoustic guitar riff accentuates the driving beat. Tokie ostentatiously dances into the scene to a rendition of Right Said Fred's *Too Sexy*. Stepping out from behind the backdrop screen, singing the opening line with his trademark raspy vocals: 'I'm too sexy for my mmm, too sexy for my ah, too sexy by fa-a-a-ar', Tokie swings his hips and thrusts on the syllables best left to the imagination.

Figure 9. The character Tokie elicits laughter and shock as he interacts with audience members during a 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance (Mpumalanga, August 2014).[40]

Wearing his customary dark sunglasses and white fedora hat, Tokie begins moving through the audience, paying special attention to any women who may be seated in the front rows. Obviously, this unexpected and outrageously over the top display of masculinity comes as a shock to most of the women involved, but rather than remaining so, they often embrace the participation and become involved in the show. Indeed, in most cases the women begin to dance with Tokie, usually while their friends film the whole display on their camera phones with glee. The smooth tones of a tenor saxophone and the driving acoustic guitar riff accompany the display to create a comical 'sensual' mood. The timbre of the music helps to identify Tokie to the audience simultaneously as a seasoned smooth-talker, through the use of the saxophone, and relentless womaniser manifested through the driving 4:4 beat. Once the music stops, he then begins to use his best pick-up lines, usually in the mother tongue language of the audience, to solicit audience members. This instance of attention-grabbing participation seems to invigorate the audience into following the

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[40] Photo taken by the author.

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subsequent scene more closely, which is important as it is one in which Lucky tries to explain to Tokie how to manage HIV, as well as how it can and cannot be transmitted.

There are several scenes in which important HIV/AIDS-related health information is accompanied by one song in particular: *Can't take my eyes off you* by Frankie Valli. The original lyrics in the song's chorus are as follows:

I love you baby and if it's quite all right

I need you baby to warm the lonely nights

I love you baby, trust in me when I say

Oh pretty baby, don't bring me down I pray

Oh pretty baby, now that I've found you stay

And let me love you baby, let me love you

These are replaced by the following altered lyrics:

So use a condom, get a test

Have no worries, put your mind at rest

It's better to know your state, then you can choose your own fate

Remember everyone is affected, so if someone's infected

Don't have them rejected

Then you always think of your tomorrow

And you don't want your life full of sorrow

The song is sung by Lucky, in disguise as Capt. AIDS-Fighter, a number of times throughout the show and is always sung to prevent some risky activities between Tokie and his much younger lover – a reference to symptoms of structural violence outlined in chapter three such as 'sugar-daddies' and transactional relationships. The first instance occurs when the two are dancing in a club. Nita agrees to go home with Tokie and have unprotected sex. As the

two are about to leave, Lucky bursts into the scene singing the opening line 'Stop right there' instead of 'You're just too good to be true'.

There is significance in the choice of the songs used. *Can't take my eyes off you* is originally a romantic ballad expressing love and lust through lyrics such as 'You're like heaven to touch, I want to hold you so much' and 'I need you baby to warm the lonely nights'. As a multi-million record selling single and international hit from the late 1960s and, given the USA's significant influence on South African culture, particularly music and film during that era, it is reasonable to expect that many South Africans will be aware of the song and its overt meanings. Here, the production does not alter the main melody in any way and as such, it is immediately recognisable as a reimagined rendition of *Can't take my eyes off you*. In essence then, the show uses a song with overt references to love and lust to reiterate the health messages explained within the dialogue between characters, most notably condom use, and thus safer manifestations of those same two emotions. This use of actuating affect through familiar and resonant material relates to Durkheim's understanding of effervescence through recognition of well-known and well-understood symbols. The song is followed by a punchy melody and the slogan 'Be wise, condomise!' is repeated three times.

Popular songs, particularly the reinvented versions in 'Lucky, the Hero!', are short and catchy. Certain information can be reinforced through the musical 'earworm'[41] effect, the phenomenon of a usually small section of a song repeating itself over and over in one's mind, becoming temporarily 'stuck' in one's head. This was exemplified to me as an observer by the number of participants singing the production's songs after the play had finished. Xolani[42],

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[41] The term 'earworm' is a literally translated loan word from the German 'ohrwurm', used to describe a melody that involuntarily repeats through one's mind, sometimes long after the music has stopped.
[42] The names of the participants I interviewed have been changed to ensure anonymity.

a participant at a further education college near Ermelo in Mpumalanga told me:

> I liked the fact that they used songs that we are familiar too. They tweaked the words. It's like [singing] 'I will survive'. You know, it's a song that we all know but they changed the words. [Signing] 'You're just too good to be true'. I loved how they changed the whole entire set up of those songs and added their own extra element of, you know? And you don't get bored; it refreshes your mind, every now and then. If they didn't sing songs that had words of HIV and AIDS within them you're going to get distracted from the message, you understand? Like, the song that is playing the background while they were acting, it would be easy for your mind to just go away with the melodies, but the words in the songs themselves are about HIV and AIDS so you are constantly brought back to the message (Interview with Xolani, Ermelo FET College, Mpumalanga, August 2014).

This speaks directly to the powerful effect music can have on the direction of participant's attention and the importance of intertwining the songs and the subject matter. The familiarity of these songs is important. For Margulis (2014) any kind of repetition in music lends itself to the possibility of participation. She argues that once a song, chorus, or phrase is repeated, 'the music seems to emerge both out of the world and out of your own imagination' and that this 'marks the distinctive pleasure of musical repetition' (ibid: 144). The use and repetition of well-known classic hits helps to create a pleasurably predictable sonic environment of subtle but collective musicking through which the actors present HIV/AIDS information. Even in the most presentational of performances, repetition can create a sense of involvement, and to be sure entrainment with those around us (which will be discussed later), that draws people into the spectacle (ibid). Thus 'Lucky, the Hero!' often lies on a fault line between participatory and presentational performance.

The earworm has been exploited in consumer culture for decades. Within advertising campaigns repetition is a very useful tool, particularly when it comes

to associative marketing, as the more a relationship is affirmed (between a product and, for example, a subculture or particular performer) the more natural it will seem to listeners. Popular music is therefore in a unique position to deliver this repetitive framework. Turino (2008) touches upon this point when he argues that clustering specific words, phrases, images, or ideas can link them together, creating associations that seem to naturally connect otherwise unrelated signs or symbols. Further, the earworm, according to Changizi (2011), is influenced not only by the type of music, and those who have listened to it, but more importantly, he suggests that the earworm is triggered significantly more often by music associated with specific movements, specific dance moves. For Changizi, the strongest examples of earworms include *I'm a Little Tea Cup*, *YMCA*, *Chicken Dance* and more (ibid). This has interesting implications for an intervention like 'Lucky, the Hero!', since movement is important in the retention of musical phrases through the earworm effect, then it may suggest that interventions that actively encourage participation, interaction, and movement (such as dancing) may be more successful at creating earworms with health-related lyrics. This, of course, falls outside the scope of this thesis and further research would be required to assess this hypothesis.

'Lucky, the Hero!' Finale and Music-Driven Collective Effervescence

There are numerous musical segments within 'Lucky, the Hero!' but it is the finale in which the importance of the songs and music in empowering people towards knowing their HIV status is truly illustrated. The show ends with a reimagined rendition of Gloria Gaynor's *I will Survive*. It is quite clear that this song serves as the finale to the play as, not only is this sentiment expressed in the lyrics (as will be described later), but all of the narratives within the play have been resolved, and the show is presenting a message of continued and collective survival by using the future tense and the first person plural pronoun: 'we will' survive. In terms of the performance, the finale begins with members of the group singing one line of new lyrics to the song, as follows:

Narrator: *So that is our story, it has come to an end.*

Theresa: *So please try to remember and tell a friend.*

Nita: *About positive Lucky's …*

DJ Chenin Blanc: *Positive way.*

All: *He's no different than anyone here today.*

The vocals are sung over very subtle harmony created by a smooth synthesised backing track and the overall feel of the music at this point is tranquil and in free time. The final cadence pitch is held by the singers to build a sense of musical anticipation for the finale. The relatively slow tempo suddenly increases as a driving bass drum and snare break the anticipation for the musical finale after the final unison vocal line is sung. The positive sounds of *I will Survive* flow from the group's speakers as the song is now in full swing with all the actors singing lyrics of tolerance and hope of an HIV-free generation over a full backing track. The actors, full of energy and smiling widely perform a synchronised dance routine, clapping on the main beats of each bar and invite the audience to do the same. The altered lyrics are as follows:

No Problems people, learnt their lessons today,

To reject someone positive is not the way

So why don't you go and get a test, put your mind at rest

It's better to know your state, so you can choose your own fate

Everyone is affected

If someone's infected, don't have them rejected,

So listen up, oh listen up

If we all stick together, we can conquer HIV

And in a few short years, we'll be free.

We will survive, we will survive

As long as we know how to live, we know we'll stay alive

We will survive, we will survive

As long as we know how to love, we know we'll stay alive

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Because HIV and AIDS is everybody's fight

We will survive!

Throughout the whole performance, participants are often encouraged to interact with the actors. Indeed, there are many instances in which a character will make a rhetorical statement and gesture towards the crowd for support, or explain something to another group of characters as well as to the audience, or even ask them direct questions. However, it is the finale that presents the first and only instance in which participants are able to leave their seats and be truly expressive with their bodies and movements. This final section of the show is the culmination of the emotions and tensions built up throughout the course of the performance expressed through largely through dancing. Though the participants may not be fully conscious of it, this participatory element draws the audience into the performance and encourages them to become a part of it, as is in-keeping with the rapport between the actors and audience members that began before the show even started.

The music and choreography emphasise each beat immediately after the words 'I will survive' throughout the chorus with a digital trumpet staccato chords. The word 'survive' lands on the first beat of each bar and followed by the accented chord on beat two. The actors dance in choreographed steps from side to side, throwing their hands out to meet each staccato trumpet blast with abounding energy. In short, this section loudly proclaims itself to be the final musical outro to the whole performance and the participants are expected to join in. Once the drum track has begun to fill the performance space, it is usually only a matter of seconds before some of the participants are already on their feet and starting to dance, often they encourage their friends to do the same.

Indeed, standing in the Nqobangolwazi Secondary School hall, I watch the effervescent assembly unfold before me. As the actors begin singing their individual lines to set up the grand finale, it is clear that the learners can sense the anticipation. They begin shouting and hollering in support, while others

Figure 10. The character Lucky addresses the audience directly during a 'Lucky, the Hero!' Performance (Mpumalanga, August 2014).[43]

hoot in excitement prior to the singer's held anticipatory pitch (see Appendix 1 DVD: 00:35-00:40). The moment the main beat begins to reverberate against the sandy brick walls, a group of young girls at the front are out of their seats with no prompting from the theatre group (see Appendix 1 DVD: 00:51). After roughly an hour of drama, music, and comedic escapades the participants are in a state of heightened excitement. It does not take much for that to translate into audience members leaping to their feet in intense and sometimes euphoric displays. Though it begins with only a small number of participants, it is only a matter of seconds and almost no prompting before the hall erupts into a musically driven effervescent assembly. The sound of the participants' vocalisations begins to entrain with the pulse of *I Will Survive*, quickly developing into syncopated 'wooh' articulations on beats two and four with many others clapping their hands (see Appendix 1 DVD: 00:52-01:00). As I pan

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[43] Photo taken by author.

my camera across the audience, I witness boys towards the back of the hall jumping on benches and chairs (sometimes each other) or climbing the walls of the school gymnasium, and others swinging their hats and scarves in the air above their heads (see Appendix 1 DVD: 00:57-01:08). The exclamations from the learners grow so loud that I begin to wonder if it will overpower the theatre group's P.A system. From that small group of participants, I watch as bodies become animated, and that animation jumps from person to person. Emotions, being social in nature, can often be highly contagious (Hatfield, Cacioppo, and Rapson 1994) and fundamental in creating the kind of collective consciousness elicited by the show. I watched through my camera lens as participants release the energy that has built up over the course of the performance, with very little prompting from the theatre group. They jump to their feet, move their bodies with increasing vigour to the music industry standard 4:4 pulse, with broad smiles on their faces as they lose themselves in the music and the atmosphere of excited *communitas*, entrained in what Durkheim would call collective effervescence.

The first group of young girls to get up and start to dance move further from their seats, using more of the performance space to express themselves. Some sit down once again but continue to dance in their seats, while others remain on their feet, clapping, chanting, whistling, shouting, throwing their hands above their heads and anticipating the staccato trumpet punctuations between the theatre group's lyrics. Almost as soon as the display has begun, the song is over, but a heightened emotional state has been created. Rasping trumpets accentuate the rhythm of the final melody, which carries the powerful final lyrical declaration 'We will survive!'. The learners take their seats again shortly after the music has stopped but they are not settled. A familiar amplified voice resonates throughout the hall as Florance capitalises on the room's energy: 'Give it up for 'Lucky, the Hero!'.' The audience claps their hands and screams emphatically (see Appendix 1 DVD: 01:56-02:00). 'Did you enjoy that!?' he shouts into his microphone as he takes to the stage to rapturous applause and screams. 'Did you *enjoy* that!?' he exclaims once again, further building upon

the participant's desire to be heard. With each question, the screaming becomes louder and the flailing arms of the participants more jubilant (see Appendix 1 DVD: 02:01-02:11). It is at this point, when all eyes are fixed on Florance, that he reminds the learners of the importance of taking the messages expressed in the production away with them. He further uses the opportunity to introduce the @Heart team, suggesting that the learners take an HIV test and know their status.

How does one fully account for such explosive emotional and kinetic energy? Perhaps the most important point to observe is that these performance spaces are one in which often large numbers of people (in this particular instance the audience numbered over one hundred participants) come together to focus on the same spectacle. As Durkheim (1912) suggests, large gatherings of people can create what he termed 'electricity', suggesting that individuals can become enveloped and energised by large groups situations. Indeed, further arguing that such energy is manifested through focused attention. Individual opinions appear to be, at least temporarily replaced with a kind of collective consciousness, which Durkheim argues will act in the interests of the group rather than the individual (Smith 2014). Throughout my observations manifestations of the collective consciousness engendered by the show began to appear as participants queued to take and HIV test. The following discussion is with Anele and Landi, two schoolgirls queuing to take an HIV test after a Lucky, the Hero performance:

> **GW:** Are you going to get tested now?

> **Anele:** Ja, we are all going to get tested now.

> **GW:** Do you know your status?

> **Anele:** I know what my status is.

GW: But you're going again? Why?

Anele: Just to know where I stand, because it's better to know, then you can protect yourself and not make the problem worse.

Landi: I actually know my status as well, I'm just going to take one again because, you know, why not? You guys are here and everyone else is going to take a test.

(Anele and Landi, Nqobangolwazi Secondary School, Mpumalanga, August 2014)

This is just one example of a number of young people, predominantly girls, who were aware of their HIV status but were queuing to take another test anyway. It highlights the power of collective thinking and how it influenced some participants to take HIV tests despite knowing their status. The events at Nqobangolwazi Secondary School illustrate 'Lucky, the Hero!' has the potential to elicit surging emotional and kinetic responses from audience members. I argue that these responses are the result of various persuasive threads that I have noted are woven throughout musical production such as musical participation, comedy, and suspension of norms and hierarchies.

The Spontaneous Effect of Musical Entrainment

It is important to note that the phenomenon of intense emotional surge described in these pages, though by no means long lasting, can continue beyond the temporal and spatial boundaries of the original performance. Indeed, those who participate – the effervescent assemblies – are often reluctant to come down from their electrically-charged heightened emotional states. When I next accompanied the theatre group on an intervention this phenomenon became strikingly apparent to me during the second performance at a state school in rural Mpumalanga province. We left in the mini-van from our guesthouse in the nearby town of Ermelo early that morning in order to get to the school in good time for the performance. Since no one knew exactly

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where we were supposed to be going we followed Cobus, the regional administrator of the state schools in the area, through whom the interventions had been arranged. At times our minivan struggled to follow Cobus' 4x4 pickup truck through the worn and tired roads. Passing warning signs that exclaimed 'Potholes!', what we found were islands of tarmac illustrating where there had once been asphalt. Soon, though, we had left behind all traces of blacktop roads as the Africa Centre's mini-van found its way into dirt tracks and deep into the countryside. The vast expanse of the Highveld was dotted only with small brick and timber houses. As we drove, we passed men building either in pairs or alone, some up ladders pressing dried grass onto the roof of incomplete structures. Plastic bottles and bags began to litter the side of the dirt road as we approached a small settlement of brick houses and corrugated iron shacks. Finally, past the cars with missing wheels, barbed wire, and tall dry grass, grey bricks replaced the dirt road and the mini-van pulled into the gates of a large school.

The school served a community far removed from the nearest city, or even small town. The tiny settlement we had passed on our way in turned out to be one of many in the nearby area, and the school accepted children from them all. Needless to say that the arrival of the theatre group was quite an event in the everyday lives of the school pupils and they congregated around the edges of the marquee, straining to catch a glimpse of the unusual activities going on within. Once the equipment had been set up and the school children had filed into the tent, the show began with its usual opening number. I had become rather accustomed to the ebb and flow of the energy in the performance space as the show made its way through its humorous and informative narrative, but in this instance, something slightly different would occur once the show had ended. I have already described in some detail the overwhelming and collective response from many of the audience members during the musical finale to the show in most of the performances, and therefore will not re-examine the same material here. What is interesting about this particular case is that rather than exhibiting unmediated energy and emotional expression, this group of young

school learners structured that energy and expressed it through music and dance. Once the final musical number had drawn to a close and the last 'We will survive' sung, instead of dispersing either to find out their HIV status at one of the temporary testing areas, or just generally leaving the performance space, the vast majority of them stayed and began to dance.

Figure 11. School learner dances in impromptu dance circle after 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance (Mpumalanga, August 2014).[44]

It is something of a custom for Deon, the sound engineer, to play music before and after the shows in order to smooth the transition in and out of the performance space, much in the same way as music is played as people board and disembark commercial aircraft. On this occasion, however, as I was packing away my camera, I saw a number of teenagers beginning to dance to the music, and Deon responded by raising the volume to emphasise the thumping bass pulse of the club music. As he did so, one of the more extraverted teenage boys jumped in front of the mixing desk and proceeded to dance proficiently. Within

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[44] Photo taken by the author.

moments a small group of learners had begun to congregate around him and cheer him on. I grabbed my camera once again to capture the spectacle as the shapeless mass of youths, who had been making their way out of the tent, had now formed a large circle around the dancers. The more confident participants showed off their dance moves and physical prowess in the newly created performance space in front of Deon's mixing desk as I attempted to capture, as best I could, the unannounced physical statement. A young boy in a blue sweater, perhaps in his mid-teenage years made his way into the circle with staccato movements to the pulse of the club rhythms. Fluid synthesised notes bounce from pitch to pitch emphasising harmonically important frequencies over the driving 4:4 bass beat. The sound of a distorted marimba provides a counter melody to the smooth harmonic tones. Once inside the dance circle, with all eyes on him, the boy in the blue sweater proceeded to skillfully jump from one foot to the other, sliding his feet along the dry grass beneath him as he did so. The crowd was now so large that it filled the entire tent, with the theatre group's performance space the only free space left. As the song ended it was replaced with another, equally infectious dance beat. The boy in the blue sweater retreated with beads of sweat appearing on his brow and was supplanted by another group of boys. Pop club music continued to thump from the speakers as the circle of children cheered on their peers. Some entered the circle in pairs, stepping in time to the beat as they did so, then manically, yet skillfully, throwing their bodies into impressive manoeuvres and momentary poses. This euphoric expression of entrainment continued until all the equipment had been packed away, except the P.A system and the mixing desk. Finally, when there was nothing more to pack into the ETC's van and the spectacle had stretched the intervention considerably over its allotted time, Deon was given the signal to fade out the music. As quickly as the circle had formed to the sound of generic pop club beats, so too did it disappear.

What is noteworthy about the particular situation I observed in a tent in rural Mpumalanga is the manner in which this scene unfolded, and the ease at which it did so. Without a word to one another on the subject, or any formal

oversight, this group of young people were able to arrange themselves in a highly organised fashion: they selected a suitable area as their performance space; others, though eager to have a good view of the spectacle, instinctively knew to give the area in front of the mixing desk a wide birth; and the flow of dancers in and out of the performance space was surprisingly smooth and organised, with no two dancers unwittingly sharing the floor at the same time, or interrupting the groove of another. This phenomenon truly was remarkably unremarkable insofar as it seemed to happen so naturally yet the unspoken organisation that music seemed to engender was quite striking.

Entrainment, within this particular application Durkheim's effervescence, requires some further explanation, since one could easily argue that, by definition, all music-related effervescent assemblies are indeed entrained to some degree. What I seek to emphasise is the affective overflow from the performance into constructive, emotionally charged events such as the dance circle. The dancing is a symptom of the emotive and highly connective experience, and indeed a particularly notable example that highlights the importance of entrainment in creating Durkheim's described phenomenon, since dancing to the same rhythms is perhaps the most overt physical expression of 'mutually tuning-in', to borrow the term from Alfred Shutz (1951).[45]

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that the situations I have described are emotionally charged. The dance circle illustrates a potent example of embodied sensorial and emotional expression structured though rhythm and pulse. The kind of organisation displayed by the children who created the dance circle further suggests that it is not just bodies that may become entrained through music and participation but also thought and action. Entrainment, therefore, is

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[45] Alfred Shutz described the fundamentally social nature of music as defined by what he termed the 'mutual tuning-in relationships' in his article *Making Music Together* (1951). His observation that music helped to engender non-verbal social relationships between people was one of the earliest incarnations of phenomena that ethnomusicologists would likely now describe using terms like 'musicking' and 'entrainment'.

an important component of the kinds of shared (or collective) experiences and emotions engendered by 'Lucky, the Hero!'. It contributes to the shared *communitas* and smoothens the transition from individual to collective by creating temporal rhythms for participants to synchronise with.

Hearing with the Body: Embodiment of Music in Effervescent Assemblies

A fundamental argument in this chapter is that music, rather than simply the collection of large numbers of people, is crucial in creating the kind of emotional surges I observed during the 'Lucky, the Hero!' shows. On one particular occasion, while observing a performance of 'Lucky, the Hero!' in a rural Mpumalanga state high school, I stumbled across what I now consider to be something of an ad hoc control group to this hypothesis. While on tour, I had witnessed numerous performances and come to anticipate the ebb and flow of each. Of course, every show differed slightly from the one before it, and was received slightly differently with each new audience. Nevertheless, during the months spent with the Educational Theatre Company, either on tour or in the Western Cape, I became aware of certain patterns of behaviour expressed by most audiences throughout the country.

'Lucky, the Hero!' Control Group Observations: Load Shedding' in Rural Mpumalanga

Upon our arrival at the rural Mpumalanga high school, the theatre group and I soon discover that the school has no electricity due to 'load shedding', the practice of temporarily cutting power to certain areas in order to lighten the burden on the country's national energy grid.[46] No power would ultimately result in a largely unamplified version of the performance. As men in blue overalls finish setting out plastic chairs under the stained tarpaulin marquee, the issue of amplification is partially resolved by Deon's fast thinking. As the rest of the group continue to set up, he parks the group's minivan as close to the

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[46] South Africa is currently experiencing what some news outlets are referring to as an energy crisis.

tent as possible in the hope that the van's sound system could act as a replacement for the PA, playing the music through its speakers. However, despite his innovative thinking, the result would still be something of an unamplified performance with a low volume musical accompaniment from the van's struggling sound system.

The children flow into the performance space, take their seats, and wait for the show to begin. Up until this point, the opening of the performance, the process seems identical to every other show: the children are excited since the school serves an underprivileged rural area, performances of any kind from outside the school are rare. As the opening musical number struggles from the van's speakers, it is immediately clear that the response to this performance would be very different from the other shows. The theatre group tries valiantly to engage the attention of the audience while striving to make themselves heard over the hum of hundreds of school learners shuffling in their seats and muttering amongst themselves. Inevitably, the hum begins to grow so loud and distracting that the performance is stopped half way through and the learners are given an ultimatum by the school staff: either sit quietly and listen or go back to class. The muttering once again falls from full volume conversations back to quiet whispers.

As the singers begin to build towards the finale, there is little noticeable response from the audience. As the final musical number reaches what would normally be its culmination, the learners remain relatively motionless and simply observe the proceedings (see Appendix 1 DVD: 02:35). Noticing that something is wrong, Florance intervenes in an attempt to involve the audience. 'Clap your hands, everyone!' he calls into the crowd (see Appendix 1 DVD: 02:37). The neutered sounds *I Will Survive* labour to fill the performance space as Ricardo, who plays the lead role as Lucky, begins to gyrate and jump up and down on the spot, desperately trying to maintain the attention of the audience (see Appendix 1 DVD: 02:35-02:40). 'Clap your hands!' Florance shouts again, raising his hands above his head and clapping his hands together in wide arcs

(see Appendix 1 DVD: 02:39-00:43). The rest of the theatre group follow suit, and gradually, so too does the audience. Some of the participants begin to shout and hoot and whistle from the back of the tent, as the interaction seems to thaw what was previously an unengaged crowd (see Appendix 1 DVD: 02:45). Most, however, despite clapping and smiling, remain composed. As the theatre group strike their poses for the final 'we will survive!', the notes ring out into a sea of staring faces who are no longer able to clap along. A second or two of uncomfortable silence passes before Florance is once again forced to intervene. 'Give a round of applause for 'Lucky, the Hero!'' he yells into the crowd (see Appendix 1 DVD: 03:00-03:03). The learners duly applaud the performance but remain seated while they do so. Florance then begins his usual post-performance discussion with the audience, shouting 'did you enjoy that?'. A rather lacklustre and unanimous 'yes' emanates from the learners before Florance playfully demands: 'did you *enjoy* that!?'. 'Yes!' reply the children. This time, the response is slightly more enthusiastic in tone and volume (see Appendix 1 DVD: 03:06-03:12). Florance finishes reiterating the overarching messages of the performance before the learners are ushered out of the tent.

The difference between this performance and the others is tangible. The most striking part being the response from the participants: lacklustre, unenthusiastic, and generally uninterested. This dramatic difference in response contrasts starkly with the usual enthusiasm and energy expressed by other participants. Interestingly the theatre group had performed the same show to a different school in a nearby area without any interruption in electricity supply. For all intents and purposes, the participants in each of those two performances were extremely similar. They were both school performances of roughly the same size, age and gender composition, from similar socio-economic backgrounds, culture, and geographic area. Both audiences participated in the same show with the same actors. The only denominator that was missing between them was the lack of high-impact musical accompaniment during the second show.

So what happened? Why such enormous differences in response from the participants? For Pilch (2002), there are numerous component parts that appear in music created by cultures all over the world, such as pitch, tempo, repetition etc. that help to explain the frequency of its use. However, in terms of the kind of collective effervescence that often occurs during the 'Lucky, the Hero!' performances as discussed earlier, music sociologist Tia DeNora (2013), argues that music is well placed for this kind of atmospheric, affective, and deep experiential work for more complex reasons than shared acoustic properties. She suggests that since music unfolds over time it can therefore 'entrain through rhythm and pulse and thus structure embodiment (as made explicit when people move to music, whether as a dance or more mundane forms of choreography' (ibid: 3). Indeed, entrainment through pulse and rhythm played a significant role in the creation of the affective atmospheres experienced by the participants in the Free State and Mpumalanga. In this instance, contesting so-called Cartesian dualism: rhythm and pulse, it seems, must be both felt physically as well as registered psychologically (Friedson 1996). What this illustrates, more than simply the importance of music within creating these musically affective environments in which entrainment may occur, is the importance of the way in which music is administered.

While music was present in some limited way, it was not felt. The thumping bass of the pop and club music that I could usually feel in my chest from the theatre group's PA system was conspicuously absent. It may have seemed conspicuous to me since I knew how the full performance should have sounded, but my discussions with the participants later revealed that they were also aware that something important was missing. The result was that this particular performance did not manifest itself in the types of effervescence that 'Lucky, the Hero!' seeks to create. For Schneck, Burger, and Rowlands, 'music impacts the entire human organism, from the individual atoms, molecules, and cells to the most complex tissues, organs, and systems' (2006: 92). They suggest that since it is our entire bodies that interpret acoustic vibrations, rather than just our auditory sensory apparatus, the conscious mind is barely aware of the full

extent of the body's response sometimes until long after the event (ibid). In essence then, the physiological responses to stimuli that occur without any cognitive input should be thought of as part of a more holistic sensorial experience. For many psychologists, volume and entrainment are intimately linked in human speech (Ludden 2016; Becker 2011). When engaged in conversation, speakers will often match each other's volume, as well as rhythmic tendencies. Indeed, as Becker notes, 'the listener's body often speeds up and slows down in relation to the softness or loudness of the speaker's speech' (2011: 64). Given these bodily responses to speech volume, it is reasonable to suggest that the loudness of the 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance, and the bodily connection created by feeling music through every complex tissue of the body, to borrow Schneck and Burger's phrasing, is an important component in musical entrainment, and by extension, musical effervescence. The materiality of the performance was the same as it always was and the participants still received all the information that they would have had the electrical grid not been down. But by losing their amplification the theatre group lost a fundamental component through which their particular energetic method of engagement is predicated.

Space is an important component of atmosphere, and in turn, affective atmospheres and effervescence. The 'feel' of a room or an area is often readily interpreted by those who are within it. Though atmosphere is not inherently bound to space it does indeed permeate it and what better way to fill a space than with sound (Fischer-Lichte 2007)? For DeNora, music has the 'capacity to be a highly unobtrusive medium (invisible, potentially accessible with the flick of a switch, the turn of a dial)', while simultaneously able to be imposing and fill a space (2013: 3). It is that space-filling property of sound, song, and music, which is particularly noteworthy. For Fischer-Litche within a dramatic space, 'atmosphere is usually the first element to seize the spectator and open him to a particular experience of that very space' (2007: 53). Based on the different responses between two almost identical performances, music it seemed, was the glue that held this model for creating effervescence together.

When the vessel of communication is based upon participation, atmosphere, and affect, music appears to play a significant role in the complex physiological and psychological processes that allow this to happen. Every culture we know of has some form of music and almost everyone on earth has heard music in one way or another. For DeNora (2013), (1) music has enormous emotional potential, it engages with our emotional selves in a number of ways both individually and collectively. It can be both global and deeply personal simultaneously. (2) Music is a social phenomenon, it is created by people for people and creating bonds between people is something that music has done for thousands of years (Merriam 1964; Blacking 1970). (3) Finally, music is a physical phenomenon. We create music with our bodies, we move to it, dance to it, and we hear music through our receptive organs. Our entire musical experience is fundamentally connected with our body (DeNora 2013: 3-4).

In the digital age of high-speed Internet and inexpensive cell phones with MP3 storage, music has become increasingly accessible. So easily distributed, copied, and shared is digitally compressed music that participants in impoverished areas of rural Free State and Mpumalanga recognise the now globally ubiquitous, and largely American, songs in 'Lucky, the Hero!'. Music alone is not without its problems though. As has been noted in chapter one, for the messages of an edutainment campaign to be successful, its performances must be entertaining. Embedding large amounts of information in music runs the risk of reducing significant health concerns to slogans and buzzwords, but further endangers the entertainment value of the music. In such an instance, songs would likely lose their 'catchiness' and ability to entertain which in turn would not only affect its ubiquity but also its affective potential. This problem, however, can be largely overcome in the case of musical theatre since messages can be spread out and presented over larger narratives.

Conclusions

In part, 'Lucky, the Hero!' utilises well-established applied theatre methods such as role modelling, cathartics, and empathy to achieve its goals. But the show draws from a great deal more than tried and tested theatrical devices; it weaves those devices into a fabric of persuasive threads that begins from the moment the group arrives at their performance location. The comic relief provides a real sense of positivity in 'Lucky, the Hero!'. Indeed, positivity in the face of suffering is something that is common among African performing arts, particularly songs (as was discussed in relation to South Africa's struggle songs in chapter four). Further, using humour to negotiate troubling issues is a practice found across the continent, for example, the use of jokes by Mauritanian market women to critique social hierarchies (Wiley 2014). Nowhere in the show's dialogue or narrative are any gestures toward fear, blame, grief, or sorrow. Some of the funniest moments are those which in the real world would be harrowing, or dangerous, or dishonest. Thus, drawing from a long history of utilising performance to negotiate social issues on the African continent, 'Lucky, the Hero!' attempts to unpack social norms of judgment or prejudice, essentially throwing them out, and presenting a new perspective on serious issues.

From my observations of both the participants and actors, it became clear quite early on that the performance did not begin with the opening act of the show. The theatre group was performing from the moment they arrived at each location until the moment we were driving out the gates and on to the next show. Of course, this kind of performance is in the vein of what sociologist Irving Goffman wrote about in his influential book *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life* (1956). The theatre group routinely playfully undermine the social hierarchies within the institutions they visit and build a sense of *communitas* before, during, and after the show. Indeed, *communitas* is itself a prominent feature in rites of passage and ritual performance across the African continent (Turner 1969). Once the performance has begun the participants are exposed to numerous emotionally charged scenes and affective media. 'Lucky, the Hero!' is a short but high-energy performance. Throughout the hour-long

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show, participants are vicariously led through a variety of emotive situations from boisterous or uplifting, to sympathetic or upsetting. Each performance differs subtly from the last but participation is a consistent theme throughout, as members of the audience are drawn in to become part of the show. By the final scenes of the performance there is often a visceral sense of 'electricity' among the participants, waiting to be released as explosive kinetic energy through dance, shouting, waving, clapping and other intense displays of musically entrained collective effervescence.

HIV testing is encouraged immediately after the show, while the participants are still in heightened emotional states, the creative effervescent ideals of being able to be an HIV-free nation are still fresh, and catchy songs and slogans still reverberate through the mind as 'earworms'. This method of engagement is fragile and perhaps its greatest strength is also its greatest weakness. Many different components must come together in order to create the affective atmosphere. Components include correct amplification, audience interaction, successful performance of theatrical material, etc. If one component is unable to be implemented, then it can threaten the entire system as exemplified by the performance without electricity in Mpumalanga province.

If delivered successfully, the performance is able to energise participants considerably, largely through a contagious emotional and affective response which moves from participant to participant. As Wetherel (2012) suggests, this response is embodied, expressed and communicated in an abstract and physical way, but barely registered as out of the ordinary and certainly not defined. In this way 'Lucky, the Hero!' employs both cognitive and affective multi-sensorial communication to 'edutain' participants. Due to rising levels of apathy towards HIV/AIDS and sexual health amongst South Africa's youth, I have argued that alternative approaches to HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention are necessary. What is interesting about 'Lucky, the Hero!' is that it shares a considerable amount of its overarching methods of engagement with many historical forms of African performing arts and cultural expressions. In essence, 'Lucky, the

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Hero!' combines long-standing methods of community engagement found across the continent with Broadway-style theatre and the appeal of global popular music. The show provides a fun and interactive edutainment method of communication and attempts to utilise the heightened states of the participants to engender positive attitudes about knowing one's HIV status. Drawing from the strengths of its musical and dramatic component parts, it creates a compelling, interpersonal, and immediate call to action: know your HIV status. As one participant put it:

> We are young people and this is actually more informative because we don't lose concentration since it's so interesting. The element they put in of other people not knowing their status convinced us to say "Huh, maybe I should get tested"' (Interview with Xolani, Ermelo FET College, Mpumalanga, August 2014).

Chapter 6. *ZAZI* and the Micro-Effervescence of Mass Media Campaigning

Introduction

In the previous chapters of this thesis I have outlined the ways in which musical effervescence can mobilise people towards collective behaviours. Until now, however, the focus has been on various forms of live and participatory intervention, and has not commented critically on some of the more widely employed methods of consciousness raising and behaviour change through music: mass-mediated music videos. As noted in chapter one, celebrity advocacy is common among larger campaigns and, given that a great deal of these advocates are musicians, it is unsurprising that many songs and music videos are produced in support of charitable, humanitarian, or development issues. In the past decade, a wealth of music videos have been produced to attempt to raise awareness about some of South Africa's biggest social issues, including crime, gender-based violence, and HIV/AIDS testing.[47]

This chapter critically examines HIV/AIDS-related music video interventions and their effects on audience members. I analyse the responses of adolescent South Africans (aged 15 to 19) to music-driven audio-visual HIV/AIDS campaigns, through the use of surveys and focus groups and argue that audiences of pre-recorded audio-visual media are often moved and motivated towards some form of action. However, the study suggests that the highly mediated form of the musical experience is such that 'moving with others' or 'mutually tuning in' is limited and shorter-lived than its live and interactive counterparts.

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[47] See the Levi's South Africa *CD4* campaign with their music video 'Sunset Ribbon Red' (2008), various *Brothers for Life* television adverts (2009-Date), and the South African Government's *We Are Responsible* campaign which presented television adverts of people's experience of getting an HIV test to a soundtrack of a woman quietly humming the South African National Anthem and former struggle song 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika' (2010).

The main focus of analysis in this chapter is *ZAZI*, a song and music video released by John Hopkins and the South African National AIDS Council (SANAC) as part of a women's sexual and reproductive health campaign of the same name. *ZAZI* was launched in 2013 to catalyse a national discussion on gender inequality, featuring up and coming South African soul singer Zonke Dikana and Johannesburg-based poet Nova. During my interview with the Deputy Director of *ZAZI* in Cape Town, Bronwyn Pierce, she elaborated on the objectives of the campaign, suggesting that *ZAZI* was a vehicle for creating a social movement around women's issues.

> Primarily we want to deal with issues around HIV and AIDS, as well as teenage pregnancy, and all the other sexual and reproductive health issues that we know young women are facing in South Africa (Interview with Bronwyn Pierce, Deputy Director *ZAZI* Cape Town 21/02/14).

I suggest that a phenomenon I term 'micro effervescence' occurs through the use of affective audio-visual media. Micro effervescence, which extends Durkheim's theory of collective effervescence, refers to momentary heightened emotional states – similar to those displayed during the 'Lucky, the Hero!' productions – elicited from viewing audio-visual media. The term is used in this chapter more specifically to describe the phenomenon of fleeting mobilisation towards specific campaign objectives while exposed to related motivational media. This phenomenon can be a powerful motivator for change, but the experience fades from the forefront of the mind almost as soon as the motivational media has ceased. This chapter then compares *ZAZI* with two further music videos that were released between 2007 and 2012 on issues surrounding, but not limited to, HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention. My objective is to consider the similarities and differences between *ZAZI* and other recent AIDS-related musical media and discuss the development of audio-visual communication since the mega-events and super groups of the 1980s. The videos have been chosen for either their use of famous South African musicians or their direct references to the South African HIV/AIDS crisis. Annie Lennox's

Sing campaign (2007) includes a promotional song of the same name and features the TAC HIV positive choir The Generics. *Sing* was designed to raise awareness of the human cost of the country's lack of access to ARV treatments in the mid 2000s, with funds donated to TAC. The second initiative is Interpol's *Proud to Be* campaign (2012), which incorporates a promotional song and music video of the same name, featuring South African singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Senegalese musician Youssou N'Dour. The video addresses the issue of counterfeit medication throughout the African continent. Counterfeit HIV/AIDS medication and quack treatments were a considerable problem during South Africa's years of AIDS denial and dissidence, and the issue of adequate access to genuine treatments is still an obstacle for an HIV-free generation (Geffen 2010). Further, the video's main singer, Yvonne Chaka Chaka, is not only a famous South African singer but is further a noted public health and humanitarian ambassador for campaigns such as Role Back Malaria, the UN Millennium Development Goals (UNMGD), and the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB, and Malaria.

Micro-Effervescence in Mediated Music Performance

In the digital age, with the introduction of viral media and social networking, the music video or small sound bite has reaffirmed its position in online popular culture across the world. Thus, it is important in this discussion that the staple media of recorded music and music videos are not ignored. I have already established that the 'Band Aid' method can be highly successful in fund raising, and thus described by those involved as a successful campaign more generally. But I have yet to analyse why this method can often gain so much international traction. For many scholars of music and performance there is no such thing as passive listening, since the act of listening requires a great deal from the human body and mind (Cavicchi 2002; Schechner 2004; Stone 2008), thus the methods employed through recorded music-driven initiatives are equally as important to our discussion, not least due to their ubiquity within health and humanitarian campaigning.

I argue that music videos and other recorded audio-visual media can have a profound and immediate emotional effect on those who engage with them. The funds raised by campaigns like 'Band Aid' and 'USA for Africa' show that these music videos resonate with their viewers in some way and motivate people to donate money to worthy causes. Micro-effervescence can be thought of as a momentarily euphoric experience elicited through mediated audio-visual stimuli and, as campaign music videos are often accompanied by a call to action of some description, micro-effervescence is important in mobilising such action. This phenomenon can be extremely motivating, but the desire to act is fleeting, scarcely lasting long beyond the duration of the audio-visual experience. Indeed, our emotional connections with recorded music are more often than not short-lived and unmemorable (Sloboda 2010). At times, music may elicit negative responses such as irritation, but often this too is fleeting and passes as quickly as the music does (ibid). The transience of the recorded musical experience by and large seems to lead to more transient emotional states.

Though listening to recorded music is often thought of as an individualistic act, it would be wrong to suggest that a form of collective effervescence does not apply. Schechner argues that performance 'exists only as actions, interactions, and relationships' (2013: 30). This raises questions about how to understand recorded music or music videos within this framework. He continues that 'home movie' performance, and by extension other mediated forms, should be understood in terms of its relation to people, arguing that pre-recorded images and sounds are engaged with in meaningful ways despite being disassociated from the original performance event (ibid). Within the context of audio-visual HIV/AIDS interventions, Levine (2007a) argues that there is a contradiction between the need for the dissemination of objective AIDS facts and information on the one hand, and the notion that audience members maintain agency to interpret audio-visual media and the messages held therein. She argues there is a need for multiple voices to be heard within HIV/AIDS communication to engender critical debate of skepticism and fact (ibid).

It is indeed possible to engage with a subject through a highly mediated audio-visual formats. However, without some kind of facilitation, I will argue that the fleeting nature of the pre-recorded event is such that emotional or affective connections made between audience and subject are often equally as fleeting. Micro-effervesce connects people with others via mediated formats. Participants can be involved within the campaign and performance regardless of distance, and thus feel the call to action in a similarly visceral way to collective effervescence.

Survey Methodology

Since this chapter discusses how audio-visual media is used within the context of HIV/AIDS and related social issues in South Africa, I draw from theories around the encoding and decoding of media texts (Hall 1973) in order to analyse some of the symbols and cues that can be found in the music videos discussed below. Cook (2001) applies a form of reception theory to the discussion of audio-visual texts, in the form of television commercials, among other things. Drawing from Miller's (1987) work on material culture, Cook (2001) argues that what he calls 'attributes', which are the characteristics of an object or text and the potential meanings encoded within them, are interpreted by audience members in a process he refers to as 'actualisation'. This, he suggests, helps to account for the polysemic nature of audio-visual media (ibid). By actualising a number of a text's indefinite amount of attributes, Cook argues, each audience member creates an individualised account of what a particular text means to them and thus decodes the text in a manner particular to their own personal and socio-cultural contexts. The media is largely no longer considered as a hypodermic needle through which outlets are able to inject ideas into the collective consciousness and shape opinion or behaviour (Askew 2002). Similarly to Cook, Askew argues that meanings can be interpreted from audio-visual media that can be quite different from those envisioned by its creator (ibid). Thus, it is crucial that the discussions of the content of these

music videos be followed by empirical data gathered from their target audiences.

Mindful of this, the chapter then discusses empirical data of how the texts have been interpreted by a selection of young South Africans from low-income communities in the Cape Town metropolitan area. The discussions are based on the findings of two of studies held at Gardens Commercial High School in Cape Town, the first in 2014 and the second in 2015, in which the three aforementioned music videos were screened to school learners. I made contact with a number of secondary schools in Cape Town attended by children from a wide range of low to middle-income households. I chose to focus on schools, as this would be a convenient place to find large numbers of young people of similar socio-economic backgrounds in one place. I began liaising with Garden's Commercial High School's Life Orientation[48] teacher after agreeing that the survey could be conducted reflexively as part of her class and as part of the learner's ongoing HIV/AIDS awareness education. Many of the participants were under the age of 18, and as such each learner who wished to participate in the voluntary study was given an informed consent form, which also assured anonymity, to take home and have signed by their parent or guardian before they would be allowed to join the study.

In August of 2014, the campaign music videos were screened to 100 grade 11 and grade 12 learners, aged 15 to 19, in one of the school's larger halls. While viewing the videos, participants were asked to fill in a short questionnaire that was structured to lead the participants from using a numerical response scale to rate their agreement or disagreement with certain statements in a very closed-question fashion, to exploring those answers more freely, first in text-based

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[48] Life Orientation is a compulsory class in South Africa's public education curriculum. It is described in the National Curriculum Statement (2011) as 'the study of the self in relation to others and to society.' The subject seeks to teach learners about 'skills, knowledge, and values about the self, the environment, responsible citizenship, a healthy and productive life, social engagement, recreation and physical activity, careers and career choices.' (Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement, 2011: 8)

open-ended form, and then later through focus group discussions. Section 1 of the questionnaire was concerned with basic personal details and attitudes towards HIV/AIDS education, sex, and condom use; section 2 instructed the participants to use a response scale from 1-10 to rate a set of statements about the music video (with 1 representing complete disagreement and 10 representing complete agreement); while section 3 asked participants to elaborate in full sentences on their reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with a small number of the more pertinent statements from section 2. Finally, once all of the questionnaires had been completed, the participants were split into three smaller groups, taken to a separate classroom, and encouraged to discuss the music video and their own views on HIV/AIDS communication through mediated audio-visual media in focus groups, again, involvement in the discussion was completely voluntary. Each interview was recorded with the full written consent of the parents/guardians. A second follow-up study was completed with a further 112 learners of the same age the following year, in June 2015. The format of the study was the same as the previous but focused exclusively on the most recent of the audio-visual campaigns; *ZAZI* in order to further probe some of the different responses that were given after viewing the *ZAZI* video.

ZAZI Music Video

The *ZAZI* video presents four scenes in which women make healthy and positive life choices. These mini-narratives feed into a broader plot, in which Zonke leads an ever-growing crowd of women and girls towards a performance space that is shown at various points throughout the video. A clean electric guitar opens the track with a wah-wah[49] inflected riff before the introduction of the drum kit, synthesised bass, and Hammond organ. The dramatic and shimmering organ glissando and subsequent improvisations mark the end of the instrumental introduction. The relatively slow tempo – roughly 90bpm – and embellishing

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[49] Wah-wah is an onomatopoeic term used to describe the use of spectral glides to modify the vowel quality of a pitch. The resultant sound imitates the sound of a person saying the vowel 'wah' and is commonly associated with the trombone and electric guitar.

bass guitar grooves give the track a relaxed and funky quality.[50] Zonke, wearing a flowing green dress, walks up to a fence outside a pink house that is slightly out of focus in the background and ties a green ribbon around the fencepost. The instrumentation in the introduction is important. For Meintjes, the Hammond organ is 'distinctly associated with the sound of soul' (2003: 136). The importance of genre will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, but for now it is enough to mention that South African soul has its roots in African-American soul, which in turn grew out of gospel (Werner 2006). This is significant for two reasons. As is the case in South Africa, the songs and sounds of the African-American Civil Rights movement were heavily influenced by the hymns and gospel songs of African-American churches, from which many black pastors preached their revolutionary rhetoric (Calhoun-Brown 2000). According to American singer James Brown, soul and black civil rights could not be separated from one another in the USA (Werner 2006). This is unsurprising since the development of soul music in the USA was very much intertwined with gospel songs and the rhetoric of praise and love that accompanied them. Indeed, in the early 1960s, some scholars suggest it was difficult to distinguish between the two genres (Maultsby 2005). Presenting *ZAZI* through the genre of Afro-soul potentially constructs a connection between the messages and the associated meanings coded within that genre, something that Cook (1994) would refer to as the transferal of attributes from the music to the message. In this instance, for example, the meanings coded within the soul genre generally and the Hammond organ specifically, may involve those connected with the divine, through gospel, and civil and human rights movements in the USA and South Africa. It is worth being very clear from the outset, however, that audiences are not passive entities and each interpretation of the music video will ultimately be based on cultural, social, and individual experiences and identities (Levine 2007a). Given that the *ZAZI* campaign seeks to influence opinions and attitudes around women's rights and health, as was mentioned in

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[50] The term 'funky' will be used repeatedly to describe *ZAZI* throughout the interviews discussed later in this chapter.

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the discussion both of the TAC movement and music in advertising, any association with human rights struggles is likely to help legitimise and protect *ZAZI*'s message from scrutiny.

In the video's opening scene, Zonke walks along a path between fields of tall, dry, yellow grass that appears golden in the low evening sunlight. In the background, a dim mountain landscape contrasts against the paling sky. The viewer is then transported into an urban setting. Zonke moves towards a little girl in a dress and ties another green ribbon to the girl's bicycle before walking away, with the girl following. The organ and guitar interact with complementing blues-style flattened seventh mixolydian melodies over an upbeat I-VII-IV harmonic progression played by the bass and piano. The use of flattened seventh melodies is typical of blues, soul, and rhythm and blues, and further underscores the track's associations with soul music. The music video presents women and girls of all ages and many of South Africa's ethnicities.

Verse
Hey girl, we know it's hard sometimes
You feeling lost somehow, cannot see the signs
It seems lonely, but you've got strength inside
But you've got strength inside to leave it all behind
'Cause you know who you are

Scene 1
A lone man, perhaps in his 40s, sits in his car playing with a gold lighter as he watches a girl's netball game, ominously licking his lips as he does so. A small crowd has gathered to watch them play but the lone man does not appear to be part of it, choosing instead to watch from a distance. The lyrics 'It seems lonely, but you've got strength inside' then emphasise inner strength, with the video alluding to physical prowess through the girl's netball match. An adolescent girl celebrates what appear to be points scored as the ball bounces off towards the lone man, who is now outside, leaning on his car. As the ball rolls to his feet we

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see that he is very well dressed with many signs of wealth and status, including a gold watch, smart clothing and shoes, sunglasses, and the gold lighter.

Verse
Don't know where to go, vision's getting blurry
Don't see nobody to turn to
Look inside you, you'll know what you're about
Just let is show, ZAZI who you are.

The man picks up the ball as the young girl jogs over to collect it, but the man does not offer it to her, instead he looks her up and down in her skirt and t-shirt. The young girl then grabs the ball from him giving him a stern and disapproving look as she walks away, leaving the older man visibly shocked at her response. A teammate high-fives the girl and spins her around before removing a green ribbon from her hair and tying it to the original girl's wrist.
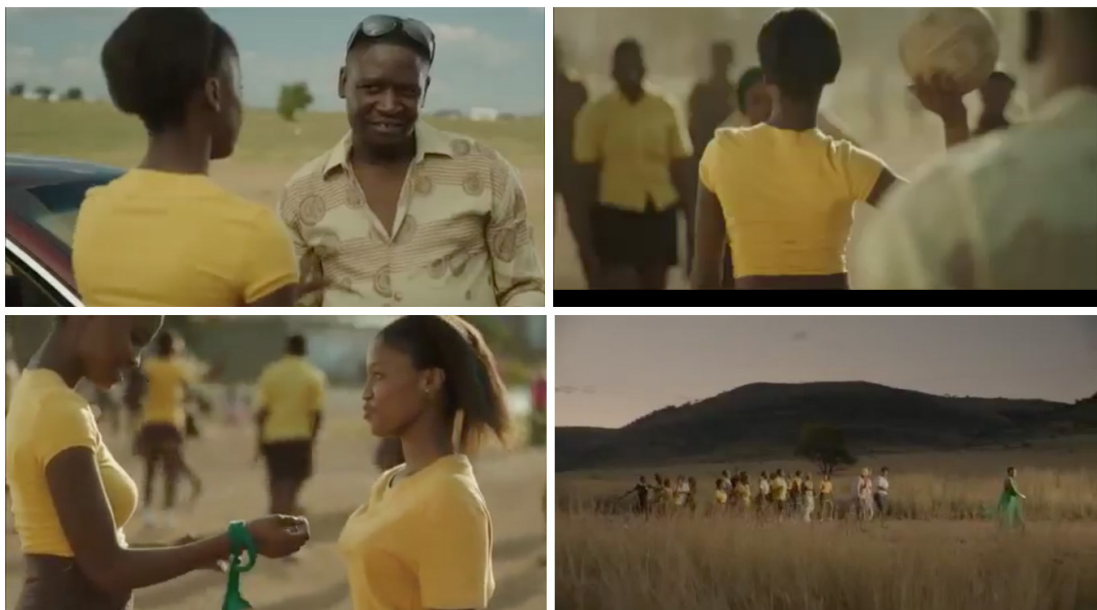
Figure 12. During a netball game, a young girl ignores the advances of an older man before the team joins Zonke walking through a golden field.

The chorus retains the harmonic structure of the verses while the piano plays the progression in a staccato manner. The melody places great emphasis on the

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opening phrase, which is encompassed entirely by the lyrics *'ZAZI'* illustrating the importance of the Nguni phrase, meaning 'know yourself'. The track's dynamics fade slightly during the chorus and the timbre of Zonke's vocals becomes soft and breathy, as if attempting to soothe someone. Indeed, much of the song could be considered to be directed at a specific person. The dynamic change does not seem anti-climactic due to the inclusion of punchy piano chords and clean mixolydian guitar fills.

Chorus
ZAZI, it's time to know yourself
You know you got the strength, ZAZI who you are.
ZAZI, it's time to love yourself
You know you got the strength, ZAZI who you are.

The netball team joins Zonke as she continues to walk and ties another green ribbon around a post. Throughout the video, increasing numbers of women follow Zonke, in her flowing robe-like dress, towards the final performance space. As the netball team follow Zonke, they walk several meters behind her through the golden glowing fields. The video cuts to evening scenes of Zonke performing a small rooftop concert to young women.

Verse
Your choices matter, whether big or small
No it don't take that long to look inside you
So keep it going, just keep it moving on
'Cause life is better when you know who you are.

Scene 2
A young woman, presumably a student, sits alone at a dining room table covered with books as she reads and makes notes on a particular text. She looks at her phone before her attention is drawn to a group of young women in a convertible Mini Cooper waiting outside. As the student appears at her door,

the group of women begin ushering her to join them. She smiles but shakes her head and the others shrug before moving along. As the young student returns to her books, she opens one to find a green ribbon waiting for her. She ties it to her pen as a man enters the scene to bring her a cup of tea.

Figure 13. A student makes the choice to study over spending time with her friends.

The track breaks into a refrain in which backing vocals sing a cyclical riff as Zonke repeats important lyrical motifs such as 'you got the strength in you' while decorating the interlude with vocal embellishments.

Refrain
Let's keep this going
You matter, let nobody say you don't
Look inside you and you'll know
You got the strength in you (got the strength in you)

Scene 3
A woman who appears to be in her twenties sits in a family planning clinic while a nurse displays a packet of contraceptive pills. The nurse further discusses female condoms as she places one into a bag and hands it to the young woman.

A conservatively dressed older woman appears from the background of the scene and looks disapprovingly at the exchange between the young woman and the nurse, as more (now male) condoms are placed into the bag. As she turns to leave the clinic, she is stopped by the older woman, who smiles, removes her green scarf and places it around the young woman's neck. The crowd continues to follow Zonke as she walks into a town centre and ties a ribbon around a traffic light pole.

Figure 14. An older woman approaches a woman in her twenties in a clinic to show her support for the young woman's positive sexual health choices.

Chorus

ZAZI, it's time to know yourself

You know you got the strength, ZAZI who you are.

ZAZI, it's time to love yourself

You know you got the strength, ZAZI who you are.

Scene 4

A couple sits in a car arguing while rain lashes against the windows. The man shouts while gesticulating and points aggressively towards what appears to be his partner. The woman's gaze begins to glaze over, as she tunes out the

barrage of aggression. She seems to refocus her attention away from her partner and towards herself. As the walking crowd of women following Zonke appear in the scene, the woman abruptly gets out of the car into the rain in only her shorts and vest, much to her partner's surprise. She takes off a green ribbon she had been wearing as a belt, wraps in around a nearby lamppost, and raises her arms into the rain before joining the rest of the women and girls walking with Zonke.

Figure 15. A young woman walks away from an abusive relationship.

Poem

You symbolise the strength of every woman who has ever had to walk this road

The strength of feet planted as firm as a million trees to bear this life's load

As strong as these knots that have reminders wrapped into them

This green reflects wisdom, strength, greatness, and hope

This rope connects us to survival and sisterhood

Because we never walk alone

Love you until you feel you, until you find you

Calm in any storm

Know yourself as the true compass

Where blessed beginnings are first born

Claim yourself, crown yourself, and know yourself as a new day
Where the sun awaits in wonder to reveal a blank page
ZAZI

Nova, a South African poet, recites her poetry over the chorus, which repeats at reduced volume in the background, reminding those listening to know and love themselves. In the scenes prior to reciting her poem, Nova is seen presenting her clenched fists to the camera, and on her fingers she is wearing rings in the shape of birds. The clenched fist has become synonymous around the world with the struggle for human and civil rights, and in South Africa it is an important signifier of the liberation struggle (Badat 1999). Indeed, the first line of Nova's poem alludes to signifying strength: 'You symbolise the strength of every woman who has ever had to walk this road.' Encoded within these scenes is the on-going struggle for women's rights through the application of a well-known struggle symbol, over a musical chorus that encourages women to know and love themselves.

The women and girls that have been following Zonke now appear in the rooftop concert that the singer has been performing throughout each scene. The video pans away and fades out as all the women and girls clap together and sing the song's chorus *a cappella*. The allusion to the choir trope, though slightly subtler than other examples discussed in this research, intimates that *ZAZI* may potentially not be so far removed from the Band Aid formula of celebrity campaigning discussed in chapter one. Throughout the video, Zonke leads the women and girls from each scene towards the rooftop performance space. In the finale, we see that there is no distinction between the musicians and the audience, insofar as there are women and girls both on-stage with Zonke, and in the audience area. The sense of unity encoded within the finale is further intensified during the final repetition of the main line of the chorus, as all instrumentation and amplification is cut and the whole crowd sings in harmony.
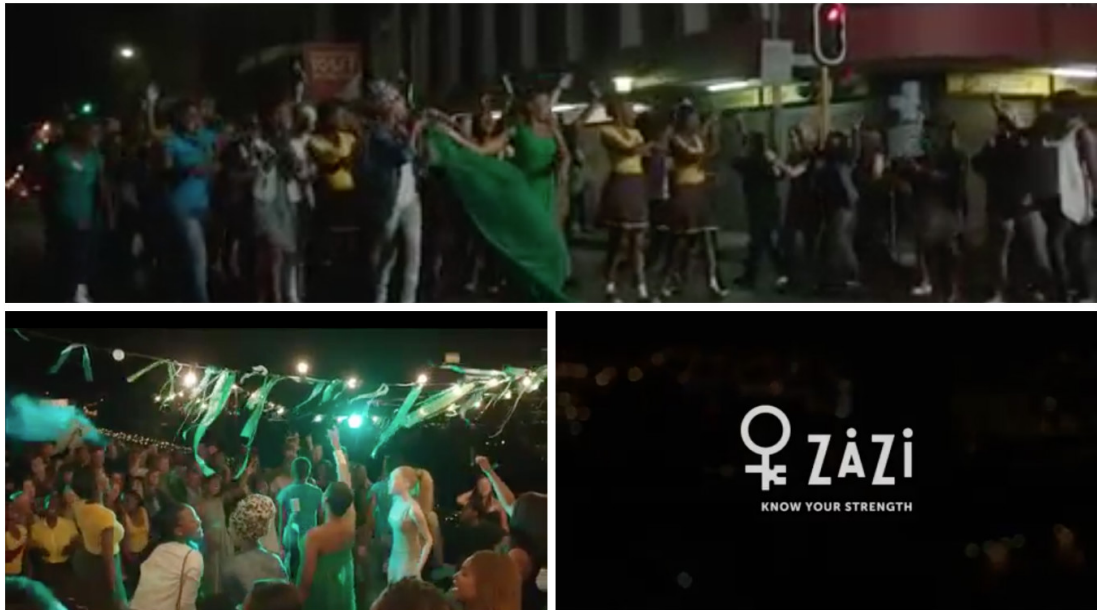
Figure 16. The crowd of women and girls who were walking with Zonke meet at a rooftop concert before singing the final chorus together.

After inspiring the women in the video to know their strength and make healthy life choices, Zonke leads them to an open-air, rooftop performance, in which audience members sing along with Zonke, and separation between the performers and the crowd is blurred by the number of audience members who are also all around Zonke, including on the stage. Each of the scenes was designed to inspire women to make similar choices when presented with such decisions. Role modelling indeed plays an important part in many edutainment campaigns (Somers 2008, Tufte 2008), but what *ZAZI* ultimately seeks to capitalise on is the strong mobilising effect music and imagery can engender through various cues and references to power emotional stimuli, such as the liberation struggle, unity, and spiritual sentiments.

Chorus
ZAZI, it's time to know yourself
You know you got the strength, ZAZI who you are.
ZAZI, it's time to love yourself
You know you got the strength, ZAZI who you are.

Music, Lyrics and Image: Marketing Education as Entertainment

What is immediately noticeable about the *ZAZI* song is that it makes no direct reference to any of the campaign goals, opting instead to present positive messages about knowing and loving oneself. This is an unusual departure from the standard model of music-driven campaigning, which tends to be quite transparent with the subject matter. While interviewing the Deputy Director of the *ZAZI* campaign in Cape Town, she touched upon some of the reasoning behind that creative decision.

> What is at the heart of the challenges that young women face, given that we will in a fairly patriarchal society? A lot of areas in South Africa are very traditional still. We know that some women will do well, they'll succeed, they'll break out of that cycle. But what is that one thing that breaks you out or keeps you in the cycle? A lot of women would say to us: it's about self-esteem (Interview with Bronwyn Pierce, Deputy Director *ZAZI* Cape Town 21/02/14).

The messages are instead transmitted visually through four separate scenes in which women and girls make positive life choices when faced with common issues for many South Africans, such as domestic violence, education, 'sugar daddies', and sexual health. There are a number of points to be made about this approach to audio-visual communication. The first is that by removing direct references from the lyrics, the *ZAZI* song does not have to contend with numerous complex and nuanced issues in its lyrics. Celebrities are often accused of oversimplifying or misrepresenting humanitarian or public health issues (Huliaras and Tzifakis 2012), with some analysts and scholars describing the depth of understanding presented by even the most renowned of celebrity activists as 'breathtakingly one-dimensional' (Dieter and Kumar 2008: 259). Perhaps one of the biggest challenges facing health campaign songs are the limited ways in which people can meaningfully connect with such lyrics. The *ZAZI* campaign, however, avoids presenting specific one-dimensional messages by instead using lyrics that aim to build to self-esteem and self-worth, while

allowing the visual aspect of the music video to generate the specifics of the desired messaging.

By drawing from both the audio and visual resources available within the video format, *ZAZI* is able to present itself as something outside of the standard mould of music video campaigning. Since the scenes are brief and without dialogue, one might very well argue that they themselves simplify complex issues. However, as Vernallis explains, '[i]f the intent of a music video lies in drawing attention to the music – whether to provide commentary upon it or simply to sell it – it makes sense that the image ought not to carry a story or plot in the way that a film might' (2004: 3-4). Indeed, the scenes are designed to do exactly that, to draw attention to and complement the coded messages of strength and self-worth presented in the music. For Vernallis, then, each element of the multimedia experience (music, lyrics, and image) 'possess their own language with regard to time, space, narrativity, activity, and affect' (ibid: 13). Further, *ZAZI*'s use of short but poignant visual segments depicting issues that are likely to have been experienced by large numbers of young women and girls would theoretically encourage them to engage more readily with the message. Pink (2006) notes a similar theme in Susan Levine's work on documentary film in HIV/AIDS awareness. She argues that Levine's work 'demonstrated how people's base-line knowledge [...] increased after viewing locally produced films that they could engage with at a level of narrative and individual experience' (ibid: 91). According to Pink then, such engagement with individual experience may facilitate engagement with the audio-visual material (ibid). However, it is the music, rather than the visuals, that the *ZAZI* campaign hopes will be the catalyst for social change and awareness of women's sexual health concerns. This can be inferred from the way in which Xolisa Dyeshana, the Executive Creative Director of Joe Public South Africa (the production company tasked with creating the *ZAZI* song and music video) describes how they came to the idea of using music as their chosen catalyst for change:

When we decided to go with music we thought: listen, girls really really

respond well to music and it's also a matter of how do you take a somewhat

taboo subject matter and actually make it palatable, and dare we say funky? So

it was around that time that we decided 'okay guys, let's create an anthem,

let's create a song, something that will be able to get to the heart of the issues

that women across South Africa face' (Interview with Xolisa Dyeshana,

Executive Creative Director of Joe Public South Africa 25/03/2014).

It is apparent from Dyeshana's words that the *ZAZI* creators and organisers understood that music could be used as a tool to communicate about subjects that may be socially unpalatable. By using a song, or an anthem as Dyeshana described it, Joe Public hoped to not only create a discussion about women's rights in South Africa but also attempt to challenge the social stigma around gender norms and socially taboo subjects such as gender-based violence. It became clearer, as I continued to discuss the use of music as a campaigning tool, that organisers are often aware that music or songs may be a useful way of engaging people meaningfully with a subject, but perhaps less aware of the mechanics of such processes. Music, as a ubiquitous mass media commodity and social activity, presents an effective vehicle for disseminating messages to large numbers of people (Singhal and Rogers 1999), but campaign organisers largely do not engage in discussions of how music has been shown to be effective at mobilising mass action generally, and in South Africa particularly. Put simply, they are aware of the 'what' of music in campaigning, but not necessarily the 'how'. Indeed, van Buren (2011) notes that campaign organisers in East Africa have only recently begun to implement message-based music that can both educate as well as fill dance floors and have commercial potential.

A further important point to recognise when considering *ZAZI*'s lyrics is how they influence the reception of the song. Describing edutainment more generally (or entertainment-education as he refers to it), Greenberg et al. note that 'smoothing "E" [entertainment] and "E" [education] into a virtually indistinguishable order' is paramount to the success of edutainment as a whole

(2004: 198). During my interview with Pierce, we touched upon the importance of creating entertaining content as a matter of priority.

> Often we [John Hopkins] choose something like a drama series, or commercials, or whatever, but in this instance we chose music specifically because we believe that when you put messaging out there, it needs to be entertaining. If it's not entertaining, you've already lost the battle. So for us it is about entertainment and how do we use that element of entertainment to basically get identification with the campaign (Interview with Bronwyn Pierce, Deputy Director *ZAZI* Cape Town 21/02/14).

By removing direct references to the campaign goals from the lyrics, the *ZAZI* track becomes less distinguishable as a campaign song and is therefore not faced with the same challenges of creating entertaining and marketable content from public health messages as other music-driven initiatives. *ZAZI* is able to market itself as a more approachable form of campaigning, situated towards the consumer-friendly 'entertainment' end of the edutainment spectrum. The catchy and upbeat song, sung by a popular up-and-coming South African pop singer gains much of the marketability of a regular pop song, while simultaneously retaining the meanings and connotations of the four scenes illustrating women making healthy, self-respecting and considered lifestyle choices. The *ZAZI* track is thus able to present sensitive, yet important messages, such as gender-related issues in South Africa without the need to directly reference those topics in its lyrics.

Media 'Clutter' and Micro-Effervescence

The use of mass media within health and humanitarian campaigning is well documented (Ray and Donohew 1990; Backer, Rogers, and Sopory, 1992; Donovan and Henley 2010; Sidahmed, Soderlund, and Briggs 2010). Across the African continent, various HIV-related initiatives have utilised television, radio, music, documentary film, or social media in an attempt to raise awareness and prevent further infections (Levine 2007a; van Buren 2011; Breitinger 2011). In

South Africa, however, media platforms are particularly overburdened with, at times conflicting, AIDS-related messages and calls-to-action from various sources. This presents an additional barrier to effective HIV/AIDS awareness raising. Messaging from multiple sources, each with their own ideas on how best to tackle AIDS-related issues, has the potential to deeply confuse the narratives around the disease. Further, given the sheer extent of media coverage, and the number of initiatives that have, and still are, dealing with AIDS in South Africa, it is unsurprising that indifference to the epidemic is on the rise, alongside rising levels of high-risk sexual behaviours and falling HIV/AIDS awareness (HSRC 2014). During our interview, Pierce suggested:

> Often, I think, when you do a campaign like this, especially a health campaign, it's often staged and boring. People don't really connect with some of the messaging and some of the communication we do around health, especially HIV and AIDS. We've learnt over time that when a campaign is identified as and HIV campaign, immediately people are really sort of put off by it. I think there's a lot of, sort of, fatigue around HIV and AIDS messaging because we've been doing it for so long in South Africa. There's definitely a little bit of fatigue so, you know, developing something that young women can identify with and own, basically, is really important (Interview with Bronwyn Pierce, Deputy Director ZAZI Cape Town 21/02/14).

The subject of the Mbeki government's unenthusiastic responses to the emerging AIDS crisis has been covered already in chapter three. What has not been fully discussed yet, however, is the legacy of such inaction and state sponsored AIDS denial in the collective South African consciousness. For Visser and Sipsma (2013), continuing trends of apathy, denial, misconception and stigma can be traced back to the various blunders of the Mbeki administration. Given the onslaught of state-sponsored misinformation and AIDS anti-science at the outset of the South African AIDS crisis, it is unsurprising that there has been, and continues to be, a high volume of education media addressing the issue, the vast majority of this in the form of mass media campaigning. Indeed, such is

the extent of South Africa's HIV/AIDS media clutter that a national conversation about safe lifestyle choices has been reduced to slogan and buzzwords. This may have had unintended and unforeseen consequences for everyday South Africans. Indifference to HIV/AIDS appeared to be an issue among the Gardens Commercial High School respondents as 66.2% of the 2015 study group agreed (responding between 5-10 on the response scale) with the statement 'I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS', with 32.1% agreeing strongly (responding between 8-10). Though this survey was relatively modest in size, symptoms of similar trends can be found at the national level in terms of prevalence of inconsistent condom use and other high-risk activities (HSRC 2014).

While discussing this with Pierce, not only was she acutely aware of the wealth of AIDS-related media in the public domain in South Africa but also further attempted to distance *ZAZI* from other campaign music videos.

> I think for us, the music isn't the campaign. The music was basically a vehicle. Our challenge in South Africa, even though we are an African country, is that we have a lot of media clutter, it's difficult to break through, that's always our challenge. We have a lot of work going on in South Africa around HIV and AIDS; there are a lot of people doing a lot of different things. So music was just a way for us to, for one, position the campaign, to get that appeal and pull people into the campaign. So it isn't the campaign and there are many other formats in which we deliver the campaign, with music being one of those. In terms of launching the campaign and putting it out into the public domain, music was the vehicle we chose to do that (Interview with Bronwyn Pierce, Deputy Director *ZAZI* Cape Town 21/02/14).

For Pierce, then, the *ZAZI* music video was used as a way to draw as many people as possible into the campaign and attempt to invigorate a somewhat stale discussion. Similar sentiments towards media clutter around the issue of HIV/AIDS were reflected in the interviews with the respondents at Gardens Commercial High School. A number of learners openly expressed that they felt

HIV/AIDS was not the same kind of immediately urgent issue that it was in the 1990s, stating:

> You know, I feel like we've heard all this so much that it's lost any real impact. Everyone knows about AIDS but it's like it's not such a big thing anymore. People are still going to have sex and really the first things that would go through a girl's mind would be 'oh my gosh, please don't let me get pregnant.' (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014)

During a survey of young adults at the University of Cape Town, Levine and Ross (2002) found similar issues in how respondents prioritised the risks of unprotected sex. They note that 'several respondents reported that their primary concern is with pregnancy and not HIV, and were making use of contraceptive pills rather than condoms' (ibid: 93). Indeed, some respondents felt that using the contraceptive pill relegated condom use unnecessary despite simultaneously acknowledging that such sexual practices put their health at risk (ibid).

Indifferent attitudes emerged throughout the focus groups at Gardens Commercial High School with specific reference to audio-visual HIV/AIDS communication, with one student lamenting both the volume of AIDS-related messaging in South African media and the lack of motivation to make positive changes:

> I think that we've all seen videos like that before; we see them all the time, especially in Africa where we've got problems. It's always shoved in our face that 'this is going wrong, this is going wrong', and people get annoyed a lot of the time because we see it all the time. But I think the reason we are getting shown it all the time is because we're still not doing anything, as groups or individuals. I mean, we see it all the time and we get annoyed by it all the time, but how many of us actually do something about it? (Male learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015)

This surprisingly well-informed and considered response from a teenage school learner is extremely important to this study as it highlights a micro-effervescent response. The initial survey data from the 2015 study suggested that the *ZAZI* video was indeed effective in motivating the learners, with 78.5% of respondents agreeing (answering between 6-10 on the response scale) with the statement 'I feel motivated to talk about women's rights', and 58.9% strongly agreeing with the statement (answering between 8-10) (see graph 1). Indeed, much of the survey data was encouraging for *ZAZI* as 69.7% of respondents further agreed with the statement 'I feel empowered by this video', with 52.7% strongly agreeing.
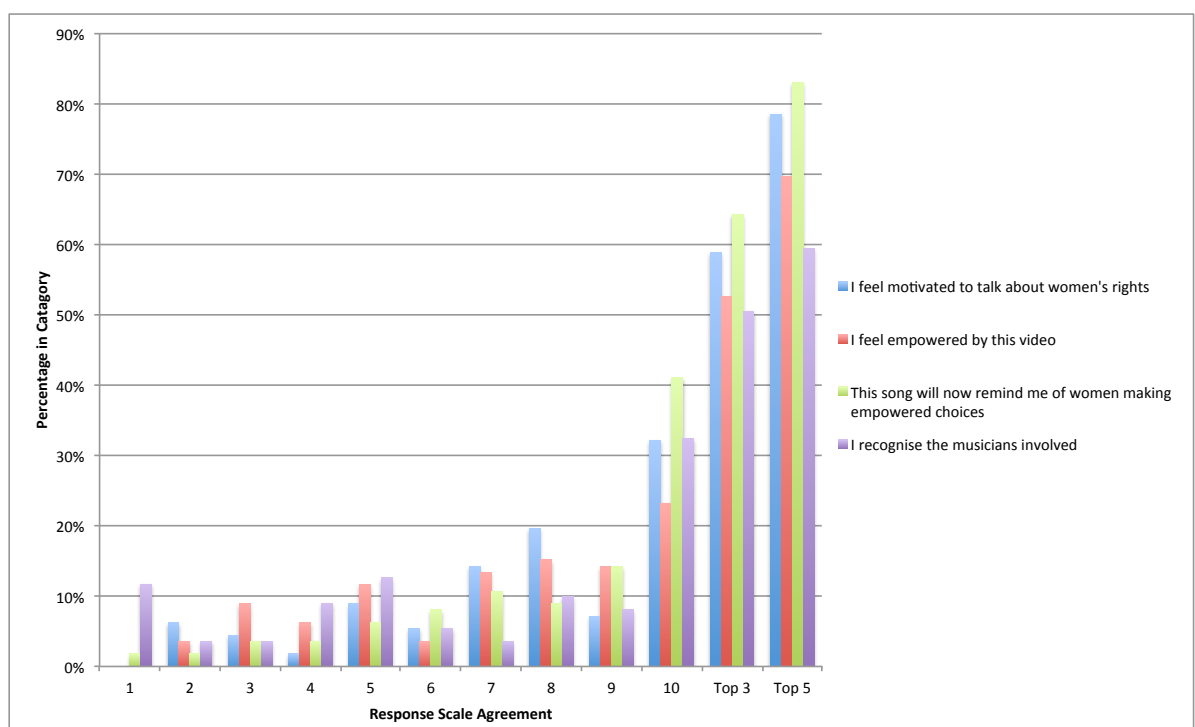
Graph 1. Survey responses to questions related to women's rights and artist recognition in the *ZAZI* music video (Gardens Commercial High School, Cape Town, 2015 study group).[51]

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[51] The graph shows the response scale along the *x* axis with the addition of two collated categories: top 3 (strongly agree) and top 5 (agree). The *y* axis represents the percentage of learners who answered using that particular numerical value on the response scale (see appendices 5a and 5b for the response scale used). All graphs are colour coded to represent responses to different statements (see key to the right of the graph).

This response seems like a success for the *ZAZI* campaign in terms of engaging with their target demographics, catalysing a discussion on gender-related issues. But these undeniably positive statistics contrasted uncomfortably with the overwhelming consensus of the learners when the issue was discussed only a matter of minutes later.

> I really didn't feel motivated by the video. I've watched so many videos, seen so many things, exactly the same messages, it's got to the point where it doesn't really add to my motivation. I am motivated, generally, and I do feel like I should be doing something, be a part of something in some way. It didn't really change my point of view on the topic. It didn't really strike a note. Usually, the videos are more emotional. I mean I am motivated to help people, just not by these videos. (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015)

This sentiment was echoed by a number of other respondents, regardless of gender.

> Another issue is that sometimes in life, when you are not going through that situation, you think 'aww okay', I mean you feel for them, but you don't really act in such a way thinking 'ok, I'm actually going to help this person.' You need that experience, then you realise 'oh my gosh, I need to do something about this'. When something doesn't affect you, you may be a bit … not too keen on getting involved in helping others. I think that's a problem in Africa. Something has to affect them personally in order for them to go out and do something. (Male learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015)

And, indeed, spanning all interview groups, largely ruling out the possibility of consensus influencing the respondent's opinions.

> I think that this kind of media could work to motivate people but the video wasn't as strong and didn't make that much of an impact. It was very laboured; it didn't do something new or lasting. I felt like it didn't give me something to

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think about. (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015)

How do we account for such radical departures from survey data collected from the same individuals only minutes earlier? Again, the answer to this question can be found in the ways in which the learners spoke about their attitudes towards the music video in both the 2014 and 2015 studies, and how it may or may not affect their everyday lives.

Female Learner: I feel like it [the *ZAZI* video] taught me something, but just for that while. Then out there, you know, YOLO.[52]

[Laughter]

GW: So you would leave that hall [where the *ZAZI* video was screened] and just forget about it completely?

Learners: [Unanimously] Yes!

Female Learner: The topics in that video are a bit washed out. It's over and over and over again. These videos don't address youth very well. If we were a little more connected to the subject matter it would affect people more, it would make them want to talk more about it. Maybe a national conversation would start.

Female Learner: Probably it would work for the first few months, maybe. I think some South Africans would actually care for the first few months but after that, it's not even focused on or on the news. Look at the xenophobia.[53] After some time, it's quiet now but it's still happening. Our attention spans are

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[52] YOLO is a youth acronym for 'you only live once'. The expression is often deployed to excuse reckless, irresponsible, or dangerous behaviour.
[53] Referring to the ongoing phenomenon of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa.

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very short. (Female and Male learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014)

It seems that the learners were engaged and motivated while watching the video but that these feelings quickly faded once they had finished watching and listening to it. Earlier in this chapter, I referred to this phenomenon as micro-effervescence, in reference to Durkheim's collective effervescence. It helps to explain the incongruences between the initial survey data and the focus group material collected shortly after. The experience of micro-effervescence can be a very powerful one, as exemplified by the money raised by similar micro-effervescent campaigns such as Band Aid and USA for Africa, and thus the respondents – who were watching the *ZAZI* video as they completed the survey – would have answered according to their feelings and emotions at that moment. The learners were in a heightened affective state, in a similar manner to those participants of a 'Lucky, the Hero!' show or a TAC march, but in this instance there was one key ingredient missing: directed focus towards human interaction. Durkheim's (1912) understanding of religious fervour is built upon creating interpersonal connections between individuals. These connections then act as catalysts for the chain reaction between participants that culminates in effervescence. Music videos such as *ZAZI* present their information in a far more isolated manner, through unfacilitated prerecorded performances to individuals or small groups of people within contexts that are often not conducive to effervescence, such as television broadcasts or cell phone movie files. Heightened affective states are prolonged and sustained, as is the case with most emotional and affective phenomena, through contact with others.

What is striking is the speed at which those feelings of motivation elicited by *ZAZI* change. Not a few months, as one school learner suggested earlier, but a matter of only minutes. In fact, as the Garden's Commercial High School respondents illustrated, the effect begins to diminish almost immediately after the song or music video has ended. This is not to say that the *ZAZI* campaign is doomed to fail, far from it. The feedback regarding the *ZAZI* music video's ability

to raise awareness of women's issues was again very positive. Survey respondents reacted well to *ZAZI* as consciousness-raising media, with 64.3% of all respondents strongly agreeing (answering between 8-10 on the response scale) with the statement 'This song will now remind me of women making empowered choices' (see graph 1). Encouragingly for the *ZAZI* campaign, similar attitudes towards education were also expressed throughout the focus groups of the 2015 survey.

> **GW:** Did the video teach you anything?

> **Female Learner:** It taught me a lot of things: know your strength and know your power. We have a long way to go in South Africa when it comes to women's rights but things like this help to get the message out there. I think women in South Africa now, as I'm talking, are not respected and are not given equal opportunities, even though it's something that is everywhere. The video is talking about that but people out there aren't really aware of doing that.

> **Male Learner:** It taught me that there are problems of inequality in this country and that we all have to know our own strength. (Female and Male learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015)

The findings of this study suggest that *ZAZI* was successful at motivating the learners in the moment and raising their awareness of the challenges faced by many South African women on a daily basis. The learners, however, remained largely indifferent towards any kind of further or continued action after viewing the video.

Celebrity Endorsement and the Politics of Genre

Some of the more prominent topics that emerged throughout the 2015 study were those to do with the artists involved and the genre of music used in the video. For music-driven audio-visual campaigns like *ZAZI*, choosing an appropriate voice for the messages is very important, since the actions or reputation of an individual can reflect positively or negatively on a campaign.

The subject was one of much debate amongst the *ZAZI* content creators at Joe Public South Africa.

> The conversation here can get quite technical because I can be honest with you, the genre of music that we chose was also very very important. This is not a frivolous subject, it's quite a deep-rooted thing and you need to get into certain places. For instance, we've got various genres of music in South Africa, but not once did we think of a kwaito artist, for instance. Not once did we think of a house artist, for instance. It was very very specific that we wanted to target the heartstrings and we needed the kind of people and the kind of genre and music that could help us to tell a story, but to tell a beautiful story, an uplifting story. But not to do something that was just there for the sake of being. It had to have meaning. That is how we ended up where we did from an artist point of view as well as a genre point of view. We ended up going with Afro-soul. The nice thing about that genre is that it's a genre that traditionally opens itself up to storytelling (Interview with Xolisa Dyeshana, Executive Creative Director of Joe Public South Africa 25/03/2014).

Within Xolisa's very diplomatically phrased explanation of Joe Public's reluctance to become involved in kwaito[54] or house genres, is the reality that campaigns are often careful to avoid artist and genres with reputations that contrast with the image campaign organisers hope to create around their brand. When campaigns become endorsed by celebrities, they inevitably become associated with the activities and statements of that person. Writing about celebrity endorsement in relation to environmental conservation in Africa, Brockingon argues that one of the biggest complications with these kinds of relationships 'is that public figures' corporate endorsements and general behaviour can threaten the brand of the NGOs with whom they then associate'

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[54] Kwaito is a musical genre that emerged in South Africa during the country's early post-apartheid years. It features synthesised samples and loops and bears similarities to rap and hip hop, but is most often associated with house due to its use of slowed down house rhythms. Though there are instances in which women have carved out a space for themselves within the kwaito genre and subculture, the music continues to be associated with attitudes that are derogatory and repressive towards women (Impey 2001).

(2014: 101-102). He continues that some of the most common embarrassments are found as a result celebrities behaving

> in ways which are detrimental to the campaign, such as when Salman Khan shot a protected antelope in India shortly after appearing in a calendar for the WWF, or when Ralph Fiennes was reported to have had casual sex with an air hostess en route to India to promote HIV/AIDS awareness for UNICEF (Ibid).

Pierce was more forthright about the careful and considered selection process used to decide what genre and artists the *ZAZI* campaign would become associated with.

> We looked at a range of artists, and it's always a difficult choice to make when you're looking specifically at an artist because an artist doesn't just sing the song, we want them to be an ambassador and believe in what they are singing. So we looked at a number of different artists, some younger ones as well, but I think Zonke fits the kind of ideal we wanted for an ambassador. She wasn't very controversial and quite up-and-coming. Some of it's very practical: is she available, is she approachable, can we afford her? [Laughs] I think the kind of music she sings is still, I don't want to say 'safe' but it's almost acceptable in terms of 'is it doing good?', does it have a positive message? We looked at her track record and we looked at the other's track records in terms of how well behaved they are, but we also accept that they're humans and they will falter and make mistakes. She isn't the campaign, certainly not. We've tried to spread that around between other ambassadors, the poet as well. She's younger as well and fits more within the age bracket (Interview with Bronwyn Pierce, Deputy Director *ZAZI* Cape Town 21/02/14).

Since *ZAZI* is a women's sexual and reproductive health campaign, the organisers needed to take an extra level of care in their choices as certain quite popular genres in South Africa, including kwaito, rap, house, and hip-hop, have been known to voice derogatory views of women. Of course, no one song or genre will be universally appealing, but *ZAZI*'s subject matter appears to have

limited its appeal towards younger listeners. Many of the learners suggested they would rather listen to rap, house, or other genres, and further stating that they would be more likely to engage with the campaign if artists with whom they were more familiar advocated it. The 2015 survey data suggests that many of the participants recognised Zonke, as 59.5% agreed with the statement 'I recognise the musicians involved' (see graph 1). However, what became clear during the interview stages of the study was that recognition does not necessarily translate into brand engagement. Many of the following responses (which is only a small selection of excerpts that expressed similar views) were often given without being directly asked about the genre or the artists involved:

> **Female Learner:** I feel like, as a youth, I feel like I just wouldn't really want to listen to it. It's not the kind of genre I listen to. Maybe if they add, maybe a rapper, you know, it would be more appealing to the younger people and kids. It would get the message across to more than just a person who likes this music.

<div align="center">***</div>

> **Female Learner:** It's definitely about the people in the video, maybe you could use people who are more easily recognisable public figures in the videos, maybe that would be more influential.

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> **Male Learner:** I think the video would have been stronger if they used someone who appeals to the youth. With the female in the video, it doesn't seem like a real song. It could be more.

<div align="center">***</div>

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> **Female Learner:** First of all, the song: not a lot of people listen to that kind of music. So if someone heard that video starting, I don't think a lot of people would want to listen to it, like, it's not your type of music.

> **Female Learner:** They must make a new video with Justin Bieber! [Laughter] They must make a new video that appeals to the younger generation. Because if you want women of our younger generation to be aware of things like that, which most of us are, you have to make something that appeals to us. Maybe rap or house. It doesn't matter the genre, just who's singing it, that would be the appeal (Female and Male learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015).

While discussing the use of music as a medium of communication many participants agreed that music was an effective way of reaching large numbers of people. However, many respondents suggested they would be more likely to engage with the subject matter more readily if (1) the genre were to be something more appealing to them, and (2) that the artist involved was just as important a factor in the general appeal of the song, if not more so, than the genre itself. The survey data from both studies suggests that the most popular genres of music that the respondent's listened to were house, RNB, and hip-hop.

It is unsurprising that a great deal of emphasis is placed on the importance of who's voice is used to express campaign messages, given the influence celebrity musicians play in the lives of teenagers. Celebrity philanthropy and activism is commonplace and the weight of their influence on public opinion can be significant (Cooper 2007; Dieter and Kumar 2008; Jeffreys and Alatson 2015). What is surprising, however, is that some respondents seemed to place more emphasis on the musician involved than the genre of music used. This places a campaign like *ZAZI* in a difficult position, since a number of popular genres of music for many young South Africans, at least the hundreds of respondents I spoke with, are largely unsuitable for discussing the issue of women's sexual and reproductive health. Of course, there are exceptions to this, such as Hip

Hop star Zola and house artist Zakhele Madida's appointments as goodwill ambassadors to UNICEF in 2006 and 2015 respectively.

ZAZI: Band AID 2.0 or Innovative Multi-Media Messaging?

On the surface, ZAZI appears to have a number of similarities to audio-visual mass media campaigns that have come before it, perhaps not significantly rethinking the communication strategies of the 1980s super groups. But would such an assessment be accurate or justified? I have already discussed how the ZAZI song makes only general references to knowing and loving oneself, while the music video shows scenes depicting four women and girls making positive life choices. In order to gain further perspective on the ZAZI music video, I selected two other relatively recent (within the last 8 years) campaign music videos, both of which deal in some fashion with AIDS-related issues. By analysing the manner in which these music videos attempt to communicate their respective messages, similarities and differences of multi-media AIDS-related messaging in the recent past can more easily be distinguished. These videos were then screened to a different group of 15-19-year-old learners at Gardens Commercial High School in 2014 in order to provide feedback in the same format of surveys and focus groups.

Yvonne Chaka Chaka and Youssou N'Dour: *Proud to Be* Music Video

The opening scene shows the names of the two singers (Youssou N'Dour and Yvonne Chaka Chaka) superimposed over leafy green branches swaying in a gentle breeze. A kora player sits and plays the opening G major riff before the words 'Proud to Be' appear, again superimposed over another 'African' scene: palm trees along a sunset soaked coastline. The plucked strings of the kora give the opening melodies a West African sound. The scenes cut between N'Dour singing vocal embellishments into a microphone, complete with pop-shield,[55] in a recording studio while another musician, wearing a dashiki, embellishes the

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[55] A pop shield is a piece of audio recording equipment that is usually placed between a vocalist's mouth and a microphone in order to reduce the air pressure caused by the annunciation of Ps and Bs while singing or speaking.

repeating pattern of the kora with a further melodic line on a flute. Chaka Chaka is shown in the following scene singing into a microphone as footage of markets and dusty streets are interspersed with shots of under-supplied hospitals. She then speaks directly to the camera over looped bongo drum rhythms in pseudo-rap fashion. The intonation of Chaka Chaka's vocal introduction lies somewhere between singing and speaking and is thus reminiscent of rap or hip-hop.

Spoken

Hey my brothers and sisters

We have a big problem here

It's time for you to kick the habits

About bad medicines, as deadly weapons

That are killing off our citizens
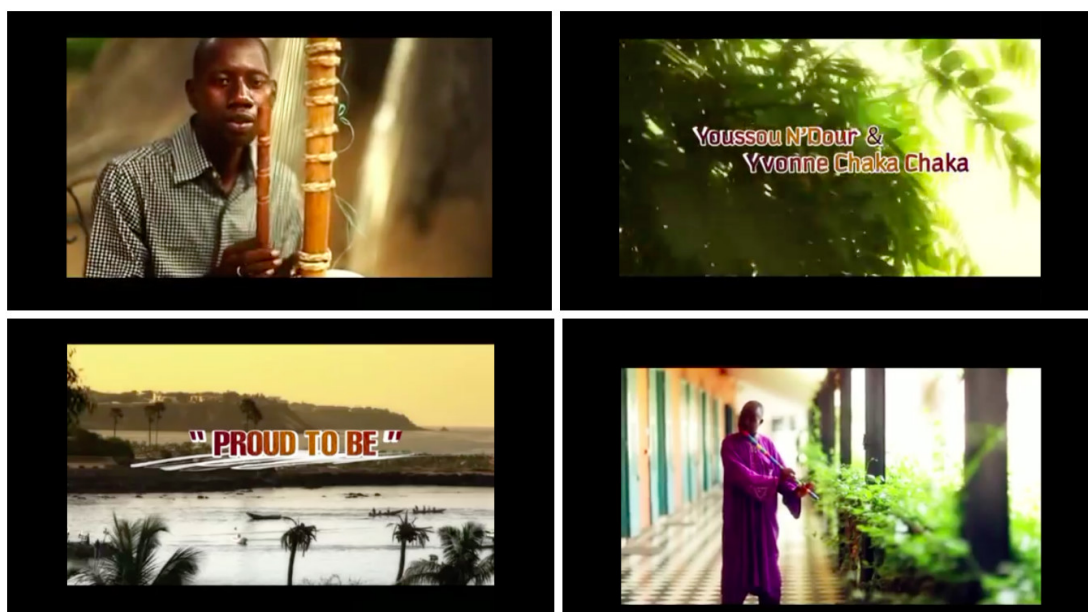
Figure 17. Opening scenes of *Proud to Be* depicting a kora and flute player as well as the names of the singers involved.

Once Chaka Chaka has addressed the camera directly, the track shifts dramatically from the sung/spoken introduction to an indistinguishable blend of West African-influenced pop and generic Afro-pop beats. The melodic range of Chaka Chaka's vocal line during the first verse illustrates her prowess as a

singer, but the melody is stifled by the lack of harmonic movement. Throughout the entirety of the first verse the underlying harmony remains on the tonic chord of G major, indeed this is the case for the first minute of the track. Visually, hidden camera footage shows faceless African men around stockpiles of counterfeit medication. The imagery suggests they are in the process of a transaction.

Verse
Say no to counterfeit medication
Bad medication is in circulation
Saving people's lives is part of the plan
Enough is enough, you must understand

Figure 18. Chaka Chaka sings in a recording studio while images of illegal medicines and hospital patients are shown.

During the first chorus, a choir performs a choreographed dance routine while Chaka Chaka and N'Dour sing into their microphones in a recording studio, which is reminiscent of earlier campaign music videos. Footage of people going about their daily business and playing on a beach is interspersed with the scenes. The track builds dynamically towards the chorus through synthesised

repeated pitches but the implied harmony under the chorus riff remains static as the synthesised bass riff circulates around the tonic chord. The style becomes more confused with the addition of a choir. Although this is a common theme within numerous campaign music videos since the 1980s, its inclusion within *Proud to Be* reorients the listener to a new musical style in a similar manner to the opening pseudo-rap section. The first chorus introduces N'Dour's French lyrics. The use of both French and English, as common *lingua francas* across the African continent, illustrates Interpol's desire for the song's messages to reach as many people as possible.
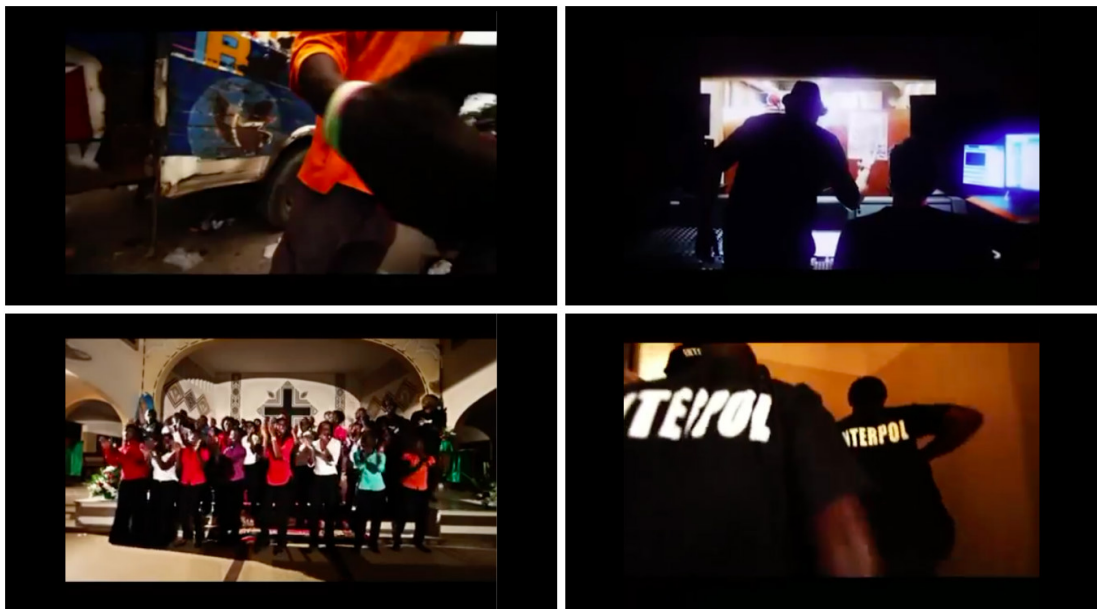
Figure 19. Choir and recording studio scenes are interspersed with those involving Interpol officers and criminal activity.

Chorus

Africans will be proud to be in good health

With or without wealth.

Africans will be proud to be in good health

With or without wealth.

Africains, ils sont tous nos enfants (Africans, they are all our children)

Des faux medicaments (Fake medicines)

Africains, ils sont notre énergie (Africans, they are our energy)

La santé c'est la vie (Health is life)

More hidden camera footage shows faceless men shaking hands with whomever is shooting the video, further alluding to business transactions, is juxtaposed with choir and recording studio scenes. Interpol officers can be seen running up some stairs of an apartment building and kicking down a door to one of the rooms.

Verse
I say now the investigation has begun, Interpol's got them under observation
I'm sure it won't be long, before we smash this criminal action
(Ay Ay Ay)
Once we know who's the source
(Woah proud to be)
They will all have to face justice
(Once we know who's the source)
Listen up, pay attention, people need good medication
These criminals have a different plan, divided we fall but united we stand

The second verse is similar to the first with regard to instrumentation, harmony, texture, and timbre. The only significant differences come in the form of an expanded range in Chaka Chaka's vocal melody and N'Dour's vocal embellishments between her lyrics. Within the video we are shown newspaper clippings with headlines reading 'Police Action Against Fake Medicines: Criminals Arrested' as they are flashed into the frame, along with footage of burning packets of medicine.

Chorus
Africans will be proud to be in good health
With or without wealth.
Africans will be proud to be in good health
With or without wealth.

After the second chorus the texture of the track changes radically as much of the instrumentation is dropped, leaving only the drum loop and bongo drums. The song's first refrain section comes in the form of a bongo and flute solo, which present alternating rhythmic riffs before the track is dominated by N'Dour's introductory vocal embellishment and ululation. Children play on a beach while others paint pictures of medicines, pharmacies, and dance. The choir sings the following chorus in unison and the message 'demand good medication' appears on the screen. Chaka Chaka, whose vocal inflection is now reminiscent of soul or rhythm and blues, presents the second refrain in which she addresses those creating counterfeit medication.

Figure 20. Children play on a beach and paint.

Refrain

I say murderers, you better watch out, don't think all is sweet and all is fine

African people, just make up your mind, don't be cheated, demand good medication

Come rain or shine

Chorus (choir)

Africans will be proud to be in good health

With or without wealth.

Africans will be proud to be in good health

With or without wealth.

The song's third and final refrain comes in the form of an electric guitar solo accompanied by punctuating harmonies from the choir. This further shifts the timbre of the track towards an unexpected interlude. A slightly distorted electric guitar plays a repeated major riff characterised by double stopping,[56] before performing a melodic bend up to the tonic pitch. The incorporation of three disparate refrain sections that differ radically in tone, expression, instrumentation, and style, result in an almost schizophrenic sound. The track appears to be unable to settle on one particular style, and though such hybridity can often lead to new and interesting sound fusions, *Proud to Be* seems to juxtapose rather than blend such sounds.

Verse

Sound of our declaration

(Sons de notre declarations)

Africans pay attention

(Africans pay attention)

Work together to save the world

Save Africa

(Save Africa)

Be proud, be proud, be proud, be proud

Chorus (choir)

Africans will be proud to be in good health

With or without wealth.

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[56] Double stopping refers to a stringed instrument technique of playing two notes simultaneously within a melodic pattern.

Africains, ils sont tous nos enfants (Africans, they are all our children)

Des faux medicaments (Fake medicines)

Africans will be proud to be in good health

With or without wealth.

Africains, ils sont notre énergie (Africans, they are our energy)

La santé c'est la vie (Health is life)

Proud to be

(Proud to be)

The video ends with footage of children holding up their paintings from earlier in the video, as Chaka Chaka and N'Dour dance and interact with women and children. The video fades as two little girls smile into the camera.

Figure 21. Children hold up their paintings of pharmacies, hospitals, and medicines, implying that they have the right to legitimate medication.

In addition to the reasons for choosing *Proud to Be* as a comparison video to *ZAZI* that were outlined in the introduction to this chapter, a further consideration was that Interpol, the organisation behind the song, recognised

the influence of the major humanitarian music videos of the 1980s. In a 2012 press release they stated:

> Only music can spread a strong message that will last forever, in the same way the song 'We Are The World' continues to touch our hearts more than 25 years after we first heard it. Celebrated musicians and singers [...] have become musical goodwill ambassadors for this project (Interpol 2012).

Indeed, the references to *We Are The World* are discernable. The most obvious example of this can be found in the video's use of the choir during the chorus sections. This trope, as I have already established in chapter one, has become perhaps the most common theme among humanitarian music videos since the 1980s. Further references include footage of artists in the process of recording the song (singing to microphones with pop-shields or using other studio equipment) interspersed with footage of African children. Given that Interpol appears to have largely followed what I have come to refer to as the Band Aid method, it would be reasonable to assume that *Proud to Be* would be relatively effective in engaging with audiences. What we find, however, is the opposite.

It is unclear what the *Proud to Be* music video is attempting to demonstrate, both musically and through the selection of clips that accompany the track. The track becomes an indistinguishable blend of African-sounding music and in doing so loses much of the appeal that using a particular genre may have afforded. Given the track's length – at 4:09 it is longer than the average pop song – lack of harmonic movement or catchy melodies, it becomes difficult to focus on the messages presented in the music. In terms of the visual aspect of the music video, it is not easy to follow what is happening since no clear narrative is presented, but rather the video shows fragmented clips of Interpol personnel, stockpiles of presumably counterfeit medication, and faceless criminals.

While interviewing learners at Gardens Commercial High School, the response to *Proud to Be* was often one of confusion, both in terms of what the messages of the video actually are and why music was chosen as the medium of expression for them.

> **Male learner:** There was one video; I had no idea what was going on. There were police running around, and then with the choir, then I don't know. It was really bad. I think they were trying to convey a message but because it was very confusing, and there was no emotional appeal, it all felt a bit 'bleh', and not engaging.

> **Male Learner:** What I didn't like about that video was that maybe it shouldn't have been a song, about the medication. Maybe it should have been a video with someone speaking about medication in the background, maybe give stats or something. The song and the actual angle of the video didn't go together.

> **Female Learner:** The song was just confusing. I felt like the music choice for that video was inappropriate. I'm trying to think: they are talking about medication but the whole thing doesn't seem to fit. And we were kind of thinking: 'what *is* this music?' and 'what is the message about?' (Female and Male learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

55% of the learners were not familiar with the musical style (see graph 2). This is unsurprising for a number of reasons. By alluding to various styles of West African and western musics, *Proud to Be* seems to lose its own musical identity, and becomes difficult to define in terms of genre. Further, as I mentioned earlier, the most common music genres were house, RNB, and hip-hop. A number of times during the conversation the respondents suggested that the video lacked any emotional appeal, while simultaneously presenting the subject matter in a confusing and complicated manner. Indeed, the 4 minute 9 second track packs a large amount of audio-visual stimuli into a relatively short period of time, perhaps too much. *Proud to B*e seems to fall into the trap of trying to put too much information into its lyrics and imagery at the expense of what

Pierce earlier suggested was one of the most important rules in edutainment: the content must first and foremost be entertaining. The lyrics present a call-to-action – to demand good medication – but the manner in which this is expressed is indistinctive and thus not engaging.
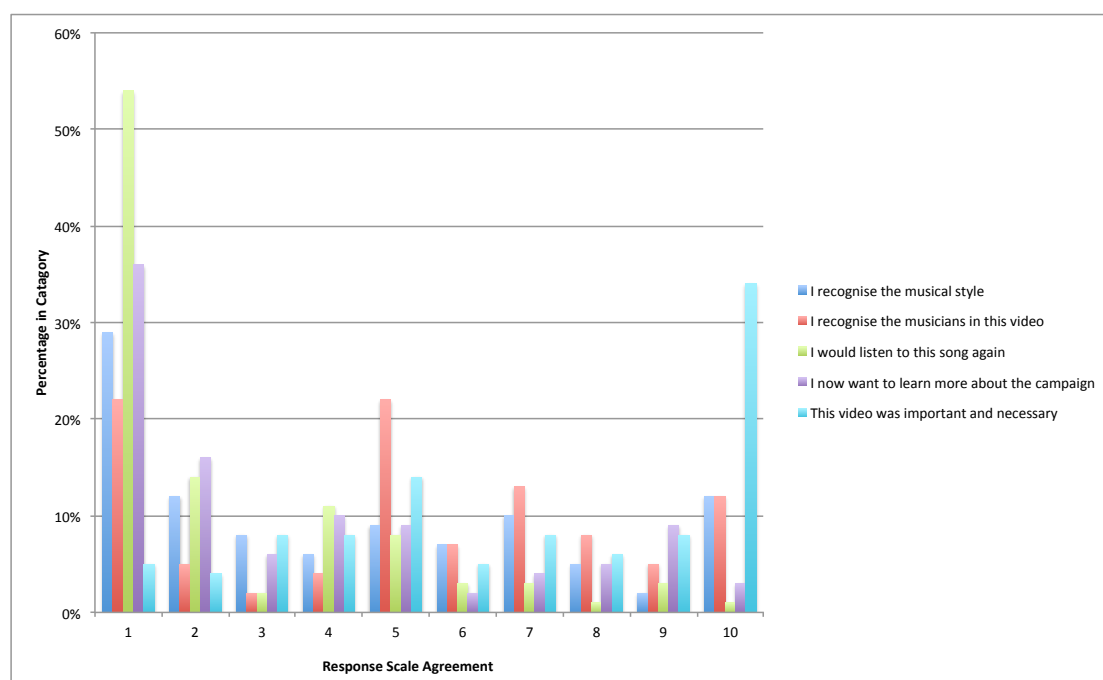
Graph 2. Survey responses to the *Proud to Be* music video (Gardens Commercial High School, Cape Town, 2014 study group).

Harmonically, the track is fairly static. The melodies of the two opening verses are placed upon a riff that does not move from the tonic chord throughout. This monotony is only broken by the harmonic changes of the chorus. Similar sentiments were implied in the learner's responses to how crowded the general experience of watching the music video was.

> **Female Learner:** The medication one, it was just too much. It was so 90s! This 90s music video. They should subtract the music or have a poem or something because the message got diverted a bit.

> **Male Learner:** I felt like it was a strike! [Laughter] I mean it wasn't trying to do anything, it was really just demanding and that's just typical of South Africa we just want things all the time. It's like 'we want good medication!', so it wasn't

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really a song, it was like a, I don't know, it wasn't even a plea, it was more of a

demand. I felt like the song wasn't even doing anything. It wasn't going

anywhere. It's just that, I understand we've got a need in Africa, but there was

a different way of saying it, like maybe if they, you know the video was fine,

the lyrics and the video, but I'm thinking maybe there shouldn't even be a

music video, it should just be someone speaking (Female and Male learners,

15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

I found the multiple suggestions of poetry as a more appropriate medium of

communication very interesting since *ZAZI* incorporates a lengthy poem into the

music video, which will be discussed in more detail later. These negative

opinions were not only expressed during the interview stages of the survey but

are also clear from the initial survey data collected as the respondents watched

the video. Despite the names of the artists appearing in the opening scenes of

the music video, only 38% of respondents suggested that they recognise the

musicians involved (answering between 6-10 to the statement 'I recognise the

musicians involved') (see graph 2). In terms of their satisfaction with the song in

general and how they responded to the music, 81% of the learners responded

negatively (answering between 1-4) to the statement 'I would listen to this song

again'. This is extremely important, since the success of a campaign of this kind

is dependent on the popularity of its media, and indeed this is reflected in the

learner's indifferent attitudes towards the campaign goals more generally. 68%

of all the learners responded negatively (between 1-4) to the statement 'I now

want to learn more about this campaign.' Further, 61% suggested they agreed

that 'the video was important and necessary' (responding between 6-10). The

findings of the survey suggest that target audiences are unlikely to connect with

campaign messaging if there is no emotional appeal and appropriately engage

with them, regardless of how important the subject matter is perceived be.

There appears to be a causal link between the emotional connection a music

video can engender and the experience of micro-effervescence.

The *Sing* music video opens with footage of Nelson Mandela addressing a large crowd during the 2003 Cape Town 46664 concert (at which Annie Lennox performed). Mandela states: 'You can help break the silence. Talk about HIV and AIDS. Let us use the universal language of music to sing out our message around the world'. The scene then cuts to a young African child dancing in a doorway as the opening riff introduces the track. The opening piano riff rocks back and forth between D minor and D minor add 11. Annie Lennox is pictured in front of a vast South African landscape, dotted with small thatch-roofed houses as she walks arm in arm with two women, all three wearing t-shirts displaying the famous TAC H.I.V POSITIVE slogan. During the opening chorus, Lennox's vocals are sung characteristically coarse in timbre with many backing vocal harmonies presented by the various contributing female artists.

Chorus
Sing my sisters sing
Let your voice be heard
What won't kill you will make you strong
Sing my sisters sing

Images of women pulling a clearly very sick woman covered in blankets and winter clothing on a wheelbarrow are interspersed with scenes of Lennox performing in her H.I.V POSITIVE t-shirt. Small children in ragged clothing dance to the music as older women dance wearing headphones.

Verse
You don't need to disrespect yourself again
Don't hide your light behind your fear
My women can be strong
You've known this all along
What you need is what you haven't found, so

Figure 22. Images of Nelson Mandela open the *Sing* music video. Lennox is pictured wearing TAC's H.I.V POSITIVE t-shirt.

The opening verse is opened with an anticipatory snare beat that introduced the rock style 4:4 kit rhythm. Lennox's vocal register and timbre change dramatically with the introduction of kit and the vi-IV-III harmonic piano riff, from rough and slightly raspy chest register to a very smooth head register. Visually, patients and nursing sisters sing and dance in an over-crowded clinic as Lennox is pictured intermittently with a group of women, all of whom are wearing an H.I.V POSITIVE t-shirt. The scene ends with more children dancing.

Chorus
Sing my sisters sing
Let your voice be heard
What won't kill you will make you strong
Sing my sisters sing

Lennox holds a young girl who is sleeping in her arms as information pertaining to the HIV/AIDS crisis is displayed at the bottom of the screen. She then continues to hug various women and children in an antenatal clinic. The scene

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then moves to more young children listening to headphones while smiling and dancing.

Figure 23. Children, mostly little girls, feature prominently in the *Sing* music video as a way of appealing to the emotions.

Verse

Women are the mothers of the world my friend

(Text: A third of all pregnant women are HIV positive in South Africa)

I tell you women can be strong

(Text: With treatment, a baby can be born free of the virus)

Take your beautiful self out to the heights again

Back to the place where you belong, so

The second verse is sung by American singer Madonna, creating further change in the texture of the vocal performance throughout the track. Young children hula-hoop while Lennox kneels between them, singing, as they play.

Chorus

Sing my sisters sing

Let your voice be heard

What won't kill you will make you strong

Sing my sisters sing

The texture of the music reduces to just a solo piano, strings, and vocals as the imagery moves from young children playing to child-sized graves, as text relating to the scale of the AIDS epidemic, particularly its effect on children, appears at the bottom of the screen. The drum beat is reduced to a bass drum beat that seems to imitate the rhythm of a human heartbeat, sonically representing life while the imagery visually represents loss of life.

Figure 24. HIV statistics appear along the bottom of the frame as Lennox walks among child-sized graves and marches with TAC.

Refrain

Sing my sisters sing

(Text: Children who are born positive, or infected within the first 6 months of their lives have a 50% chance of dying before the age of 2.)

Let your voice be heard

What won't kill you will make you strong

(Text: Every minute a child under 15 dies of an AIDS-related illness)

Sing my sisters sing

(Text: Every 15 seconds a young person aged 15-24 contracts HIV)

C'mon my sisters now

Sing yeah, sing loud, song proud

The harmonies and instrumentation of the chorus begin again, but the usual melody and lyrics are replaced with those of the Generic's (TAC's choir) version of *Jikelele*. With more text stating that 5.6 million South Africans are HIV-positive. The final chorus blends Lennox's *Sing* with TAC's HIV positive choir's rendition of *Jikelele*. The blending Lennox's *Sing* with TAC's *Jikelele* results in the driving rock rhythms contributing a powerful and energetic quality to The Generic's vocal performance.

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV

(We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV)

Jikelele

(Globally)

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV

(We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV)

Jikelele

(Globally)

Lennox is shown interacting with a young girl suffering from AIDS. Her face is skeletal and she is wearing many layers of clothing and a woolen hat to stay warm. The scene then changes to young boys dressed in ragged clothing and eating alone, a reference to AIDS orphans, before cutting again to women in the H.I.V POSITIVE t-shirt, dancing to the music.

Chorus/Outro

Sing my sisters sing

(Text: Children under 15 now account for 1 in 7 new global HIV infections)

Let your voice be heard

(Text: UNAIDS estimates there are approximately 14.5 million AIDS orphans in South Africa)

Jikelele, Jikelele, Jikelele, Jikelele (globally)

The final scenes show the young boys, who are suggested to be AIDS orphans, holding hands and spinning in a circle, while silhouetted by the setting sun. The camera slowly zooms into a small baby girl lying in a cot, sucking her thumb as she looks into the camera. The music crossfades from Lennox's track to the Generic's rendition of *Jikelele* before fading out.

Generics Outro

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV

(We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV)

Jikelele

(Globally)

AZT siyayazi ikhusela abantwana kwiHIV

(We know AZT prevents babies from getting HIV)

Jikelele

(Globally)

The opening footage from the 2003 46664 concert in Cape Town consciously frames the *Sing* music video within both global AIDS awareness and relief efforts, and the history of humanitarian mega-events that began with Band Aid and Live Aid. The video appears to work hard, consciously or otherwise, to involve the viewer in an inclusive audio-visual experience. It presents many instances of people, mostly young children, involved the very participatory activities that music so easily elicits: singing, dancing, and socially interacting. This is further exemplified during the refrain in which images of TAC marches are shown as Lennox and The Generics sing their AIDS-oriented version of *Jikelele.* These audio-visual devices reference the then recent mobilisation of the country's AIDS activists. Indeed, Lennox's association with, and inclusion of, TAC does much to counterbalance some uncomfortable issues of what are

generally considered 'top down' interventions, such as the exclusion of local voices.

The imagery in *Sing* is, at times, undoubtedly jarring. Rows of child-sized graves juxtaposed with scenes of children laughing, singing, dancing, and playing is a powerful visual aid to the song's message. For Vernallis (2004), juxtaposing imagery in this way can engender a kind of extrapolation through which meaning can be created between otherwise disconnected scenes. Indeed, many of the learners from Gardens Commercial Highs School were moved by it.

> **Female learner:** For me the third one [*Sing*] was very emotional, just the fact that they were showing children and because of that it kind of grabs you. It was perfect.

> **Female learner:** I also liked the fact that even though so many people and children died from HIV and AIDS, they still showed that and unborn baby can still live without AIDS even though the mother may have it.

> **Male learner:** Not only did the music and the lyrics give it a nice vibe, and with the Xhosa parts, but it showed how young babies are dying, it showed freshly dug graves with the info in the little narration at the bottom, the statistics to show us how big of a problem it actually is. I think those things combined with the video actually got the point across clearly. Out of all the videos that was the most clear (Female and Male learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

By blending western pop and Southern African choral music in the form of The Generics' rendition of *Jikelele*, *Sing* is not only able to appeal to a broader spectrum of people but further makes musical reference, rather than simply overt visual references, to the HIV/AIDS crisis. This is important since, though many overt visual references to AIDS are made, as with *ZAZI*, the lyrics convey the message of women's strength, while making no mention of South Africa's HIV/AIDS crisis. The feedback from the learners was not universally positive,

however. Some felt that the portrayal of black Africans in the video was insensitive, insinuating that they were treated more as props than as people.

> **Female learner:** I would have liked it if it had shown all different races who are suffering from HIV, not just black people. Now it's going to stick in our heads that only black people get HIV and that other people don't get infected.

> **Female learner:** Yeah, I think that's also a big problem in our continent actually. All these viruses and poverty, all these issues are always associated with black people, there are so many people who have AIDS, I know people who have AIDS who aren't even black. I mean it sucks for black people's race; it's like a stereotype, a stigma that black people are inferior, and it's because of the media (Female learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

Others still, felt that the video positioned Lennox as somewhat detached from the people with whom she was interacting, making reference to the common criticism of celebrity philanthropy that they are not invested in the campaign (Brockington 2009, 2014; Cooper 2008; Jeffreys and Allatson 2015).

> To me, the reason I didn't like the video is because it just seemed fake. Even when the singer was there [in rural South Africa] she didn't really show any emotion and it seemed like they only went to one area. Why not go everywhere? It's just you, and you're sitting hugging this person. [Shrugs] Not even really hugging, its side hugging, show us you care (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

The need for some kind of emotional output, whether it's from listening to the music and watching the video, or expressed by the artists themselves, is a theme that was repeatedly raised during my conversations with the learners, throughout the discussions of each of the videos. They were aware, to some degree at least, that without some kind of emotional connection the campaign music videos would not yield the desired audience engagement. Indeed, one of

the few instances in which some of the learners suggested they would be motivated towards being part of a wider movement was when they had prior experience, and thus emotional investment, with the subject matter.

> Because of my personal experiences with HIV and things like that I felt like the videos were actually speaking to me and I felt motivated to be a part of something like that because having people close to you that are actually HIV positive, it's bad, it's not a good experience, so it felt motivating to actually be a part of something (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

This speaks to an important issue regarding effervescence: people will interpret media based on personal experiences. Emotive audio-visual media can humanise the subject matter for participants and further connections between individuals. According to the learners, *Sing* was the video that most closely resembled a real experience for the participants. By showing children singing and dancing, interspersed with child-sized graves, the learners were more easily
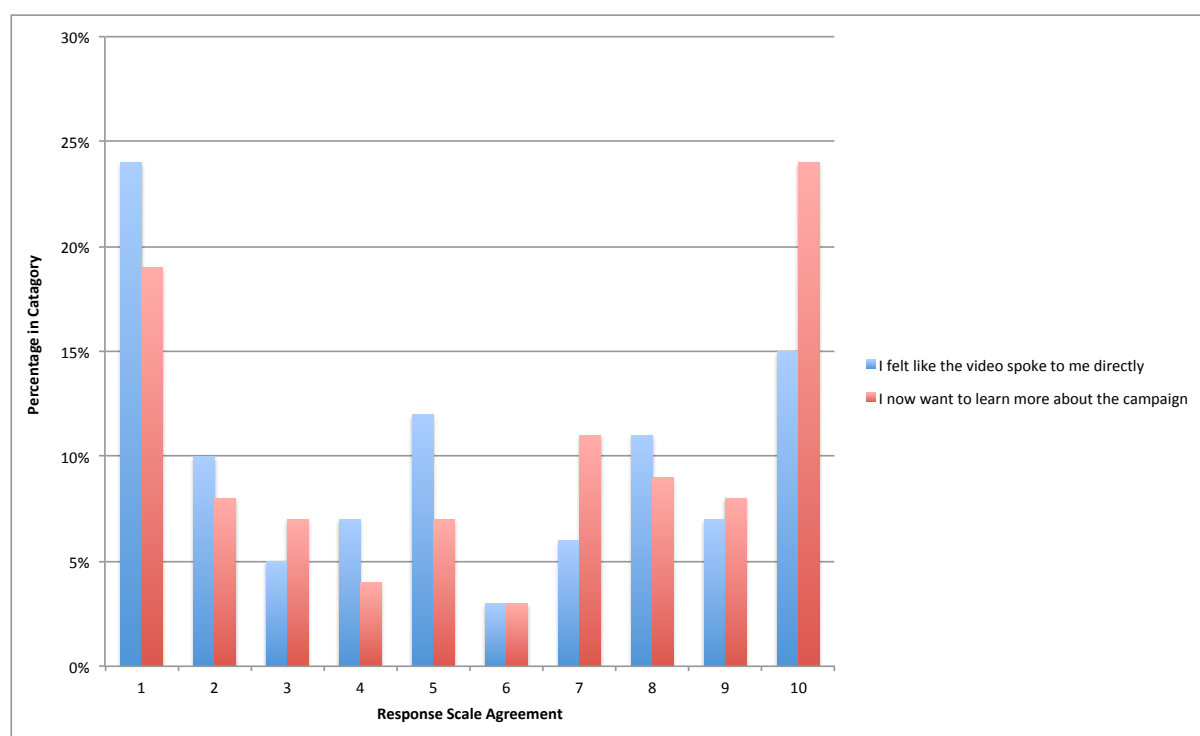
Graph 3. Survey responses to the *Sing* music video and perceived efficacy (Gardens Commercial High School, Cape Town, 2014 study group).

able to identify with the subject matter as a real experience and thus feel more mobilised to some form of action. Experience and human contact are key to engendering mobilisation. Be that as it may, despite a largely positive response towards the track during the interview stage, only 54% of the learners felt like the video spoke to them directly, with a further 52% suggesting they were interested in learning more about the campaign (see graph 3).

Buhle's Story

The goal of the *ZAZI* campaign is to catalyse a discussion of women's rights, gender inequality and raise awareness about issues relating to women's sexual and reproductive health. Since experience, whether lived or vicarious, is so fundamental to how people interpret media, it would be unhelpful to overlook the lives of those learners for whom issues of structural and gender inequality loom large. For this reason, I introduce Buhle,[57] a nineteen-year-old learner at Garden's Commercial High School. Buhle is in grade twelve, her final school year. She was born in and raised in some of Cape Town's most impoverished areas and currently lives in the township of Khayelitsha. Her morning routine consists of waking her two younger sisters (who also attend schools in the central Cape Town area), feeding and clothing them, and preparing their school materials. Transport from Khayelitsha to Cape Town centre, where Buhle goes to school, is limited and often unreliable, but she and her sisters walk through the township's meandering streets each morning to wait for their train.

Buhle's is a single-parent family. Her mother works as a domestic worker and often leaves early in the morning. Her extended family help to pay for her education. Like many underprivileged South Africans, and particularly in Khayelitsha, Buhle's family lives in an informal structure made of bricks, wood, and corrugated iron, but have hopes of moving into an RDP house soon. Mornings in the family shelter are a cramped and busy affair as she shares

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[57] Buhle's name has been changed to assure anonmyity.

her room with her two sisters. At nineteen years old, Buhle is largely responsible for her sisters when her mother is not around. Thrust into adulthood at a very young age, she has for all intents and purposes raised her two sisters, but her siblings do not share the same father as her. She recalls a drunk and violent individual, someone who left their home and family broken on more than one occasion. She is not sure what happened to her father, where he went, or what he is doing now, only that he left when she was around seven or eight years old.

For Buhle, contact with HIV is an everyday occurrence. Her mother is HIV positive but does not speak of it. Buhle is only aware of her mother's status after accidentally finding her medication. She was shocked to learn that her mother had been living with the virus for years prior to the discovery. 'AIDS' she notes as she rolls her eyes 'is everywhere and nowhere in Khayeltisha.' From radio adverts, leaflets, campaign songs, local gossip, soap operas, and more, Buhle's world is saturated with various competing articulations of the AIDS crisis. Indeed, as a young woman from a low income family, she is aware of her vulnerability.

> There are so many problems. As a girl, you have to be so careful. It is tempting, you know, to try and find a quick fix for yourself or your family, but we have to be better than that, there are no quick fixes. It's become a norm. Men will just do what they like, they come up and try to act like the big man with their fancy clothes and cars. They tell you things to make you feel special but we all know they tell that to everyone else. Sometimes its hard, I see my mum struggling, but I have to remind myself it's just not worth it, even if they are cute [laughs]. I want a real man not one all for show (Discussion with Buhle, Gardens Commercial High School, 2015).

Buhle's experiences with men speak to wider issues of structural violence discussed in chapter three of this thesis, and in particular to what I have referred to as the 'economy of intimacy' among South Africa's urban poor, in

which romantic and intimate relationships have become commercialised into transactions: love for gifts. This, as I've mentioned earlier, is quite distinct from commercial sex work, but still engenders many of the same health risks and inequality. Buhle's experiences, both as a young South African woman living in an urban informal area and in her particular responses to the country's AIDS messaging, are representative of a much wider section of South African society. In many ways, given the responses I received during my conversations with learners throughout the facilitated screening studies, Buhle's experience in these matters is not so different from many other urban poor South African women.

Buhle is a young woman living in a country filled with obstacles and uncertainty. Indeed, such obstacles to economic progression present themselves more potently and with far more frequency than they would to her wealthier compatriots. Her story represents the country's vast political and economic issues, severe poverty, and the legacy of decades of racist policies and institutions, while simultaneously, her continued education at Gardens Commercial High School and ambition to study finance at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, illustrates that life in contemporary South Africa cannot be moulded into a single narrative. Buhle must struggle to get the education she needs to become economically independent. She must maintain the motivation to succeed in the face of immediate 'quick fix' relationships, to use her words, while structures of privilege maintain the wealth of a select few.

> AIDS is not what people in Khayelitsha think about first. We don't feel safe, from gangsters to the police, something could happen to you any day. AIDS might get you 10 years from now but a gun could get you tomorrow. I think people have just given up, and I really don't blame them. It's hard struggling to get by every day. A lot of people feel abandoned by government and live day to day (Discussion with Buhle, Gardens Commercial High School, 2015).

Buhle's remark that 'AIDS is not what people in Khayelitsha think about first' illustrates the hierarchy of needs that living in poverty forces upon the thought processes of the urban poor in South Africa. For Buhle, the structural violence, inequality, and marginalisation due to her socio-economic status and gender militate against appropriately taking control of her own health and wellbeing. Long term health seems less important than where the next meal will come from. The structural inequalities that govern the lives of people living in poverty leave a slow acting virus like HIV far from the highest priority when it comes to personal health and safety.

Is *ZAZI* different?
Given the extreme structural inequalities facing South Africa's poor, and the further marginalisation of women within those communities, does *ZAZI* bring anything new to the discussions of gender inequality and HIV/AIDS in South Africa? Is *ZAZI* different to what has come before it? Though ultimately the answer to such a question is beyond the scope of this research, I pose it nonetheless to consider the learner's final responses to the music video.

During the interviews I conducted at Gardens Commercial High School, there were mixed views on whether *ZAZI* provided anything new to a fatigued discussion about HIV/AIDS and the methods used to communicate such messages, or whether it was just the same kind of video that the learners had seen innumerable times. There are indeed differences. The respondents suggested that they found *ZAZI*'s broad and positive approach to self-esteem more appealing than if it were to have focused specifically on one issue. Some learners felt that by drawing attention to normalised gender inequality, *ZAZI* may perhaps able to begin a long dialogue on the subject of equal rights.

> I thought it was a bit different because with *ZAZI* it wasn't one specific thing, say women's abuse, it was a variety of things that happen to women on a daily basis, that's not shown all of the time. I mean, fighting with your boyfriend or something, that's not something people show on TV because it's happening to

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women, but that kind of verbal assault happens on a daily basis, and it's not seen as that big of an issue. It was full of positive things as well. There was one point when a girl was studying, you know, getting her degree on, and a party was happening or something, I'm not sure what was happening, but she chose to stay and study. So it shows that we can do stuff as well. (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014)

Further, the *ZAZI* video's use of poetry as a medium of communication is quite unique among campaign music videos but was suggested by some of the learners as an alternative to song as a vehicle for the messages in *Proud to Be*. During an interview with Nova, the poet who appears in the *ZAZI* music video, she outlined some of the extra dimensions the spoken art form could deliver to the audio-visual experience.

People will hear the music and see the video, but the poem is a good oral way to break it down, to break down what is happening. That's one thing I love about including it because people will probably understand, but it's so much better if you can be like 'okay, what you just saw is this, this, this, and this.' But also do it in a cool, funky way within the song. (Interview with South African poet Nova – 28/05/2014)

The poem fits into a roughly 45 second segment that acts as the refrain or middle-eight to the song. Given the track is less than 4 minutes long in total; a relatively generous amount of time is given to Nova and her poem to express her own personalised version of the *ZAZI* message. Indeed, the response to the spoken section was quite positive with 65% of the 2014 respondents agreeing (answering between 6-10) that the poetry helped to explain more about the campaign. Despite this many of the respondents presented strong opinions on the effectiveness of unfacilitated music video screenings as a medium for mobilising people towards social change.

Female learner: I don't think a video could motivate someone really. I think experiencing, not getting AIDS, but going into that environment yourself and

seeing for yourself with your own eyes what is happening. A video is from someone else's point of view, it's their camera, they are showing you what they want to show you. So maybe there are parts in the video that we didn't see, what was happening behind the scenes. Unless we go there ourselves, unless we experience it, we can't get our own emotion from it, it's just the person who made the video's emotions.

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Female learner: It's not about the music really; it's about the videos, about the experience, the real life experience. Unless I spoke to a person with AIDS personally, I really don't think I'd understand what they're going through (Female learners, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014).

Throughout the interviews, the discussion kept returning to the subject of personal experience and perceived emotional connection with the subject matter, with many respondents suggesting that they were unlikely to ever fully engage with a campaign unless they could relate to it in less superficial and momentary terms.

Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have argued that music has the potential to elicit powerful affective responses from both groups and individuals. The ethnographic data I have analysed in previous chapters seems to suggest that music, through its very participatory and social nature, is at times able to catalyse effervescent assemblies and that such methods are currently being used in an attempt to communicate HI/AIDS-related health information and empower marginalised communities and demographics. What this chapter has illustrated is that this phenomenon continues to occur when the performance material is pre-recorded, though it does not appear to last longer than the media event itself. Indeed, as Levine argues regarding the use of documentary films, 'facilitated screenings are effective in their ability to provoke emotional

responses from audience members' (2007a: 237). She further notes, however, that the open-ended nature of the recorded media event can be particularly problematic in terms of unfacilitated exposure to such material (ibid). In short, she argues that the messages in such media can often be open to interpretation, and thus should be accompanied by community dialogue (ibid). The viewer/listener must negotiate the complexities of the HIV/AIDS crisis through the narratives presented in only a short amount of time.

Despite responding relatively positively to the *ZAZI* campaign, many of the learners maintained during the focus groups that they were not motivated to discuss women's rights in South Africa. Such opinions contrasted markedly with initial survey data, which suggested that the vast majority of the study participants responded favourably to *ZAZI* and were galvanised to discuss women's rights upon watching the music video. I account for these incongruences through a process that I term micro-effervescence. The learners were exposed to the *ZAZI* music video as they completed their questionnaires, and this exposure to the affective media influenced their opinions, causing them to feel more motivated towards the laudable goals of the campaign. This phenomenon, however, proved to be only momentary, as within minutes after exposure to the music video the learners had returned to their former opinions of relative indifference to the subject.

Many respondents further suggested that the video should be addressed towards men rather than women since women and girls are often not able to take control of their sexual health due to economic and political inequalities and structures discussed at some length in chapter three. Some even began making statements to that effect before self-censoring half way through their sentences, further emphasising the point.

> People have come to accept it, so now it doesn't seem to matter. It's become a norm. So it's like 'okay, so it's that again.' (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2014)

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I think, since it was based on women's rights, it should have been addressed more to men than women, because we know that we are supposed to stand up or try to stand up. Especially girls, women out there don't even try anymore because they have just given up, so the girls, they still have a long way to go to prove themselves. It was supposed to be addressed to men [points at some of the boys in the group as they laugh] so they start treating us like we deserve because we do more than they do (Female learner, 15-19, Garden's Commercial High School group interview 2015).

During one particular focus group, I asked the learners to raise their hands if they were aware of the need for a campaign like *ZAZI* to draw attention to women's rights in South Africa: every girl raised their hand while only one boy
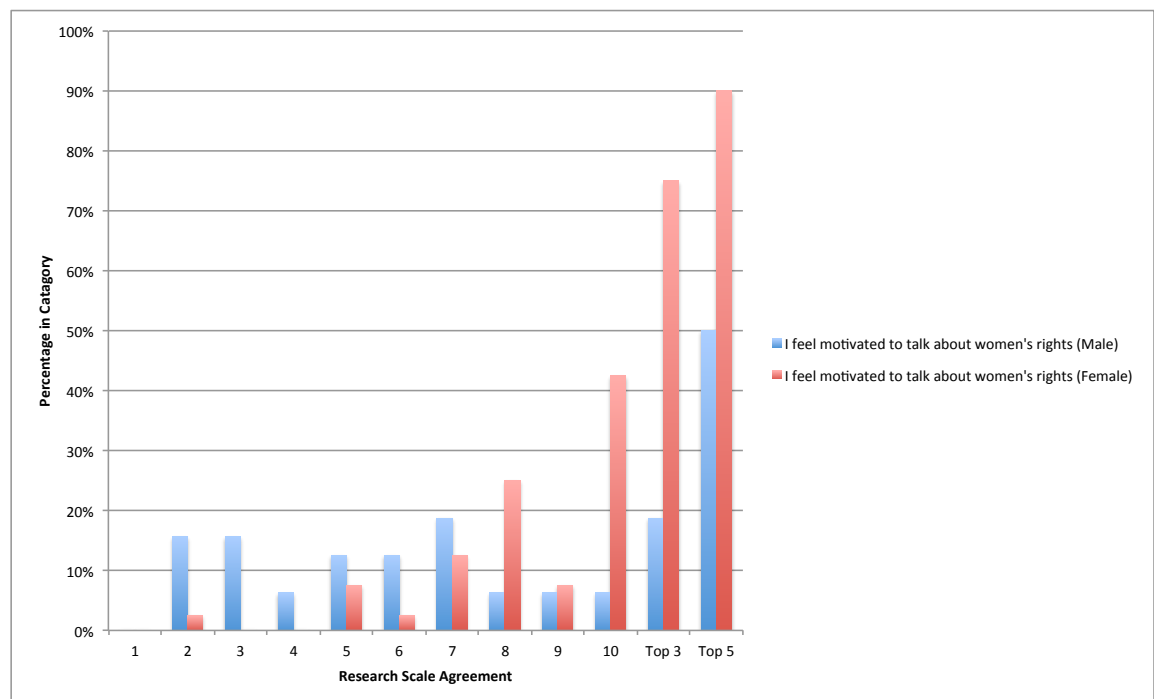
Graph 4. Survey responses to the *ZAZI* music video concerning motivation to engage with issues of women's rights, divided by gender (Gardens Commercial High School, Cape Town, 2015 study group).

did. Indeed, many of the boys who did watch the *ZAZI* music video claimed to be bored by it, and this rather lukewarm reception is supported by the 2015 survey data in which only half of males (50.1%) agreed that they were motivated to talk about women's rights, while 90% of women agreed, with 75% strongly agreeing (see graph 4). Though this initial enthusiasm quickly wore off, the disparity between the boys and girl's initial opinions on the matter is significant and, indeed, represented in the discrepancies between the girls and boys, on their willingness to engage within the focus group discussions. The vast majority of the qualitative focus group data presented in this chapter is from female participants.

South Africa's media is awash with various campaigns hoping to raise awareness and change behaviour around AIDS-related issues, and has been for many years. Interestingly, these campaign music videos often present on-screen the kinds of effervescent assemblies that occur through live performance events, for example in *Sing*'s use of TAC marches, and *ZAZI*'s use of the live and inclusive rooftop concert. Despite health and humanitarian interventions regularly drawing from music and musicians, there is not one music-driven campaign format suitable for every campaign goal. Ultimately, this study seems to suggest that unfacilitated screenings of campaign music videos, though able to engender strong emotions, are unlikely to continue to engage young people for much longer than their duration.

Chapter 7. 'A song is not just a song': Revisiting South Africa's HIV/AIDS Communication Strategies

On a cool winter evening in an open air Cape Town café, I sit with friends while we eat, drink and laugh about some of the events of the past year and a half. The ambient lights of the café seep out into the street illuminating parked cars in subtle greens, blues, and reds. Though we smile and joke, the mood is bitter sweet; at least it is for me. After spending many months travelling the country, meeting new people, making new friends – both as part of my research and outside of it – and attempting to see both the AIDS crisis and subsequent interventions through the eyes of those it affects, it is almost time for me to return to London. I am sitting with two close friends: Mila and Thato. I laugh as they present a t-shirt with the slogan "flippin' epic South Africa" as a parting gift. The distant clattering of plates and glasses from the kitchen and the largely inaudible conversations from around the café create a moderate hum that threatens to overpower the smooth sounds of Cape jazz flowing from the café's speakers.

A young waitress smiles as she collects some plates and glasses and takes another request for a selection of drinks, temporarily pausing our conversation in the process. As the waitress leaves, Mila – from Mpumalanga but unrelated to the work I have been doing there – begins to shuffle in her seat. We have been discussing the AIDS crisis in passing throughout the conversation but never dwelling on it for too long. 'You know, I'm worried about my mum's friend' she murmurs, 'It's Nomusa, she's been our domestic worker since before I was born but she's more like an Aunt to me. She's been losing a lot of weight. I don't think she's well'. The tenor of the conversation shifts. Thato, a post-graduate student at Stellenbosch University, throws a concerned glance my way from across the table. The group sits relatively motionless for a moment, saddened by the news. The soulful saxophone and piano combination becomes more audible in the silence before Thato ventures 'Have you spoken to her?' Mila replies 'My mum

has. She said she would pay for Nomusa's treatment if it was something serious'. The waitress returns with a collection of drinks for the table and Mila's demeanour reverts back to her old self, presumably not wanting to dwell on her concerns at that time. Thato and I interpret her body language similarly and begin reminiscing once again. Sadly, Nomusa died of AIDS-related complications before this thesis was completed.

I would find out later from Mila that Numosa had never openly disclosed her HIV status, and despite the signs and symptoms, did not seek medical treatment. Of course, Mila's family will never know if Nomusa chose to ignore her symptoms due to fear or lack of awareness, or whether she knew her status but intentionally chose not to disclose it. Whatever the reason may have been, the tragic result was the same. My thoughts turn to that conversation with Mila and Thato in the open air café in Cape Town while I sit in the passenger seat of a taxi-cab cruising along the N2 highway from Stellenbosch towards Cape Town International Airport on my final morning in South Africa. As the corrugated iron shacks of Khayelitsha glide through my field of view from the car's passenger window, my mind dwells on the continuing toll in human life the crisis reaps. As we drive past Cape Town's largest township, I am well aware that the political, social, and economic aspects of HIV/AIDS mean that each person living in those shacks is far more at risk than the patrons of the open air café, and indeed more likely to suffer the same fate as Nomusa if they were to become infected. Despite all the messaging, communication initiatives, high profile campaigns, and broad-based interventions over the past decades, South Africa's AIDS epidemic continues to claim lives.

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While driving back towards Bloemfontein Airport after observing a tour of the Free State province with the Educational Theatre Company, Professor Perry suggests that we make a slight detour to visit a nearby cemetery. 'I've heard it's quite a powerful thing to see', he remarks as we make our way through the

seemingly endless rural roads. After about twenty minutes we arrive at a non-descript and poorly sign-posted swathe of land. We park the car somewhere near the middle of the cemetery and stand in silence for a moment. It is not the size of the cemetery that moves us, but the size of the graves.

Figure 25. Professor Jimmy Earl Perry looks over the expanse of hastily dug graves while visiting a cemetery between Ficksburg and Ladybrand in the Free State province.[58]

The above image visually represents two main themes in this thesis. The first is the continued need for renewed communication strategies. The vast majority of the graves in the expansive rural Free State cemetery were hastily dug, with nothing but small sheets of inscribed corrugated iron as tombstones. Within the loving messages and information about the departed etched onto these sheets was an implied history: the vast majority of these graves belonged to children, adolescents, and young adults. Large swathes of South Africa's youth feel, despite evidence to the contrary, that they are not at any serious risk of HIV

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[58] Photo taken by the author.

infection (Levine and Ross 2002; HSRC 2014). Although access to ARV therapies is available through the government's somewhat less than efficient treatment plan, prevention is always better than cure.

The second theme involves issues of structural violence that have resulted in young South Africans suffering and dying under two consecutive national tragedies: apartheid and AIDS. During her fieldwork in the Cape Winelands township of Zwelethemba, Levine (2012) notes how the local cemetery has expanded dramatically since the late 1990s. Similarly to the above image, she describes the number of small wooden crosses that uniformly mark the resting places of recent AIDS victims and how they contrast with the more ornate and decorated apartheid era graves (ibid). In Zwelethemba, a tar road demarcates the older apartheid graves from those who died more recently from AIDS, but while discussing the cost of human life with Levine, former political activist Miriam Moleleki suggests the metaphor of an invisible bridge connecting the two: one built from structural inequalities, poverty, racial injustice, and 'a continuum of suffering across the generations' (ibid: 64).

The HIV/AIDS crisis in South Africa has changed greatly since the early years of the epidemic. Since the late 1990s significant advances have been made in access to ARV medication – due in no small part to the efforts of the Treatment Action Campaign – reducing stigma and blame, increasing AIDS awareness, and encouraging open discussion about the disease. Indeed, approaches to the epidemic have also changed. The once blunt message of 'AIDS kills', deemed necessary throughout Africa in the early years of the continent's sub-Saharan crisis (Levine 2007b; van Buren 2011), have been steadily replaced with more nuanced understandings of structural inequalities, and the political and economic factors surrounding HIV transmission. As TAC's Khayelitsha District Organiser Mandla Majola suggested during our interview, the prolific AIDS advocacy group has more recently focused prevention-related issues:

TAC has changed over the years. There is less urgency now. You must understand something: we were fighting for our lives and the lives of everyone who was living with HIV. In many ways that's still what TAC does today, but it's become more involved in prevention rather than the urgent need for ARV medication. People come to us because they want to help their community, so we offer to educate them on a specific issue so that the songs they sing and poems they perform will have accurate health information. They can become bridges between TAC and their community. Songs have been effective ways of doing that. In our own small way, we have used song to create awareness, to share pain, we have used song to vent out our anger, we have used song to educate people, for instance about HIV, or AIDS and rape. So a song is not just a song, it's meaningless if it has no meaning (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

However, if there is one thing that my conversation with Mila at the end of my stay in South Africa illustrated, it is that despite these advances, the road to an HIV-free generation is still a long one. It further touches upon the political economy of HIV/AIDS in South Africa. Given that HIV/AIDS overwhelmingly affects those with low socio-economic status and marginalised demographics, it is unsurprising that the burden of the epidemic largely rests on the shoulders of the country's poorest citizens (HSRC 2014). Though some level of redress of economic opportunities has been achieved in the form of government affirmative action programmes, race and class in South Africa are still very much intertwined. As DeCoteau notes:

HIV/AIDS unveils, with horrifying vividness, the often obscured fault lines of economic and cultural disparity. In South Africa, the spatial, cultural and economic schisms of inequality inherited from apartheid and maintained under post-apartheid are clearly inscribed on those infected with HIV/AIDS (2008: 407).

Despite the volume of AIDS-related information that has been present in the South African media in recent years, the number of new HIV/AIDS infections

remains alarmingly high. From 2008 to 2012 AIDS awareness and condom use have fallen, with consistent condom use dropping to levels last seen in 2005 (HSRC 2014). Further, during the same four-year period, no significant improvements have been observed in prevailing attitudes towards those living with HIV (ibid). Early post-apartheid South African governments have a troubled history with dealing with HIV. The state debacles and AIDS dissidence of the Mbeki administration helped to fuel mistrust of western-developed pharmaceutical medicines based in hundreds of years of colonial exploitation, contributing to confusion, stigma, blame, and misinformation. I have argued that the volume of HIV-related campaigns, though considered necessary to mitigate the epidemic, coupled with increasing access to ARV medication has led to attitudes of indifference towards HIV/AIDS, most acutely felt amongst South Africa's youth. However, this is not to say that there is no longer a lasting need for HIV/AIDS awareness campaigns. What I have sought to identify is how that information is being presented and the mechanics of such music-driven intervention techniques.

The overarching conceptual framework for this discussion of music and the performing arts in HIV/AIDS interventions in South Africa was built upon Durkheim's theory of collective effervescence. Durkheim's theory allowed me to account for the kinds of shared experiences and heightened states I frequently observed during the various performances. Collective effervescence thus emerged from the data as the primary theoretical foundation from which to analyse these observed phenomena. This was then connected with more contemporary and musical concepts that describe similar phenomena, such as musicking, rhythmic entrainment, embodiment, and affect in order to more comprehensively account for what I refer to as 'musical effervescence'. The term describes the phenomenon of heightened emotional states engendered through musical experiences. Throughout the analyses that followed, these concepts were crucial to understanding the ability of music to animate people and motivate desire for action.

Through the analyses of three case studies, this research has illustrated three different ways in which a form of musical effervescence has been applied by music-driven HIV/AIDS interventions in the effort to achieve their specific campaign goals. The first case study of this research examined the renowned AIDS advocacy group the Treatment Action Campaign. Through ethnographic accounts, interview data and by analysing a number of songs recorded by the TAC-affiliated HIV positive choir The Generics, this thesis suggested that music can be a very meaningful medium of expression, and can retain those meanings long after specific events have ended. For TAC, and the vast majority of South Africans, struggle songs represent a fight for justice and human rights. By deploying those songs in the new contexts of the struggle for ARV therapies in the 2000s TAC utilised their power to mobilise people to collective action through emotive expression and cultural intimacy through which large numbers of people could be called to action. Thus TAC presents a case study in which effervescence is based in culturally imbedded symbols and meanings within group musical participation.

The second case study that I examined was 'Lucky, the Hero!', a mini-musical production designed to raise HIV/AIDS awareness, inspire acceptance of PWAs, and encourage South Africans to know their HIV status. Through ethnographic accounts of observations of numerous shows, this research painted a picture of the emotional and sensorial journey created within a 'Lucky, the Hero!' performance. After spending an extended period of time accompanying the Educational Theatre Company on their tours of South Africa's provinces, I came to understand that their behaviour, both on and off stage, intertwines various performance elements found in theatre and music in order to create a holistic persuasive event. By animating bodies through music, participation, and humour, the Educational Theatre Group are able to create interpersonal connections within a highly affective atmosphere. In doing so, participants become entrained within an affect environment. On-site HIV testing is offered immediately after the show in order to capitalise on these heightened states.

Thus, 'Lucky, the Hero!' represents an example of effervescence created through participation and musical entrainment in a live performance setting.

The super groups and mega-events of the 1980s, such as Band Aid and Live Aid, ushered in a previously unseen era of musically oriented and celebrity-driven health and humanitarian campaigning. These forms of mass mediated audio-visual campaigning continue to influence various contemporary consciousness raising efforts. To examine mediated musical intervention, this research analysed three relatively recent HIV/AIDS-related music videos focusing specifically on a recent women's sexual and reproductive health campaign: *ZAZI*. Based on survey data and focus groups conducted with Cape Town high school learners in 2014 and 2015, the research concludes that mass mediated messaging is effective at reaching large numbers of people, and indeed can provoke a strong desire for action, but that this effect often only lasts for the duration of the media event. I referred to this phenomenon as micro-effervescence, as an extension of Durkheim's (1912) theory, alluding to the effervescent quality that is experienced fleetingly during the audio-visual experience.

A consistent theme throughout this study is the idea that these interventions focus on emotionally connecting with target audiences. I have argued that it is this emotional connection, developed interpersonally, that helps to cultivate the kinds of responses observed and discussed throughout this research. Musicking is well-suited to creating environments and atmospheres conducive creating such connections. HIV/AIDS is an illness that is transmitted through intimate contact and degrades the body from within. Once each of the concluding threads have been drawn together, it becomes clear that the campaigns discussed in this thesis attempt to prevent such bodily degradation by quite literally engaging individual (and collective) bodies into a recognition and acknowledgement of the virus' reality: mobilising people through interpersonal contact and musical co-performance. What is clear is that there is no one size fits all method of music-driven health campaigning. Music is a multi-

faceted art form and thus can be deployed within various communication strategies to address the AIDS crisis in a plethora of ways, each with their own specific niche. Thus, each set of AIDS intervention goals requires a nuanced approach.

Study Limitations

It is important to note the limitations of this study. Much of the data gathered during the fieldwork conducted for this research was based on self-reporting – in which participants respond without any intervention from the researcher – and opinions on interventions formulated promptly after a performance. Though this does not influence the validity of the data, it does mean than no conclusive positions can be taken on the long-term effects of the campaigns discussed. Further research, in the form of follow-up studies would be necessary to determine the efficacy of the discussed interventions.

As was noted early on in this thesis, time constraints while on tour with the Education Theatre Company resulted in fewer discussions with participants than I had originally hoped. Further, these conversations often felt rushed as there was insufficient time to gather any of the audience's personal stories to shed light on individual accounts of the 'Lucky, the Hero!' production, or their personal experience with the kinds of issues the show discusses. The manner in which the theatre group operated (often performing multiple shows each day in different locations) meant that I was unable to become more intimately involved in the performances or the communities involved than as an 'observer as participant' (Gold 1958). As a result, the analysis of the show and its responses is based heavily on observations. This discussion could have been strengthened by the inclusion of detailed biographic accounts of those involved and their personal experiences of becoming part of the effervescent assemblies.

When selecting what areas of the performances on which to focus, I am aware that I am presenting the event in a particular way to illustrate the arguments made in this thesis. I am further aware that, as I noted in chapter two, the

ethnographer occupies the dual roles of data collector and analyser, and that it is entirely possible that further studies by other researchers may suggest alternative interpretations. As such I am cognisant of the risk of bias in the material selected for inclusion in this research. I have attempted to mitigate this issue by presenting the actions and opinions of the participants and respondents, though inevitably framed within my own subjectivity, as accurately as possible through the use of field notes, photographs, and discussions with participants where possible. Further, throughout the data gathering process for this thesis I have utilised a number of different research methods, such as participant observation, interviews, focus groups, facilitated screenings, and questionnaires. Through this process of triangulation, I hope to have reduced the influence of my own research biases (through personal experience, culture, class, etc.) on the data gathered and arguments made.

Application of this study

This research attempts to explain some of the mechanics of music within HIV/AIDS communication in South Africa. Although this study does not necessarily fall under the rubric of applied ethnomusicology, it seeks to contribute to a body of health communication scholarship and ethnomusicological interest in HIV/AIDS on the African continent that may assist in shaping development policy. By applying an ethnomusicological perspective to the various case studies presented in these pages this research has been able to draw together current trends in edutainment scholarship (Tufte 2005), medical ethnomusicology (Barz 2006; Barz and Cohen 2011; McNeill 2011; Koen 2008) and AIDS-related anthropology in South Africa (Levine 2007b; Robins 2008; Fassin 2007; Hunter 2010; Aulette-Root, Boonzaier, and Aullete 2014) in order to create an experience-based understanding of music within South African HIV/AIDS interventions. This research follows the recent trajectory of ethnographic accounts of the South African AIDS crisis that seek to draw the prevailing focus of related scholarship towards nuanced understandings of the situation as it applies to every day South Africans. This

study has been aimed towards applying similar approaches to the discussion of HIV/AIDS interventions.

Concluding Thoughts

South Africa's cultural, social, and political airways are filled with music. The importance of music and song within many of South Africa's cultures affords music great potential to be impactful. Historically, music has permeated every level of many of South Africa's cultures and is intimately linked with them (Kivnick 1990). Further, song and dance have been used to articulate the collective will of the South African people since before the current borders of the modern republic were drawn. As Majola noted during our conversation in Khayelitsha:

> Look at us South Africans: we don't need an excuse to sing. Songs can be used to express every feeling you could imagine in ways that hit you right here [he taps his chest over where his heart is located]. You can find celebration or sorrow in the same songs depending on how and why they are being sung (Interview with Mandla Majola, Khayelitsha District Organiser, TAC – June 2014).

Music can be a powerful influence on our moods, can influence our emotions, and affect our decision-making. This study has contributed to a body of scholarship that seeks to explore ways in which music is being, and has been, used to mobilise people within HIV/AIDS campaigning in South Africa. It has focused specifically on understanding some of the mechanisms through which music is able to do so. I have presented evidence that suggests such processes are being applied in South Africa's AIDS crisis but still on a relatively small scale. The study concludes that each of the three case studies analysed in this thesis exhibit a different type of musical effervescence through which they are able to galvanise support for their specific goal, if only for a short time.

Majola articulates perhaps the most pivotal points of this thesis during our

interview in Khayelitsha mentioned above. For Majola, 'A song is not a song, it's meaningless if it has no meaning.' The point is worth repeating. Songs are important tools in TAC's approach towards educating local communities on AIDS-related issues for a number of reasons, but it is their meaning and ability to mobilise, engage, and energise us that is so important for animating bodies within South Africa's oversaturated media and collective consciousness. Majola's words act as a metaphor for the potential of music within HIV/AIDS campaigning: a song is not just a song if it connects with someone on an emotional or affective level. It is not just a song if it helps those suffering from a chronic disease cope with the affliction. It is not just a song if, despite social, political, or economic adversity, it is able to motivate resolve for informed action. In these cases, as I have argued throughout this thesis, a song is much more than just a song.

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Group: 100

Ethnicity

Ethnicity	%
Coloured	55
Black	45
Total	**100**

Cape Town Suburb

Suburb	%	Suburb	%
Khayelitsha	12	Milnerton	2
Observatory	1	Northern Sut	1
Langa	5	Montclaire	1
Lentegeur	1	Nyanga	3
Maitland	5	Bluedowns	1
Athlone, Silvertown	4	Manenberg	2
Montana	1	Brackenfell	1
Camps Bay	1	Delft	2
Bishop Lavis	1	Bo-Kaap	1
Mitchells Plain	8	District 6	1
Gran West	1	Vangourd Es	1
Parow	2	Thornton	1
Goodwood	4	Philippi	3
Gugulethu	12	Wynberg	2
Kensington	1	Heideveld	3
Eersteriver	1	Southern Sut	6
Welcome Estate	1	Bellville	1
Hazeldean	1	Bontenheuw	1
Surrey Estate	1	Cape Flats	4
	63		
	37		
	##		

Music

Music	%
Hip hop	8
R&B	17
All	24
Hiphop/R&B	8
Gospel	2
R&B/Pop	4
R&B/Gospel	4
House	12
Indie	2
Soul/R&B	1
Rock	5
Country	2
Trance	6
Rap	3
Blues	1
Pogo	1
	100

All

#	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1	I feel I am educated on HIV/AIDS	1	1	2	1	1	7	9	11	14	45	100
2	Love is more important than sex	2	1	2	4	6	1	2	9	10	65	100
3	I know the difference between HIV and AIDS	1	3	2	2	10	6	5	12	12	47	100
4	I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS	15	4	7	8	15	3	8	6	3	31	100
5	I abstain from sex (blank if sexually active)	3	1	1	1	3	4	3	2	5	41	63
6	I consistently use condoms (blank if not sexually active)		1	3	10	3	8	3	6	23		58

ZAZI

#	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1	I felt like the video spoke to me directly	14	5	6	6	16	2	6	23	11	11	100
2	I enjoyed the music	12	3	1	5	9	4	8	8	18	36	100
3	I felt like I was part of something	15	3	6	6	9	11	11	16	10	19	100
4	I would listen to this song again	18	1	4	2	7	5	7	12	16	28	100
5	This video was important and necessary	5	4	2	5	1	7	7	19	50		100
6	The messages in the video were clear	3	1	3	1	3	3	8	9	17	52	100
7	The music helped me engage in the video's subject	10	3	5	6	3	6	9	8	42		100
8	I feel empowered by this video	15	6	2	2	6	7	12	18	12	20	100
9	I recognise the musical style	8	1	2	6	11	6	11	11	15	29	100
10	I recognise the musicians involved	23	5	15	2	4	1	7	6	5	32	100
11	I recognise the poet involved	46	19	10	4	3	3	2	3	5	5	100
12	The poem helped to explain more about the campaign	13	2	5	6	9	9	9	6	32		100
13	I want to learn more about the campaign	17	4	4	3	17	7	10	6	9	23	100
14	The music was emotive	11	3	3	6	11	6	9	16	7	28	100

Proud to Be

#	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1	I recognise the musicians in this video	22	5	2	4	22	7	13	8	5	12	100
2	I would listen to this song again	54	14	5	11	8	3	3	1	3	1	100
3	I felt like the video spoke to me directly	41	13	5	13	7	8	8	4	4	2	100
4	I enjoyed the music	40	13	17	6	8	5	4	2	1	4	100
5	I felt like I was part of something	39	16	16	9	9	3	5	5	5	3	100
6	This video was important and necessary	5	4	8	8	14	5	8	6	8	34	100
7	The messages in the video were clear	4	1	2	11	7	11	9	15	4	36	100
8	The reason for the video was clear	4	3	3	14	14	6	7	12	9	28	100
9	The music helped me engage in the video's subject	11	9	8	9	9	9	10	14	4	17	100
10	I recognise the musical style	29	12	8	6	9	7	10	5	2	12	100
11	I now want to learn more about the campaign	36	16	6	10	9	2	4	5	9	3	100

Sing

#	Statement	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1	I recognise the musicians in this video	27	6	2	2	14	7	9	8	4	21	100
2	I would listen to this song again	27	8	7	6	6	5	5	8	3	12	100
3	I felt like the video spoke to me directly	24	10	5	7	12	3	6	11	7	15	100
4	I enjoyed the music	27	9	7	3	7	4	8	11	8	16	100
5	I felt like I was part of something	23	5	7	7	9	9	10	6	7	17	100
6	This video was important and necessary	8	5	2	6	6	4	3	11	8	53	100
7	The messages in the video were clear	10	2	3	2	5	1	7	7	6	60	100
8	The reason for the video was clear	10	3	2	2	5	4	6	7	5	56	100
9	The music helped me engage in the video's subject	14	5	4	8	4	6	6	12	9	40	100
10	I recognise the musical style	23	7	9	8	5	9	7	13	8	11	100
11	I now want to learn more about the campaign	19	8	7	4	7	3	11	9	8	24	100

Appendix 3a: Gardens Commercial High School Survey Base data (2014) – Full population.

Demographic data

Female	65
Ethnicity	
Coloured	32
Black	33
	65

Cape Town Suburb

Suburb	n	Suburb	n
Khayelitsha	6	Milnerton	2
Factreton		Northern Suburb	1
Langa	5	Montclaire	1
Samora Machel		Nyanga	1
Maitland	5	Bluedowns	1
Athlone, Silvertown	4	Manenberg	1
Montana	1	Brackenfell	1
Camps Bay		Delft	2
Brooklyn	1	Bo-Kaap	1
Mitchells Plain	2	District 6	1
Kraaifontein		Vangourd Estate	1
Claremont		Thornton	1
Goodwood	2	Philippi	2
Gugulethu	8	Wynberg	2
Kensington		Heideveld	3
Eersteriver	1	Southern Suburb	6
Welcome Estate	1	Bellville	1
Hazeldean	1		

Survey responses (scale 1–10)

Female	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Music	n
1 I feel I am educated on HIV/AIDS	1				4	7	8	9	7	27	65	Hip hop	5
2 Love is more important than sex			1		3	1	2	4	3	50	65	R&B	15
3 I know the difference between HIV and AIDS		2	1	2	9	4	2	7	7	31	65	All	17
4 I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS	11	4	7	5	7	3	4	5	3	16	65	Hiphop/R&B	4
5 I abstain from sex (blank if sexually active)	2			1	2	1	3	2	3	34	48	Gospel	2
6 I consistently use condoms (blank if not sexually active)		1	2		5	2	2	3	2	8	25	R&B/Pop	4
												R&B/Gospel	4

ZAZI

ZAZI	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Music	n
1 I felt like the video spoke to me directly	3	1	3	3	13	1	6	16	10	9	65	House	6
2 I enjoyed the music	3	2	1		3	3	6	8	12	27	65	Indie	2
3 I felt like I was part of something	4	1		4	5	10	9	13	7	12	65	Soul/R&B	1
4 I would listen to this song again	5		3	1	6	3	7	10	11	19	65	Rock	3
5 This video was important and necessary	1			1	4	1	4	7	11	36	65	Country	1
6 The messages in the video were clear			2		3	2	3	7	11	37	65	Trance	1
7 The music helped me engage in the video's subject	2	1	3		5	5	7	7	7	28	65		65
8 I feel empowered by this video	2	2	2	2	5	5	8	10	10	19	65		
9 I recognise the musical style	2		1	5	7	5	10	9	11	15	65		
10 I recognise the musicians involved	11	5	9		4	1	5	6	3	21	65		
11 I recognise the poet involved	26	14	9	3	3	3		3	2	2	65		
12 The poem helped to explain more about the campaign	4	1	4	5	7	4	6	8	3	23	65		
13 I want to learn more about the campaign	3	2	4	3	9	3	9	5	8	19	65		
14 The music was emotive	1		5	5	8	5	6	13	6	20	65		

Proud to Be

Proud to Be	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1 I recognise the musicians in this video	11	4	2	2	12	6	9	6	4	9	65
2 I would listen to this song again	30	12	2	9	3	2	3	1	2	1	65
3 I felt like the video spoke to me directly	25	8	8	4	7	4	4	3	1	2	65
4 I enjoyed the music	20	11	9	6	6	4	3	2	1	3	65
5 I felt like I was part of something	22	7	8	6	7	3	4	2	4	2	65
6 This video was important and necessary	4	3	6	6	5	3	6	3	8	21	65
7 The messages in the video were clear	3	1	1	4	6	4	8	11	3	24	65
8 The reason for the video was clear	3	2	2	2	7	4	4	10	6	25	65
9 The music helped me engage in the video's subject	8	4	6	7	4	4	8	9	3	12	65
10 I recognise the musical style	16	9	8	4	7	5	9	3	1	3	65
11 I now want to learn more about the campaign	14	10	5	7	8	1	3	5	9	3	65

Sing

Sing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1 I recognise the musicians in this video	30	5	5	4	2	1	1	1	2	14	65
2 I would listen to this song again	16	7	4	1	5	4	7	9	2	10	65
3 I felt like the video spoke to me directly	10	5	8	6	10	2	4	10	5	10	65
4 I enjoyed the music	13	6	4	3	4	3	7	8	7	10	65
5 I felt like I was part of something	9	2	4	7	6	8	9	3	6	11	65
6 This video was important and necessary	2	3		4	2	3	9	4	38		65
7 The messages in the video were clear	3	1	2	2	1		5	7	3	41	65
8 The reason for the video was clear	3	2	2	1	1	1	4	7	5	39	65
9 The music helped me engage in the video's subject	5	3	4		4	3	11	7	9	25	65
10 I recognise the musical style	11	6	3	5	3	8	5	7	7	10	65
11 I now want to learn more about the campaign	4	6	1	3	6	5	5	9	7	21	65

Appendix 3b: Gardens Commercial High School Survey Base data (2014) – Female data.

Appendix 3c: Gardens Commercial High School Survey Base data (2014) – Male data.

Demographics

Male	35
Ethnicity	
Coloured	23
Black	12
	35
Cape Town Suburb	
Bo-Kaap	
Maitland	
Bontehuewel	1
Guglethu	4
Kensington	1
Surrey Estate	1
Khayelitscha	6
Mitchells Plain	6
Woodstock	
Herdeveld	
Lentegeur	1
Nyanga	2
Observatory	1
Goodwood/Northern	2
Cape Flats	4
Gran West	1
Manenberg	1
Bishop Lavis	1
Parow	2
Philippi	1

Music

Music	
Hip hop	3
R&B	2
All	7
Hiphop/R&B	4
Rap	3
Trance	5
Rock	2
House	6
Country	1
Blues	1
Pogo	1
	35

Survey responses

MALE	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total
1 I feel I am educated on HIV/AIDS	1				3	2	3	5	3	18	35
2 Love is more important than sex	1			4	3			5	7	15	35
3 I know the difference between HIV and AIDS	1	1	1		1	2	3	5	5	16	35
4 I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS	4		3	8		4	1			15	35
5 I abstain from sex (blank if sexually active)	1			1		3			2	7	15
6 I consistently use condoms (blank if not sexually active)		1	1	1	5	1	6	4	4	15	33

ZAZI	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	Total
1 I felt like the video spoke to me directly	11	4	3	3	3	1		7	1	2	35
2 I enjoyed the music	9	1		5	2	1	2		6	9	35
3 I felt like I was part of something	11	2		2	4	1	2	3	3	7	35
4 I would listen to this song again	13	1	1	1	1	2		2	5	9	35
5 This video was important and necessary	4	4	1	1	1		3		8	14	35
6 The messages in the video were clear	3	1	1	1	1		5	2	6	15	35
7 The music helped me engage in the video's subject	8	2	2		2	3	3	2	6	15	35
8 I feel empowered by this video	13	4		1	2	4	8	2	1	1	35
9 I recognise the musical style	6	1	1	1	4	1	2	1	4	14	35
10 I recognise the musicians involved	12	6	2			2	2	1	2	11	35
11 I recognise the poet involved	20	5	1	1		2		3	2	3	35
12 The poem helped to explain more about the campaign	9	1	1	1	2	5	3	1	3	9	35
13 I want to learn more about the campaign	14	2		1	8	4	1	1	1	4	35
14 The music was emotive	10	3	2	1	3	1	3	3	1	8	35

Proud to Be	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	Total
1 I recognise the musicians in this video	11	1		2	10	1	4	2	1	3	35
2 I would listen to this song again	24		2		5	1			1		35
3 I felt like the video spoke to me directly	16	5	5	3	3	1			3		35
4 I enjoyed the music	20	2	8		2	1	1			1	35
5 I felt like I was part of something	17	1	8	3	2		1	1	1	1	35
6 This video was important and necessary	1	1	2	1	9	2	2	3		13	35
7 The messages in the video were clear	4	1	1	1	1	5	1	7	14		35
8 The reason for the video was clear	7	1		3							25
9 The music helped me engage in the video's subject	13	1	3		3	1	1	2	1	10	35
10 I recognise the musical style	18	2	2	3	1	5	1			6	35
11 I now want to learn more about the campaign	22	6	1	3	1	1	1				35

Sing	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	Total
1 I recognise the musicians in this video	16	2		2	2	1	7	2		12	35
2 I would listen to this song again	11	1	3	5	1	1	1	9	1	2	35
3 I felt like the video spoke to me directly	14	5	2	1	2	2	1	1	2	5	35
4 I enjoyed the music	13	6			2	3	2	2	1	6	35
5 I felt like I was part of something	14	3	3		3	1	1	3	1	6	35
6 This video was important and necessary	6	2	2	2	2	2	2		4	15	35
7 The messages in the video were clear	7	1	1	1	1	2			3	19	35
8 The reason for the video was clear	7	1		1	4	3	2			17	35
9 The music helped me engage in the video's subject	9	2		3	3	2	3	1		15	35
10 I recognise the musical style	12	1	6		2	1	2	6	1	1	35
11 I now want to learn more about the campaign	15	2	6	1	1		6		1	3	35

All Respondents

All Respondents				#	All Respondents	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Total	Musical Preference	
										Agree →								
				1	I feel I am educated on HIV/AIDS			4		18	8	14	16	10	42	112	Hip hop	12
Ethnicity				2	Women and men have equal rights and opportunites in SA	10	6	4	4	18	14	10	12	8	26	112	R&B	10
Coloured	51			3	Love is more important than sex	1	3		10	3	5	10	8	4	68	112	All	16
Black	59			4	In SA women and men are equal within romantic relationships	8	6	6	18	30	10	10	8	4	12	112	Hiphop/R&B	16
Mixed	2			5	I know the difference between HIV and AIDS	7	1	6	6	18	6	14	14	12	28	112	Gospel	4
				6	I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS	15	8	7	8	30	4	4	10	6	20	112	R&B/Pop	2
Total	112			7	I abstain from sex (blank if sexually active)	1		2	1	5	6	8	10	14	40	87		
				8	I consistently use condoms (blank if not sexually active)	1		1	4	6	2	4	4	4	6	32		60
				9	I know or have heard of incidents of sexual violence towards women	2		2	2	6	6	8	12	16	58	112		
					VIDEO ZAZI													
				10	I felt like the video spoke to me directly	8	6	6	6	18	4	17	11	8	28	112		
Cape Town Suburb																		
Khayelitsha	17	Bonteheuwel	3	11	I experienced an emotional response to the video (chills etc)	20	7	7	8	22	12	8	12	8	8	112		
Factreton	2	Summer Greens	2	12	I enjoyed the music	1	1	4	8	10	4	18	20	10	36	112		
Langa	5	Woodstock	6	13	I feel motivated to talk about women's rights	7	5		2	10	6	16	22	8	36	112		
Samora Machel	2	Monenberg	2	14	I felt like I was part of something	4	10	2	12	10	4	10	20	4	36	112		
Maitland	6	Nyanga	4	15	This video made me aware of issues that I had not thought about before	12	10	8	8	10	10	14	14	6	20	112		
Athlone, Silvertown	4	Bellville	2	16	This Video was addressing a necessary topic in South African society	1	1		3	5	1	9	8	18	66	112		
Athlone, Bridgetown	2	Montana	4	17	The messages in the video were clear				1	3	2	8	14	10	74	112		
Parow	2	Vredehoek	2	18	The music helped me engage in the video's subject		1	3	3	8	3	10	20	13	49	110		
Brooklyn	2	Herdeveld	1	19	I feel empowered by this video		4	10	7	13	4	15	17	16	26	112		
Mitchells Plain	16	Bo-Kaap	2	20	I recognise the musical style	4	3	5	2	10	6	22	20	12	28	112		
Kraaifontein	2			21	I recognise the musicians involved	13	4	4	10	14	6	4	11	9	36	111		
Claremont	2	Total	112	22	The song was catchy			4	6	6	8	10	12	18	48	112		
Goodwood	6			23	The poem helped to explain more about the meaning behind the video			4	1	10	7	8	16	24	42	112		
Gugulethu	10			24	I now want to learn more about the campaign	2	4	1	5	20	8	12	18	16	26	112		
Kensington	4			25	This song will now remind me of women making empowered choices	2	2	4	4	7	9	12	10	16	46	112		
Steenberg	2			26	This music video is the start of a national conversation of women's rights	2		1	5	10	12	8	20	12	42	112		

Appendix 4: Gardens Commercial High School Survey Base data (2015) – Full population.

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Appendix 5a: Gardens Commercial High School Survey Survey Questionnaire (2014).

Study on Audio-visual Media in Health Communication

<u>Basic Details</u>

How old are you? _____

What is your gender? _____

Is music important to you? _____

What music do you listen to? _____

Are you in a relationship? _____

Are you sexually active? _____

What is your ethnicity? _____

In which Cape Town suburb do you live? _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Completely disagree									Completely agree

<u>Please use the scale above to rate the following statements.</u>

I feel I am educated on HIV/AIDS. _____

Love is more important than sex. _____

I know the difference between HIV and AIDS. _____

I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS. _____

I abstain from sex (leave blank if sexually active). _____

I consistently use condoms (leave blank if not sexually active). _____

Please remember to answer honestly. There are no wrong answers.

Video 1: Zazi

Using the scale above please rate the following statements from 1-10.

I felt like the video spoke to me directly. _____

I enjoyed the music. _____

I felt like I was part of something. _____

I would listen to this song again. _____

This video was important and necessary. _____

The messages in the video were clear. _____

The music helped me to engage with the video's subject. _____

I feel empowered by this video. _____

I recognise the musical style. _____

I recognise the musicians involved. _____

I recognise the poet involved. _____

The poem helped to explain more about the campaign. _____

I now want to learn more about this campaign. _____

The music video was emotive. _____

1. How did the video make you feel? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (a). What do you think this video was about? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (b). What makes you think that?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Video 3: Proud to Be

Using the scale above please rate the following statements from 1-10.

I recognise the musicians in this video. _____

I would listen to this song again. _____

I felt like the video spoke to me directly. _____

I enjoyed the music. _____

I felt like I was part of something. _____

This video was important and necessary. _____

The messages in the video were clear. _____

The reason for the video was clear. _____

The music helped me to engage with the video's subject. _____

I recognise the musical style. _____

I now want to learn more about this campaign. _____

1. How did the video make you feel? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (a). What do you think this video was about? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (b). What makes you think that?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Video 4: Sing

Using the scale above please rate the following statements from 1-10.

I recognise the musicians in this video. _____

I would listen to this song again. _____

I felt like the video spoke to me directly. _____

I enjoyed the music. _____

I felt like I was part of something. _____

This video was important and necessary. _____

The messages in the video were clear. _____

The reason for the video was clear. _____

The music helped me to engage with the video's subject. _____

I recognise the musical style. _____

I now want to learn more about this campaign. _____

1. How did the video make you feel? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (a). What do you think this video was about? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (b). What makes you think that?
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____

Appendix 5b: Gardens Commercial High School Survey Survey Questionnaire (2015).

Study on Audio-visual Media in Health Communication

<u>Basic Details</u>

How old are you? _____

What is your gender? _____

What music do you listen to? _____

Are you in a relationship? _____

Are you sexually active? _____

What is your ethnicity? _____

In which Cape Town suburb do you live? _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Completely disagree				Neither agree or disagree					Completely agree

<u>Please use the scale above to rate the following statements.</u>

I feel I am educated on HIV/AIDS. _____

Women and men have equal rights and opportunities in South Africa. _____

Love is more important than sex. _____

In South Africa women and men are equal within romantic relationships. _____

I know the difference between HIV and AIDS. _____

I am tired of hearing about HIV/AIDS. _____

I abstain from sex (leave blank if sexually active). _____

I consistently use condoms (leave blank if not sexually active). _____

I know of or have heard of incidents of sexual violence towards women. _____

Please remember to answer honestly. There are no wrong answers.

Video: Zazi*: Using the scale above please rate the following statements from 1-10.*

I felt like the video spoke to me directly. _____

I experienced an emotional response to the video (chills, goose bumps, etc.) _____

I enjoyed the music. _____

I feel motivated to talk about women's rights. _____

I felt like I was part of something. _____

This video made me aware of issues that I had not thought about before. _____

This video was addressing a necessary topic in South African society. _____

The messages in the video were clear. _____

The music helped me engage with the video's subject. _____

I feel empowered by this video. _____

I recognise the musical style. _____

I recognise the musicians involved. _____

The song was catchy. _____

The poem helped to explain more about the meaning behind the video. _____

I now want to learn more about this campaign. _____

This song will now remind me of women making empowered choices. _____

This music video is the start of a national conversation on women's rights. _____

1. How did the video make you feel? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (a). What do you think this video was about? _____
_____
_____
_____
_____

2 (b). What makes you think that (visuals, music, lyrics, etc.)?
_____
_____
_____
_____