Music and Exile: The making of Culture and Identity

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What is exile? "Exile" as a term appears in writings from the earliest literary sources, through time, and continues to fascinate contemporaries: The exile of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden, the wanderings of Odysseus, the diaspora of the Jews all speak to a fundamental sense of loss, displacement and a desire to regain a paradisiacal sense of unity and wholeness, whether spiritual or secular. For many, though, that loss is transformed from the pain of dispossession into an alternative way of seeing. For Joyce's Stephen Dedalus the "silence, exile and cunning" of his self-imposed expatriation provides the means to express untrammeled his artistic vision. For Salman Rushdie, the idea of homeland is intrinsically "imaginary." For scholarly émigrés such as Edward Said and Julia Kristeva, exile is the necessary condition of the intellectual[1].

The exile is a disinherited person, who uses his dispossession to retrieve his identity and his distinctive culture[2].

'Globalisation' together with the plight of the millions of people who experience the condition of "refugee-ness" on a daily basis has thrust terms like "homelessness", "displacement", "severance" and "exile" to importance in modern society. The universality of the term "exile" together with its significant history still poses difficulties in attaining a clear definition.

What is exile? Is it a political status? A social phenomenon? A literary issue? A cultural occurrence? A convenient form of escapism? Or a politically divertive expression to justify one's sense of nostalgia?

"Exile" in the literary sense can be approached from two perspectives: the writer's viewpoint – comprising a theme or impetus that underpins a creation; the critic's view in which "exile" is used as basis of textual investigation. The artist's notion of exile is an interesting one and one that underpins this article. How does exile affect the attitude of the artist and ultimately his creations? And for this I draw on Ovid's *Tristia*[3], and Breyten Breytenbach's *A Season in Paradise*[4]. Both deal with individuals banished from their native homeland by the powers in control. Until recently the notion of the "displaced writers" centered on "a binary logic where exile either produces creative freedom or it traps the writer in restrictive nostalgia"[5]. Although this perspective is still valid today, exile has evolved into a complex multidimensional phenomenon. Salman Rushdie expresses his view as follows:

> The effect of mass migrations has been the creation of radically new types of human being: people who root themselves in ideas rather than places, in

> memories as much as in material things; people who have been obliged to defend themselves – because they are so defined by others – by their otherness; people in whose deepest selves strange fusions occur, unprecedented unions between what they were and where they find themselves. The migrant suspects reality: having experienced several ways of being, he understands their illusory nature. To see things plainly, you have to cross a frontier[6].

What emerges in current notions of exile is a distinct delineation between the traditional views of exile and the factual situation we find ourselves in today. Traditionally, exile was linked to the political realm – the oppression by someone in power to an individual, group or community forcing the latter, whose life is endangered into 'exile'. This is the view that is widely adopted by the ANC cadres, supporters and other liberation movements in South Africa. And which often is the root of emotional outbursts when the term is used in other contemporary contexts. So the question I then pose is 'can anyone insist on sole propriety rights to the term 'exile'? And if so, what is it they want to achieve? Is it just because one sacrifices one's life for a defined cause that owning this word is now of such importance?

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Modern interpretations of the term 'exile', exceed the boundaries in terms of punishment, forfeiture and remorse. In the 20th Century there has been a rise in this view in the form of self-imposed exile – an issue of personal choice with its related causes located in the intellectual domain. This experience changed both in its magnitude as well as in its complexity. The study of an artist in exile rooted in its archetypal interpretation may not be adequate for an understanding of the conviction of the artist.

This condition emerges from an interview Isaac Albéniz granted to a journalist in Madrid in August 1894. The journalist asked Albéniz why he chose to live outside Spain – did that mean betraying Spain? The journalist's summary of Albéniz's[7] response was as follows:

> Albéniz is more Spanish than most Spanish, but for Albéniz being Spanish does not consist in writing sheets of music at five cents a page, nor in resigning himself as a consequence to eating cold stew in a garret. Albéniz lives in Paris and in London, because in Paris and in London he can eat and sleep. He is not a bullfighter, so Spain is not a country where he can live well.

Albéniz's choice in this instance warrants investigation: the voluntary escape from a socio-cultural context seen as unfavorable by the artist, in spite of this act amounting to leaving his homeland. The essence of the displeasure here is the subject's 'agitation' with his nation.

The overwhelming diversity in contemporary testimonials about exile[8] suggests that each occurrence of the exile condition will inadvertently become "personal once the axis of cultural references is established"[9]. Hence, the phenomenon of exile is left to multiple meanings in the contemporary artistic world with each individual including different nuances under a single entity: displacement. So allow me to examine some of the variants of exile.

Variants of Exile

In the traditional sense (as mentioned earlier), exile meant leaving one's country as a result of considerable force and threat to life imposed by some or other person in power. Over time this notion absorbed terms that became synonymous with the condition, for example, refugee, expatriate, émigré, etc. A closer examination of these statuses will reveal subtle nuances that set them apart. In the conventional sense of expulsion or being in the state of expulsion, Young states, "there is physical dislocation, intellectual separation, cultural exile and the linguistic exile of functioning in an unfamiliar language"[10]. A primary example here is the case of Sathima Bea Benjamin – a woman – a Coloured – many nations inside her – did not sing traditional music – because there was no traditional music for her to sing – jazz embodied for Coloureds the pain of internal exile and displacement[11].

Such individuals were classified 'political refugees' – whose central premise was their willingness to return once the political climate or the conditions that threatened them was removed.

Then there are the expatriates – whose change in physical location did not necessarily accompany cultural, language or identity changes. For instance, the Jewish people who leave their county of birth outside of Israel for Israel. In such a case the expatriation opposes the condition of exile because the individuals join "their" community instead of departing from it. Scholars such as Tabori[12], believe the expatriates to be individuals who voluntarily displace themselves from their native culture. Thus their cultural uprooting releases them from the problems facing the exile.

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Then there is the group of the minorities who represent those "…not expelled from but displaced within their native culture by processes of external or internal colonization"[13]. And a case could be made here for Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans who, as a result of apartheid, were cut-off from their native culture but grouped into a homogenous culture by virtue of racial classification. Muller[14] agrees with a special case for the Coloured people in that, even under racial classification, they were exiled – by not being black enough nor sufficiently white[15] this implied that they had no cultural identity[16].

The final variant that I wish to touch upon is the life of the picaro[17] as depicted in Mateo Alemán's novel *Guzmán de Alfarache*. In this novel, what is depicted is a life of rootlessness by seeking refuge across the ocean. The characteristic of the *picaro* is always to be on the move – in essence escaping from his society and that of others from his own morals and into those of the outside world. Exile from his perspective cannot be seen as deprivation but as an attempt at improvement from freedom. In the novel, the rogue *Guzmán*, laughs at the problem: "exile can be a serious matter for 'good' people, but for 'bad' people, of whom the entire world is full, it is a joke"[18].

Culture

The notion of exile becomes real only when compared with its opposite: the homeland. In several instances the homeland is what lacks definition[19]. Contemporary artists often find themselves toggling between two worlds – their lost home and their newly acquired home.

Said wrote in *Reflections on Exile*:

> … most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that–to borrow a phrase from music–is contrapuntal. For an exile, habits of life, expression, or activity in the new environment inevitably occur against the memory of these things in another environment. Thus both the new and the old environment our visit, actual, occurring together contrapuntally[20].

The condition of exile therefore has, amongst others, a dual impact – one on the destination culture and the other on the culture of origin. The latter is vital for the shaping of national culture. This national culture could remain untouched or as in the case of Henry Kamen's Spain "those who returned attempted to create a modern character by appealing to alien principles, drawn from other cultures…"[21]. The South African condition shows evidence of both – untouched as well as impacted upon.

Of the exiles who sought refuge outside their country of origin, the artists in particular tended to be drawn to the centres of the artistic hubs of the world – London, Paris and New York. "Artists, composers and writers preferred to live in exile because that was where they could tap the roots of international culture and creativity"[22]. Pieterse *et al* also contends that "there has always been a magnetic lure which has drawn writers and artists from remoter areas and 'new' countries towards the intellectual sophistication of major metropolitan centers such as London, Paris and, more recently, New York. In these cities they could test their skills against standards far beyond the parochial competition of their own countries"[23].

Mphahlele goes even further to add that "because of the shortage of jobs in African countries, and the propensity of these countries to take care of the home first, Europe, including Britain, and North America have become the main areas of political asylum"[24].

It comes then as no surprise that when the young Hugh Masekela was offered a scholarship to study at London's Guildhall School of Music and the Manhattan School of Music in New York he grabbed at the oppurtunity – escaping the apartheid conditions in South Africa yet, on the other hand, running the risk of right extremists who where still lynching black people in the deep south during the 1960s.

Jazz and Exile

Jazz was a popular medium of expression that challenged the apartheid system during the 1950s and 1960s. At music venues in the "affluent white Johannesburg suburbs of Park Town and Houghton daughters of wealthy Jewish families hosted African musicians, often providing a relaxed friendly atmosphere in which integrated groups could 'jam' together. In this milieu of social ambiguity and underground revolt even interracial love affairs where not unheard of despite the fact that under strict South Africa's sex laws stiff penalties are laid down against all black and white shananigans" (*sic*)[25].

The subsequent closure of these venues dispearsed artists to various parts of South Africa and across its borders. Some of these artists were white who were ANC sympathisers whilst some were merely seeking to avoid conscription into the army, such as the world reknowned Dave Matthews. The vibrant cultural interaction at these 'grey venues' provided the ideal platform for the the shaping of a new culture. However this culture-in-the-making was aborted and was replaced with an imposed culture based on Afrikaner nationalisitc beliefs, ideals and values. It needs to be added that the emerging "globalisation" of the artistic world though festivals such as Newport and Woodstock in a era of intense social conflict, was ignored by the South African government that resolved rather to insulate and culturally exile itself in its quest for power, superiority and cultural exclusivity.

Jazz was "exiled" by virtue of the government's harsh repressive laws that shut down venues were large gatherings of people of colour were prohibited. Jazz musicians were faced with a choice – to leave South Africa or to remain. Just as in civil war Spain26, many left because their lives became difficult, but the ordinary people tended to remain because they had nowhere to go. Some musicians defected in 1961 by using the oppurtunity that opened up with the *King Kong* musical tour to London. They later formed what became known "collectively a veritable 'verwoerdstan'

in London. It would appear that for creative South Africans, both black and white, exile [was] now an inescapable condition"[27].

The musicians who practiced jazz as an art form shared in a common purpose – a common sense of disenfranchisement and common struggle against apartheid. Their music education, almost all of which, a result of their circumstance – was autodidactic[28]. They formed "a social category (identified by occupation)"[29], coping with the "cultural capital"[30] of apartheid. Most of these musicians suffered under limited opportunities to earn their living, the common official disregard of their art and the segregation of society. Hugh Masekela adds that "music became an even more important weapon in the struggle as any possibility of open legitimate protest had come to an end after the Sharpeville massacre"[31]. These factors fused to form a cultural identity of its own – a jazz culture.

Interactions with icons of the music industry – such as Harry Belafonte (in the case of Makeba), Duke Ellington (in the case of Abdullah Ibrahim), Dizzy Gillespie (in the case of Hugh Masekela) and a host of other recognised artists gave credibility to their call for freedom.

Those who left took their music with them to the shores abroad. South African musicians outside of the country were thus freed from the shackles of the apartheid laws and assimilated themselves into the global music culture. Interactions with icons of the music industry – such as Harry Belafonte (in the case of Makeba), Duke Ellington (in the case of Abdullah Ibrahim), Dizzy Gillespie (in the case of Hugh Masekela) and a host of other recognised artists gave credibility to their call for freedom. This interaction also gave credence and upheld the uniqueness of South African music, particularly jazz, whilst at the same time establishing international recognition for their music. Nkosi observes a move by several South African jazz musicians going back to their African heritage for new ideas[32].

Culturally, Mphahlele[33] identifies the emergence of another dilemma in that most African exiles were male, who saw the need for female companionship. This situation gave rise to issues exceeding the limits of exile and its political dimensions. He goes on to add that "the exile is stepping out of his cultural identity, a process he must contemplate in relation to his future and his plans to return home one day. Numerous things are possible as a result, whether the companion is black or white. On the one hand, she is being asked either to share a life of exile or to ensure the man's negation of it. On the other, this liaison compels him to reckon with his own future as a man and a political exile[34].

For those who remained behind, theirs became a case of inner exile. These musicians had to endure the power of racially exclusive apartheid legislation, and the consequences of international isolation, the loss of land and destruction of communities, over and above an ideological authority of Afrikaner Calvinist nationalism. Effects were felt in terms of sponsorships, dependence on 'handouts' from Provincial Arts Councils who clearly focused on Afrikaner middle class interest in western classical music, imported musical theatre and cabaret. Their performances were constantly interrupted by security forces, who were tasked to disrupt any event that involved racial mixing. Economic survival became the overriding agenda of these alienated individuals who found themselves strangers and exiles in the land in which they lived. Their survival operated on both a cultural and physical level. South African musicians grabbed at anything and anywhere to play, even busking in street corners. Several were on the verge of starvation.

Some like Philip Tabane, were totally consumed in their own music "I don't really think apartheid affected me, because I was living in my own world"[35]. Others like Noel Stockton declared that they were so consumed with their own development and playing, so much so that people like him were not always aware of the social and political environment[36]. Johnny Mekoa on the other hand felt the need to keep the home fires alive because he was aware that Mandela was going to be freed[37].

The return of the cultural exiles home had a clear purpose, which was to recreate the public that did not exist in exile. This dealt primarily with the recapturing of one's voice, the bond with audiences that might have forgotten them, and the facility to move within the setting defined by one's habitual language. Cultural figures, such as Miriam Makeba, who had credibility on the international stage, we welcomed back in order to bolster the country's image globally. Their focus was to re-create a culture that was destroyed by apartheid.

Sadly, this was not the case for all musicians; Sathima Bea Benjamin on her return was relieved not to have an audience. Her alienating time in exile in New York distanced her from her audiences, and now sought solace in the fact that her goals and aesthetics of performance are easily accessible in the warmth of the interaction with musicians who empathise with her performance aesthetic and repertory[38].

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The displeasure of those who stayed home and forfeited international recognition and suffered as a result of cultural boycotts of the 1970s brought about a feeling of hostility towards "those who left"[39]. Several who returned expected to be treated as heroes, but failed to recognise that the country had undergone several changes and culture growth evolved since the 1960s. One such change manifested itself in the academic world, in which certain institutions were now teaching a "language" (jazz) that jazz musicians were previously denied.

The patterns of behavior of some returnees came under the spotlight. Some struggle hero artists' commanded exorbitant fees for their performances whilst some claimed to be immersed in youth development work. The usurping of international performance spaces by returnees, such as the FIFA World Cup Opening ceremony, was noticed in which inner exiles were conspicuous by their absence.

In some instances what has emerged is a trend that suggests certain artists needed their struggle credentials in order to launch their careers: Exile as a banner for credibility. Such developments brought about bitter criticism from those who stayed behind, Tony Schilder states, "well, as far as I am concerned, it was the easy way out for them. But they have come back now, making a fortune; they say 'this man was a hero of the struggle.' Where was he a hero of the struggle? We were the heroes, the people who stayed here[40]". The late Johnny Fourie asks, "What contribution did they make? Did they make a contribution by going there and studying hard and becoming really good master musicians, coming back and giving it to our people here[41]? Given these sentiments, Muller concludes, "there is a fine line between fighting for, and capitalizing on, the struggle"[42].

On the academic front there have been a multitude of honorary doctorates bestowed on returnee cultural exiles. What is historically interesting is that the great Pablo

Casals at the end of the Second World War – after Allied relationship with Spain's ruler Franco had normalised – turned down honorary degrees offered to him by Oxford and Cambridge universities. His reasons which were communicated in a letter of protest to the press in London stated that "the exiles hounded out of Spain by Franco's rebellion" had represented "the best elements" of his country[43]. By contrast the current crop of returnee exiles in South Africa readily accept such accolades even from institutions that show little signs of redress and transformation and whose arts programmes still continue to disenfranchise the very people for whose liberation the exiles fought.

Reflections on the condition of some returnees gives added meaning to what Cohen expresses as "an exile that began in deprivation and suffering could therefore be, in almost every sense, an enriching experience that opened new horizons"[44]. However, rather ironically these exiles who made their way home might have even crossed paths with those conservatives who were packing for Perth or Orania. No doubt that these 'new exiles' may not return, but will no doubt pine for home and the culture they left behind or rejoice in the culture they perpetuate. Perhaps those who go abroad will reconstruct a culture and maybe even raise the South African flag coupled with the singing of *Shosholoza* in support the national sports teams that pit themselves against the Aussies.

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Identity

Given the South African transformation agenda, the issue of identity is a meaningful one and speaks to the quest for a new national identity and new forms of identification for the vast ethnic groups that exist within its borders. In the 1990s through to 2000 projects of nation building and national identity creation became significant in order also to locate South Africa in the global context.

Historically, debates on identity have been limited. Bekker observes that most South African scholars avoided questions relating to cultural, ethnic and racial identities[45].

The rather narrow domination of apartheid ideology forms the background against which the new South Africa national identity had to be created. In essence what we are now left with is the construction and re-construction of national identity on the remains of apartheid.

National identity prior to 1994

During apartheid most South Africans identified themselves in terms of subgroup identities, without a clearly defined overarching national identity. Communities were clustered and encouraged to identify themselves in terms of race and ethnicity (Indian, Coloured, Zulu, Venda, etc.,) rather than as South Africans[46].

A Christian nationalism was limited and exclusionary as it openly preached and perpetuated the extremist form of Afrikaner affirmative action. Culturally, the policies and legislation helped create a European enclave in the Southern tip Africa. All forms of cultural expression, education, performances, performances spaces, arts councils, media and the like adopted European models and modes of expression. This was South Africa's way of culturally 'belonging' to the international

community. Even those opportunities and allowances made for people of colour other than Afrikaner or White had to adopt these cultural practices and spaces, albeit at institutions or venues designated for specific races and ethnic groups. The apartheid government in effect successfully exiled the entire nation. With the international cultural boycotts that followed, South Africa was thrown even further into exile.

The various race and ethnic groups, however, struggled to keep their inherited cultures alive under repressive laws and the denial of national support. Their efforts were excluded from the mainstream. Several of these races and ethnic groups still felt the need to keep their identity intact though their community cultural activities. What sadly emerged, however, was a "mini" apartheid within some of these communities that were rooted in ethnic differences.

National identity post 1994

In 1999 a survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council indicated a vast majority (84%) of respondents that showed, that "being South African is an important part of how I see myself"[47]. This survey confirmed their earlier findings of 1997, which sharply contrasted that before 1994. The survey goes on to add that although "subgroup identities is very much in place, these identities are shared with a strong overarching national identity"[48]. A further finding was that "sub-group identities were interlinked and they provide a basis for building societal cohesion"[49].

The new post-apartheid government directed its efforts towards defining a national identity. We all recall scenes from the Rugby World Cup in which President Mandela donned the Springbok rugby jersey with the captain's number 6 on his back. The African National Congress (ANC) in government now sought to ensure that all factions of the population could identify with a new sense of liberation coupled with ideologies of solidarity, nation formation and nation building[50].

However, the cultural policies of the ANC-led government have opposing agendas[51]. Mandela's (1994-1998) campaign emphasised the cultural diversity of South African society. Hence was born the image of the "Rainbow Nation", different and merging distinct colours, but also seen as a colourful band of light. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), was used as a symbol of developing a nationalism, which related to accepting and embracing differences[52]. In the final analysis, the 'Rainbow Nation' campaign reinforced the coexistence of collective and individual identities, and cultures with a shared South African nationalism[53].

After 1999, Thabo Mbeki shaped his political project to that of an "African Renaissance", a pan-African project for Africans to overcome their colonial and neo-colonial past, and to re-imagine and re-position the African continent as part of the global community[54]. This campaign raised political temperatures in terms of how Mbeki interwove issues of the economy with race and identity[55]. In essence Mbeki replaced the 'rainbow' image with the notion of 'two nations' – successfully polarising the nation rather than unifying it as Mandela's policy previously had done. The effects of this policy soon began manifesting itself in the cultural identity of the country, which shifted from collectivism to individualism.

The symbolic impact of this 'two nations' divide snowballed into other sectors of society – beyond just blacks and whites. New 'apartheid styled' forms of dichotomies were emerging – "afrocentricism" and "eurocentricism, ethnic pessimism and ethnic optimism, rich versus poor, xenophobia, exile divisions: returnees and those who stayed; also divisions amongst returnees between the foot soldiers and intellectuals. This reaction threatened the construction of a national identity. And Johnny Fourie rather bitterly responds "now they are busy dividing the whole nation again with their insistence on not playing Eurocentric music or American music. Now they want me to play township music, because it is patriotic"[56].

The Jacob Zuma era (2009) was ushered in under much controversy relating more so to his suitability to lead the country. However, the electioneering promises of free housing, lights, water and education and a better life for all, apparently gained him wide support among the masses. What subsequently, however, followed has been attempts at entrenching democracy through questionable appointments to the judiciary, endeavors to curb the independence of the media, a rise in corruption, cronyism and tenderpreneurships, returning of loyalty favours for those who supported the president, the rise in a culture of non-delivery of basic services and the pitting of one's individual cultural practices against public discourse espoused by gender activists.

The use of culture to justify imbalanced gender relations is offensive. Could this not be the same as using religion during apartheid to explain racial

discrimination? The silence to those who rose to power on the gender ticket – women's league groups, gender activists and the like is concerning. So we ask, where have the notions of building a non-sexist society gone, as boldly campaigned for during the Mandela era? Culture is not static. But the moral values and ethics which help ground us as a nation cannot simply be held hostage to the expediency and fashions of current political developments.

The reported looting of lottery and donor money to line pockets[57], and to cover up the maladministration of the Arts and Culture ministry, deeply disillusions those organisations, communities and external donors who are desperately trying to rebuild a society deformed as a result of it history. Even the attempts to rescue the construction of a social identity through national sporting events are hampered by what is euphemistically referred to as the "culture of entitlement".

Concluding observations on Identity

The polarisation of the nation which accompanied the Mbeki era and has been enhanced in the Zuma era has now contributed towards social identity deconstruction – pretty much the condition we were left to start in with the beginning of the Mandela era. This problem of establishing a recognisable national identity is clearly evident in the case of music which mirror's the country social dilemma.

A brief audit of the South African music scene reveals the following: at the top of the food chain is the Music Industry, whose efforts at promoting mediocrity in the form of foreign based- and modeled music has always been a priority. This forced certain record publishes and distributers such as Sheer Sound to focus on local music and artists. The reluctance by the broadcast media to give more airplay to local talent has to be legislated in order to ensure South African music and artist get airplay rather than voluntarily adopting local repertoire.

Key performance spaces are still occupied by returnee exiles who feel they deserve due recognition for their efforts in the struggle – hence most major events will feature one or other 'exile' artist. Those artists who remained in the country find it difficult to survive economically as well as culturally. Furthermore there is a sense of estrangement between these two groups of exiles. Their initial medium of expression – jazz – got exiled and has since stayed exiled. Current music festivals, events and performances brandish any cacophony under the label "jazz". Can Jazz now still be the music of resistance?

Tertiary Music Departments defy and continue to oppose calls to transform their music education programmes away from exclusively European art based models to programmes that affirm and embrace all the musical styles and genres practised in this country. Jazz, albeit, American styled have now manifested itself at some institutions around the country. The absence of clearly defined programmes in African music, particularly South African music poses serious questions about the society we are constructing. At some institutions that do offer African music, such programmes are biased in that the programmes content leans heavily towards music from outside of South Africa rather than within South Africa.

Sadly, at school levels, where the foundations of culture and identity are formed, the Arts and Culture programmes and music in particular are in disarray, from a resource, developmental, implementation, focus and content perspective. These anomalies within the South African music world make it difficult to construct a social cultural identity. One thing is certain – national identity is in a state of flux. Therefore attempts to adopt an overall identity are difficult.

One of the challenges is to comprehend what a typical South African Identity is or should be. If Identity is about sameness, about identifying with those considered similar, it is also about difference, distinguishing oneself from those who are dissimilar. There are no easy answers. This is a task all South Africans will have to engage in.

These dilemmas are neatly encapsulated in the following quotes: Stravinsky, at a meeting with Shostakovich, observed on his return to Russia in 1962:

> The smell of the Russian earth is different, and as such things are impossible to forget... A man has one birthplace, one fatherland, one country – he can have only one country – and the place of his birth is the most important factor in his life. I regret that circumstances separated me from my fatherland, that I did not give birth to my works here and, above all, that I was not here to help the new Soviet Union create its new music. I did not leave Russia of my own will, even though I disliked much in my Russia and in Russia generally. Yet the right to criticise Russia is mine, because Russia is mine and because I love it, which and I do not give any foreigner that right[58].

But I am also sure that Stravinsky would have understood the sentiments of the late Miriam Makeba, who had to endure a difficult, unhappy, isolated, hostile and troubled life, when she declared: "the concert stage is the one place where I am most at home, where there is no exile"[59]. She took her last breath on the 10 November 2008 – where it all began – during a concert tour – on the stage – her home.

NOTES

1 Ouditt, 2001:xii
2 Kamen, 2007:ix
3 1998
4 1980
5 McClennen, 2004
6 1991:124-125
7 Clark, 1999:110
8 Kamen 2007; Said 2002; Suleiman 1996; Bammer 1994; Rushdie 1991
9 Boldor, 2005:26
10 Young, 2002:21-27
11 Muller, 1996:141
12 1972
13 Bammer, 1994:xi
14 1996
15 Nixon in Muller, 1996:132
16 Muller, 1996:132
17 Maravall, 1986:64-65
18 Ibid
19 Kamen, 2007:xi
20 2002:148
21 2007:xi
22 Kamen, 2007:406
23 1968:19
24 1982:34
25 Nkosi, 1966:36
26 Kamen, 2007:xi
27 Nkosi, 1966:34
28 Devroop, 2010:04
29 Bourdieu, 1984:102
30 Ibid.
31 Birch, 2004
32 Nkosi, 1966:36
33 1982:36
34 Ibid.
35 Devroop and Walton, 2007:43
36 Ibid, 112
37 Ibid, 21-22
38 Muller, 1996:139
39 Ibid, 136
40 Devroop and Walton, 2007:88
41 Ibid, 36
42 1996:130
43 Kamen, 2007:295
44 1996
45 1993:3
46 Zegeye and Harris, 2002:251
47 Human Sciences Research Council, 1999
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid.
50 Mistry, 2001:8
51 Mistry, 2001:8; Bremner, 2004:1
52 Mistry, 2001:8
53 Ibid.
54 Mbeki, 1998
55 Ibid.
56 Devroop and Walton, 2007:36
57 Swart, 2011:01
58 Gray, 1986:138
59 Makeba (in Hall), 1989:230

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