

**A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE PRODUCTION, MARKETING AND
DISTRIBUTION OF CONTEMPORARY POPULAR MUSIC BY ZAMBIAN
MUSICIANS.**

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of MASTERS IN
SOCIOLOGY

of

Rhodes University

By

KANYABU SOLOMON KAZADI

December 2014

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to gather information about the production, marketing and distribution of Zambian contemporary music by Zambian musicians. Very little information has been documented about the development of the Zambian music industry, particularly from the perspective of those within the industry. As a result this study attempted to add to this knowledge. To achieve this Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of 'fields' and 'habitus' were used to gain an understanding of what affects the creation of art forms such as music as well as the structures and underlying processes within the music industry. The concept of 'fields' usefully framed an explanation of the struggles and connections within the various fields in the industry and a view of the Zambian music industry in relation to the international industry. To gather the data necessary for this research a qualitative approach was utilised involving semi-structured in-depth questionnaires from twenty-three interviewees. These interviewees were selected from various sectors of the music industry in an attempt to gain a holistic perspective of the industry in the 21st century. There were four subgroups: the artists (singers, rappers and instrumentalists), managers, radio DJs, and a miscellaneous group made up of the remaining participants, a *Sounds Arcade* manager, a music journalist, the National Arts Council Chairperson, a Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS) administrator, and the then President of the Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM). With the limited exposure to formal musical, instrumental and production training, musicians, instrumentalists, managers and studio production personnel interviewed had had to learn their craft on-the-job. This limited knowledge appears to add to the hindrance of the development of careers and the industry, particularly in terms of how to register and distribute music correctly to earn royalties and protect their intellectual property against piracy. From an institutional level piracy is being addressed more forcefully with the introduction of holograms and the tightening of policies and structures to do with the music industry.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like thank my supervisor for his guidance and advice through the whole process of bringing this thesis together.

I would also like to thank my parents, family and close friends for their constant support and encouragement.

A special mention has to be made to Grant Goodwin, my dance partner for the past five years for his support and inspiration. A second special mention must also be made of Petro Werth who provided me with a second home while I have been writing up this thesis.

Finally, I would like to thank God and my church family, Grahamstown Baptist, for their provision, strength and support right to the end.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1. Introduction	1
1.2. Popular music	2
1.2.1. Artist versus musician	3
1.3. Music industry	4
1.3.1. Local versus global music industries	4
1.4. Music in Zambia	5
1.5. Goals of this research	6
Chapter 2. A theoretical and historical framework within which to contextualize the Zambian music industry	8
2.1. Introduction	8
2.2. Pierre Bourdieu and cultural studies	8
2.2.1. Bourdieu's concept of fields	9
2.2.2. Bourdieu's concept of habitus	11
2.3. An application of fields and habitus	13
Chapter 3. Bourdieu's concepts in relation to the music industry on a global, African and Zambian level	15
3.1. Introduction	15
3.2. Globalization	16
3.3. World music	16

3.3.1. Negative effects of “world music”	18
3.4. Digital advancements	19
3.5. Brief contextualisation of the global music industry	22
3.6. An overview of the African music industry	22
3.7. Brief exploration of music in the SADC region	24
3.8. An overview of the Zambian music industry	25
3.8.1. The ‘Zambian sound’	27
3.9. Piracy	28
3.10. Conclusion	30
Chapter 4. Methodology	31
4.1. Introduction	31
4.2. The use of qualitative research methods	32
4.3. Setting and study informants	33
4.4. Data sources and collection procedures	34
4.5. Internal validity	35
4.6. Triangulation	36
4.7. Limitations of qualitative research	37
4.7.1. Research experiences: the emic and etic perspectives	37
4.8. Ethical considerations	40
4.9. Conclusion	40

Chapter 5. Institutions surrounding the music industry	41
5.1. Introduction	41
5.2. The Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM) and Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS)	42
5.2.1. Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM)	42
5.2.2. The National Arts Council (NAC)	47
5.3. Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS)	48
5.3.1. Challenges faced by ZAMCOPS	48
5.3.2. Royalty collection	49
5.4. Role of government in the music industry	50
5.5. Corporate support	54
5.5.1. Generation of income for businesses linked to the music industry	55
5.6. Experiences from other countries	55
5.7. Societal perspectives of music	57
5.8. Conclusion	60
Chapter 6. Production and distribution	62
6.1. Introduction	62
6.2. History of production and distribution in Zambia	62
6.2.1. Role of radio	65
6.2.1.1. Procedure of getting music on the airwaves	66
6.2.1.2. Payola for more airplay	67

6.2.1.3. Early use of Zambian music on the airwaves	69
6.2.1.4. Censorship	69
6.2.3. Television shows	70
6.2.4. Music charts	71
6.2.5. Music videos	75
6.2.6. Albums	76
6.2.7. Live performances	77
6.3. Online methods	78
6.3.1. Online magazines	78
6.3.2. Online music for purchase or free downloads	79
6.3.3. Profile pages	79
6.3.4. Online purchases	80
6.3.5. Challenges of distributing music	82
6.4. Conclusion	82
Chapter 7. The creative process of music production	84
7.1. Introduction	84
7.2. Early development of musical interest	84
7.2.1. Official musical training	84
7.2.2. Self-taught	86
7.3. Groups versus solo musicians	87
7.3.1. Sources of income	89

7.3.2. Merchandise	91
7.3.4. Collaborations	91
7.4. Management of artists	93
7.4.1. The role of managers	93
7.5. Record labels and studios	96
7.5.1. Home studios	96
7.5.2. National studios	97
7.5.3. Challenges experienced by studios	97
7.5.4. Contracts	100
7.6. Challenges experienced by musicians	103
7.7. Conclusion	105
Chapter 8. Concluding remarks	107
8.1. Introduction	107
8.2. Fields and habitus	107
8.3. Challenges within the industry	108
8.4. Methods to build a career	109
8.5. Conclusion	111
Appendix	viii
List of interviewees and respondents	ix
Abbreviations	xi

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 – *Sounds Arcade* music charts 124

Appendix 2 – Zambian Copyright Act of 1994

http://portal.unesco.org/culture/es/files/30413/11425068613zm_copyright_1994_en.pdf/zm_copyright_1994_en.pdf

Appendix 3 – Procedure in Music Copyright registration 126

Appendix 4 – Patriotic Front Manifesto 2011-2016

<http://www.pf.org.zm/index.php/downloads/manifesto>

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND RESPONDENTS

Alfred Chisanga is *Sounds Arcade* music store manager for the whole of Zambia.

Alif Kalipinde is a radio presenter at Radio Phoenix station in Lusaka, Zambia.

Andrew Mulenga is a Zambian music journalist.

Brian Shakarongo is one of the original members of the W.I.T.C.H. band, one of the first
Zambian Rock bands.

Chawa Chiteta currently resides in Australia and is a part-time singer, rapper and music
producer.

Chilu Lemba is a radio presenter at Radio Highveld 94.7 in Johannesburg, South Africa, and a
part-time music artist and voice actor.

Duncan Sodala is one of the original members of the ‘Zone Fam’ group and currently manages
the group.

Exile is an artist who started off as a rapper, and then a singer since 2001.

Immaculate is a new emerging rapper.

Innocent Kalaluka is the television host of *Smooth Talk* and *Born and Bred* music shows.

JK is a composer, singer, and producer and began his singing career in 1997.

Juliana Lungu Chilombo is the Distribution and Documentation officer of ZAMCOPS.

Geoff Paynter is a Zambian born and raised Austrian who was a sales representative for Teal
Records while it was operational in Zambia. Now he works in Johannesburg.

Massi is a studio producer and part-time rapper for *Secret Records* studios.

MicBurner is a studio producer and part-time rapper for *Secret Records* studios.

Moses Sakala is half of the popular Sakala Brothers. They have started a music school currently
housed in the Lusaka Playhouse.

Mrs. Chulu is the manager for Scarlet, the singer.

Mulenga Kapwepwe is the Chairperson of the National Arts Council of Zambia which is the

statutory administrative body for all the arts forms in Zambia.

Scarlet is a popular singer whose music is a fusion of Afro-jazz, Soul and reggae. She is also a DJ for Power FM radio station.

Shom C. is a studio producer of *Whiz House Studios*.

Sister D. is a singer who has been in the industry since 1995. She started out as a backing vocalist and then became a soloist.

St. Michael is one of the first Zambian reggae artists and has been in the industry since 2000. He is also a composer, producer and was the President of ZAM.

Zone Fam is made up of four members, Young Verbal, Thugga, Dope-G and Jay-Rox. They were the first Zambian group to win a African *Channel O* music award in 2014.

ABBREVIATIONS

A&R - Artists and Repertoire

ASSITEJ - Association of Theatre for Children and Young People in Zambia

BET – Black Entertainment Television

BMG – Bertelsmann Music Group

CABS - Central African Broadcasting Services

DCA - Department of Cultural Affairs

DERGIT - Development Economics Research Group on International Trade

FBC - Federal Broadcasting Corporation

ICT - Information and communications technology

IFIP - International Federation of the Phonographic Industry

ILO - International Labour Organisation

MMD - Movement of Multiparty Democracy

NAC - National Arts Council of Zambia

NAMA - National Media Arts Association

NATAAZ - National Theatre Arts Association of Zambia

PASA - Publishers’ Association of South Africa

PF- Patriotic Front

PRSP - Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper

RiSA - Recording Industry of South Africa

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SAFACT - Southern African Federation Against Copyright Theft

SAMRO - South African Music Rights Organisation

SAMPRA - South African Music Performance Rights Association

SIDA - Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

TAZARA - Tanzania-Zambia Railway Authority

UN – United Nations

UNIP - United National Independence Party

VAC - Zambia National Visual Arts Council

WSIS - World Summit on the Information Society

ZAFODAMUS - Zambia Folk Dance and Music Society

ZAM - Zambia Association of Musicians

ZAMCOPS - Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society

ZBC - Zambia Broadcasting Corporation

ZBS - Zambia Broadcasting Services

ZNBC - Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation

ZAP - Zambia Adjudicators' Panel

ZAPOTA - Zambia Popular Theatre Alliance

ZAWWA - Zambia Women Writers' Association

ZMP - Zambia Music Parlour

ZUM - Zambia Union of Musicians

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Music is an essential aspect of daily life that can promote cultural, religious and moral beliefs. It can also be used as an educational tool to pass on and enforce a society's culture through traditional ceremonies and practices. Music is also used to spread popular conceptions of politics, religion, fashion, entertainment and a wide variety of daily activities. These various aspects can be considered as cultural activities and are studied by academics with a cultural studies approach. In the following research a brief discussion of cultural studies, popular culture, popular music and how they relate to the music industry will be examined. An understanding of popular culture will be used within this research to assist in understanding musical industries, specifically in Zambia. Cultural industries provide a system of production and distribution to supply demand (Burnett, 1996:6). As a result music is treated as a commodity that is tailored for mass production to supply a wide consumer base.

A broad definition of cultural industries offered by Robert Burnett (1996:34) is "those which produce goods or services which are either somehow expressive of the ways of life of a society, such as film, television and music, or which somehow occupy a special position within its system of social communication, such as advertising or the press." Although cultural studies shall be expanded upon in Chapter 2, the underlying understanding of cultural studies was about mass production and mass consumption. Although traditionally a process linked with factory workplaces, this concept of mass production and mass consumption can be applied to the entertainment industry, under which fall television, radio, literature, newspapers and music (Ott & Mack, 2013:2-3; Williams, 2003:56; Betts & Bly, 2013:1). The following research will focus on music industries, specifically the Zambian music industry.

The study of music industries from an African scholastic perspective is very minimal in most African countries. Very little governmental expenditure is spent on developing music education programmes in schools or music courses and degrees at a tertiary level, or building and maintaining recording studios or performance studios (Ambert, 2003:3; Roe & Carlsoon, 1990:104). As a result very few Africans develop an academic interest in understanding the

workings of the music industry in their country, particularly as being a popular musician is often considered as being a hobby rather than a conventional job.

As stated in the title, this research was approached from a sociological point of view. For Simon Frith this approach means that music is understood as an “effect of a continuous process of negotiation, dispute and agreement between the individual actors who make up a music world” (2007:1). Within cultural studies, such negotiations, disputes and agreements occur at all levels and as soon as an individual enters the industry. Thus music and what is considered as popular music are constantly shifting.

Information researched and documented on the Zambian music industry is lacking and therefore the data for this research was gathered through the use of semi-structured and in-depth interviews. The information obtained from the interviews has been heavily relied on in an attempt to compensate for unavailable data. Twenty-three participants from various divisions of the Zambian music industry were interviewed in an attempt to gain a holistic view of what is happening within the contemporary music industry.

1.2. Popular music

Frith, *et al.* speak of how the music industry is “an aspect of popular music culture” as the music industry does not control popular culture even though it plays an important part in its development (2001:27). Popular music is part of our everyday experience as it can be heard being played in public areas such as along the streets, played from radios, cars, in bars, hotels, restaurants, and shopping malls (Burnett 1996:1; Frith, Straw & Street, 2001:26). However, the creation of an internationally accepted definition has been faced with a lot of controversy, arguing across disciplines, along academic, emotional, political and personal lines (Burnett, 1996:36; Fairley, 2001:272). Deanna C. Robinson (1986:33) points out that creating a definition that incorporates the most common musical qualities of popular music is rather impractical, particularly on a global scale. A reason an all-inclusive definition is impractical is because music that is popular in one country may not be as popular or have even been heard of in another country. Philip Tagg (1982) observes that popular music generally occurs in industrial societies (Burnett, 1996:37). This implies that popular music in ‘pre-industrial’ or developing societies such as in Zambia does not receive as much focus and is side-lined.

Kofi Agawu (2003:16) defines African popular music as being “grounded in ‘deep’ values” and as being “a layered phenomenon, a repository of musical idioms of diverse origins (African, Afro-Cuban, European, African-American, Islamic) arranged in such a way that a dominant element or group of elements conveys a ‘message’ to listeners of different social, linguistic, and musical backgrounds.” Angela Impey (2000:127) perceives African pop music as being a “creative interaction between foreign values and local styles.” African pop is a category that allows for the experimentation, merging and adaptation of various musical styles. With advancements in transportation enabling more movement and technology for communication and production, African pop music has rapidly spread around the globe rather than remaining localised as it had for centuries (Impey in Stone, 2000:127). African pop music is distributed internationally under the marketing category of ‘world music’, a concept that will be discussed further in Section 3.3.

However, it should be noted that popular music does not mean that all musical styles are popular. What is considered ‘popular’ is determined by a selective group of the public based on how many listen to and purchase the music of particular musicians (Burnett, 1996:35). R. Serge Denisoff (1975) adds on to the idea of ‘popular’ by stating that the musical genres that sell the largest number of products such as CD units are then considered successful (Burnett, 1996:36). Burnett (1996:37) summarises that popular music is a self-explanatory term that refers to music that is popular. Those who create and perform the music considered as popular need to be clearly recognized, as a definitive definition has still not been established.

1.2.1. Artist versus musician

Defining individuals who produce and perform music is another area of great discussion. The terms ‘artist’ and ‘musician’ are often used interchangeably or any difference is simply ignored within academic publications and particularly during everyday use (Colonna, Kearns, & Anderson, 1993; Merriam, 1964; Ndomondo, Sanga, & Strumpf, 2014; Waksman, 1999). The term ‘musician’ can also be used to refer to both artists and musicians when both terms are being spoken about (Waksman, 1999:204; Colonna, Kearns, & Anderson, 1993:70). Within this research a distinction has been made between those considered artists or musicians. Those interviewed who were rappers and even some singers described themselves as ‘artists’. The term ‘musician’ was used by interviewees describing a person who sang and played an instrument, or

just played an instrument (Waksman, 1999:104-108; Caves, 2003:78). Both these groups are crucial for the generation of music that is to be produced, recorded and distributed in the music industry.

1.3. Music industry

The music industry is yet another term that has been debated by researchers (Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:138). Most of the definitions suggested are based on various concepts of the music industry. According to Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred Smudits (2001:138) have described the music industry in terms of “systems in which major companies flexibly incorporate or establish links to semi-autonomous (independent) labels or subsidiaries and try to adapt to a changing environment: to new media and distribution technologies, new market structures, changing taste structures, laws, etc.” For Frith, *et al.* (2001:26) the music industry simply operates to generate money from music. This commercial approach occurs at both local and global levels.

1.3.1. Local versus global music industries

Local repertoire is an important feature to consider when studying the music industry. ‘Local’ refers to regional or country-specific markets (Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:145; Fairley, 2001:272). Local music generates different markets that contribute to the global market share of global music. Local markets provide diverse musical sources that are often found and promoted by small independent (or ‘indie’) record companies (Wallis & Malm, 1984:85). The ‘national’ music from Third World countries can also be described as “a local variant of global style”, i.e. the music found within developing countries is often influenced by international popular music (Frith, 2007:71).

When a music style from a small community or country is ‘discovered’ and is considered to have the potential to generate profit, major music companies either work with the independent companies, offer the musicians a better deal than the smaller companies can offer, or if the independent companies or indies are already a subsidiary of a major company, the musician/s is and are taken to the major company’s main studio (Abderton, Dubber & James, 2013: 24-25; Wikström, 2009:69; Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:9, 123). The local music is then tailored to suit the global music market in terms of production, marketing and distribution of the music to stores

around the world. In order for local music to be marketed in the international market, local music is generally categorised as ‘world music’, a category that encompasses all other music considered as not being western music.

The increased exposure of different music genres to other countries around the world is becoming more observed with the advancements of transportation and technology, resulting in the more efficient distribution of more music genres to other countries. Zambian contemporary music has been identified as being a mixture of a variety of music styles, particularly from its neighbouring countries.

1.4. Music in Zambia

Zambia was and still is used as a trade route within the SADC region with traders from other countries travelling through Zambia to other countries in the region (Graham, 1989:283; Impey, in Stone, 2000:138). By the 20th century Zambia’s music was most noticeably a mixture of the musical styles from its neighbours and from the western world (Graham, 1989:284). However, Zambian music remained within the SADC region for many years and only truly appeared in western markets from around 1985 (Graham, 1992:207). Only about six well-produced Zambian albums, categorised as ‘world music’ during this time, were sold in western record shops (Graham, 1992:207). World music will be discussed further in Section 3.3.

From 1990 Zambian music gradually developed a foothold in countries such as Namibia, Kenya and Zimbabwe, as well as making an appearance in more western countries (Graham, 1992:207). Zambia’s music has been described by Hugo Zemp as being “a diversity of music because of the diversity of contexts in which it is used and of ethnic groups which perform it” (Agawu, 2003:30). Impey notes how years of interregional trade has “inspired mass migration and has influenced linguistic and cultural interaction” within the SADC region (Stone, 2000:138). All this cultural sharing has resulted in a lot of blending taking place, resulting in new cultures, practices, languages and music styles being created. New forms of cultural capital (a concept introduced by Bourdieu) are developed as more mergers occur (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995:860).

With this knowledge, this research was explorative in nature in an attempt to contribute to the little documented information about the current state of the music industry in Zambia.

1.5. Goals of this research

There were five goals focussed on exploring the marketing, promotion and distribution strategies used in the contemporary *Zambian* music industry. A total of twenty-three assorted stakeholders were interviewed in an attempt to develop a holistic perspective of the music industry.

Stakeholders were made up of managers, producers, radio broadcasters, the only national retail distributor called *Sounds Arcade*, musicians and music writers. To this end the objectives of the proposed research were:

- 1) to investigate and document the current marketing and distribution methods used by a cross-section of up-and-coming and established *Zambian* musicians;
- 2) to explore and document the marketing and distribution processes of *Zambian* recording companies;
- 3) to explore the music industry from the perspective of music writers;
- 4) to gain an understanding of the role, objectives and impact on policy by groups such as the *Zambian Association of Musicians* and the *Zambian Union of Musicians*; and
- 5) to investigate the choices made by representatives of radio and television programmers on what music to broadcast to the public.

This research, as stated in the title, focuses on the contemporary division of music in *Zambia*, rather than the traditional or folk music of the country that has mainly been researched from an ethnomusicological perspective. In Chapter 2 a theoretical framework using Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of 'field', 'habitus', 'cultural capital', 'economic capital' and 'social capital' will be introduced and then contextualised within the music industry on a global, African, and *Zambian* level. Chapter 3 is to do with the methods utilised to carry out this research. Chapter 4 analyses the interviews carried out during this research. Chapter 4 describes the method utilised to carry out this research. The analysis of data collected was divided into three chapters: chapters 5, 6 and 7 analyse the interviews carried out during this research.

Chapter 5 examines the institutions surrounding and underlying the production, promotion and distribution of music in *Zambia*. The major institutions are the *Zambia Association of Musicians*,

Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society and the National Arts Council. The copyright process is currently spearheading the fight against piracy which continues to rob those within the music industry of their due royalties. The impact of introducing and establishing the system of holograms stickers increases the rate of royalties collected and distributed.

Chapter 6 focuses on the distribution and promotional methods currently available within Zambia that are being used by musicians to get their music to the public. The use of the internet is growing within Zambia, enabling music production to be done on home computers and uploading music to the internet. Music online is accessible across the globe rather than just within Zambia, increasing the exposure to Zambian music and to potential sources of income. The internet is also used as a promotional tool for Zambian musicians to consumers on an international scale, particularly those within the central fields of the music industry.

Chapter 7 takes a look at what happens from the start of music production, i.e. how music interest is developed and how musicians develop as well as gain access to recording studios. In Zambia home studios are in abundance, but finding a reliable studio is essential for a musician's career. Managers and contracts are still underused in Zambia as many musicians often manage themselves without completely understanding the purpose and role of a manager, a studio and a recording contract.

CHAPTER TWO: A THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK USED TO CONTEXTUALIZE THE ZAMBIAN MUSIC INDUSTRY

2.1. Introduction

Music is a cultural attribute specific to the country or region it originates from with several underlying meanings and purposes. As a result music that is considered popular and worth producing, distributing and consuming varies from country to country. This diversity creates a marketing problem for the international record labels in promoting different genres of music to consumers who would not otherwise have access to those genres. In order to gain a theoretical understanding of popular music and its production, marketing and distribution, the work of Pierre Bourdieu is used, specifically his concepts of ‘fields’ and ‘habitus’. These concepts along with the research methods to be defined in Chapter 3, underline the use of world music and within the context of music in Zambia.

2.2. Pierre Bourdieu and cultural studies

Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus can be sub-divided under three broad forms of capital, namely ‘cultural capital’, ‘economic capital’ and ‘social capital’ (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995:860). These are different types of assets that are put to productive use. Capital is accumulated over time with the purpose of producing profits and then being re-invested to reproduce more capital. For Bourdieu this principle of accumulation can be applied to these three forms of capital (Szeman & Kaposy, 2011:81). Musicians and academics are usually considered as being potentially rich in cultural capital but generally lacking in economic capital, unlike high profile members of society such as the CEOs of large companies and professional football players. In certain instances, particularly in developing countries, musicians can have low levels of cultural capital either due to limited access to formal education or exposure to more experienced members of society who could mentor them. Economic capital for Bourdieu is the “basis of domination” even if it may not be viewed as such by participants of the industry (Harker, *et al.*, 1990:13). A third form of capital is ‘social capital’ which derives “not so much from *what* you know as *who* you know (and who knows you)” (Thornton, in Bennett, Shank, & Toynbee, 2006:99-100). This knowledge assists these actors as they compete for more beneficial

positions within their field (Anheier, Gerhards, & Romo, 1995:860). Fields will be discussed below in Section 2.2.1.

These three forms of capital continuously interlink as the stakeholders of the industry shift their positions and relation with each form of capital. For example, with increased social capital members of the industry are provided with “direct access to economic resources (subsidized loans, investment tips, protected markets)”, as well as increasing their cultural capital “through contracts with individuals of refinement ... [and] affiliate with institutions” that are held in high esteem (Portes, 1998:4).

These three forms of capital are useful in gaining an understanding of the context in which Zambian popular music operates. Bourdieu’s concepts of ‘field’ and ‘habitus’ shall be used to further unpack the Zambian music industry.

2.2.1. Bourdieu’s concept of fields

A key concept in Bourdieu’s understanding of rivalry in society is fields which are used to explain ‘areas of struggle’ within art and culture (Harker, *et al.*, 1990:9; Bourdieu, 1993:40-42; Harker, Mahar, & Wilkes, 1990:8-9; Hesmondhalgh, 2006:212; Street, 1997:130, 173). These struggles are “a set of power relations between agents or institutions in the struggle for specific forms of domination and monopoly of an efficient type of capital” (Gutiérrez, in Sánchez, 2007:6). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992:97) add to the definition of fields as being a “network, or a configuration, of objective relations.” Although each field is connected to another and/or even several fields, each individual field still has its own internal power relations. These power relations require actors within that field to attempt to gain access to the resources in that field so that movement from one field to another towards the central fields is possible. The struggle is in attaining central positions within the field in an attempt to gain access to the various forms of capital to develop successful careers (Harker, *et al.*, 1990:8; Bourdieu, 1993:16).

For Bourdieu, all aspects of society, culture and material aspects are interconnected. Pavella M. Hirsch integrates further sub-divisions within the cultural music industry involving “creators (musicians, musicians, actors, writers) and brokers (agents) ... cultural product's producers (publishers, studios), distributors (wholesalers, theatres), and media outlets...” (Sánchez,

2007:6). These groupings enable us to group the various stakeholders and understand their roles in relation to the other stakeholders and their history.

In terms of this research, popular music was taken as a field with its central fields being developed countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States of America who generate and distribute the largest units of music internationally (IFPI, 2012). These countries are the epicentres of the production of music. Developing countries are generally situated further away from these central hubs as their musical styles tend to be listened to by a particular niche of people or marginalised groups. These niche groups are not often considered large enough to attract the focus of large record companies as the major record companies may not see how they can make profits from promoting musical genres that are harder to turn into international generic genres such as hip hop, pop and rock and roll. The popular music industry in Africa is on the margins of the field with Zambia falling even further on the periphery (Wallis & Malm, 1984).

The Zambian music industry can be considered even more marginalised within the African music field as Zambian music is not currently marketed for the wider global market. Zambian music may be listened to in neighbouring countries but, as the music moves further from Zambia, the less focus, investment and consumption it experiences. On a global level Zambian music is often labelled as 'world music' as its genre has a low commercial international profile (Broughton, Ellingham & Trillo, 1999:702).

Within music the interconnections happen at all levels and all processes from production to consumers purchasing the music. Writers and composers (who can be the musicians themselves) begin the creative process and take the work to a recording studio. Managers assist in finding record labels with studios that would offer musicians beneficial contracts. Record labels may sign a contract with the musician before access is granted, but this is not always the case. Some musicians also produce their music on home computers with digital studio software and organise the release of their music, often through friends and family. In Zambia less experienced musicians are often given studio access based on who they know (social capital) and/or if they are able to pay for the recording time and studio use (economic capital). This is how mixed tapes and compilations are made that are distributed to studios and radio stations. However, with more access to digital technology more mixed tapes are recorded and produced on home computers. Producers are key to the production of quality recordings which can be turned into singles and

albums. Managers and musicians can then either market and promote their music or hire a professional promotional marketing company. Radio and television talk shows are organised to boost public exposure of the musician and their music. Such promotion is also utilised to publicise live performances as performances are essential to generating income. It is important to note that the above general overview of the production, marketing and distribution is not a linear process but is rather cyclical at every stage. Underlying structural practices or habitus are vital for any of the above procedures to occur.

2.2.2. Bourdieu's concept of habitus

Habitus is made of “structured structures, generative principles of distinct and distinctive practice” (Bourdieu, 1996:17). In other words members of a particular society are taught behaviours and activities that have been passed down from generation to generation. These societal practices, such as eating particular foods in a particular way, differentiate one society from another. Zander Navarro's (2006:16) definition of habitus speaks of how it is “developed through processes of socialization and determines a wide range of dispositions that shape individuals in a given society”. Indeed, Bourdieu argues (1989:9), the choices that social agents make in their daily life are “not the intellectual doings of a consciousness, explicitly positing its own goals through a deliberate selection between alternatives constituted as such by a project, but the result of the practical operation of habitus” (Wacquant, 1993:5). Habitus results in the development of tastes (i.e. cultural capital of fashion, food, literature, music, habits), and individual characteristics and thought processes (Martinez-Mullen, 2005:99). Habitus also guides individuals within their particular fields by enabling them to understand what possibilities are and are not available to them (Kahn-Harris, in Bennett, Shank, & Toynbee, 2006:130).

Within the music industry particular genres are reproduced based on the musician's habitus and who s/he has listened to and have been exposed to. For Bourdieu this is a link between social practices and educational capital as background and other musicians influence the type of message and music a musician creates (Bourdieu, in Street, 1997:173). The styles of music that are played and sung in homes and at school during the early educational years of an individual play a crucial role in an individual's musical preferences later in life when s/he starts to produce his/her own music. Learning an instrument is also easier when started earlier in life and can often assist in the creative process of writing music. However, if exposure to instruments during

childhood does not occur, later in life the use of instruments in the production of music may not be considered important, particularly if digital programmes are available.

On a broader societal level, habitus can impact the development of a musician as certain genres will be more popular than others. Tastes in music are structured around the interests and attributes of society (Street, 1997:173) as mentioned in relation to social capital in Section 1.5. Therefore in an attempt to sell more music musicians may tailor their music to sound like the music considered popular. Those who go against the trend often struggle to make an impact on the public who will not purchase their music or regularly attend their concerts. However, this can result in the standardization of music, limiting the musical choice and exposure to the public.

Institutions and policies that surround the music industry can also have an impact on the amount of exposure and how effectively royalties can be generated and collected. If there are regular events such as governmental functions where musicians can perform, musicians are able to earn a more regular income and develop a potentially good reputation, resulting in call-backs for future performances. As a result musicians need to work even harder in peripheral countries to stand out in the international market.

Musicians carry out particular activities in the hope that their earlier work will pay off in the future and they will benefit in monetary terms and popularity. Activities they may engage in out of necessity during the length of their careers, but in particular during the early stages of their careers, are activities such as interviews with radio stations, television shows, newspapers and magazines, and live performances in several towns and to different audiences. These activities are important as musicians discover what sort of musician they are, what genre/s they prefer, and who their target audiences are, as well as starting to gain an understanding about the interconnected sectors of the industry. As their careers develop some musicians 'reproduce' and/or change their musical focus as they learn and make adjustments based on past experiences (Negus, 1992:41).

A musician is not created in isolation or simply by an individual's work, but various stakeholders within the music and broader media industry are also incorporated in the development of a musician. Several modern approaches are also useful in understanding these interconnected relationships between stakeholders.

2.3. An application of fields and habitus

From the late 20th century scholars have increasingly considered the media industry to be fluid and dynamic, a constant struggle between art and commerce rather than just being one or the other (Bourdieu, 1993:19; Wikström, 2009:13; Hesmondhalgh, 2002:15-17; Towse, 2001:25). In the contemporary world, music is inspired by what is happening within society and within the organizational structure of the industry as well as the legal policies in place which enable the music to be distributed in a manner that enables musicians to benefit from their creative work. Commerce, or economic capital, which is the generation of business, economic exchanges and profit – these can be said to play an even larger role in the music industry as well as affecting what type of music gets produced and distributed on a mass scale (Abderton, *et al.*, 2013:5-7; Kellner, 1995: 12, Negus, 1992:152-153). For example, record companies inform, capitalize and exploit cultural habitus, as well as shape activities and decisions made by those in the industry to increase profit (Negus, 1999, in Abderton, *et al.*, 2013:9; Kellner, 1995).

The relationship between musicians and their economic struggles is a constant battle, particularly in the early stages of the musicians' careers. For Bourdieu the constant economic struggle is between those who have capital and those who want to have capital (Martinez-Mullen, 2005:92). In developing countries such as Zambia, music production is also dependent on how much economic capital musicians are prepared to spend, often using their own personal finances to pay for studio recording sessions, travelling to other cities or to a neighbouring country to perform, record, do collaborations, create music videos, and do marketing themselves. Also high poverty levels (Kamara, 2004:21) mean that the average Zambian cannot afford to regularly purchase music, something that is considered a luxury item. So when one musician's music is bought, other musicians' music is forgone – for whatever reason, one musician's song or album is more distinct than the others and therefore, in that instance, his/her music is bought. This increases the economic and often social capital as well. Fewer record sales mean that regular live performances need to be planned in order to attract fans and to earn some income from ticket sales (Gayer & Shy, in Curien & Moreau, 2006:103). The notion of selection or "spreading and distinction" is what Bourdieu speaks of in his expansion of fields in his book *Distinction* (Martinez-Mullen, 2005:94-95). A major theme in *Distinction* was examining the relationship between intellectual property and the producers of such commodities in relation to their social

constructs which shape their existence (Bourdieu, 1984:xiii). This relationship is based on the link between cultural, social and economic capital. In other words, music is not produced in isolation from what is happening in that social context. Music is an intellectual item as it is created by the creative mental processes of musicians for leisure and to earn money, making it an exchangeable commodity that can be bought and sold. Therefore, music also needs to be protected as a commodity and be monitored from when it is produced to how it is distributed.

These theories and approaches to popular culture and media industry assist in creating an understanding of why music industries develop as they do and what is required to be part of the industry. Bourdieu's concepts of field and habitus conceptualise cultural, economic and social capital and how they can be utilized in music industries. All three forms of capital impact the creation of musical genres, their career development and exposures. In the following historical context section Bourdieu's theories will be practically used in relation to the history of the music industry on a global, African and Zambian level.

CHAPTER THREE: BOURDIEU'S CONCEPTS IN RELATION TO THE MUSIC INDUSTRY ON A GLOBAL, AFRICAN AND ZAMBIAN LEVEL

3.1. Introduction

Although music is made and heard on a daily basis, it is a commercialised commodity as major record companies promote certain genres to be marketed and distributed to stores around the globe as popular music (Burnett, 1996:31). However, what is considered popular music to one particular group may not be popular for another group. This is as a result of different habitus being reproduced within different societies, adjusting the value placed on particular commodities. A tension within the field of music is that all these differences in taste make it difficult for record labels to market all this music profitably from central to marginalised fields. To overcome these differences major record companies created the 'world music' category to encompass the genres of music from around the globe that were not in the mainstream.

The term 'world music' has not been sufficiently defined as it can "refer to musical diversity of the world, originating from all the world's regions and cultures", or it can also refer to the commercial marketing label that deals with any music not considered as western music (Impey, in Stone, 2000:127). As a result African pop has often been "packaged as *traditional, authentic, roots* music" (Impey, in Stone, 2000:127). Some African pop music has purposefully retained the usage of indigenous instruments to create a 'traditional' or cultural sound that many Western consumers look for. Such listeners want to hear music that is from its 'roots' and is therefore considered 'authentic' African music (Impey, in Stone, 2000:128).

As previously noted, Zambian music is catalogued under world music on a global level which has implications in terms of what type of music Zambian musicians record and how they can market their music within Zambia and on an international level. Technological advancements have played a large role in the development of music production and distribution internationally. However, the rate of the development of the music industry has varied widely within the global, African, Southern African Development Community (SADC) region and, finally, in a Zambian context. The growth of music industries is affected by piracy, especially in developing countries such as Zambia. The rate of growth of the industries in these different regions can be further clarified under the concepts of globalisation and world music.

3.2. Globalization

Gebesmair and Smudits (2001:2) define transnationalism or globalization as being an industry whose focus is on “global music distribution, deploying mass communication technologies, especially soundcarriers, satellite broadcasting and the Internet, to reach markets all over the world.” Another definition of globalization is as an “economic process in which capital, information, and elite members of societies are increasingly able to flow across physical boundaries in search of the most favourable short-term returns, and they can ever more easily retrace their steps as they please” (Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:120). Purnima Mankekar defines global or transnational public cultures as “mass media that traverse national and geographic borders (popular film, television, and print media), as well as public expressions of community such as protests, cultural festivals, and ethnic grocery stores” (Hesmondhalgh and Toynbee, 2008:145). For this to be possible the advancements of technology and digitalization have been instrumental as travel, the purchasing and distribution of commodities from one country to another is consistently being made more efficient.

For globalization to operate, the various music styles must be marketed effectively in order for music from marginalised areas to be accepted across the world. Genres such as reggae, salsa, rumba, Afro-Cuban and Zambian music such as Kalindula and Zam-Rock, to mention a few, are often considered niche genres and therefore would require different marketing strategies to make the music adaptable for other societies (Falola & Fleming, 2012:10; Koloko, 2012:38, 55, 121). To reduce marketing costs all these smaller genres are labelled under ‘world music’.

3.3. World music

The category of ‘world music’ was created in 1987 by a group made up of DJs, journalists, independent record companies and concert promoters in an effort to simplify the process of the distribution and sale of music that did not fit into the traditional mainstream pop market (Falola & Fleming, 2012:10; Brusila, 2003:43, 44-45, 47; Frith, 2007:96; Connell & Gibson, 2004:349; Impey, in Stone, 2000:127). An individual noted for his involvement in the development of world music is Peter Gabriel, particularly since 1991 with WOMAD and Real Music. He was a creator and performer of music, as well “as an autodidactic ideologue and as a music-business entrepreneur” (Laing, 2010:142). Gabriel’s focus was on “non-Western pop”, starting with

African music, then working with Indian musicians and into Eastern Europe, exploring the traditional instruments and rhythms of the folk music of the various regions (Laing, 2010:142). The folk music from these areas would have been considered as 'World music'.

Although the 'world' part implies that it is a category that includes all music from around the world, the category was originally based on the music styles of the Caribbean, Africa, Latin America and Asia and mainly by American ethnomusicologists (Falola & Fleming, 2012:10; Brusila, 2003:47). In other words, world music is a diverse collection of all other musical genres that do not fit neatly into more established and recognised Western genres (Feld, 1994:103; Falola & Fleming, 2012:10; Laing, 2010:142-143). As a result this new category has enabled African music to reach international audiences and new markets rather than being limited to the country of origin or just the African continent (Falola & Fleming, 2012:10).

Steven Feld believes a more appropriate name for world music is "third world music" due to the implication that the music was considered inferior to Western and European music and was coming from remote, exotic and poverty stricken areas (Connell & Gibson, 2004:354). However, indigenous groups are not only found in third world countries but can also be found in countries such as the United States of America and in European countries, and their music would also be considered as world music. Other scholars add on to this concept of world music being considered as 'local' when aspects such as "authenticity, tradition, locality, ethnicity and musical change through fusions" are used (Brusila, 2003:60; Connell & Gibson, 2004:345), implying that it cannot fall under mainstream popular music. However, the problem with approaching world music in this manner is that what is considered 'mainstream music' differs from one society to another (Brusila, 2003:70). Different societies may place different types of genres under the category of world music compared to the genres categorised by Westernised countries.

World music has also been defined as a branded category designed to make particular products more appealing to consumers, in this case by enhancing the musical differences between what is considered 'local' and 'global' music (Connell & Gibson, 2004:344). By making one or the other or both appealing to different consumer groups, record companies encourage the development of interest in certain genres. If habitus in tastes and appeal are developed correctly, sales are expected to rise amongst targeted groups. This ties into another understanding of world music as a marketing category as this enables record companies to earn royalties from an increased

number of sources and countries, generating even more economic capital (Brusila, 2003:56). A challenge experienced when entering a new field is that music that is unfamiliar is being introduced into a field with its own restrictions. By introducing unfamiliar genres to the central global fields these music styles often start new trends in the saturated Western music markets (Connell & Gibson, 2004:345). These new styles enable record companies to maintain consumer interest and sales as new musical tastes are developed (Glanvill, 1989:60).

As already mentioned, Zambian music is considered music from the far-reaching margins of global music and therefore does not receive much attention from major record labels. Only a few of the musicians interviewed (i.e. St. Michael, Sister D., JK, and Brian Shakarongo) had been successful in performing in developed countries. The majority of interviewees had not been able to break out of the marginalised Zambian market or to travel outside the SADC region, illustrating the difficulties musicians face in gaining access into mainstream music and major record labels. Exclusion from popular music streams is not the only issue raised about world music.

3.3.1. Negative effects of “world music”

Labelling music as ‘world music’ has several negative effects. One such effect has been that the majority of African music found in the international market is being produced in Paris and London (Penna, Thormann, and Finger, in Finger and Schuler, 2004:97, 101; DERGIT, 2001:14). Musicians may prefer to record and perform abroad as the industry structures are in place and are enforced, ensuring that they would earn the royalties they were due. These structures, as already noted, are weak or lacking in the African countries and are not being enforced to encourage the most popular musicians to remain in their home countries and help to bring in more income. World music draws popular local musicians towards these large cities to be nearer their more affluent consumers. These consumers are able to purchase more of African musicians’ music and attend tours on a regular basis, unlike the consumers in the musicians’ home markets. However, to maintain this larger audience, African musicians must be mindful of the type of musical styles the consumers would usually purchase and may end up trying to incorporate more popular styles into their music. Record companies may also only offer them contracts if the musician produces music according to their criteria, resulting in an exploitative relationship (Falola & Fleming, 2012:11). As a result African musicians often fall into the

system of reproducing standardized music to appease the record company and audience (Burnett, 1996:109; Wallis & Malm, 1984:150; Broughton, 1994, in Brusila, 2003:214).

Another objection is that the “world music” label restricts a musician to the margins of the popular music field. A musician may want to expand his/her consumer base and enter larger and more popular markets, but may be prohibited from doing so by the contracts s/he signs with the record companies and even by the style of music if s/he is not prepared to change his/her music to suit the market. Sometimes her/his music may be very popular but would only be distributed to particular stores that cater for music considered as world music. This latter scenario links to a further objection that world music provides a narrow perspective based on the structural sales categories created by the major music recording companies (Brusila, 2003:81). In other words, it does not matter how popular a musician’s music is; as long as it is labelled as world music, it will be sold only as such until a major record company invests in developing a new marketing strategy that enables the music to be sold alongside popular albums.

These limitations demonstrate the hurdles with which particularly inexperienced musicians must deal with, especially as many have had very little exposure to formal studios, or know what is required to make the requirements of globally acceptable music and how to market it. Zambian musicians are, therefore, at a great disadvantage right from the start of their musical experiences.

Technological advancements are also limited in marginalised countries and as mentioned above in Section 3.2., technological and digital advancements have played a crucial role in the production of internationally accepted levels and the distribution of such music on a global scale.

3.4. Digital advancements

On a global scale with technological advancements – most notably from the late 20th century onwards - entertainment has been disseminated much quicker with the use of satellite broadcasting, cable television and high-speed internet (Bennett, Shank & Toynbee, 2006:138; Frith, 2007:71). In the earlier stages of the global music industry, music was distributed via physical mediums such as cassettes, vinyl and CDs, while in the 21st century industry the distribution of music is mainly via the internet, radio and television (Wikström, 2009:5). As the development of the internet continued, the distribution channels as well as the format and medium used to carry this music changed. The internet has countless websites that offer ‘free’

sites where anyone can create an account and upload various media files in different formats. They are free in the sense that no payment is needed to create an account, and also no payments are made for items loaded onto the site. Once an account is made, the owner (for example, the musician), can then upload music for consumers to listen to in the hope that they will become paying consumers. The music can be listened to online or streamed on online radio stations. However, there are sites such as Amazon that require a payment to be made in order for music to be downloaded. Such sites then pay the musician a percentage of everything earned.

Andreas Gebesmair and Alfred Smudits (2001:10) point out that with the increased use of digital distribution channels “phonogram companies will no longer be in a position to control the distribution chain”, and as a result they will no longer be able to influence the demand for particular products and genres that they promote as being popular. This loss of control is due to the need for only original copies to upload music onto the internet rather than having to press more copies of vinyl, cassettes, CDs and/or DVDs. As internet-related technology develops and becomes more efficient and reliable, retailing on the internet is very likely to continue to grow. However, for this to become a reality each country, especially developing countries, would be required to improve on several key national constructions such as the legal, financial and regulatory structures (Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:11). Once these structures are in place it does not matter where an individual is located in the world as he/she would be able to order goods – in this case music-related products – over the internet and have the orders delivered to her/him.

As has been touched on, an important advantage of digital technology is that it does away with the problem of quality loss experienced when tapes are being copied (Wallis & Malm, 1984:11). Quality is reduced during the copying process as during the process tape noise is produced, and as the tape is constantly used it starts to stretch, resulting in the music changing frequency. Although MP3 formatted music is much closer to the original in quality when compressed correctly, audio quality levels can drop when lower bit-rates are used during the compression process. Other factors that could impact the quality of the compressed music are the “complexity of the music and the quality of the encoding software” (Fries & Fries, 2000:133). In order to compress the size of an audio file into MP3 format, complex data may be lost in the process of reducing the digital file (Ashworth, 2009, cited in, Anderton, Dubber, & James, 2013:82).

Individuals with sensitive hearing may claim that there is a loss of quality when the compression process is not done correctly (Bockstedt, Kauffman, & Riggins, 2005:8).

Another advantage of using digital channels as an alternative means of distribution is that it costs a fraction of distributing physical units (Bennett, *et al.*, 2006:4; Bockstedt, Kauffman & Riggins, 2005:3). Physical products cost more because they take up storage space that needs to be paid for; transportation from one place to another which incurs transportation costs; and the people who handle the products at all the various stops and are part of the distribution process all need to be paid. Digital distribution eliminates transportation costs as well as the people who all increase the price per unit in order to make a profit. The more music is distributed and streamed online the more the music industry has the potential to grow and spread its reach from smaller fields to larger fields.

Apart from the increased speed of distribution on a global level, the internet has also increased the potential for hybrid genres to be created. As musicians listen to other music genres, various elements of these styles can become infused with the local music, resulting in a new style of music (Connell & Gibson, 2004:356; Falola & Fleming, 2012:2, 11).

Alopi Latukefu, in his paper at the World Summit on the Information Society (WSIS), spoke about the use of internet media by indigenous people of Australia. Latukefu wrote: “So seductive is the power of the ICT [Information and communications technology] medium that it might only appear to remove centralised control out of the hands of government and into the hands of the people, giving the notion of ... empowerment” (Latukefu, 2006:4). In other words although it may seem that musicians now have control over the distribution of their music, it does not mean they have total control as another problem is introduced with the use of the internet. Although music can be spread quicker and further over the internet, the further from the source or musician it goes, the less control the owner has over it. There are fewer barriers to go through to download music that has been made available on the web. This is because the music can be accessed and downloaded from anywhere around the world, restricting the intellectual owner from having any control over who accesses their music and how they can benefit from that download financially (Wikström, 2009:5-6; Fries & Fries, 2000:21). Wikström (2009:8) summarizes this when he writes that “the new music industry dynamics is characterized by high connectivity and little

control...” However the global music industry continues to flourish even with these struggles over control.

3.5. Brief contextualisation of the global music industry

Between 70 and 80 per cent of the world’s recorded popular music is produced, manufactured and distributed by four major record companies: EMI, Sony BMG, Universal Music Group and Warner Music Group. The remaining 20 per cent is produced, manufactured and distributed by smaller indie record companies (Abderton, Dubber & James, 2013: 24-25; Wikström, 2009:69; Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:9, 123). This increases the challenges faced by indie or private recording studios as well as independent music retail distributors who fight to provide an outlet for new musicians and niche music (Barrowclough & Kozul-Wright, 2008; Negus, 1992: 6-8; Wallis & Malm, 1984; Abderton *et al.*, 2013: 33; Wikström, 2009:66-67). In Southern Africa before and during the 1980s musicians had to travel to the major recording centres in Tanzania, Congo, Kenya, South Africa and Zimbabwe to have their music recorded and pressed (Malm, 1992:351, 360; Mhiripiri, 2010:213; Kubik, 1979:49; Koloko, 2012). Although Zambian musicians were signed up by the Teal Records Company under Gallo records in Zambia, these and other musicians were still sent to Congo or Kenya to be recorded and have their music pressed as Zambia did not and still does not have any formal pressing plants (Author’s interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014).

However this experience is not limited to Zambian musicians as many musicians across Africa had to go through similar experiences to have their music recorded and produced.

3.6. An overview of the African music industry

Simon Frith notes that music is used “in games and for dancing; to organize work and war; in ceremonies and rituals; to mark the moments of birth, marriage, and death; to celebrate harvest and coronation; and to articulate religious beliefs and traditional practices” (2007:203; UN, 2011:10). Music is an integral part of African society, life and a method of communicating (Penna, Thormann, & Finger, in Finger and Schuler, 2004:97). The actual size and dimensions of local music activities are not well documented - however, a large amount of musical knowledge was passed down through traditional rituals and verbally (Ambert, 2003:ii).

Many African countries gained their independence during the 1950s and 1960s and their music industries were very limited, particularly after the colonialists left (Wallis & Malm, 1984:12; Falola & Fleming, 2012:6). Angela Impey notes how colonial governments brought with them the “trappings of a foreign culture, affecting, to varying degrees, the economic, political, and cultural infrastructures of the societies they controlled” (Stone, 2000:125). The colonialists would use the music industries to promote their music to ‘educate’ the countries they would colonise, and therefore would promote and support the music industries.

Western scholars have described developing countries as being ‘small’, i.e. in terms of market size compared to first world markets (Wallis & Malm, 1984:11). But the term ‘small’ can also be defined in other ways. ‘Small’ has also been used to describe small language areas and cultures (Wallis & Malm, 1984:11). The majority of developing countries “are not small in terms of population or area, but many of them are small in terms of material resources” as well as having a “limited number of musical sub-cultures” (Wallis & Malm, 1984:12, 18). Competition for limited resources makes it even more difficult for musicians in developing countries to be successful. Indeed, each field within society is structured with its own hierarchical systems of power within which those in the field must compete to gain access to scarce resources (Aldridge, 1998:4-5). Those with power, or in this case, the musicians who are already established and are known, are more likely to have access to the better recording studios with better contracts. For these reasons they will also be more likely to be invited to perform at better paid functions. With many musicians vying for the attention of a small purchasing market, gaining and maintaining the public eye and ear is a difficult and continuous battle.

Several analysts have noted how cultural and creative industries are “marked by high levels of insecurity, casualization and long working hours” (Hesmondhalgh and Baker, 2011:6). Creative industries are made up of the “creation, production, marketing and distribution of products and services resulting from human activity” (UN, 2011:7). Creative industries often rely on seasonal tourism and/or return customers (Lamba, 2007:78). This means that when it is not tourism season or art and albums are not being bought, the creator of the particular art needs to find other sources of income to survive the dry spells. In order to record and perform a song or release an album, a musician spends many hours in the studio, during which time no money is being

earned. Until a music career is established and the musician is performing on a regular basis and earning royalties from album sales, there is a lot of insecurity.

The remainder of this discussion about the insecurity of the music industry music will be viewed within SADC and Zambia.

3.7. Brief exploration of music in the SADC region

There is a lot of creative talent and the potential for creativity in sub-Saharan African countries (Maskus, in DERGIT, 2001:14). However, talent and creativity are not sufficient to overcome the institutional restrictions to develop a vibrant music industry. The recording industry in the SADC region operated mainly in Zimbabwe and South Africa from as far back as 1927 to the late 1960s (Koloko, 2012:15). Particularly due to technological advancements several small and independent recoding labels have begun to blossom within the region, however (Ambert, 2003:1). As a result more musicians have been doing more collaborations with musicians in other countries as well as recording music and music videos in studios in neighbouring countries. Such collaboration and production are affected by several key factors which impact on the development of music.

Firstly, there is very little documentation on the cultural industries let alone on music industries within Southern Africa, leaving a large knowledge gap (Ambert, 2003:45). What little is known is mainly based on South Africa, the most developed country in the SADC region. South Africa has and continues to dominate the SADC region in relation to having the most developed and established music industry. It has the most established music-related associations, legislation and statistics of recorded sales of music units (Ambert, 2003:22). For the majority of the countries music was distributed through pirate networks or through informal channels (Ambert, 2003:22). Research carried out by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in 1998 noted that in the SADC region sales per artist were monitored but not where sales were occurring, this being key information on the distribution of sales (Kamara, 2004:19). With weak record-keeping, decisions for things such as future investments are based on inaccurate information, affecting the implementation of long-term strategies.

Secondly, there is also a noted lack of knowledge amongst musicians within the region about the importance of having their intellectual property legally protected. This situation is not helped by

the lack of enforcement of legislative policies designed to protect intellectual property (Ambert, 2003:25). Not understanding the value of their intellectual property leaves musicians open to exploitative work environments and contracts, as well as being unable to collect all royalties due to them.

Thirdly, and related to the second point, music education in schools in Southern Africa is limited to a small number of schools, with South Africa again having the most schools with music as part of the curriculum. As a result very few musicians can actually read or write music. Although this skill may not be an essential skill for popular musicians, an appreciation of musicology or the study of musical texts and terminology does give artists more ownership and understanding over their music in the creation phase (Anderton, Dubber & James, 2013:10). Written music can also make it easier to get copyright protection as a tangible object. further hindering their musical development, particularly on an international level. South Africa is also the most noted country in the region for offering tertiary level music degrees and diplomas that are recognised at an international level (Ambert, 2003:14; Kamara, 2004:16). Yarri Kamara (2004:16) also identifies that “cultural actors in developing countries often lack appropriate training, both in the art they exert, as well as in basic business and management skills.” This implies musicians are not the only people in the cultural industries who are at a disadvantage. Stakeholders such as managers, studio producers and those tasked with the duty of royalty collection and distribution also require training to raise the levels of professionalism in the industry. All the above points apply to Zambia.

3.8. An overview of the Zambian music industry

Soon after Zambia gained its independence, a music company called Zambia Music Parlour (ZMP) was established by a Mr. Edward Khuzwayo in the late 1960s. ZMP was the second largest label after Teal Records Company Zambia Limited in Zambia. ZMP had music store outlets where the company sold its music. It did not last too long, particularly after Teal Records closed and moved out of Zambia during the mid-90s due to the music industry really struggling (Koloko, 2012:58, 345). Mondo Music Corporation was the next company set up in 1998 by Chila Folotiya to fill the gap left by Teal Recording and Distributing Company and ZMP. The Sounds Investments music store chain – also known as *Sounds Arcade* - also started up in

Zambia at about the same time and Mondo Music Corporation sold their music there (Koloko, 2012:345).

The music received a lot of support just before and after independence from the president Dr. Kenneth Kaunda. Kaunda would frequent the Lusaka Playhouse¹ and recorded songs with several musicians (Koloko, 2012:26-27). In 1976 he declared that 90 per cent of music played by the Zambian Broadcasting Services (ZBS) had to be local Zambian music and the remaining 10 per cent could come from outside Zambia (Koloko, 2012:27). The purpose of this bold decision was to encourage and promote 'authentic' Zambian music (Broughton, *et al.*, 1994:408; Ambert, 2003:6). This is similar to countries such as Canada, Sweden and Denmark who implemented quota systems to monitor the music aired on television and radio stations (Frith, 2007:71). Soon after independence the national Zambian radio became the main provider and outlet of music in the country during the 1960s. Although originally tasked with the mandate of promoting Zambian music, the radio station moved to play mainly Congolese rumba music soon after Kaunda's presidency ended with the new Movement of Multiparty Democracy (MMD) party winning the election in 1991 (Broughton, Ellingham & Trillo, 1999:703). The next government did not place as much focus on the maintenance of the local quota system.

Although music was being recorded, being able to earn royalties from recordings was not common in Zambia for several years. Musicians in the early days of the industry had to rely heavily on live performances to earn any money and connect with audiences (Koloko, 2012:406). Ambert (2003:1) states that live performances were the main income generation for musicians because the supply capacity of the music industry and the purchasing capacity for the majority of Zambians - and those in other African countries – was and still is limited.

From 1971 the main mediums of music in Zambia were vinyl records, cassette tapes and portable radios. As briefly touched on earlier, the actual pressing of the vinyl and cassettes was done mainly in countries such as Kenya, Tanzania, Congo and South Africa. Cassettes and radios could be afforded by many in Zambia, irrespective of where they were. During this time cheap battery-run radios became increasingly available in Zambia, specifically designed to be affordable for the average citizen. A record company called Gallo Music opened up in 1971 in Kitwe that

¹ Lusaka Playhouse is one of the main performing arts theatre houses in Zambia.

was a subsidiary of Teal Records and Distributors in Ndola. Both of these companies were South African owned and would import and distribute music from South Africa and Kenya into Zambia (Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014). The music was brought back into Zambia under Teal Records for the musicians signed up with the company. Musicians who were signed with Teal Records had everything done for them from the recording, marketing strategy, the selling of the music and collection of royalties. Musicians just needed to do their part in the recording process and live shows. In 1974 a pressing plant was set up in Ndola by Teal with machinery imported from Sweden and the United Kingdom.

Teal Records was primarily a distribution company and then later, for a brief period, also a pressing company in Zambia (Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014; Koloko, 2012:339). Geoff Paynter, (born to Austrian parents and born and raised in Zambia), was a sales representative for Teal Records before moving to work for Gallo Music Publishing in South Africa (Koloko, 2012:341). According to Paynter, Teal would sign up promising musicians and preferred them to record locally at local studios such as the Music Parlour Studios or DB Studios that were established and run by Zambians. If not, or for various reasons, the musicians would be sent to Kinshasa, Congo, or Nairobi, Kenya to be recorded and to have their music pressed (Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014).

3.8.1. The 'Zambian sound'

The creation of contemporary Zambian music has had several music genres and foreign companies influencing and moulding the music that is produced today. It is not easy to clearly define what a 'Zambian sound' really is, as the Zambian people, languages and even the music are a mix of all the countries surrounding Zambia as a result of the country's main roads being used as highways to neighbouring countries for many years (Raballand, Kunaka, & Giersing, 2008:6-7). Andrew Mulenga (2001) states that Zambian music is a combination of "Hip-Hop, Jamaican-influenced dancehall, reggae, R&B and ... Congolese Rhumba." The only thing Zambian about it is the languages in which it is sung. In other words there does not appear to be music that has been generated from Zambia that has a sufficiently distinct sound to be considered different from other genres and geographic regions. In addition Chawa Chiteta (Author's interview, 2013) described the Zambian music industry as being "somewhat one dimensional." Chiteta also stated that the languages being spoken and sung in Zambia were restricted to

Zambia and its neighbouring countries, limiting possible audiences if based on language. Even though Zambia has 73 ethnic groups with nearly as many languages and dialects (Lamba, 2007:10), it does not have languages such as French, Spanish, Portuguese and English which are more generally understood internationally.

As previously mentioned, language is not the only aspect of Zambia that has been influenced by the country's neighbours. Zambian music is a blend of all the various musical styles surrounding the country which was brought in by those travelling through the country. Congolese rumba music has also had a strong influence on the development of Zambian music (Koloko, 2012:121-122; Mulenga, 2001). Congolese men in particular were known to travel and work in the Zambian Copperbelt mines or travel as traders from Congo to Zambia while both countries were under colonial rule, particularly between 1924 and 1930 (Grosz-Ngate & Kokole, 2013:67). As this continuous mixing occurred the rumba guitar rhythms were also absorbed in Zambia, and guitar music flourished during the 1950s (Koloko, 2012:15). Rumba continued to be a strong influence for the next few decades. James Ferguson writes of hearing rumba or *kwasa kwasa* music being played regularly in bars in the Copperbelt in 1989 (Ferguson, 1999:218). The Congolese traders and miners would bring their local music into Zambia, spreading rhythmic styles and influencing musical tastes. Rumba has also had a significant impact on Zambian music because Congo provided one of the closest places for Zambian musicians to record, produce and press their music. Congolese rumba music during the 1980s was one of the biggest disco genres in Central Africa with Zambia being the transportation route to distribute this music (Koloko, 2012:50). This constant flow of music going back and forth over the border enabled the piracy of music to flourish.

3.9. Piracy

Piracy has been defined as referring “to some form of unauthorized duplication where the business relies on making an economic gain at the expense of other copyright holders (composers, performers or phonogram companies).” The counterfeit duplication of a music single or album is usually of a lower recording quality than the original. As was discussed in Section 3.4. this deterioration does not happen with digital copies as exact duplicates can be made without the use of physical. This is the same with the record sleeves and packaging; the information would be the same but the overall packaging would not be identical to the original

(Wallis & Malm, 1984:44). Until quite recently pirated music has been sold openly in the markets, on the main streets and even in front of official music outlets while authorities such as the police have done nothing (Ambert, 2003:25).

Piracy of music has taken on a new form with the internet. If someone downloads a single or a whole album and shares it with friends and family, who then do the same, the musician will not receive any payment for any of the music shared. From interviews with the author some artists such as Immaculate (2013), Zone Fam (2013), and JK (2013) spoke about how they posted their music onto the internet, as mentioned in the above discussion on digital advances, in an attempt to reach a wider range of listeners from both inside and outside Zambia. This aspect will be discussed further in Section 6.3. on the use of online methods as an alternative means of distribution for musicians' music.

Piracy was widespread throughout Africa during the 1990s as copyright laws were either weak and/or non-existent and were not really enforced in the weak African economies (Penna, Thormann, & Finger, in Finger & Schuler, 2004:101; UN, 2011:7). A survey carried out by the IFPI in 1998 stated that the percentage of piracy of the legitimate market was "50% in Kenya and Nigeria, between 25% and 50% in South Africa and Zimbabwe and between 10% and 25% in Ghana" (Hardy, in DERGIT, 2001:12). This illustrates how piracy affected and continues to affect a wide range of African countries that are all at different stages of development. Such widespread piracy also prevents potential investors from investing in the industry as they may not see any benefits to investing (Penna, Thormann, & Finger, in Finger & Schuler, 2004:101).

In Zambia, with the lack of policies and enforced infrastructures (Lamba, 2007:12) piracy is still prevalent, but institutions cannot be held solely responsible for the stronghold of piracy. Societal habits of purchasing legal music are just as weak as policies. According to Bourdieu "habitus programmes consumption in the individual and classes, and determines which things they are to feel as necessary" (Martinez-Mullen, 2005:100). In other words, habitus within a society can encourage particular consumer habits such as preferring to purchase illegal copies of music as it is something to be enjoyed, but is not invested in in the same manner as food and shelter. If the majority of the population continues to purchase pirated music and not support the Zambian musicians' music that is legally distributed, then piracy will still have a stronghold on the music industry (Ambert, 2003:25).

3.10. Conclusion

By applying Bourdieu's theories of habitus and fields, an understanding of why the Zambian contemporary music industry is as it is can be gained. Although Zambian contemporary music may be considered popular within the neighbouring countries, it is still very marginalised and restricted to its geographical location. Popular music in one society is not guaranteed to be viewed as being popular with another society. This is because the importance placed on cultural, social and economic capital varies over time and from place to place. For marginalised music to be distributed, performed and heard on an international scale, the music is labelled as 'world music' if major record labels can see how profits can be made.

With the advancement of technology globalisation continues to build a one-world market scenario in all aspects of social life, including entertainment and music. Digital technologies and increasing internet usage have been vital in the growth of globalisation as it has enabled cultural values, ideas and music to be interchanged with arts from developing societies and countries, as well as enabling the distribution of virtually any commodity to be delivered to more places around the world. The internet has enabled more and more musicians to upload their music onto the internet, side-stepping the need for the distribution process of record labels. The internet can be accessed around the world, exposing more marginalised music to central fields which develops more social and economic capital (Fries and Fries, 2000:17).

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 3 the contemporary music scene in Zambia is under-researched as little documented data and research can be found on the growing industry. To gather as much relevant data as possible, a methodological approach must be used to focus research. The method a researcher uses while in the research field provides a clear strategy of how information is to be gathered from those within the field. This method enables the researcher to concentrate on the purpose of the data collection and why particular people are selected to provide information. Understanding this avoids wastage of time, in particular if the researcher is only within the research field for a limited amount of time; a situation experienced when carrying out the following research. The purpose of this research was to gain an understanding of what is happening in the Zambian music industry, not only in terms of what type of music is found in Zambia but also about the different stakeholders surrounding the musicians, enabling them to produce, market and distribute their music. This data was sourced from various stakeholders within the industry in an attempt to provide a holistic perspective.

The research participants were a mixture of people who had 08:30 to 17:00 hour office jobs, part-time workers, part-time tertiary students, part-time or full-time musicians (which in this research incorporated just singers and those who also play instruments), managers or producers. There were four subgroups: the artists (singers, rappers and instrumentalists); managers; radio DJs; and a miscellaneous group made up of the remaining participants, a *Sounds Arcade* manager, a music journalist, the National Arts Council Chairperson, a member of Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS) administration, and the then President of the Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM). All the participants were interviewed in person apart from four; one whose interview was conducted over Skype and recorded and another three who completed emailed questionnaires.

Due to the lack of previous data found on the music industry, these interviews were semi-structured to allow participants the opportunity to provide any information they felt necessary to further an understanding of the industry, its different divisions and how they currently operate.

This resulted in the interviews being more explorative and open rather than having a sole meaning or purpose behind each question.

This chapter considers the purpose of using qualitative research, the rationale of the goals of the research, the setting and sampling of research participants who were interviewed, and how access to the interviewees was acquired. These are followed by how the data collection process was carried out, how the data was collected, validated and triangulated. The limitations of qualitative research and interviewing methods are then outlined as well as ethical considerations that guided the research.

4.2. The use of qualitative research methods

Qualitative research has to do with gathering descriptions and quality of human experiences (Marvasti, 2004:7). Quantitative questions may result in restricting responses and narrowing the field of effect while qualitative questions may result in respondents raising areas of interest that were not thought of by the researcher. The researcher may not touch on particular aspects due to not being an active ‘insider’ of the music industry, and therefore would not be up-to-date on all aspects of the industry (McNeill & Chapman, 2005:109). This was found to be true during several interviews when a question was asked which the interviewee took further and raised an important aspect that was not raised in the original questions. For example, when asked if he gets interviewed by radio shows St. Michael, a reggae musician, stated “yes”, but went further and brought up the aspect of what genre of music is considered acceptable to be aired on radio: “I’ve had DJs calling me to say ‘somebody from higher office called to say we shouldn’t play this music’” (Author’s interview, 2013). This possible prejudice was not considered originally when the questionnaires were drawn up, but it is clearly an interesting point as a musician’s development and exposure can be hindered by what the gatekeepers of the music industry consider is or is not appropriate music. In another country the genre may be welcomed, encouraging the musician to leave his/her home country and record his/her music in another country where he/she is guaranteed to earn more from his/her music. If the musician does not leave his/her home country, he/she/he may be forced to adapt his/her music to make it more ‘acceptable’ for airplay. This emphasized the need for and the importance of a qualitative approach to gather as much information as possible from those who are active participants of the music industry (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:94).

Ethnographic research has to do with writing about people or cultures carried out through direct observations and interviews with research participants during the data collection process (Marvasti, 2004:36; Thomas, 1993:10). Spradley (1979:10-11) defines ethnography as a “culture-studying culture” that involves “research techniques, ethnographic theory, and hundreds of cultural descriptions.” Thomas (1993:10) notes how Spradley’s definition adds to observation methods with the use of other data sources. As a result the qualitative approach adopted in this research was of an ethnographic nature, involving in-depth or ‘thick descriptions’ of current processes and understanding shared practices and beliefs within a particular group (Traynor, 2007; Geertz, 1973; Thomas, 1993; McNeill & Chapman, 2005:92; Marvasti, 2004:21-22).

The aims of this research were to explore the marketing, promotional and distribution strategies used in the Zambian music industry. An examination of agents, managers, producers, record companies, broadcasters, distributors, retailers and musicians is needed in order to obtain a holistic perspective of the Zambian music industry.

4.3. Setting and study informants

The data collection was carried out in the capital city, Lusaka, Zambia over a three month period, mid-November 2013 to the beginning of February 2014. Lusaka was chosen because it is the epicentre of Zambia’s music industry and therefore a wider variety of participants could be located within the same area. It has been noted that qualitative research can examine, explore and describe social activities in their natural settings, providing a space where the social activities can occur as they naturally would when undisturbed (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:93).

To address the first goal mentioned in Section 1.5. the majority of interviewees were musicians who have been and/or are active in the industry ranging from several decades to a few months. This was to gain an understanding of the transformation that has occurred within the music industry as well as the experiences of the musicians and their challenges. This increased the credibility of the information as a variety of perspectives were drawn upon (Rubin & Rubin, 2005:67).

The remaining interviewees were with managers, producers, a music journalist, a music store manager, members of the National Arts Council and ZAM, and finally with ZAMCOPS. These different categories were important for the research as they provided a more complete image of

the music industry from various perspectives and how they contribute to the growth of musicians and the development of the industry. For these interviews only one or two people could be interviewed from that particular sector, sometimes due to being the only one available to participate. In most cases that person was in a position to provide the needed information as found, for example, with the *Sounds Arcade* manager. As the manager of the only music store chain in Zambia he had knowledge of the internal operations of the store and so was a key informant. All but three of the interviewees were located in the city of Lusaka.

To a large degree participants were randomly selected but also based on the probability of how accessible and available they were (Rumdestam, 2007:90; Coleman & Briggs, 2002:99). This is also known as Area Probability Sampling (Fowler, 2002:20), a strategy often used due to its wide applicability and based on the geographical area. Access to the musicians was negotiated through managers who could be contacted or musicians who were contacted directly via the National Arts and Culture Society. Other participants were identified through the internet and contacted using contact information they had made available on the internet, for example, email addresses and phone numbers (Fowler, 2002:12; Rumdestam, 2007:91-92). Access to other possible research participants was also obtained on the recommendation of participants who had agreed to take part in the research, a snowball technique to obtain a higher number of participants as well as gain access to different practitioners in different sectors of the industry (Coleman & Briggs, 2002:102; Rumdestam, 2007:91; McNeill & Chapman, 2005:50; Marvasti, 2004:46). An example of a very connected and successful artist, producer and currently Radio DJ was Chilumbe who is now based in Johannesburg. He recommended another manager, Mr. Duncan Sodala, manager for the group Zone Fam in Zambia. Mr. Sodala recommended Scarlet who recommended Mr. Moses Sakala.

4.4. Data sources and collection procedures

Interviews were in-depth and semi-structured, as well as digitally audio recorded after permission had been granted from the interviewees (Marvasti, 2004:54). The purpose of the semi-structured interviews was to allow the research participants to speak with little restriction and enable them to provide whatever information they felt was necessary (Schostak, 2006:10). Follow up questions were asked to gain clarification and/or more in-depth information on a point mentioned by the interviewee (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 136, 173-76). Interviews were on average

30 minutes long to avoid tiring the interviewees but leaving enough time for them to speak without feeling pressured (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 135). The questionnaires were semi-structured to enable follow-up questions to be asked if an interesting point was raised by the participants. The questions comprised mainly open-ended questions in an attempt to prevent restricting the responses. However, for those interviewees who were unable to meet but were prepared to be part of the research, a questionnaire requiring short answers was drawn up and emailed to them.

This research was reliant on the voluntary consent of contacted participants which may raise questions about the partiality of the information given or not given (Busher, 2002:78; McNeill & Chapman, 2005: 10). As a result, if participants did not grant their consent or were unable to participate due to being out of the city, country or too busy, then they were not forced to participate (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:95).

Secondary documents such as *Sounds Arcade* music charts (Appendix 1), the Zambian Copyright Act of 1994 (Appendix 2) and the first three issues of Zambia's first music magazine, *Music Xtra*, on the growth and development of the music industry, were also collected. Relevant online newspaper articles were also obtained and utilized as well as music chart records from the only music store in Zambia, *Sounds Arcade*. Although secondary documents cannot stand on their own, they can be drawn on as a source of data to support the research (McNeill & Chapman, 2005:131). Examples of secondary documents are political articles, literary works, scientific articles, and books, historical and contemporary official reports, media reports such as newspapers and magazines, audio and visual products, public and official records (Clarke, 2005:7; McNeill & Chapman, 2005:131, 146-48).

4.5. Internal validity

The role of the researcher as well as the goals of the research must be made clear to the research participants to avoid the creation of incorrect assumptions being made on the participants' side (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:96). Understanding the researcher's role and the research aims are also important from the researcher's side as she/he is part of the process of negotiating access and gaining the trust of participants (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:95). If participants understand the purpose of the research and are assured their identity will be kept confidential if they request it, they are more likely to agree to participate in the research as well

as provide more accurate information specific to the research, increasing the reliability of the information given (McNeill & Chapman, 2005:13, Briggs & Coleman, 2007: 9).

During this research, when potential interviewees were being contacted for the first time, the name and the purpose of the call were explained before requesting if the person was willing and able to be interviewed. Potential interviewees were also asked if they would like the research proposal emailed to them so they could read it for a bit of background before the interview. If they responded positively, then a date, time and place were set for the interview. An email address was also acquired and the proposal sent to them.

Each participating group was asked questions related to their particular function within the industry. A few questions to address some main issues were used as guidelines. Due to the qualitative nature of the research, varying follow-up questions were asked based on the answers and comments given by the interviewees. Having similar core questions being asked of members in the same participant category was a means of verifying given information of shared practices (Coleman and Briggs, 2002:68; Fowler, 2002:6; Rubin & Rubin, 2005:73). This increases the interviewer's consistency and the reliability of the research (Briggs & Coleman, 2007:92).

4.6. Triangulation

Triangulation is a method used to compare “many sources of evidence in order to determine the accuracy of information or phenomena” (Coleman & Briggs, 2002:68). In other words it is a means used to cross-check the data (Clarke, 2005:61). Triangulation can be defined as “the use of two or more methods of data collection in the study of some aspect of human behaviour” (Cohen & Manion, 1994:233, cited in Coleman & Briggs, 2002:68). There are two main types of triangulation: methodological triangulation where several methods are used to examine the same issue; and respondent triangulation where the same questions are asked of different research participants (Coleman and Briggs, 2002:68). This research utilized the latter method as several members of the various stakeholder groups of the music industry were interviewed. Information given during the interviews was checked against what other informants said. For example, when the question ‘Do you think it is important to get onto music charts?’ was asked of the musicians, their responses unintentionally fell into two opposing camps without any prompting. Several did consider charts to be important to them while others did not.

4.7. Limitations of qualitative research

Mary Carl Ramos (1989) identifies three types of problems that qualitative research can be affected by “the researcher/participant relationship, the researcher’s subjective interpretations of data, and the design itself” (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:94). Borman, *et al.* (1986:52) criticize qualitative research methods for “having no hard-and-fast rules of procedure; design and method for data collection are not specified in advance, and variables do not appear to be either measurable or defined in operational terms.” This critique is often a result of: qualitative research being carried out in participants’ natural environments, hence uncontrolled; participants participate on a voluntary basis and asked open-ended questions rather than set closed questions; participants are unpredictable and therefore methods used to approach them may have to change once the researcher is in the field. All interviewed participants participated voluntarily.

As mentioned above, interviews are a primary source of information in qualitative research (Clarke, 2005:6). According to Hutchinson, Wilson and Wilson (1994) qualitative interviews provide several benefits: “self-acknowledgment, sense of purpose, self-awareness, empowerment, healing, and providing a voice for the disenfranchised” (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:94). However, Ted Wragg (Coleman & Briggs, 2002:143-144) notes that the interviewing process is peppered with drawbacks, even though interviewing is a more natural method of communicating and gathering information from people. Interviewers are cautioned from influencing the answers interviewees provide by asking biased or calculated questions, or gaining information through deception, or by putting words in the mouths of the interviewees (Fowler, 2002:6; McNeill & Chapman, 2005:13; Rubin & Rubin, 2005:71). In some instances during the interviewing process the questions asked needed to be rephrased for the interviewee to understand what was being asked. However, the rephrased question still needed to be as unbiased as possible. Caution was also needed to avoid putting answers into the interviewee’s mouth. However, from time to time interviewees struggled with the questions and needed to be given an example, and/or given various answer choices.

4.7.1. Research experiences: the emic and etic perspectives

One of the main goals of carrying out in-depth qualitative interviews is to gain an understanding of a particular social phenomenon from the perspective of those who deal with or lived their lives

during the phenomenon. In other words, in-depth interviews enable the interviewer to gain an emic perspective of the social phenomenon. Emic can be defined as the insider's or "native's point of view" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001:270-271; Morris, *et al.* 1999:781; Malinowski, 1922, cited in Morris, *et al.* 1999:781; Breidenbach & Zukrigl, in Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:106). This is important as is shown below: researchers enter the field with preconceptions of what they think they would find in terms of what type of participants would be found and interviewed, how those interactions will be carried out, and what types of data would be collected. This would be the definition of an 'etic' perspective, or the outsider's (Morris *et al.*, 1999:781).

Before entering the research field there were a few preconceptions that were held. Firstly, as no-one was known personally to the researcher within the music industry it was assumed that gaining access to enough participants would be quite difficult. Following on from this was the concern that as a young research student studying outside the country, the researcher would not be taken seriously by the contacted participants, especially those who were older, and that they would, therefore, not be willing to participate. However, having made contact with two individuals who were able to recommend others in Zambia to contact, the snowball effect became very useful in generating contacts. The majority of those contacted were willing to participate with only a few either not responding at all or just not taking the request seriously. There were three participants who were contacted who were eager to participate but were either touring and performing around the country, or were outside of Zambia. What was interesting was that even though the researcher was unfamiliar with Lusaka, the majority of those who did not keep the conventional office hours in an office requested the researcher to initiate all the calls and meet them at a place of their choosing. Several requested to be interviewed in their studios or offices while a few were met in more central locations in town, such as in cafés.

Another assumption was that more participants would be found in the capital city of Lusaka. This proved to be correct as a wide range of stakeholders could be met, all within Lusaka, providing various perspectives of the industry as hoped.

A third assumption was that some of the participants would want to converse in Chinyanja (Nyanja), the main language of the area in which Lusaka is located. Although from Zambia, the researcher came from a different region and spoke an unrelated language to Nyanja. However, a middle ground was reached as all participants happily conversed quite comfortably in English. In

some interviews questions needed to be paraphrased, requiring the researcher to be flexible and to quickly adapt to each individual interviewee as each understood the questions to have varying meanings from the next interviewee. This also allowed different perspectives to be obtained about one particular issue.

A fourth preconception was that finding documents relating to the Zambian music industry would be difficult. This, in fact, was the reality as very little was written, documented and stored about the earlier days of the industry, particularly documents that could be accessed. Also no centralized list could be found of all those involved in the music industry in the various sectors. Very few of those interviewed knew who to contact with regards to ZAMCOPS, legal representation or where to find out about production and/or distribution. The list of contacts received from the National Arts Council was incomplete as it was only made up of musicians who had been nominated for music awards at the annual Ngoma Music Awards Ceremony or the Zambian Music Awards Ceremony. Documents relevant to the production, marketing and distribution of music could not be found from the few studios visited, the National Arts Council, ZAMCOPS, ZAM or the Ministry of Information. The Chairman of the Board of ZAMCOPS briefly showed a report produced by ZAMCOPS on an annual basis that had sales and monetary figures with regards to how much ZAMCOPS had obtained from hologram sales and member registrations, what they would give as royalties, and increases or decreases of various aspects within the industry. He did state though, that the publication was not for public distribution and was only produced for the Board members and stakeholders of ZAMCOPS.

With regards to the third goal of interviewing music reporters, none were able to be communicated with. Zambia does not appear to have reporters dedicated solely to writing about the music industry. Journalists seem to write articles on musicians only when something that is considered newsworthy occurred but newspaper articles that were linked to varying aspects of the music industry were able to be accessed online. Only one journalist who called himself a music journalist was communicated with much later on and some of his articles were used to gather information.

4.8. Ethical considerations

While conducting interviews, a researcher must be aware of the potential for both harmful and beneficial effects of interviewing (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden, 2001:94; Busher, 2002:83; Fowler, 2002:147; McNeill & Chapman, 2005:12-14). For example, questions may trigger painful memories, upsetting the participant. Cohen, *et al.* (2000:50) argue that avoiding harming participants “is a matter of protecting the rights of the participants: maintaining, privacy, anonymity, confidentiality, and avoiding harm, betrayal, and deception.” In an attempt to achieve these ideals, participants, when first contacted, were given an introduction from the researcher; the choice of reading the research proposal; an explanation and purpose of the research; the choice of whether to participate or not; and where the interview could be held (Cohen, *et al.*, 2000:51; Fowler, 2002:150-152). As Rubin and Rubin (2005:71) have noted, some interviewees could ask for a copy of their transcribed interviews after their participation. During this research one interviewee, a studio producer, asked for his transcribed interview to post it on his online page as a means of advertising himself more by showing that he was part of a research programme. A member of ZAMCOPS also asked for his transcript to be sent to him for their query records.

4.9. Conclusion

The lack of documentation made it very difficult to find out any information about what has or is currently happening particularly in terms of how many registered musicians there are; how many registered studios there are; where the largest production of music onto physical mediums such as CDs and DVDs occurred; as well as how economically productive the music industry is now compared to previous years. There is also very little information about the economic impact of the music industry on the overall economy of the country. As already mentioned, the contacts willing to be interviewed for this research were all found through previous contacts using a snowballing technique. Although this was very helpful in being able to interview a larger number of interviewees, it provided contacts that were quite similar to the previous contacts within the same sub-group, mainly contacts within the hip hop genre. The research had hoped to have representatives from as many contemporary music genres as possible. The interviews were, nevertheless, still insightful and different aspects were raised as all the interviewees had been in the industry for different lengths of time, and so would have had different experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: INSTITUTIONS WITHIN THE MUSIC INDUSTRY

5.1. Introduction

With the method to be used clearly outlined in the previous chapter, the information gathered was used to understand the institutions surrounding the music industry in Zambia as well as the role of stakeholders. As discussed in Chapter 2, habitus and fields play a crucial role in the development of the music industry at large as well as the creation and development of individual careers. The speed and success of a musician's career is dependent on the habitus surrounding him/her that can enable or restrict success. Music industries do not operate in a vacuum but are rather a combination of interlinking smaller companies and governmental structures that enable the flow of musical products and finances within the industry, comprising recording studios, registered music stores, musician unions, copyright associations, and cultural divisions in the government. All these can be considered as sub-fields within the industry structure. Each sub-field has its own habitus and struggles. Copyright societies and cultural associations protect the intellectual property rights of artists, musicians, composers and publishers. Governments set up policies and enforce regulations to protect the industry as it has great potential to contribute towards a country's economic growth.

This chapter particularly focuses on the roles of and links between the Zambian Association of Musicians Union, the National Arts Council of Zambia and the Zambian Music Copyright Protection Society. The Copyright Society is responsible for dealing with the collection and paying out of royalties; however in developing countries the payment of royalties is still irregular. Local businesses that may not be directly related to the music industry can also contribute to the development of the music industry as many artists and musicians begin their careers with very little personal funding, marketing or performance knowledge. This is another area of the Zambian economy that can be utilized by those in the music sector.

Institutions are not the only forces that can have an impact on the development of the music industry. The general public as the consumers play a big role in the popularity of musicians and also act as informal advertising agents for the musicians' music. However, if music is promoted as cultural capital from a young age more training and preparation can be acquired by musicians, preparing them for entry into the music industry. Training and support for musicians can also be

provided by larger national institutions, providing legislation and guidelines to protect intellectual works. In Zambia such institutions are The Zambia Association of Musicians and the Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society.

5.2. The Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM) and Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS)

The functions of ZAM and ZAMCOPS are to monitor the different aspects of the industry and regulate revenues and the distribution of royalties. ZAM represents the musicians, composers, producers and publishers needs to the government. ZAMCOPS, the larger and longer running of the two, provides protection for music and intellectual property rights. It also provides institutional support in the fight against piracy, a problem that takes millions of Kwacha from the Association and musicians in terms of royalties.

5.2.1. Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM)

The purpose of unions is to maximise the objectives of the particular union such as protect its members' interests and represent these interests to stakeholders such as the government (Oswald, 1982:577; Klerk, 2008:81). Michael Salamon (1998:85) defines unions as "any organisation, whose membership consists of employees, which seeks to organise and represent their interests both in the workplace and society and, in particular, seek to regulate their employment relationship through the direct process of collective bargaining with management." Musicians' unions in developed countries were set up to work at keeping the labour supply and demand balanced, monitor and stabilize wages for skilled musicians, and to ensure good working conditions for musicians were maintained (Kraft, in Bennett, *et al.*, 2006:241-44; Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2011:120).

In marginalised countries such as Zambia the musicians' union is made up of a wide range of musicians, both amateur and professional, as well as writers, producers and managers. These sub-groups are not currently focussed on as individual categories due to a lack of qualified personnel and enough registered members with ZAMCOPS to justify strict group divisions. This can result in problems not being correctly dealt with as the various problems experienced are all dealt with as one when presented to the government. The current focus of the union is not on issues such as wages but rather on dealing with piracy and its effect on all areas of the industry.

With the different professional levels, calculating wages would prove to be quite difficult. Piracy has been identified as the most detrimental aspect of the industry and very little can be done about anything else as any changes are short lived - a case of dealing with the symptoms rather than the root problem.

ZAM was developed from the Zambia Union of Musicians (ZUM) that had been registered as a union in 1979, the oldest arts association in Zambia. ZAM in 2011 had approximately 900 musicians officially registered (UN, 2011:23). When ZAM was started there were many issues carried over from ZUM that needed to be sorted out, particularly in terms of administration. According to St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013), the then President of ZAM:

“basically ZAM is supposed to be there to prod everybody that is in the industry to create an enabling environment where musicians are going to be sustained; musicians are going to get the jobs. But with the misunderstandings, or the lack of understanding of the industry, even people that should be supporting ZAM have been fighting ZAM. We've had people in the highest offices in government trying to fight the Association thinking it could be a political party, you know. So that's the kind of pettiness that first of all has to be gotten rid of. So ZAM is there as an advocacy body, but also where there is no union of musicians it also acts as a union because we've had a lot of our members coming with various legal challenges.”

Although all the interviewees had at least heard of ZAM, not all the musicians and managers were registered members of ZAM. The perception of how beneficial ZAM is to its members is rather divided. A few interviewees were simply not interested in finding out about how ZAM worked and how they could benefit as members even though they had heard of the Association. It was also acknowledged that there are still many musicians and other stakeholders who are not part of ZAM and refuse to join because they do not believe that the Association is effective. According to St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) many complain but are not prepared to join the Association to air their views in the correct forums and participate in creating solutions.

A few musicians felt that ZAM only supported particular genres of music that were not too 'different' or were too niche, and so did not consider membership as being beneficial. For example, Chawa Chiteta explained:

“...what I always discovered with such an organization is that they tend to cater to a certain type of music. So if you sort of stick out like a sore thumb, um, you might find it hard for them to like push your music” (Author’s interview with Chawa Chiteta, 2013).

He also felt that to benefit from such organizations an individual needed to know particular members who were higher up in the organization so that they could push for support from within.

The producers spoken to also did not seem to see any benefits of being members of ZAM as benefits may only be seen and felt for those higher up in the Association and not by those at the bottom as they did not see any impact of ZAM’s actions. From a producer’s perspective, Shom C. (Author’s interview, 2013) stated:

“At the moment I don’t see its impact, so I wouldn’t say it’s beneficial for me. It’s not out there; I don’t really see its impact on the industry. Maybe for its members higher up the ladder, maybe. I think it only benefits a few people. It’s only really now that I’m starting to hear about its activities but at the moment, I don’t really see much.”

For Mic-Burner (Author’s interview, 2013) the “bodies currently involved in music are very small. You asked about ZAM and ZAMCOPS. People just take them for granted.”

However, positives were identified by others interviewed. St. Michael noted that ZAM has come a long way from when it was originally formed in terms of the number of active members and what the Association has been able to accomplish so far. As mentioned by St. Michael (Author’s interview, 2013) a crucial benefit was the creation of the National Arts Council of Zambia (NAC):

“The coming in of the Ministry [NAC] was one of our basic issues with the Strategic Plan, and fortunately for us the Ministry was approved even before our plan was launched. So you can see how our advocacy sort of has been directing the industry. We have the Ministry today purely because of ZAM’s advocacy. And now you know the National Arts Council is being upgraded to Commission. So you can see that now, even at government level people are beginning to recognize the industry, and it’s purely because of the visibility of the Association.”

Another demonstration of positive progress has been the workshops that have been held in Zambia for the benefit of several music industry stakeholder groups. A recent example of a workshop was when ZAM organized one in collaboration with the Swedish Embassy on the 19th to 21st November 2013 in Lusaka. According to St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013), the workshop was called *Sweden at Zambia* and was "a purely economic workshop" about informing musicians of how "... to use technology with the selling of your music, the distribution, the advertising."

In other words it was about how musicians could market themselves and make themselves visible to the public as well as gaining access to the resources within the particular field they were in. St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) and Ms. Kapwepwe (Author's interview, 2013), the Chairperson of the National Arts Council, considered the workshop to have been a success and musicians were equipped with international-standard information on how they could strengthen their careers. However, the difficulty with trying to organise relevant workshops is locating qualified people from within Zambia with the expertise to present at these workshops. The majority of presenters have had to come from outside Zambia, from countries such as Sweden, Finland and America. These presenters provided the Zambian musicians in attendance with an opportunity to learn how other musicians are utilizing digital platforms, how they marketed themselves and how their careers developed.

Chilu Lemba (Author's interview, 2014) noted that although these workshops were greatly beneficial, there are not enough qualified Zambians in specific positions in the industry. For example, there is a lack of active music lawyers and Artists and Repertoire (A&R) managers currently within the industry. Lemba (Author's interview, 2014) commented that: "you've got all these forces but then you don't have a really well structured system that supports people. You don't have music lawyers or A&R artists who are all there to try and bring some sanity to the industry."

According to Ms. Kapwepwe (Author's interview, 2013):

"I think external people bring in a whole new dimension. The Swedish-Zambia thing was amazing for a lot of artists because people out there have moved on to just moving on to the digital platform in very creative ways. And they were taken through how actual artists

are using these platforms. And they made it look like ‘Okay, I can do that because this person looks just like me.’ ... So it’s always interesting to get other people who are doing things differently from outside to come and partner with us. Something like that will happen again like that next year. We’ve had several others, from Finnish, America and so on. But we always insist that if they bring people in they must interact with those in the particular art sector they are here to speak to.”

Recently two entertainment lawyers were invited to present at a workshop by the National Arts Council for performers in January 2015. These workshops aimed to inform members within the performing art categories about the importance of contracts and their contents, what entertainment law is about and what the copyright issues are and how they can deal with them (Author’s interview Ms. Kapwepwe, 2013). Successful managers, such the manager of Zone Fam, were also to be invited to present in the workshop. These managers were to look at aspects such the importance of having a manager and how they could assist in the development of a musician’s career.

There are some musicians and stakeholders who have over the years acquired knowledge and skills that they can pass onto others in the industry. One example is Brian Shakarongo, an experienced musician who was a member of one of the earliest and most popular Zambian bands, the *Mosi-oa-Tunya* Band or ‘The smoke which thunders’. The band was one of the earliest that played Zam-Rock, a mixture of Western rock and traditional Zambian music. He mentioned that he now only does exclusive performances and spends most of his time giving workshops. He has been invited on several occasions to countries such as England and Scotland to give skills development workshops in schools and for bands. He also helps to organise the music video programme *Born and Bred*² and finds sponsors for such programmes. Shakarongo became a promoter with a Promoters License registered with the government. Such experienced members of the general entertainment industry should be encouraged to share their knowledge by inviting them to events such as workshops so that Zambians can also learn from fellow successful Zambians. St. Michael is another musician who has been in the industry since the early days and

² *Born and Bred* is a music television programme which invites local Zambians to show off their natural vocal talent and compete for a recording contract.

as a reggae musician the challenges he has had to experience would be of great value for musicians trying to survive in Zambia by doing non-conventional genres.

ZAM also is also supposed to represent its members when musicians challenge large corporations for using their music in the company's radio and television advertisements and campaigns without first getting consent from the musician or paying for using the song (Author's interview with St. Michael, 2013). For example, companies that utilise popular songs on a regular basis are telecommunication companies. Singles can be downloaded from networks and used as ringtones on consumers' phones. Although this further popularises particular songs, those who download the tracks onto their phones have to pay for the download. Users of the network have to purchase airtime that is then used to pay for the downloading of the ringtone. However, often the company may not have actually paid the musician or obtained consent for the use of the single. As a result the company makes money from essentially an illegally acquired single.

Musicians can challenge such exploitation of their music with the support and guidance of ZAM. ZAM is not the only association that is working on challenging such abuses of intellectual property. The National Arts Council of Zambia represents all the performing arts categories in Zambia and attempts to provide such protection and guidance of the other performing arts.

5.2.2. The National Arts Council (NAC)

The National Arts Council of Zambia (NAC) comprises nine arts associations that represent media and fine arts, literary and performing arts: "the National Theatre Arts Association of Zambia (NATAAZ); the National Media Arts Association (NAMA); the Zambia Folk Dance and Music Society (ZAFODAMUS); the Zambia Women Writers' Association (ZAWWA); the Zambia Popular Theatre Alliance (ZAPOTA); the Zambia Association of Musicians (ZAM); the Zambia Adjudicators' Panel (ZAP); the Zambia National Visual Arts Council (VAC); and the Association of Theatre for Children and Young People in Zambia (ASSITEJ)" (UN, 2011:16).

The NAC became operational in 1996 in accordance with Act No. 31 of 1994 of the Laws of Zambia. Its purpose is to advise the government on the most effective policies to promote artistic works and to raise the standards of all the sub-sectors of the Arts Councils. The NAC also has several basic functions such as: assisting with the creation of organizations or associations;

issuing arts permits to enable artistic activities both within and outside Zambia; provide appropriate training both within and outside Zambia; and moderate and provide national honours awards for the various art divisions (UN, 2011:17). Although ZAM has been very active there are still certain tasks that fall outside the ambit of the Association, particularly in relation to the collection and distribution of royalties. This is one of the key purposes of the Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society.

5.3. Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS)

The head office of ZAMCOPS is located in Lusaka and it is a registered Society and Collecting Society under the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting. Ms. Chilombo, the Distribution and Documentation Officer at ZAMCOPS, spoke of how ZAMCOPS was established for authors, composers and publishers of music with the goal of managing the performing rights of composers and publishers of music (Author's interview with Ms. Chilombo, 2013).

St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) noted that ZAMCOPS has recently begun to collect royalties from "all community radio stations and other public music users in Zambia" to increase the income earned by the musicians who own the intellectual property rights of the music being played. Previously very little was done to protect such intellectual property and musicians lost out on a lot of money. For example, Shom C. (Author's interview, 2013) mentioned that ZAMCOPS membership is mandatory for producers to have their music distributed. Although the enforcing of strategies and policies to do with copyright laws has been very weak, all this has slowly been changing.

It has also been noted that for the past few years ZAMCOPS has been more proactive in its efforts to educate and sensitize the Zambian public about the importance of buying music from legitimate sources and how piracy is detrimental to musicians' careers and the nation's economy.

5.3.1. Challenges faced by ZAMCOPS

Three major problem areas were identified by the members of the administration staff spoken to at ZAMCOPS head office. There is a desperate need for personnel to handle the membership registration, correspondence, collection and distribution of royalties. Delays often happen because there are not enough people to manage all the administration work required.

Another problem experienced is that there is a lack of funding. ZAMCOPS, although under government, does not receive much funding from the State to operate. Membership registration fees that are annual subscriptions (Appendix 3) contribute towards the operational running of ZAMCOPS.

A third challenge is that there is a lack of understanding of copyright issues by would-be members and clients. This results in members either not providing the necessary information needed to ensure the payment of royalties or music is not passed through the correct channels to ensure that whatever royalties can be collected are collected.

5.3.2. Royalty collection

Phil Hardy, the founding editor of *Music and Copyright* in London, England, provides simple definitions of the two forms of royalty that can be collected: “Mechanical royalties are due on the sales of a soundcarrier containing the work, and performance royalties are due on the public performance of a work, either in live performance or via broadcasting” (Hardy, in DERGIT, 2001:11). Mechanical royalties are distributed by record companies and are relatively cheap and easy to monitor and collect, while performance royalties are traditionally more costly to collect as “performances have to be monitored and tariffs have to be negotiated with broadcasters” (Hardy, in DERGIT, 2001:11; Cusic, 1996:46). To keep costs down those who ought to handle performance royalties simply do not pay, an unfortunate occurrence in developing countries.

ZAMCOPS begun collecting mechanical royalties in 1996 and begun distributing royalties to deserving owners in 1998 (UN, 2011:29; infozambia.com, 2014). Royalties are paid to registered members of ZAMCOPS once a year for the public playing of their music by radio stations, jukeboxes, hotels, restaurants, bars, and such venues (Ms. Chilombo, 2013).

Until recently very few stakeholders seemed to understand the procedure of collecting royalties from ZAMCOPS. Many kept recording music and having it distributed without knowing how much they could actually be earning from the proper licencing and sale of their music. However, even though more Zambian musicians are gradually developing their cultural capital, and gaining more knowledge about rights to royalties, the difficulties still lie in their collection. A large amount of royalties are generated but only a small number of musicians seem to actually receive anything or the complete total of what they are due. Collection societies in developing countries

often struggle to keep up with the advancing technologies that enable the process of royalty collection to occur (Wallis & Malm, 1984:211-212). Chilumbe (Author's interview, 2014) noted that when he started out with his group, they were not made aware of the need to register any songs aired with ZAMCOPS in order to receive royalties. However, even when his next song was registered correctly, he still "did not see a penny from them for that."

In an attempt to lower the frequency of such unfortunate events and to assist with streamlining the process of distributing royalties, two more ZAMCOPS offices were set up in the towns of Kitwe and Livingstone, with the head office remaining in Lusaka. Three more collection zones were also created, Northern, Midlands and Southern which are to cover the whole country (Zulu, 2012). These collection zones would be managed by the Kitwe and Livingstone ZAMCOPS offices respectively with Midlands being managed by the Lusaka ZAMCOPS office. With these improving measures royalties for the past few years have been gradually on the increase:

2011 – K271, 006³

2012 – K321, 349

2013 – K378, 058.

5.4. Role of government in the music industry

It has been estimated that 70% of people living in Zambia have restricted economic capital, causing it to be ranked as one of poorest countries in the world. The Zambian government set up a plan to combat poverty, the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) covering the years 2002-2004 (SIDA, 2004:4). The PRSP was to provide a "multi-dimensional perspective on poverty" in the areas of "agriculture, tourism, transport, and energy as key sectors for economic growth, and education, health and HIV/AIDS as key areas for increased social investment" (SIDA, 2004:4). The entertainment, cultural or creative industries in Zambia have been moved from one government Ministry to another (UN, 2011:5), resulting in very little focus on the entertainment sector as an entity of its own for both short and long term policies (UN, 2011:15). Without the correct attention, the entertainment sector and those who provide cultural goods do not have

³ The Zambian Kwacha (K) currency became rebased in 2013

necessary measures in place to ensure their development and growth. Such measures could be effective “legislation and regulation, institutional support, [and] access to credit and funding” (UN, 2011:8). Currently the Zambian Department of Cultural Affairs (DCA) is under the Community Development and Social Services (UN, 2011:14).

Government can play an important role in music industries in a variety of ways. The government provides legislation, arts and culture councils, subsidies for the import of production equipment and instruments, encourages cultural tourism and support by encouraging performance contracts at State functions. Policies can also enable the creation of trade unions for composers, publishers, producers, musicians and other stakeholders in the music industry such as musical educators (Wallis & Malm, 1984:58, 293). In January 2011 the Zambian government approved the *Sixth National Development Plan 2011-2015*, with the theme ‘Sustained Economic Growth and Poverty Reduction’ (UN, 2011:10). Zambia was to be considered a major tourist destination with the arts and culture being the higher ranking sectors pinpointed for development to contribute to the Zambian economy.

Ms. Kapwepwe (Author’s interview, 2013) spoke about how “... musicians, should be streamlined into government programmes.” The manifesto of the current Patriotic Front (PF) government supports this goal and has been trying to implement changes and developments (Appendix 4). This means that whenever there is a government event performing musicians should be part of the programme.

It was also suggested during author’s interviews with St. Michael (2013), Sister D. (2013) and Ms. Kapwepwe (2013) that the government could utilize musicians for different social campaigns, encouraging musicians to be socially aware and to give back to their communities while they also earn some money. The DCA has also been instrumental in promoting and organizing public and governmental functions that require entertainment (UN, 2011:15). Sometimes a musician records a song with a particular message that works with the mandate or campaign slogan of a large organization, and so the musician would partner up with that organization. Leonard Koloko noted how Dr. Kenneth Kaunda would interact a great deal with musicians, often having them perform frequently at State House functions during the 1960s. Two such groups were the Lusaka Radio Band and the Broadway Quintet which were used by the United National Independence Party (UNIP) between 1962 and 1964, especially during the run-

up to the country's independence (Graham, 1992:208). Kaunda also commissioned bands to be 'praise singers' for him and his UNIP party (Koloko, 2012:27). Government commissions such as the Anticorruption Commission and the Electro Commission have also used musicians to help to get their message out to the public (Author's interview with Ms. Kapwepwe, 2013). Dr. Kaunda also co-composed and sang the song '*We Shall Fight and Conquer AIDS*' with popular musician Rikki Ililonga as an anti-HIV/AIDS activist after his presidency ended (Graham, 1992:208; Koloko, 2012:27). Government commissions such as the Anticorruption Commission and the Electro Commission have also used musicians to help to get their message out to the public (Author's interview with Ms. Kapwepwe, 2013).

However, Fraser G. McNeill identifies a very common problem experienced by musicians performing at large government events. In order to receive tenders regularly, musicians often "sacrifice their artistic freedom and integrity" to remain appealing to government officials (2012:1). Many musicians operate in the informal music industry, meaning that they have not signed a deal with a particular record label and so must rely on finding a sponsor to kick-start their musical career. Such sponsors are either family members or local businesses who can lend computers, recording and practicing venues, and money to purchase CDs to burn their music on (McNeill, 2012:9). Now holograms must also be purchased from ZAMCOPS which requires more funding. These holograms are indexed stickers that have to be bought from ZAMCOPS offices by musicians to be put onto any produced cassettes, CDs and DVDs. These stamps are to assist in the battle against piracy, by making it clearer to all which products are legally produced and distributed and those that are pirated imitations.

Several interviewees acknowledged that the government did a good thing in officially introducing music hologram stickers on all music intended for distribution. Holograms have now been noted as being a set part of the production process of music in developed countries. All music to be sold in music stores has to have a hologram sticker on it before the music gets distributed nationally and internationally. The holograms are to get better control of the distribution of legal music and an attempt to combat pirated music. They are provided and purchased from the Ministry of Information in Lusaka. Every hologram sticker has to be paid for, thus providing ZAMCOPS with more revenue which would ideally be passed onto the respective musicians as royalties. The practice also contributes towards the national economy.

The holograms on music CDs have been the strongest implementation of policy against piracy, a problem that has plagued and hindered the music industry from the start. With this newly implemented system more regular and accurate statistics can be collected.

The government is now able to provide more accurate figures and is beginning to understand what sort of contribution the music industry can make to the economy. In September 2013 approximately K263, 000 (\$41,417) in tax was collected by the government in less than a month (Author's interview with Ms. Kapwepwe, 2013), illustrating the income that could be generated. Income is also still being created with the purchase of holograms for cassettes. Although cassette tapes are not listened to as much as CDs about 16, 000 tapes per month are being supplied with holograms (Author's interview with Ms. Kapwepwe, 2013). Tracking sales and distribution is now becoming easier to follow with the centralization of the sale of the holograms.

Some musicians suggested that the government could help in developing more permanent and up-to-date studios by implementing deliberate policies that enable studio equipment to be imported more cheaply. As Brian Shakarongo (Author's interview, 2013) commented:

“They can also give artists and musicians some kind of rebate on the cost of importing musical instruments into Zambia. But that has to be done systematically, because in the past when such things have happened, it's only those business men with the money who could import the instruments without paying taxes because the government had given them a rebate. So as a result the musicians, the actual person you are trying to help, does not benefit. Again it is a financial thing because they are not making enough money because of these other areas that are not functioning properly, so they are not able to buy their own personal instruments again. Things like replace personal guitars, keyboards and so on. So there should be a deliberate financial arrangement as it where there was some kind of loan or something maybe through banks and other financial institutions. So government could get into those kinds of things and monitor things and encourage these financial institutions to lend to the musicians.”

This tax reduction appears to be coming into effect as Shom C. (Author's interview, 2013) mentioned that the studio he worked in (Whizz House studios) had paid less tax with a recent order of equipment compared to previous orders they had made. With the reduced tax musicians

would also be able to afford their own personal instruments and develop their skills as very few of those interviewed had their own instruments or access to instruments to practice. Maskus (DERGIT, 2001:15), in speaking about the creation of a regional African music market, also points out that barriers such as reducing tax on instruments are needed for such a regional music market to come into effect. In fact region-wide action rather than just nation-wide action is needed for a “commercially viable African music industry” to be created (DERGIT, 2001:15-16).

In terms of administration, an official list of registered music managers could not be found in any of the official institutions visited. Such a list would be beneficial for new musicians looking for registered managers. Musicians starting out often pair up with inexperienced people who agree to take on the managerial role, and generally these relationships do not last long and musicians get exploited. The list would also benefit other stakeholders and potential investors in getting into contact with specific people. Such a list is gradually being worked on by NAC (Author’s interview with Ms. Kapwepwe, 2013).

5.5. Corporate support

The music industry is an area that organizations and companies can support in a number of ways, even though they may not necessarily be directly connected to the industry. Businesses can provide financial support and backing to musicians, studios, radio and television music shows, and also in organising performance events. This is an illustration of social capital and how it can be of benefit to all stakeholders. In Zambia such support is still very much untapped by musicians. One example of a company that does support music is Bharti Airtel Limited or Airtel as it is most commonly known.

Airtel is a telecommunication service company currently operating in seventeen different African countries including Zambia. The initiative of the Airtel ONE8 collaborative music project had the purpose of using music to connect “the [African] continent emotionally, bringing communities and cultures together” (Airtel, 2012). Airtel enabled its users to be able to download the ringtone onto their phones, generating further revenue as airtime was deducted from the users’ accounts to pay for the downloads. Airtel donated a percentage of the revenue earned from merchandising and record sales to the Airtel Education Fund in support of the

schools they fund in several local communities (Airtel, 2012). This project could also be seen as being a very innovative advert for Airtel (Mulenga, 2011; Debrah, 2011; ROSCKSTAR4000, 2012) as the company benefited on a global level from the international exposure the single generated.

5.5.1. Generation of income for businesses linked to the music industry

Such corporate investment has the potential to not only benefit musicians, but also subsidiary businesses that surround the musician's activities. Ambert (2003:ix) notes how the cultural and music industry, if developed and maintained, can provide employment and support for other industries. The majority of such businesses are often informal, family-run and relatively small. When a musician is putting on a major performance, a lot of calls have to be made between the various parties, requiring a lot of airtime. Tickets and posters must be designed and printed, providing business for design companies or small printing businesses. As the audience gathers outside before and after the performances, vendors who sell water, snacks, drinks and small meals are able to get some business and sell their wares. More taxis and buses would be used to ferry people going to and from the performance over a longer period, earning the drivers more money.

5.6. Experiences from other countries

The care and consideration given to musicians in Zambia has been noted to be distinctly different from that to what they receive in other countries. Several musicians commented on the fact that when they got off the plane in other countries, they were given celebrity treatment, something they rarely experienced in their home country. A crucial difference noted was in relation to performance venues.

There is a lack of adequate venues for musicians to perform as efficiently as they could. Many have to perform in bars, pubs and clubs, places where it would be inappropriate for children to be taken. From Sister D.'s (Author's interview, 2013) personal experience:

“The way they will look at an artist; the value they'll give to an artist; where you are going to sit as an artist, because sometimes in our country you don't even have anywhere

to change. I will not take my children to a bar to go and watch music because what they'll be seeing there is not good for them."

St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) added to this view, stating that: "You look at bars, pubs and that is where our artists are calling performance venues, yet they are bars. I cannot go with my daughter to *Break Point* to watch Slap D., [another Zambian artist]. It's not a music venue." There are also no standard performance venues or a set of performing venues that can be maintained and used for large musical performances. This is something many interviewed musicians and managers suggested as a way the government could step in and assist, by providing permanent infrastructure where regular performances would happen. For Sister D. (Author's interview, 2013) "...infrastructure I think is key because that will bring other developments because people will know that every weekend we are going to go to such a place because there is always a different artist performing, you know all that."

Very few performing venues in Zambia have been noted to have adequate space or changing rooms separate from public areas where performing musicians can change and get ready before a show. Sister D. (Author's interview, 2013) mentioned how she has been informed several times that:

"...we don't have a dressing room for you so just go and change in the Ladies. And all these women are coming in there waiting to go and see this star who is going to perform. In other countries we've been told that this is not what is to be done to an artist. You have all these nice rooms; the best chair you can have so that you are comfortable so that you relax. You know, because like me I always get nervous when going to perform, you need the time to meditate and just pick up. So really I think it's a good lesson when you go and perform outside the country."

When asked about one thing that has been learned from having performed in several other countries, professionalism was an aspect that kept coming up. For Brian Shakarongo (Author's interview, 2013) professionalism was something he had noted too:

"Oh yes, a lot actually, especially with the professionalism. It helps you to understand the industry much better, and you understand these other players in the industry much better, who are all the stakeholders and so forth. Even the level of performing and playing, it

really helps a lot because you meet a lot of other players and you listen to a lot of other music, and you see how they organize and how they perform. It helps you raise your standards.”

For those musicians who have been able to, performing outside of the country provides a better understanding of how other players in the industry operate and also gives an insight into how musicians should be treated. Sister D. had noticed that the way she was treated in other countries differed to how she was treated in Zambia. For example, in the way “they will look at a musician, the value they’ll give to a musician, and where you are going to sit as a musician, because sometimes in our country you don’t even have anywhere to change” (Author’s interview with Sister D., 2013).

The level of performance and the playing of instruments were also noticed to be of a high standard that was expected to be maintained by all performers invited to perform. This level of musicianship is currently not as high or simply lacking for most of those interviewed because many relied on computerised instrumentation and backing tracks that could be sung over during performances. Outside of private schools where instruments can be taught or private lessons given, spending money on purchasing instruments and paying for a substantial number of music lessons was not a priority for the younger interviewees, even if music teachers were found. This sort of habitus could possibly limit how well Zambian musicians can perform with other musicians from other countries, particularly if they wanted to break into centralized markets.

According to Immaculate (Author’s interview, 2013) there was also no real feeling of unity amongst Zambian musicians like that witnessed in surrounding countries. It is almost as though there are musical cliques and musicians only look out for themselves and their immediate friends. This lack of support means that knowledge about the industry is not being shared with those entering the industry by those who are more established.

5.7. Societal perspectives of music

Piracy is also deeply imbedded within the social norms in Zambia. Being a ‘commercial’ or ‘contemporary’ musician is still not considered a ‘proper’ career or on the same level as white collar jobs such as being an accountant, a doctor, a teacher or a lawyer (Author’s interview with Moses Sakala, 2014). Those who are committed to making music their career and have no other

source of income are considered to have very few options available to them. According to Shom C. (Author's interview, 2013):

“Here [Whiz House Studios] musicians are labelled as people who have no alternative, with nothing else to do except music, which is not the way it's supposed to be. Music is a talent, people invest money; people go to school to study music and sound engineering and all sorts of things. Here music is not labelled as a job. White collar jobs are seen as the norm.”

St. Michael's (Author's interview, 2013) perspective was:

“I think everything is intertwined, but for Zambia's case, first of all we still haven't gotten to the fact that music can be a career, music is an economy, and music is part of the nation's machinery. We've sort of still relegated music to singing for dead presidents ... and singing at funerals and political rallies. As a nation we still have to accept the fact that yes, I can go to school and be a musician after school.”

However St. Michael's experience and life as a musician is proof that a living can be earned and lived off from music. For him, music:

“... has always been a hobby, it's always seen as a hobby. That is the major problem I have you see. I have a daughter who is completing secondary school next year, and she's survived on what people call 'a hobby'. Look, it's not a hobby it's somebody's job, and we get sectors like the labour sector to begin to incorporate music on their agenda. We want a minimum wage for musicians - it's a job” (Author's interview with St. Michael, 2013).

In terms of cultural capital, Zambians from a young age are not conditioned to consider music as a viable career. Most musicians developed their interest in music during their high school years. This is also the most common space where self-taught musical skills are developed, for example, rapping, guitar, keyboard and singing. However, socialization differs as practices are adapted over time through generations (Harker, *et al.*, 1990:12). The views of music as a reputable career may gradually change with each generation.

From a governmental perspective the Zambian Arts and Culture Council is also working on changing social views towards music by attempting to incorporate musical education into the schools. In developed countries such as Sweden, “general music education in state schools is still restricted to one lesson a week” at most due to music departments being given minimal budgets (Roe & Carlsoon, 1990:104). In Zambia, music lessons are currently only found in certain private schools and none in the state schools. A trial programme is intended to be run in schools in the Lusaka region to make music education part of the curriculum. By introducing music understanding and skills to children during their learning years it is hoped that the calibre of musicians, studio producers and managers would be raised as those with an interest in such areas would go for further specialised training. The music industry has been identified as a potential way to provide employment and a source of income for many unemployed youth. According to Ms. Kapwepwe (Author’s interview, 2013):

“One of the sad things about Zambia I suppose is that we do not have somewhere musicians can go to learn how to play music, how to be professional about whatever they do, there’s no place like that. Evelyn Hone is pedagogical; it’s to teach people how to teach music. So it doesn’t teach people how to be a performer or use that craft in material wealth or for his own creativity. So we don’t have that and so our musicians actually don’t have anywhere to go, this for me is a big problem. Recently we had a proposal accepted that we create a college for the arts and that’s the place we can presume those things will start for the arts. But government doesn’t really have the whatever, so we’re trying to push for a PPP so that we get an already running institution just to come and run that. So we’ve spoken to the Finnish government and so forth and they’re interested. ... They [Zambian government] are supposed to be starting a pilot program in Lusaka province in terms of music in schools, so we’ll see how that turns out. There are music teachers but when music teachers graduate from Evelyn Hone they get into a school and they become a P.E. teacher or a Religious Education teacher. So we’re hoping that that changes with the pilot program that’s starting in January from Lusaka.

According to Shom C. (Author’s interview, 2013):

“So they don’t see, even up to government level, they don’t see the entertainment industry as an industry which actually can provide a lot of employment and boosting

economic activity. I think it all has to go back to the basics. There are very few music schools, the curriculum is not properly integrated, and people can't just pick up music from their childhood. In other systems, talent can be identified at the age of two!

Someone can see and say 'this kid can be a bass guitarist' for example, and as they grow up there will be support systems to make sure they get to a good level. But here, the system is, when you just start going to school or even just your life you have to be geared to go into these other professions which are seen as actual professions. Music isn't considered as such. But the government can invest more in music education, music schools, colleges that are entirely about the entertainment industry. If such institutions are developed I think that would be the benchmark, the creation, the genesis or the start of the entertainment industry, if the government sees the importance of the entertainment industry.

To achieve better levels of music production and management individuals need the right skills for the industry to operate effectively.

5.8. Conclusion

For several musicians interviewed, ZAM and ZAMCOPS are vital as regulating bodies, but very little is understood by those outside the Associations about how they operate. Even their members are not clear about their role, which is cause for alarm. It means that those on the ground do not know or understand what is going on from a larger operational standpoint and where they fit within the wider industry. This isolates the regulating body from those on the ground and hinders communication and development. As a result musicians fend for themselves by buying CDs to put their recordings on, burning the CDs, selling the CDs, or singles online which requires setting up a webpage or finding the right sites.

According to Ms. Kapwepwe (Author's interview, 2013) the government's standpoint about the entertainment industry is gradually shifting and it is beginning to realise how it can contribute to the country's economy. Research done by the United Nations (UN) (2011) on developing creative industries in Zambia also identifies the potential for increasing economic capital "with art crafts, performing arts, and the publishing and design industries standing out as the sectors with the best prospects of contributing to employment, exports and GDP" (UN, 2011:6).

Governmental divisions are also realising that the music industry can provide needed employment to the many unemployed youth in the country, a source of employment that is still not fully utilised in developing countries (UN, 2011:6). Due to the lack of focus on the industry there is little support within the current system to gain a strong base as they enter the industry.

When the music industry is operating as it should, the industry becomes more self-supporting under the regulating institutional bodies. When a musician has a team of dedicated people to do the necessary tasks to support the musician, their families are also supported by the money brought in. When a show needs to be organized, the marketing or promotional manager organizes it. If there is no such manager, then a promotional company is hired to organize the event. This provides business and finance for that company to run and pay those who work there. Stakeholders of the music business can also get a return on their investment when the right support is provided to enable the music industry to keep operating and performances are regular.

CHAPTER SIX: PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION

6.1. Introduction

The music production process in Zambia involved the bare minimum or was simply non-existent for many years. Production and the pressing of vinyl, cassettes and CDs on a large scale had to be done in countries such as South Africa, Malawi, Tanzania and Kenya right from the beginning of the Zambian music industry from the 1940s right to the 1990s (Ewens, 1991:185; Koloko, 2012; Graham, 1989:284; Graham, 1992:207; Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014). Production and distribution plants that had been set up in Zambia struggled with the drastic increase of piracy during the 1990s and closed down (Koloko, 2012:153). However at the end of the '90s Zambian studios started to open (Koloko, 2012: 153, 344). More recently, with technological advancements in Zambia, the production of music has increasingly been placed in the control of musicians.

6.2. History of production and distribution in Zambia

Under colonialism traditional music was created and performed by local Zambians. As previously mentioned in Section 3.5., bands wanting their music to be recorded had to travel to neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Congo and South Africa. Recordings within the country were usually aired during radio programmes. Robert Heinze (2014:628) writes of the recordings produced by ethnomusicologists such as Hugh Tracey in the 1940s. These recordings were collected with the use of Central African Broadcasting Services (CABS) recording vans that were sent out around the country (Heinze, 2014:630; Ewens, 1991:184; Graham, 1992:206). More and more music recorded by the vans was utilised during the run-up towards independence to spread messages of nationalism (Heinze, 2014:630). For the majority of musicians music was performed live, often with traditional instruments, particularly for traditional festivals. Live performances that were not part of traditional ceremonies were generally performed in the main cities of Lusaka, Livingstone and along the Copperbelt (Koloko, 2012:175).

The first official international distribution company in Zambia was Teal Record Company that began operating in 1971. In Ndola another music distribution company, Zambia Music Parlour (ZMP), was started two years later, this time started by a Zambian guard who worked on the Zambian railways. ZMP branches were located in Kitwe and Lusaka (Koloko, 2012:337;

Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014). Along the Tanzania-Zambia TAZARA railway line and by aeroplane, vinyl from East African countries and from Zaire was brought into Zambia along the TAZARA railway line and by airplane and played over the airwaves.

According to Geoff Paynter (Author's interview, 2014), even though there were distribution houses there were officially no production facilities in Zambia until 1974:

“In 1974 we put in a rival plant at Teal and did our own disc cutting and printing and produced our own stampers. We also started the first cassette plant. All the machinery was imported on a single DC-8 cargo aircraft, which flew from Sweden (with the Toolex-Alpha presses and plating baths) via the UK where they picked up the printing press and disc-cutting gear, before flying directly to Ndola.”

Teal Records also had its own radio show but only aired pop music, leaving the ZBS to air the traditional music on its television show and radio programmes (Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014).

Up to this point there were no recording studios in Zambia apart from the ones run by ZBS. Neither Teal nor Gallo had studios as their focus remained on distribution and production. In 1975 another recording studio was established in Lusaka, DB studios. According to Paynter (Author's interview, 2014), “... when the government overnight brought in almost 100% local music quotas on radio, the local record companies were forced to get into local recording and studios such as DB Studios in Lusaka were established.”

Due to increasing levels of piracy, particularly during the 1990s, both Teal Records and ZMP shut down operations in Zambia (Koloko, 2012:153; Ewens, 1991:185). Geoff Paynter also suggested that the record companies closed due to high import licences for equipment and royalties set by the government (Author's interview, 2014). Small local recording studios were started up in an attempt to increase the local music quota; however the majority did not remain open for long. Once the record companies closed down cassettes became the only feasible format available for recording and distributing for musicians. However this introduced a serious recording and distribution problem for those bands that regularly toured and were limited to playing in hotels and bars (Ewens, 1991:185; Graham, 1992:206).

Radio continued to play a crucial role in the distribution of music over the airwaves. The Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) was the only radio station that aired music on the radio stations and television programmes. With no official production and/or distribution house in Zambia, musicians had to take it upon themselves to get their music distributed. Musicians, particularly those whose music was considered unconventional, often had to produce and distribute their own music. Brian Shakarongo (Author's interview, 2013) remembered how digital recording and the use of CDs began in Zambia around 2000, with an increase in technology. However, it was quite difficult for musicians, as having one CD printed, let alone enough to distribute in a wide area or town, was very expensive.

Another problem was that most musicians in the very early stages of their careers could not afford to pay for production on their own or equipment, and often asked for financial assistance from working family members and friends. This was personally experienced by St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013):

“Anybody who was a musician in those days - I remember bands like Sakala Brothers – we found it very difficult...it was the most difficult time as a musician in Zambia because there were no CDs then. So really for you to get a cassette produced you had to apply like some rocket science. So eventually technology sort of caught up and CDs came on the market. The first music we had on CD was my first album called *In the Ghetto*, and I think that was in about the year 2000. So that was like the beginning of the digital music in Zambia. So you can imagine, there was nobody to distribute the music ... when you do your ten CDs or so, which were very expensive, you had to stand on the streets and distribute the music on your own.”

During the early days of the Zambian music industry, only certain music was considered appropriate to be aired over the airwaves and television programmes. Certain genres such as reggae were banned from airplay within Zambia while abroad, reggae was appreciated. This discrimination added another barrier for musicians in the industry. For St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) as a reggae musician, building a career on a genre of music that was unpopular was a difficult journey.

“For me particularly it wasn’t easy because, first of all my music was blacklisted on the radio. We didn’t have private radio then - we had ZNBC. So obviously with the type of music [reggae] that I sing it was automatically banned from the air. So we had to rely on a lot of live performances and that is where we tried to sell our music.”

Some musicians adapted in order to survive in the industry. This adaption was also witnessed in 1976 when Kaunda ordered that radio music had to be 90% local Zambian music. Although musicians did comply, many changed to playing popular Congolese rumba music which guaranteed them radio airplay (Graham, 1992:207). During this research a current example of this adaptation could be found among some rappers. For example, rappers shifted to become singers as rap, particularly in the earlier days of the industry, was not popular. An example of such an artist was Exile who started off as a rapper and then became a singer. As he explained (Author’s interview, 2013):

“Obviously I started as a rapper as I said, but I eventually moved into singing because I found that rap music at the time wasn’t really having an impact as it was supposed to have in the country...so singing was a little more familiar with people. Rap was always considered as something that was childish. So I decided to start singing in 2001.”

For the first few years after Exile made this change he struggled, but now he can be considered as an experienced musician, currently working on his fifth album.

6.2.1. Role of radio

Radio broadcasting in Zambia began on an unofficial basis in 1939 and officially in 1941. From 1941 broadcasting was mainly used for providing the local Rhodesians with updates during World War 2 (WW) (Mwaffisi, 1989:73; Kangwa, 1994:74). Radio Phoenix was the only private radio station by 1995, but with the widespread economic successes during the 1990s more private radio stations opened across the country (Koloko, 2012:208). All these stations provided more access and platforms to musicians wanting to have their music aired as they no longer needed to travel to Lusaka to do so (Koloko, 2012:208). More stations meant that more of the population could be reached and hear this music.

Towards the end of 1949 cheap battery powered and portable radios were available for purchase particularly by the middle class and parts of the lower class with the purpose of spreading British propaganda (Mwaffisi, 1989:73; Heinze, 2014:624; Kangwa, 1994:75). Local music was regularly recorded and played over the airwaves in the days of CABS and used to attract listeners to the radio programmes. Soon after independence on October 24 1964, FBC became the Zambia Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC), then Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) in 1964, which then became ZNBC on 1st January 1988 (Mwaffisi, 1989:75; Kangwa, 1994:75). ZNBC recording studios were used to record local bands and aired their music during programmes.

6.2.1.1. Procedure of getting music on the airwaves

All the musicians and managers interviewed identified the critical role played by radio airplay and television talk shows for increasing their exposure to the public. Radio DJs interviewed from privately run radio stations and from the ZNBC were asked about how they selected the music to be aired on their programmes. The general procedure was for musicians to drop their labelled mixed tapes or compilation CDs with the secretary of the radio station or directly to the DJ if the musician had made prior arrangements to do so. Labelled mixed tapes would have the name and contact information of the musician, and titles of the tracks. At ZNBC, once the CD has been handed to the secretary, it is handed over to the library where it is catalogued and shelved until it is sought by a radio DJ or the radio manager. At private radio stations the CDs are given to the requested DJs by the secretaries and the musicians wait to be contacted if their music gets listened to. If it is heard and approved, then the DJ contacts the musician and an interview is set up and/or the music aired at particular intervals.

However the procedure of getting one's music aired on radio has not always been so formal. If a musician knows a radio DJ personally s/he would often by-pass the secretary who could also screen the compilation CDs and give the demo tape or CD directly to the radio DJ, sometimes with some sort of payment such as a few drinks or money. Some musicians could just meet the DJ in the street and hand him/her a demo tape. If the DJ liked the music, it would be aired. Chilumba, a radio DJ who used to work at one of the leading private radio stations in Zambia, noted how more informal the whole process used to be before the current structures were put in place. Lemba spoke of how informal getting ones music aired on radio could be:

“So if I was talking to you and I thought you had good music, next minute you’d be buying me a beer, the following moment we would be up on air and I would be interviewing you” (Author’s interview, 2014).

So the more formal procedure can be avoided if the new musician is able to meet with the DJ outside of the studio. Lemba - who now works in South Africa - also pointed out that the radio stations in South Africa have a music department that does research on the type of music that is to be aired and has to approve it before it is aired. This type of discipline is slowly being implemented in a few radio stations in Zambia, particularly the privately owned ones.

Some musicians have also been noted to pay DJs to play their song more than usual, getting more airplay. Exile (Author’s interview, 2013) spoke out against this as this was unfair practice:

“People are using a lot of social media, just hearsay you know, asking DJs to play your song more than usual. Some of them I am ashamed to say pay DJs which is not fair for certain talented people who have no money, those that pay DJs do that.”

6.2.1.2. Payola for more airplay

The act of *payola* or paying for airplay, the bribery of DJs, is something that occurs in all music industries (Burnett, 1996:92). Some bribes are not always monetary, with offers of free trips or more often ‘freebies’ of music, clothes and so on as other options (Wallis & Malm, 1984:243). Even though payola is illegal, it is even used by major recording companies as a promotion technique, particularly with new musicians and/or not so popular genres the company is trying to popularise (Burnett, 1996:107; Wallis & Malm, 1984:243).

Several interviewees, both musicians and radio DJs, mentioned that getting an interview or having one’s music aired was also about whom one usually knew. For Duncan Sodala (Author’s interview, 2013) “The single most important thing for artists is to establish relationships with DJs where you can regularly go on radio and speak to them about the progress in your career, as well as to get your music played.” In Scarlet’s experience a radio DJ was most crucial in the development of her career - “the Scarlet brand was made by a DJ. It was there, but it was a DJ that saw it and started playing it constantly and that caused a buzz.” Although he remained unnamed, the DJ would play her songs constantly on his shows, regularly creating hype for all

her singles, resulting in more followers, particularly on her social media outlets. From her perspective:

“... when you have a good relationship with the DJs, especially for promotional reasons like when you want people to hype your shows or you want people to hype your singles or an album coming out, you need to do promotion.”

Similarly, national acknowledgment for the Sakala Brothers came when a radio DJ on one of the national radio stations - in the early days known as Radio Mulungushi, now Radio 4 - played their first recorded song, popularizing it.

Due to the current state of the Zambia music industry, when musicians do interviews on radio or television, they do them free of charge as it is free advertising for them. By doing so, they develop social capital with the DJs for future interviews. However, when a musician's music is played on any radio station or television programme, he/she is supposed to receive airplay royalties (see Section 5.3.2.) As an experienced musician, Brian Shakarongo (Author's interview, 2013) noted:

“music which you hear being played, whether in an airport or shopping malls or any shop or bar and so forth, wherever they are playing music, those are supposed to be licensed so that they pay for whatever music they play.”

This unfortunately does not happen as regularly as it ought as the Zambian royalty collection system (particularly in relation to radio and television) for airplay is still being refined (see Section 5.3.2.). Radio and television are not the only places where music is aired. Restaurants, shopping malls, bars and nightclubs all play music and a musician should benefit from all these places. This market (the secondary or marginalised market) is more difficult to organize and monitor as well as collect revenue from compared to collecting revenue directly from recordings (the primary market) (Maskus, in DERGIT, 2001:15). All these places should have licences to play music in their establishments. This is the purpose of and the need for collection societies. In South Africa where the music copyright association, the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO), is well established, public areas such as shopping malls have registered licences and musicians earn royalties from the music used in such places. South Africa has several music-related organisations to protect the rights of musicians, publishers, recording

houses, composers, and the collection and distribution of royalties. Examples of such organisation are: SAMPRA (South African Music Performance Rights Association); RiSA (Recording Industry of South Africa); SAFACT (Southern African Federation Against Copyright Theft); and PASA (Publishers' Association of South Africa). The need and importance for such associations is gradually being recognised in Zambia and the rights of publishers, composers, musicians and a clear royalty collection process are slowly being enforced.

6.2.1.3. Early use of Zambian music on the airwaves

As previously indicated, when Kaunda came to power the policy for music on the airwaves was that 90% of the music had to be Zambian on the national radio station, at that time being the Zambia Broadcasting Services (ZBS) (Mukando & Mumba, 2012:13; Author's interview with Geoff Paynter, 2014). Music, particularly during liberation struggles, was frequently used as a symbol of national identity or to solidify the identity of particular groups within a country (Wallis & Malm, 1984:14). Kangwa (1994:26-27) states that the use of media in the early days of independence was vital in bringing the country together and creating "national integration" or a "national identity." National integration was needed as Zambians had relatives in neighbouring countries as a result of the borders left by the colonialist rulers (Kangwa, 1994:26). This differs from the typical use of traditional music as a form of communication or playing a ritual role (Wallis & Malm, 1984:14). Local language radio programmes were created to bring together all the different races and ethnic groups. Music sung in the different local languages was also played regularly over the airwaves.

Linked to media broadcasting is the aspect of censorship which affects what music gets broadcast or prevented from being broadcast. When a musician's music is kept off the air, it cuts off a key component used to increase the musician's exposure.

6.2.1.4. Censorship

Censorship has a strong impact on what music is broadcast and distributed to the general public, limiting exposure and the income musicians could possibly earn. Censorship was noticeably used by colonial governments, dictatorships and the apartheid government who wished to use media channels to spread political propaganda. This propaganda was then used to regulate the public's behaviour, or to promote particular cultural, moral practices, and religious beliefs (Street, 1997:

32, 86; Street, 2003:115, 129; Sibanda, in Korpe, 2007:22; Downing, *et al.*, 2004:334). Scholars have noted that the sector of the media that is censored regularly is that of popular music to in an attempt to protect against possible negative social effects (Street, 2003:117; Kangwa, 1994; Heinze, 2014; Street, 1997:176; Drewett & Cloonan, 2006:6).

When examining the history of Zambian music the use of broadcasting systems was the most frequently utilised instrument in spreading the political views of the ruling government as the media had a strong influence “in the political, social, economic and cultural” lives of the Zambian people (Kangwa, 1994:7). Radio stations traditionally have been considered to be the most important gatekeepers in the broadcasting of recordings (Burnett, 1996:81). During British rule, radios were distributed with the purpose of broadcasting British radio programmes to spread the interests of the colonialists during and after WW2 (Fraenkel, 1959:18, in Kangwa, 1994:56; Heinze, 2014:626). Although local music was regularly recorded and broadcast during radio programmes, not all local music was played (Heinze, 2014:625-628). This selective conduct of what music was considered appropriate for society is still being experienced in the contemporary Zambian music industry as was discussed above with interviewees such as St. Michael (Author’s interview, 2013) and Exile (Author’s interview, 2013).

With the increased use of the internet, governmental censorship loses control over what type of music is distributed and made available for purchase as musicians can upload music personally. However, governmental broadcasting controls are still strong over what gets aired on television in Zambia.

6.2.3. Television shows

Zambian Broadcasting Services (ZBS) ran both radio and television music shows. A popular show in the early 1970s through to the ‘90s was *Today’s Folk* in Lusaka. In Kitwe *Be My Guest* was a programme that aired folk music. Also during the ‘90s televised dance shows such as *Show of the Week*, *Band Stand*, *Time for Music*, *Zilile Ngoma* and *Music Box* grew in popularity, mainly in the main urban and mining areas of Lusaka, Ndola and Solwezi (Koloko, 2012:208). However, the development of television in Zambia has not received as much attention as radio did. Most programmes were mainly for broadcasting news and airing cultural shows (Kasoma, in Eribo & Jogn-Ebot, 1997:149). As more social shows began to be aired, music shows such as

Born and Bred, *Sounds Arcade*, *Muvi Television*⁴ and *Smooth Talk* (Koloko, 2012:347, 362) provided a visual platform for musicians to present their music.

There were not many television music shows that were aired and spoken about. The two most prominent were *Smooth Talk* and *Born and Bred*. *Smooth Talk* is a music show that interviews musicians and has them on to perform new singles. *Born and Bred* was started and produced by the host of *Smooth Talk*, Innocent Kalaluka, and is a show that critiques Zambian music videos. Kalaluka noted that within two years the quality of the videos changed as viewers could call in and vote whether or not videos were a “Hit or Miss”. These programmes however, require sponsorship to keep operating, particularly with *Born and Bred* which has very little funding from ZNBC and relies solely on the sponsorship of other companies and fundraising ventures. Getting sponsorship is a constant challenge. As Kalaluka (Author’s interview, 2013) noted:

“Sponsorship is definitely one of the challenges that I face, as without it the shows would not be aired. However, a positive that has been experienced is that the *Born and Bred* show has developed so much that there is a *Born and Bred* Video Award category now in annual Music Award ceremonies.”

Music videos and the ranking of these videos is only one of the ways in which recognition can be gained. The ranking of the actual music by CD sales is another method used to indicate how well a musician is doing.

6.2.4. Music charts

Music charts can be defined as “a list that puts in rank order the best-selling records of a specific week” (Wall, 2013:xii). In a developed country such as the United Kingdom, when music is being purchased in a music store, information about that particular CD, i.e. the musician, when it was pressed and where it is has been sold, is collected by the barcode reader at the register when the CDs barcode is scanned. This information is then collected by record companies and enables the companies to see what sort of music is being bought more regularly (Burnett, 1996:113). A similar process is carried out in the *Sounds Arcade* stores as purchased CD barcodes are scanned, providing information about the CD, where it is sold and how many of that CD are sold

⁴ Muvi stands for **M**usic and **V**ideo.

(Author's interview with Mr. Chisanga, 2014). Albums would be rated based on the number of albums sold compared to other competing albums. A similar system was used to rate singles, but obtained from airplay statistics. By knowing what strata of audience bought and listened to particular types of music, a record company can focus their promotions and advertising to the correct people at the right time, utilising musical trends to develop or cater to musical tastes (ibid.:113).

Music charts from *Sounds Arcade* are generated by sales figures (Appendix 1) within a particular period such as on a weekly basis. The statistics are collected by the number of CDs sold by a particular musician, the figures being captured when the bar codes are scanned by the electronic cash registers around the country. As the manager of Sound Arcades, Mr. Chisanga (Author's interview, 2013) explained that:

“The charts have nothing to do with the [television] programme. If we stopped airing *Sounds Arcade* we would still be able to [generate music charts] ... if you want a *Sounds Top 20* we will print it for you. It's computer generated all the time; as the sales are coming through it ranks you according to how you are doing throughout our network.”

The television *Sounds Arcade* video show which airs on Monday evenings has a variety of music videos from several African countries, not limited to just Zambian music. The television show is not affected by the number of CD sales generated in stores, but rather by the most commonly viewed and recently released videos online. This demonstrates to Zambian musicians about the quantity of viewers they should aim to reach with their videos.

There were divided views over the importance and usefulness of music charts among those interviewed. Some considered radio and television music and video charts important, as musicians can see where they rank against other musicians and gain recognition both within Zambia, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, the rest of Africa and further abroad (Zone Fam). Reggie from *Zone Fam* (Author's interview, 2013) felt that charts did have a purpose:

“It's sort of like, for lack of a better term, for recognition, because a lot of people hear the music and they like it. Being on a chart is also an honour to be placed amongst the best

and you get to battle it out. So the higher you go on the charts, the more popular you're becoming. It's always a good way to measure just how well you are doing."

However the majority of musicians viewed music charts more negatively. Scarlet and a few others considered them to be unimportant to them personally as they did not truly reflect the listeners of their music. Her opinion was that:

"The only value I think for me that they [charts] have is they tell you what people like. So you kind of get to understand popularity trends if you follow charts, because there is a particular sound that I've noticed that when a new song comes out, if it's this kind it's going to go up to number 1 in weeks. So that's maybe the only thing ..." (Author's interview, 2014).

Exile's opinion was that, "Charts are being rigged; [in the sense that] people can easily set up accounts on Facebook or Twitter and just vote for themselves however many times they want." Radio music charts are often based on what songs DJs personally enjoy and want to play on their shows, already limiting the selection choice that callers can vote on.

Alif Kalipinde (Author's interview, 2014) explained:

"Take for instance my example; you know I felt that there was a genre of music that was not getting enough air play. A couple of people that I know loved that music and we had the music. So we felt that an opportunity had come for us to bring it out there. And lo and behold, people loved it too, and they were like 'what is that called again? Ah it's Pop-Rock, okay.'"

This is not always the best method to use as certain songs are played more often than others based on DJs' personal preferences, limiting the musical exposure to listeners. This can be part of habitus as this shapes societal musical preferences. However, another view of playing popular music is that a regular listenership is generated for radio stations and their programmes, increasing the station's identity (Koloko, 2012:366). Sometimes the management of radio stations stipulate the type of music or messages that DJs had to play, often for the benefit of promoters and sponsors.

According to Chilumba Lemba (Author's interview):

“...you know like in Zambia sometimes you find that Management have a financial agenda once in a while which would stunt your show. And I remember once being on air and getting a CD of Afrikaaner music, you know that like Folk one, almost like nursery rhyme type of music with a note from Management saying ‘Please play this and say for all our South African clients listening right now’ because they wanted to get the business from the South African guys who were now based in Zambia. And so all of a sudden my audience, playing that, they were like ‘what’s going on with this dude?’ you know. And you know, it’s a management mandate, so you do that and it kind of makes you look silly. And then you think that’s the end of that and then the South African dudes come right into the station and say ‘brilliant! Please could you play ...’ And you are stuck now and your show becomes that. But I didn’t face a lot of that although I do know a friend – they own a different radio station – and he was saying that there was a guy who owned a company, a German guy, went up to him and said ‘I’ll only advertise on your station if you play German music.’”

The criteria used to determine the music charts is very unclear to the majority of the interviewees for this project spoken to and so many felt that the charts could not be relied on.

Zambian music charts are not the only ones that air Zambian music. The group Zone Fam have had several singles reach the Top 3 in several African music charts such as *Afro-Base*, *Channel O*, *MTV Base* and *Trace*. At the moment not too many Zambian musicians have been successful in getting placed on charts outside Zambia. Reggie (Author’s interview with Zone Fam, 2013) also stated that they have been on “Afro-Base which is like a billboard for Africa, we were number one there for like, a very long time. One of our singles has been on the African charts. Locally, we’ve also been on the top charts here as well. In Nigeria, we were in the Top 3 on their charts.”

In developing music industries such as in Zambia, being on the charts and getting music videos aired does not necessarily result in an immediate increase in CD and MP3 sales. According to Duncan Sodala (Author’s interview, 2015):

“The way music works in Zambia and Africa in general is twisted. So when Zone Fam got singles on charts ‘sales’ did increase. But let’s define sales. The value of the artist

went up, asking price for show, appearances etc., but not necessarily equivalent to album sales and MP3 sales. Selling music in this age has become tougher because of downloads and piracy. At some point we did manage to clinch an endorsement with a mobile network to use our song ‘Contolola’ as a tariff and in ads ... So it’s all about smoke and mirrors to maximize value from the work you have put in through branding and raw talent. South Africa has a slightly better system of monitoring music sales. In Zambia these systems are work in progress.”

Being placed on a chart and having music videos aired strengthens an artist’s brand and provides justification for what they charge as performance rates.

Receiving such recognition within the country, let alone around the region, is not experienced by the majority of musicians, particularly with physical performances. However, musicians can still get exposure in other countries by creating music videos.

6.2.5. Music videos

More and more Zambian musicians, both amateurs and experienced (but mainly the younger generation), are starting to use music videos as one of their primary means of distributing their music to the public. Historically Zambian-made music videos have not really been known for their high quality (Author’s interview with Innocent Kalaluka, 2014). Previously, when musicians wanted to make music videos, they had to go to Nigeria, Malawi or South Africa. Music videos provide both audio and visual elements of the music to consumers who otherwise may never see the musician in person. Music videos require the involvement of several people as it is a multi-formatted medium, “... getting wardrobe, getting people to do makeup, actually paying the videographers and all that” (Author’s interview with Duncan Sodala, 2013). *Channel O*, *MTV*, *BET*, *Trace*, *Afro-Base* are music channels that have been utilized by a very small number of Zambian musicians to have their music videos played. One studio, Secret Records, was noted to be working on producing and distributing good quality videos for the artists signed to the record. Music videos are often released soon after a presumably strong single or an album has been produced.

6.2.6. Albums

Complete music albums in Zambia are not a regular occurrence as the majority of musicians focus mainly on producing singles in the hope that by selling their intellectual property they will be able to make a lot of money. Out of those interviewed only the established musicians such as JK, St. Michael, Sister D., Exile and Brian Shakarongo, Scarlet and the Sakala Brothers released more than one album. The remaining interviewees had either one album out or have a number of singles out.

At the time of being interviewed very few of the younger musicians had a complete album out. The majority were focused on getting single songs out and posting them online via several internet avenues such as Youtube, Vevo, links on Facebook pages and music based web pages. Many of these musicians often opened up performances for the more well-known musicians as a way of getting their names out there. Jay-Rox (Author's interview with Zone Fam, 2013) spoke of how there were very few albums produced by a handful of Zambian musicians in 2012, and the reason for such a small number is due to the high levels of piracy. Duncan Sodala (Author's interview, 2013) also spoke about how some musicians would have their albums released in the informal market. When he was still a musician, his first three albums were not released onto the official market. According to Sodala (Author's interview, 2013):

“Before Zone Fam started I actually released three albums; they were like underground albums. I did everything myself, buying CDs, burning them, printing them, and trying to sell them yourself. ... Online of course once in a while we do put up some singles for free downloads. Of course you find that people will download the music and by the time you want to take it to the station they already have it.”

For Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014):

“I have my music online and due to my whole twitter presence – I know it's due to my Twitter presence more than anything else – I have gotten sales on like iTunes and Amazon.com and Spotify. But there needs to be a shift in promoting yourself outside if you're gonna use online, because in Zambia itself, the culture is not to buy music online. They would rather stream it, or if they can find someone who has it then that way.”

Albums need financial investment to be produced professionally for correct prices to be charged. Currently expertly done CDs can be bought in *Sounds Arcade* costing between K50-70 or \$8-11 on average, but there is still a difficult battle with the sale of cheap counterfeits of the music. CDs and DVDs on the street can be bought for as low as K1-2 (\$0.2-0.3), drastically disadvantaging the musicians and those who ought to benefit from the production and sale of music. To have more control over the distribution of music musicians can distribute their CDs at their live performances.

6.2.7. Live performances

In Zambia musicians whose sole source of income is their music career cannot survive on music album sales alone. Performing live is the most regular method in which musicians can earn an income. They have to secure smaller weekly gigs as well as spread out larger performances such as national music festivals spread throughout the year. Performing regularly enables the public consumer to physically see the musician, interact with him/her and/or or “put a face ... to the music” (Author’s interview with Chawa Chiteta, 2013). The confidence of the musicians is also built with more performances as the musicians need to learn how to engage and interact with their audience.

Live performances are also an opportunity for musicians to earn revenue from ticket sales (Gayer & Shy, in Curien & Moreau, 2006:103) as these sales contribute to covering venue hire and other costs incurred for posters and instrument hire, and also assist in paying the band. Performances also enable CDs and memorabilia to be sold directly to the audience. Another benefit of such live exposure is that the profiles of the musicians’ is increased as audiences get to see the musician perform their music. The majority of the musicians interviewed performed at major hot spot bars and clubs such as *Hollywood City Club*, *East Point* and the *Greek Club*. Scarlet had a regular performing contract with the *Misty Jazz Club*. A few who have been able to perform for some time get the opportunity to perform at nationally organised festivals such as the Zambia Music Awards and Ngoma Awards. However, many of the younger artists had not heard about or participated in nationally-organised music ceremonies, a platform that they could greatly benefit from.

The musicians interviewed were divided in their perceptions of whether or not performance was profitable, possibly when compared to what could be earned from music sales or more regular performances at larger events. Performing live outside the country is also something that the majority of the musicians interviewed have done. Most have travelled only to Zambia's neighbouring countries and remained within the SADC region. Performing around the region has resulted in Zambian musicians slowing mingling with musicians from the neighbouring country's musicians, creating overlapping connections. Only a few musicians interviewed - JK, Brian Shakarongo, Sister D., St. Michael, and the Sakala Brothers - have been able to travel overseas to countries such as England, Japan, Lithuania, Scotland, Sweden, France, Germany, and Norway.

However, continuously performing does not guarantee a stable financial income, even though it may be the most consistent method of payment for musicians. Distributing music online is a method becoming more popular with more and more musicians.

6.3. Online methods

The use of internet avenues as a means of marketing an individual's music has rapidly increased with improved internet access in Zambian cities such as Lusaka. More Zambians than before have access to computers and phones with internet capabilities, expanding the connective potential and listening consumer base. More internet access and advancements in technology allow consumers to buy and/or download single tracks or complete albums from the internet, increasing accessibility rather than going to a music store to purchase physical CDs and DVDs.

6.3.1. Online magazines

Radio and television interviews are not the only way music can be accessed by the public. Another avenue that is slowly being utilised is entertainment and music magazines which have also started being published on the internet. Online or e-magazines such as *SociaLumiere* and *Wapya Munza* have featured profiles on various Zambian producers and musicians and new major releases, resulting in more publicity for those interviewed.

6.3.2. Online music for purchase or free downloads

Some musicians upload songs and/or albums onto public domains so that the public can directly stream or download their music free. This is also a good way to keep their fans interested, as well as increasing the musicians' exposure to consumers in other countries, creating new potential markets. Free downloads and streaming from sound clouds enable non-fans to get hold of the musicians' music free of charge and get them to listen to their music. This would hopefully turn into purchases of full albums. Reggie (Author's interview with Zone Fam, 2013) spoke of how they as a group attempt to utilise all possible mediums to distribute their music to cater for a wide range of consumers:

“We use every medium available to us, CDs and online. The thing with Zone Fam is we have a lot of fans who aren't based in Zambia. So the fans in different countries who can't access CDs, they can still get our music online. So we don't just restrict ourselves to CDs or just online, we do both so everyone is catered for. Some fans can't get CDs or access our music online, so even cassettes are another option.”

However, free downloads can contribute further to the illegal distribution of music as one person can download it, then friends and family can copy it from that person. Those who copy it can also play it at parties, in their homes and even allow other people to copy the song from them. At no point in all these transactions has the owner of the song been paid, meaning that a lot of potential income has been lost.

6.3.3. Profile pages

It is not only musicians who can utilize social media and online profiles. Shom C. (Author's interview, 2013), a producer, stated that “I have a Facebook page and I'm gaining a fan base. This studio has a page as well. So we're relying on the internet for most of our advertising.”

Online profiles enable musicians and recording studios from within and from outside Zambia to find out a bit about musicians and studios, their type of music and what they have previously done. Profile pages are also where contact information can be posted and enables prospective studios, managers and other musicians to contact the musician. Studios, as already mentioned, can also have online profile pages that provide musicians wanting to sign up with information

about that studio and who else they have signed up. Visitors to the site can also ascertain how well known it is.

6.3.4. Online purchases

As indicated, more musicians are posting their music online. Online purchasing is also growing globally, and music can also be ordered, paid for and delivered via online music stores such as iTunes and Amazon. Online purchases allow consumers from anywhere in the world to gain access to the music, not just the immediate consumer market in the musician's home country. However, it was mentioned that there is a lack of institutional support in reference to the banking system in Zambia. For St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013), "... it's the complication I think with our banking system because yes there is online banking but it's such a hassle to a point where it's still not making economic sense."

In terms of fields introduced in Section 2.2.1, the internet has the potential to provide musicians with the opportunity to move from the margins to the centre of their marginalised field. Once there the musicians are at an advantage and are in a stronger position to completely shift fields leading towards those in the centre of the music industry. This is possible as the internet is not limited to the field it is used in but rather crosses the boundaries that restrict the movement of musicians within their field and to other fields. Record labels and musicians in the central fields of the industry, e.g. those in the United Kingdom, are given access to the music produced by those in the marginalised fields, e.g. those in Zambia. With this recognition, marginalised musicians may be provided with the support to move from the margins to more central fields. Consumers in the central markets are also exposed to the music from the margins via the internet. With the advancements of digital technology these consumers can also purchase marginalised music online, increasing sales and profit for the marginalised musicians.

Mr. Chisanga (Author's interview, 2014) also commented on the institutions surrounding online banking:

"We don't have an online store yet because the banking environment is not correct again. If I'm going to have an online store I have to register with an international [music distribution] organization. But it makes us lose control on our finances, for example, we cannot check immediately if something is wrong, and things are bound to go wrong

anywhere. And then because of that, when you evaluate the level of business that can be generated by online sales internationally, they are minor.”

As the above interviewees have noted, musicians have struggled to sell their music over the internet because online selling is still a relatively new concept in Zambia. So dealing with different currencies and payments from banks from outside Zambia coming into the country still involves many issues that need to be sorted out. Mr. Chisanga, the *Sounds Arcade* manager, also pointed out that to have an international online store, the individual or company would need to register with international bodies such as *Pepper*, and when this is done there would be a loss of control of managing finances and being able to see immediately where a problem has occurred. The *Sounds Arcade* management, however, is attempting to create a local online ordering and payment process. As Mr. Chisanga commented (Author’s interview, 2014):

“The kind of online thing we have been trying to establish is local. For example, if a guy is in Solwezi and we are not there and they want to buy something, they should be able to go and check online and order.”

This lack of structure is one of the possible reasons for marginalised music remaining in marginalised fields.

It was also pointed out that even when partnering with certain external companies, when musicians want to make a deal with online stores for selling music online, not all deals are beneficial for the musicians. As Immaculate noted (Author’s interview, 2013):

“I would think it’s a way forward depending on the kind of deal you have. For example, there is one deal that came down here; I think some companies were offering deals to artists. It sounded very nice, but when you think about it they were taking about seventy-five per cent of everything for five years. So even if you got signed by someone else, they would still be taking seventy-five per cent. I think a lot of people don’t really think about it when they are signing these contracts. So it depends on how you do it. It would be beneficial if it’s a good deal. But if it’s a slave-type deal then you’re losing out.”

There are several other challenges experienced when attempting to distribute music in Zambia. Two major challenges noted have to do with distribution via registered music stores and musicians battling with piracy of their music.

6.3.5. Challenges of distributing music

With regards to *Sounds Arcade* all the stores countrywide are located in the major shopping malls (Author's interview with Mr. Chisanga, 2014). Although this provides access to large numbers of people on a daily basis, the rental charges of the stores are relatively high. Mr. Chisanga noted the negative effect of the higher rent prices:

“You see like for us, we are in major shopping malls, so the rentals are very high. This has pushed up the price of our products, and because of that, obviously it cuts out some people who otherwise come to us and buy the product.”

Piracy also has a negative effect on the legal distribution of music and the opening up of more registered music distribution stores. Piracy not only cuts off the potential profits of musicians and those connected to them, but also deters the average Zambian from opening up their own music stores. According to Mr. Chisanga (Author's interview, 2014) the process of opening a recognised music store is as follows: “If you want to set up a music stall somewhere we would sell you the international CDs and you set up your own stall and retail.” International CDs are then provided to be sold in the new store but to be sold at a particular price. However, if there are others selling pirated music for a fraction of the price of a CD being sold in the music shop, most Zambians would rather go for the cheaper knock-off. This kills the business for the music store, and, as has been witnessed, the music stores all close down.

6.4. Conclusion

As has been noted above, there are various distribution methods available to musicians such as the radio, television, music stores, and online. The use of each of these avenues varies from musician to musician. Also interviews and features on radio, television, entertainment magazines and on online profile pages generate exposure of the musicians and their music even before a consumer has heard the musician's music. Information such as which other musicians an individual has collaborated with, what concerts, competitions and functions individuals have

performed at, and future planned performance dates can all be printed and posted on these media. Consumers may read this information and become interested in hearing the musicians' music.

However there are a variety of difficulties linked to the distribution of music in a developing country such as Zambia. Even if the production process is carried out correctly, the distribution of the music is out of the musicians' hands. Many of these distribution problems are linked to the lack of infrastructure and policies in place that enable and enforce the legal distribution of music and the protection of such music. Without clear policies and procedures potential income will continue being lost by the musicians and even possible tax returns for the government.

With the continuing lack of central recording and distributing companies, both new and established artists often operate from homemade and home-based production studios. Several, whenever they have the opportunity, go to South Africa, Tanzania, Malawi or Congo to record their music.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE CREATIVE PROCESS OF MUSIC PRODUCTION

7.1. Introduction

As part of habitus, social conditioning plays a part in how seriously music is to be taken, how much training is required and what is required to succeed in the music industry. This societal influence links back to Bourdieu's concept of habitus (Section 2.2.2). There is very little understanding of the importance of finding good studios, good managers, and contracts. Other aspects that are not fully understood are the best ways for an individual to get his/her name and music known to the public. This is particularly so for new musicians trying to enter the music industry. Without this knowledge several years can be spent gaining experience through trial and error, and this can be quite costly for the majority who already start with very little economic and cultural capital (Section 1.5.).

7.2. Early development of musical interest

For this research, musicians considered to be beginners in the business are those who have been active in the industry for five or fewer years. Those who have been in the industry for five or more years are considered to be more experienced. These benchmarks were chosen because when most musicians start out in the industry they do so on a part-time basis. Being able to differentiate between amateur and professional musicians has been noted as being difficult to do as it is often confusing (Frith, Straw & Street, 2001:26). Some are still completing tertiary education or they have another job that they do to earn money to fund their music. As a result the transition to becoming a full-time musician or a stakeholder such as a manager or a producer in the industry takes several years. A factor that could potentially assist in reducing what is learned through trial-and-error is knowledge gained through early music development.

7.2.1. Official musical training

Formal musical lessons, either one-on-one or as a group, are very uncommon outside of private schools and very few of those interviewed had actually experienced formal music lessons. There was only one tertiary institution identified that provided access to music lessons outside the private schools. Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka is the only tertiary institution that offers music subjects and courses and diplomas for these courses. Due to being one of the older and more

established universities in Lusaka, Evelyn Hone is equipped with instruments that can be used by students as many are not able to purchase their own private instruments. This also means that the music lecturers can give private lessons to external students from within the city. Chawa Chiteta, a part-time musician currently in Australia, used to have formal classical piano lessons during secondary school twice a week at Evelyn Hone College. However, due to academic work and other extra-curricular activities, he stopped formal music lessons. As stated by Chiteta (Author's interview, 2013):

“... the first time [learning the piano], I'd say eighteen months it was formal training. So I used to train with a teacher out at Evelyn Hone College in Lusaka, and I used to do that twice a week. And then, after that, you know, got busy with school, French classes, and all the other extra-curricular activities, so I had to drop the piano. But, I still play, so I guess for the rest of the years I was self-taught. So I had the fundamentals, then just taught everything, picked up the skills myself.”

Another artist, Reggie (Author's interview, 2013), a Zone Fam group member, also attempted formal music lessons:

“I tried to learn the piano but it was harder than it looked. I guess it just wasn't for me. I love music but I don't think I can play an instrument. Maybe later on I'll find interest in learning how to play an instrument.”

This was a common feeling amongst several interviewed musicians, particularly among the beginners in the industry. Digital software provides the majority of the instrumentation needed for many musicians with very few actually utilising live instrumentalists or session players. Session players are also most likely under-used due to musicians being unable to pay them for their services. Shom C. (Author's interview, 2013) spoke of how he uses specific session instrumentalists depending on the particular song he is working on. He, as the producer, makes the decision as to which pieces will be recorded and which instruments will be used. Shom C. added that:

“Yes I do have session players; I have professional guitarists, drummers, saxophone players. Also as a music producer I play the keyboard as well. But I call musicians who are just specialised in playing specific instruments. That is the direction I've taken. I

started producing music from a box to the outside, now I want music from outside, into the box and then out again. So I do hire session players. I may think for a certain song I need this kind of guitar that I can't play, so I call in someone I know who plays that instrument" (Author's interview, 2013).

As mentioned above, access to instruments, music teachers and facilities available for the teaching of music are very limited, particularly to the average Zambian. In an attempt to provide a solution to this problem, the Sakala Brothers, a very well-known duo, started up the *Sakala Brothers Arts Centre* which is currently housed in the Lusaka Playhouse. This is currently the only music school available to the public, and not just for private school students but for less-advantaged people too. According to Moses Sakala (Author's interview, 2014):

"What we do simply is to create a platform, like a resource centre where musicians can come, especially young people to come and learn piano and guitar, Zambian drums, Zambian songs, rhythms, dance, voice and so on."

All the current students enrolled at the Centre are under-privileged and cannot afford to pay for lessons as originally intended, and the teachers working there are all volunteers. The Brothers rely on sponsorship to provide for the students and give something to the teachers. This school is still in its early stages and cannot currently cater for a large number of students. Those who are interested in learning instruments, if fortunate enough, are able to gain access to an instrument and teach themselves by imitating others.

7.2.2. Self-taught

The musicians interviewed all spoke of how their parents often played cassettes and vinyl in the house or sung or played an instrument, the most common being the guitar. Jay-Rox, another Zone Fam member, mentioned how he grew up with music always playing in his home:

"I grew up in a home where we used to listen to enough reggae and hip hop. My cousin is the one who influenced me to write music. He actually used to rap. We would listen to hip hop songs together and he would write" (Author's interview, 2013).

Later on - usually in secondary school - several musicians became more actively involved with music by writing their own songs and raps. None of them were ever taught to do this and they

just wrote in the manner they thought was appropriate. This was quite evident particularly with the Zone Fam members:

Dope-G (Author's interview, 2013) stated that:

“I went to a boarding school in high school, and in the short time I was there I met certain guys who were from a different city altogether, that was Ndola, and they used to write music. So I used to look at their lyrics and figured, ‘you know what, maybe I can do this.’ So one time I gave it a shot and one time I wrote like I think 4 to 8 lines and for the next two years that’s what I used to give to people I would always pretend to choke, but that’s all I had. So like ‘aha I forgot the rest of the lyrics’”

For Thugga (Author's interview, 2013):

“My older brother had so many phases. He loved hip hop, and then at some point and then at some point he started listening to reggae only you know what I mean. So through him I was getting introduced to all these genres and then I started really writing lyrics. I’d listen to a song that I really liked and then I’d start replaying it over and over again and rewriting the lyrics to the song. The more I did that the easier it became to understand lyrics and see how they were written. Slowly but slowly I started writing my own you know, I would write this, I would write that. And then I recorded my first song when I was ... 13 I think.”

Although many musicians develop as individuals such as illustrated by the Zone Fam members, musicians often start their careers by forming groups with friends and family members.

7.3. Groups versus solo musicians

The majority of musicians interviewed had started out in the music industry as a group, commonly made up of two to five members. Often the members of these groups were school friends or neighbours who shared a love for rapping or singing and they had either competed against each other in competitions such as school variety shows or local competitions organised by local studios. Exile (Author's interview, 2013) remembered being part of a rap competition that was hosted by a popular studio at that time called *Sugar Shack Sound*. The Zone Fam members came together through similar competitions. Jay-Rox met Dope-G and Thugga in high

school and they would battle against each other. According to Thugga (Author's interview, 2013), "...while I was there [high school] ... well, Dope-G and Jay-Rox were at the same school, they were my seniors. So I would go there and see all these battles...." They met Young Verbal, the fourth group member, at the studio where they all recorded.

One of the first challenges experienced by these young groups was that they did not have enough personal capital to develop the group and so usually relied on funding from friends and family. For St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013):

"It was quite difficult to really start off because I remember, even just to get my first demo recording, I had to beg my sister who was the only person working then to lend me thirty kwacha in those days."

Sometimes musicians would be fortunate enough to be supported by the studio they were connected to, but this was not common as the studios themselves would usually be working with already limited resources.

After a number of years very few groups could be found in their original formats as members either left, new members joined the group, or groups completely dismantled for various reasons. Sometimes new groups would be formed with members found at new the new studios that the dismantled members moved to. The most popular motivation to leave a group was because a group member wanted to become a solo artist (Author's interview with Chilumba, 2014).

From the musicians interviewed the majority started off as soloists searching for studios to record their mixed tapes. As they gained access to studios they often met other members at the studios and then created groups. This was how the Zone Fam members found the *Whiz House Studio* and formed Zone Fam. According to Jay-Rox (Author's interview, 2013):

"I used to record at another studio. So I did some mixed tapes from there and Dope featured on my mixed tape at that time, and he asked me to feature on his as well. I liked the production at Duncan's studio and I talked to Duncan to join and stuff, and also to Duncan's producer at the time, and that's how I started recording at the studio."

Soloists struggle to survive on their own in Zambia without proper management and constant work. Many collaborate on a regular basis with other groups or solo artists to increase their

exposure, the number of shows they got to do resulting in more income, and increasing their connections. To make ends meet musicians often have other sources of income as they cannot rely solely on what they make from their music.

7.3.1. Sources of income

Media industries have been noted to be high-risk business areas as well as having high failure rates (Hesmondhalgh, 2010:4; Caves, 2003). This is due to a few factors within the music industry. One of these factors is how much effort the musicians put into developing their careers and building their fan-base. Without fans to purchase music no money can be earned by the musician in the form of royalties or for performances. Secondly, there are very few to no social policies in place in most developing countries that provide protection of the musicians' work, particularly as many of them work as freelancers. This means that income is obtained on an irregular basis - and usually a very small income - which causes the musicians to live a "hand to mouth" type of life with very little left saved for future endeavours for social security (Lamba, 2007:5, 65). This means that creating a living from media production is still quite unusual for the majority of those who work in the industry (Hesmondhalgh, 2010:4).

Ambert identified another issue, that of livelihood, that is experienced by musicians in Africa, particularly those starting out in the music industry, and states that not many musicians "... are actually able to make a living solely based upon their musician trade" (Ambert, 2003: ii).

Immaculate, a rapper starting out in the industry, was one of the few who mentioned that he currently had to generate income from another job: "I do have like a business thing going on, to do with selling clothes" (Author's interview, 2013). This was because his current earnings from his music were not currently what he wanted them to be. However, he was very clear that he was only selling clothes until he could do his music full-time as his career.

A curious point was made by interviewees such as Duncan Sodala (Author's interview, 2013) and Chilu Lemba (Author's interview, 2014) when they noted how some musicians, not mentioned by name but by indication – would try to rely on one single hit song that they felt could rocket them to stardom and a high payday. As a result they do not plan strategically with focussed long term plans. They would wear a song out before returning to the studio and

frantically try to record another one, often one that is quite similar to the previous one as was discussed in Section 3.3.1.

Interestingly, it is not only those starting out in the music industry who have another source of income. Several musicians have other jobs that provide more financial security (Lamba, 2007:66). Chilumbe (Author's interview, 2014) spoke of how several well-known artists he knows also have alternate forms of generating an income. According to Chilumbe, "JK also has some other things going besides music, because the avenues for making money directly are like what, 7 CDs? And CDs aren't a solid source of income because of many factors" (Author's interview, 2014).

As has been noted earlier in Section 6.2.7, live performances generate the most consistent source of income for musicians. Being able to perform overseas brings in even more profit. A few musicians such as JK, Brian Shakarongo, Sister D. and St. Michael have also been fortunate enough to tour and perform on other continents. Being able to tour, particularly overseas, can bring in high earnings for a musician; however, it is often unclear how much of those earnings are actually returned to the musician's home country (Gebesmair & Smudits, 2001:15).

The difficulty for most musicians is that many of their audiences prefer to download their songs rather than to purchase the CDs. In line with this, from his personal experience Lemba (Author's interview, 2014) noted that "the question I get most frequently asked is people just wanting to find out if they can just download for free the one that they actually like or whatever."

For a small number of interviewed artists, music was not their main focus or main source of income. They love music and enjoy making music, but realise they could not survive just by doing music. Some artists write songs for other artists (Author's interview with Exile, 2013), do promotional and marketing for them (Author's interview with Duncan Sodala, 2013), and even assist in studio work for them (Author's interview with Massi, 2013). Others such as Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014) start businesses not directly connected to their music or community projects such as helping head up a children's football team and initiatives such as *Kaula Child Centre* and *Bare Feet Centre* that work with disadvantaged children.

7.3.2. Merchandise

Musicians such as Zone Fam, Scarlet, Chawa Chiteta, JK, and Brian Shakarongo had some branded merchandise and Zone Fam (Author's interview, 2013), Chawa Chiteta (Author's interview, 2013), and Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014) were actively using merchandise or planning on using it as a promotional tool. For others, having merchandise with their name or brand on it was not a priority at the moment as merchandise required extra capital, capital that many did not have. Only a few had a grounded career that provides them with an income that allows them to be able to have some merchandise made to be sold. The fact that a musician is well-known also assists in increasing merchandise sales, i.e. established musicians are more likely to sell their merchandise than new musicians beginning in the industry. An example of a group that had recently created merchandise was the Zone Fam group who had some t-shirts with 'Zone Fam' branded on them. They were all bought very quickly by fans. Zone Fam were also currently working on getting endorsements and publication deals, not limiting themselves to just earning revenue from CD and performance ticket sales (Author's interview with Zone Fam, 2013). Scarlet hopes to expand on this idea of branding and not just have the usual branded t-shirts and clothes but also hand-craft items such as beadwork and hats. She wants to not just have merchandise but also to turn it into a business (Author's interview, 2014).

7.3.4. Collaborations

Collaborating musicians would often feature on each other's albums, almost as a way of paying each other back for being on their albums. Duncan Sodala (Author's interview, 2013) spoke of how the Zone Fam group has done collaborations with several well-known artists, "We've worked with a few musicians within the region. Like on Zone Fam's first album we were lucky to get Zukes, who's one of the biggest hip hop musicians in Botswana."

Exile (Author's interview, 2013) stated that, "... there's more need to collaborate rather than just do things on your own" particularly as the Zambian music industry is developing. Another 'worth-while' exchange that is accepted for collaborating with someone is to write a song or two or produce the next song for the other artist. Exile also spoke of how he wrote and/or produced for other artists, "I've written songs for ... let's see ... JK, Black Muntu, Shatel, Joe Chibango ... there are too many" (Author's interview, 2013).

Collaborations do not just happen between Zambian musicians within Zambia. Several have collaborated with other musicians of different nationalities from and in a variety of countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Malawi, Kenya, Nigeria, Congo, Botswana, and Ghana. Collaborations with international musicians have been recommended as one of the ways for the Zambian music industry to be 'put on the map'. One example is Chawa Chiteta, who has and is currently collaborating with a few musicians from several countries such as Zambia, Malawi and Nigeria. Although in different countries, they communicate via internet facilities to discuss the project, swap lyrics and backing tracks and recordings as they work. Chiteta (Author's interview, 2013) stated that, "At the moment I have a few projects on with like artists in different countries, we are working together just via the internet."

Another artist, JK, was part of a collaborating group called Airtel ONE8, made up of eight of the biggest African names in 2010 with R. Kelly (Debrah, 2011). They produced a single called *Hands Across the World* written and produced by R Kelly. All the African artists flew to the United States of America to record in a SonyROCKSTAR4000 Music Entertainment studio in Chicago. Sony Music also partnered on the project (Debrah, 2011; ROCKSTAR4000, 2012). The music video was also produced in the studio in Chicago. Airtel initiated this project, selected the artists and brought them all together (Debrah, 2011). The single was a Top 10 song in over sixteen countries with 227, 934 Youtube hits on the Airtel live portal. The group also achieved commendation from *Billboard International*, an influential publication (Debrah, 2011; ROCKSTAR4000, 2012). This collaboration is just one example of how far a collaborative single can travel, furthering the exposure of every artist involved into markets they may never have gained access to. For JK (Author's interview, 2013) collaborations are important in the development of a musician's career as well as for the Zambian music industry at large. For him "more videos and ... lots of collaborations with lots of international artists and things like that" are how Zambian music can grow (Author's interview with JK, 2014). Then we will be on the map. Such collaborations, merchandising and profit-making are also a result of good management by supportive managers who work to develop their musicians. These collaborations, merchandising and profit-making are also a result of good management by supportive managers who work to build up their musicians.

7.4. Management of musicians

The role of managers has been described as being a representative for the musicians, providing guidance and advice and structuring their image and music (Negus, 1992:41). They are there to motivate and assist in getting their musicians to continuously better themselves and excel. The managers interviewed during this research came from a variety of backgrounds and none of them had undergone any entertainment manager training or education. In their early days Chiluba's group manager was a journalist. Zone Fam's manager, Duncan Sodala, had worked in the business world for a few years. Scarlet's manager – who is also actually her mother - is a government civil servant. They have all had to learn about their roles in an 'on-the-job' manner.

7.4.1. The role of managers

Due to the informal manner in which the music industries in most African countries operate, very few professional managers can be found. Managers are very instrumental in the development and exposure of a musician. Managers are important in organising performance tours because regular and well-organised tours are needed for the majority of African musicians to earn money (Seligman, DERGIT, 2001: 6). Managers develop the contacts that result in collaborations with a variety of musicians as mentioned above, as well as which shows to do. Such contacts are with radio and television personalities. Managers are also involved with assisting musicians to sign contracts with record labels that are beneficial for the musician (Negus, 1992:42).

Managers can also be a support system ensuring the development of well-rounded musician, both in terms of their music and with non-related music activities. For example, Duncan Sodala spoke of how he has encouraged the members of Zone Fam to complete their tertiary degrees and develop their business understanding:

“Yes I would recommend that and I think it's something we are lacking as Zambian artists in particular because you will find that a lot of artists outside the country have some sort of training that has added value to their music. So you find that a lot of people, even though he's a musician, he's an attorney or an accountant at home. So this is why I've even encouraged members of Zone Fam to continue with their education. One of them actually got his degree at NASCOM and another one is still studying at ACCA. The remaining two are also continuing with their studies in Business Administration and

computer hardware. So it's very important for musicians, apart from going for extra training in music, but also to have that educational background that will also support their music. It will actually strengthen whatever they are doing in the music business. So if people could actually go out there and study the music business itself it would be a huge plus" (Author's interview, 2013).

Good managers also ensure that musicians create the right connections, develop relationships that would be beneficial to their careers, ensure musicians are surrounded by a reliable team, and that they and their band are paid correctly for every performance. As Negus (1992:41) summarises, "The manager plans the overall career strategy of an act, defining objectives and setting standards." Duncan Sodala (Author's interview, 2013) noted that several artists from other countries travelled with a whole team of people with specific tasks when they came to perform in Zambia. Sodala gave an example of an artist who came to perform in Zambia:

"P-Squared made K300, 000 when he came here to Zambia. He had a full band, live band and their music sounded just like it did in the videos. They had dancers, and outfit changes too. So we need to justify why we are charging people for our performance. It needs to be a memorable performance. There's a lot of added value that we need to put in" (Author's interview, 2014).

Members of a team could be stylists, a road manager, a business manager, dancers and even body guards. The whole team would also be paid highly for each performance - amounts which average Zambian musicians do not earn. Managers would be in charge of overseeing all the different tasks. Managers are crucial in the development of a musician's image to other musicians, potential investors and collaborators. Mr. Chisanga, as the manager of *Sounds Arcade Investments*, noted that without managers the "professionalism in the musicians also dies" (Author's interview, 2014).

Managers who were interviewed for this research also indicated that handling the content and signing of contracts is also part of a manager's job. Very few musicians understand the importance of contracts, how they should be used and what should be in them. (See Section 7.5.4. for a more detailed discussion of contracts.) Scarlet described her manager's role as being "legal, administrative, logistics" (Author's interview, 2014). Some also handle promotions

and/or the sourcing of funding for more records. Managers are also in charge of dealing with the collection of payments, often having to explain why they are charging what the musician is charging.

Many Zambian musicians, particularly those starting out in the industry, do not have a manager. They generally manage themselves, either because they do not understand the role and importance of a manager or because they feel that they can manage themselves. A couple of musicians asked close family members such as cousins or parents to manage them. For example, Immaculate (Author's interview, 2013) stated that, "My manager is my cousin; he sorts out my contract things." Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014) explained that after she parted ways with [with her previous manager]:

"... my mum started managing me, and I think my mum's been a proper manager because I looked into it and said 'I need this and this and this'. So we worked together she would do this and I would do that and we have a contract. In the beginning, like I said, a bodyguard and driver, and then a buffer for legal reasons because now there was money involved. So to avoid getting swindled, he would be in the middle. Then when my mum came, she's like legal, administrative, logistics and that sort of thing and I do promotions. I am the face the brand, so rather than have her speak for me like an agent would, we have a two-way kind of relationship where she does all the background work and when there's stuff that I can do I go and do it."

Having a family member as a manager has been noted as being a popular practice for many African musicians (Penna, Thormann, & Finger, in Finger & Schuler, 2004:103). Like the musicians, the managers interviewed (Duncan Sodala and Mrs. Chulu) also had to learn about their jobs on the job. The managers interviewed had never gone to study management or received training to learn how to manage a music group or musician. They had had formal office jobs for several years which some still occupied. The experience they received from these other jobs assisted them in their new roles as managers.

However, Chilumba (Author's interview, 2014) pointed out that the reason he no longer has a manager is because he is not a full-time musician and therefore "there isn't as much pressure to make huge amounts of money." He was focusing on his other jobs that were still within the

entertainment industry, mainly being a radio presenter. He works on music when he is either collaborating with a particular artist and/or if he is producing the music or directing the video.

Managers also guide their musicians to beneficial contracts, and these include those with studios. Finding the right studio is important as different studios focus on differing aspects of music production. Managers can, therefore, negotiate access into studios and contracts with record labels that may be seen to be a good fit with the musicians.

7.5. Record labels and studios

A clear distinction must be made between a record label and a studio. A record label is the brand name of a recording company that handles the manufacturing, distribution and promotion of music (Waite, 2012:404; Cambridge Advanced Learners Dictionary, 2005:1060). Labels can be major labels which receive corporate backing or independent labels that do not receive such backing (Peterson & Berger, 1975:171). Record labels set up studios which are the rooms equipped for music production (Concise English Dictionary, 2005:724; Webster's College Dictionary, 2001:1214).

7.5.1. Home studios

Home studios are rapidly mushrooming around Lusaka and have been for several years, often being started by groups of friends soon after secondary school to centralize what little equipment they have. Duncan Sodala (Author's interview, 2013), although mainly a manager now, started out by running a studio with a friend, "I started the studio with a friend who was a fully-fledged producer; we got equipment from what we already owned - a PC, some speakers and a mic. We had no funding, it was all self-funded."

Some studios are in small outhouses in the yard behind the main house, either built for that purpose or a flat converted into a studio. Sometimes an individual's private bedroom or a spare room is slowly converted into a small studio. Chawa Chiteta (Author's interview, 2013) stated that:

"...when I made my first album I pretty much made it in my room which I had set up as a studio. So I padded up all the walls, um and set up all the equipment and microphones, and that was done."

In the contemporary world technological developments have enabled computers and certain software to be bought by anyone either relatively cheaply or by downloading the software free from the internet and installing it on their home computers (Burnett, 1996:92). This implies that anyone can create, digitally record and burn one's songs onto CDs from the comfort of their own home, cutting out professional studios.

7.5.2. National studios

During colonial rule when Zambia was known as Northern Rhodesia broadcast radio across Zambia was established. Unofficially radio broadcasting in Zambia began in 1939 and was officially begun in 1941 by the British colonial government from a temporary station located in the Lusaka airport, mainly to inform the country about the progress of the World War (Mwaffisi, 1989:72; Eribo & Jong-Ebot, 1997:145). The Lusaka station became the Central African Broadcasting Services (CABS) running from 1948 to 1958, and then it was incorporated into the Federal Broadcasting Corporation (FBC) from 1958, which provided "African Services" and programmes in certain local languages (Heinze, 2014:625-626). Mass media in developing countries such as Zambia is the most widely used form of communication and is often used by those in power to spread their message to a large portion of the population at once (Kangwa, 1994). However, to remain functional, studios require regular funding to be run effectively with up to date recording and broadcasting equipment.

7.5.3. Challenges experienced by studios

Running a studio is an expensive investment as most of the necessary studio equipment must be imported into Zambia and has a high import tax added. According to Shom C.:

"...firstly to mobilize resources to build up a studio is very, very expensive. Especially in Zambia because you have to import a lot of things, just a speaker you would have to import it from outside. The same with a microphone; it has to be bought from somewhere else" (Author's interview, 2013).

Seeing returns from such an investment may take a few years, depending on how well known and used the studio becomes. Although home studios are opened on a regular basis, not many remain operational for long. Duncan Sodala suggested that a possible reason for this is the new

governmental tax regulations enforced on studios. From what Sodala (Author's interview, 2013) remembered, "... a lot of studios popped up at the time but eventually they started taxing them and they shut down."

Being small also means that only a few musicians at a time can be signed up to the label due to limited resources. Seeing returns on a more personal level are also not too frequent. Shom C. pointed out that:

"... the returns are not that good because, I don't know, it's not yet in the minds of people to appreciate producers. Especially artists – they don't see it as an investment to spend that much or to value the services of a producer."

The perception of producers needs to be changed starting from those who have direct contact with them, the musicians and managers. However, from personal experience, Shom C. (Author's interview, 2013) mentioned that, "...it's not yet in the minds of people to appreciate producers. Especially musicians – they don't see it as an investment to spend that much or to value the services of a producer."

Music cannot be produced without the hours put in by producers, and as more musicians and managers multi-task and also experiment in producing, they start to understand what is required by producers to generate the end result. Producers understand what music has been successful in the past in relation to quality and how to make the music appealing (Caves, 2003:74).

Another problem with informal studios is that they discourage investors from investing in properly set up studios of high quality. Many people chose to go to the cheaper studios in order to make a quick recording of average quality and have it mass cut so that they can sell the CDs and earn some quick money. Some musicians in Africa prefer to move from studio to studio to record as many albums as possible because they get paid an amount upfront for the first album made (Penna, Thormann, and Finger, in Finger and Schuler, 2004:101). They do not rely on the promise of longer and larger payments from the potential sales of the albums in the future as done in developed countries. This lack of trust is due to a poor legal system and infrastructure that results in little to no royalties being paid out. With low quality their CDs do not generally sell well, and often the musicians do not understand why this is the case. This demonstrates the

musicians' lack of knowledge about the importance of high quality and good marketing for both national and international standards.

Bourdieu's notion of social capital (Sections 2.2.) applies here in the sense that gaining access to studios is often considered to be about who you know rather than what you know. For example, if a musician starting out in the industry already knows another musician, manager or studio producer before being formally linked to a studio, that musician would be more likely to gain access to a studio s/he hoped to record in. Simply dropping off homemade mixed tapes to both home and national studios rarely results in securing a contract. Also an amateur musician would have to wait to be contacted by the studios where demo tapes are dropped off. But if someone was already known within a studio, then an individual can receive a recommendation to be invited to work in the studio.

Gerard Seligman (in DERGIT, 2001:6) notes that another problem affecting the quality of music produced by African musicians is that many sign away their rights to their music for a once off large payment because they do not expect to receive any royalties from record sales, again due to the inadequate royalty collection systems in place. This is a different approach to how musicians operate in developed countries that have established royalty collection processes in place. Musicians accept a small upfront advance and hold onto the rights to their music and receive royalties from all future album sales. This way the musicians work with the recording company for about a year to get the album released for sales to increase (Seligman, in DERGIT, 2001:6).

From the production perspective the producers interviewed were all self-taught and used free downloadable studio programmes such as *Fruit Loops* in their studios (Author's interviews with Shom C., 2013; Duncan Sodala, 2013). Duncan Sodala spoke of how he and his friend "were self-taught, so it took a long time to master our craft" (Author's interview, 2013).

This self-teaching process raises another aspect to do with the flexibility of Zambian producers. They do not just limit themselves to producing as it is not always financially stable, but they can also write, create and record their own music. Mic-Burner, who began as a developing producer and then became a rapper, stated that "right now I'm being more of an artist but I still touch producing here and there" (Author's interview, 2014). He works in a home-based recording studio branch of the larger *Secret Records* label. Massi (Author's interview, 2014), another

producer, "... started [in the industry] about 7 to 8 years ago then I stopped producing and focused more on being a musician. But now I'm trying to get back into the production side."

With the current lack of formal technical training for recording and producing music, as well as a heavy reliance on free digital studio programmes, investors would not want to invest in new programming equipment if there is no-one able to operate the programmes correctly. Trained personnel would be needed to update software and repair and maintain damaged equipment as constantly replacing equipment would result in more expenses. With unreliable equipment, studios cannot contract more musicians as recording sessions would be very limited.

7.5.4. Contracts

Contracts between musicians and record labels stipulate which group has the right to make decisions at different stages of their relationship to do with production, distribution and promoting of the music (Caves, 2003:78). However, as already mentioned, very few Zambian musicians understand the need for contracts to protect themselves from exploitation and to enable them to earn an income from their music. A common strategy of musicians to earn money is that they often sell the rights to their music soon after their single or album is completed. They receive a once-off sum payment for selling their rights for their work to be sold in a specific region for a specific period of time and on a particular medium (UN, 2011:29). Musicians also sell their rights because they do not have much ground to negotiate the necessary details of a contract in which they would greatly benefit. For example, not having a manager who understands contracts or having the knowledge of what details should be in a contract could result in musicians accepting very small to no payments for their performances or being told what type of music to create.

Contracts have been noted to be exploitative by several writers such as Simon Garfield (1986) and Johnny Rogan (1988) (see also Negus, 1992:43; Nelson, 2001:172). However Herman Gray (1988) suggests that most exploitative contracts were "offered by small, inexperienced" labels who tend to sign weak acts (Negus, 1992:43). Exploitation is not just from those who provide performance venues but also from record labels that sign up artists. Don Cusic (1996:43) states that the minimum criteria for contracts between labels and artists should by default require the label to "manufacture, distribute, promote and sell" produced records, while artists must

“provide recordings suitable for release.” However, other additions outside of the above mentioned can be negotiated between the two parties. For example, a label may agree to pay in advance on behalf of the musician for extra marketing and promotions such as for competitions, extra print outs of posters for stores and radio stations while the musician is still in the process of recording (Cusic, 1996:43; Negus, 1992:42; Nelson, 2001:168-69; Caves, 2003:79). The label may only agree to advance more established signed artists or a limited number for a particular event for new artists. Established musicians are more likely to receive advances as the label has a greater guarantee of being paid back by a successful musician than a new musician who has yet to secure any financial returns (Negus, 1992:42; Nelson, 2001:169-70). Other advancements that could be made would be for living expenses for the artist if they have to relocate for a period of time for production time in another studio in another town; extra production time and equipment needed; extra photo sessions; for the shooting of music videos in another country as commonly done by Zambian musicians; and for extended tours (Cusic, 1996:44). Such advancements are very useful for new musicians trying to become established but who have very little personal capital, also something very common with Zambian musicians. However, the advanced payments need to be paid back to the label by the musicians, usually with the royalties earned from record sales, before the artist receives any payment (Cusic, 1996:43).

Penna, Thormann, & Finger (Finger & Schuler, 2004:103) write about a Senegalese artist who spoke about how some producers do not provide or sign written contracts and pay less per track, regardless of how popular the artist is. Some artists sign bad contracts that do not benefit them because they still have to eat. So they take small payments for their tracks so that they can buy some food, particularly if their music is their only source of income. If they have another job, the pressure to earn from their music is reduced. However, in developing countries with weak economies, permanent and well-paying jobs are difficult to find. Contracts can be short-term in length, particularly for artists trying to start in the industry (Lamba, 2007:40). In Zambia the Teal Company would provide contracts to the artists signed up with the company, and the artist would be taken outside the country to record. Geoff Paynter (Author’s interview, 2014) stated that, “Generally, we paid for them to record, locally, but sometimes in Nairobi and even Kinshasa, and then manufactured the parts from the completed tapes.”

In the contemporary industry not all studios provide contracts. A possible reason for this could be that, with the majority of studios being home-made studios with personal computers and equipment, those who own and run the studios do not know or understand that contracts are necessary. In addition, musicians from outside Zambia do not perform before a contract is negotiated, something still seldom done by musicians in Zambia (Author's interview with Sister D., 2013; Exile, 2013). The contract is written up to cover how much the musician, the musician's band, entourage and the organizers will receive, how payment will be made, what sort of transport will be required for transporting equipment, security and accommodation, performance time length, and any extras needed. If no contract is signed, the musician will not travel and perform. In Zambia, musicians have been noted to perform for a crate of beer which has no long term benefits to the musicians' further musical developments. Many still need to pay bills, feed their families and pay rent, and so performing for three or more hours for just a crate of beer does not help them in their daily lives if the artist wants music as his/her career and source of income (Author's interviews with Duncan Sodala, 2013; Brian Shakarongo, 2013; Exile, 2013). Innocent Kalaluka (Author's interview, 2014) asked a very interesting question, "Why should the corporate world come and pay you K10, 000 [K10 rebased, or \$1.6] when you can perform for a crate of beer?" This question goes back to the expectation of the public of getting free and low-priced products. Musicians are currently more focused on getting their names known that they are prepared to do several shows free of charge as they believe that once people know who they are and their music then the public will be prepared to pay for the music later. However, as already noted, the culture of purchasing recorded and legally distributed music is still quite weak in Zambia. By continuously giving away their music 'free', musicians are unintentionally encouraging the attitude that music does not need to be paid for.

Many musicians have the preconception that signing a contract with a recording label will result in immediate success, stardom and wealth. However, in reality such contracts generally result in the loss of ownership over their own music as well as a high potential for substantial debt due to the label advancing the artists' payments from production, marketing, studio recordings and other early expenses (Young & Collins, 2010:354). Musicians starting in the industry may also sign contracts of adhesion, when "one party is able to dictate the terms of the agreement to the other party" (Nelson, 2001:171). Due to their lack of knowledge about contracts when the majority of musicians enter the industry, they do not understand what should be in a contract,

particularly if they do not have an experienced manager to guide them in the process. So when a record label agrees to sign up a new musician only on their terms, the musician signs a contract of adhesion. There are always more musicians looking for studios to sign up than there are record labels wanting to sign up new acts (Nelson, 2001:164). Out of desperation musicians will sign exploitative contracts just for the sake of gaining access to a recording studio and being signed to a label.

To increase knowledge about the necessity of contracts, ZAMCOPS and ZAM provide assistance to musicians and/or their managers to learn how to negotiate more beneficial contracts and to earn more for their artistic work (UN, 2011:29). Such knowledge is currently being provided through workshops that have been increasing in regularity over the past few years (Author's interview with St. Michael, 2013). There are, though, still several challenges that are faced by the musicians within the music industry.

7.6. Challenges experienced by musicians

Within each field in the music industry musicians have to deal with a variety of obstacles for them to get themselves recognised within the industry, across the neighbouring borders and even possibly at the international level. The following section will explore several broad concerns shared by the interviewees.

Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014) described the situation, indicating that "there is no culture of buying music here [in Zambia]." Sister D. (Author's interview, 2013) concluded by stating, "I think that's what is even encouraging more piracy because most of the people cannot afford to buy music at the value that it deserves, because we have a poor environment, people cannot afford. So it's the poverty." The public have an expectation - particularly with regard to Zambian musicians – that music should be free and available for those who want to hear it. St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) was of the opinion that:

"They [the public] want the artist to perform for free. So that is a challenge. People still have the attitude that music should be free and that is why people feel comfortable buying a CD on the streets at K1 [\$0.2] - K2 [\$0.3], rather than going to Sounds and pay K50 [\$8] - K70 [\$11] for a good product."

As a result the public was actively supporting the piracy market by continuously purchasing pirated music at a fraction of the price of the original. This further reduces the amounts musicians could earn and hinders their career development too.

A third challenge is that musicians have been observed to enter the music industry with very little knowledge about the industry. St. Michael (Author's interview, 2013) noted that the impression he got from new artists in the business was that:

“They don't even have an idea of what music business is all about. And that is the sad part because most of the artists feel ‘okay, I can be heard on radio, I can be seen on TV, and that makes me an artist - that makes me a star.’”

Brian Shakarongo (Author's interview, 2013) also pointed this out:

“Actually a lot of them come into the industry blindly. They do so because they like music and they've seen their idols, and they also want to be in this industry without really understanding what it takes to be in the industry and so forth.”

Several musicians such as Scarlet, Duncan Sodala, Chawa Chiteta, Brian Shakarongo, and Exile (Author's interviews 2013 and 2014), mentioned how they had learned things about the industry through trial and error, particularly when an artist was starting out without an experienced manager. Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014) stated that, “If someone had told me that I was going to go through everything I went through in the past two years when I said I wanted to study music, I wouldn't have done it.” But because she only found out about things as she came across them, she persevered.

Not many have mentors to consult or have them walk alongside as they start out in the business. Andrew Mulenga (2011) and Koloko (2012:153) write of how HIV/AIDS also affected the music industry in a negative way as the majority of earlier musicians were wiped out by the HIV/AIDS pandemic during the late 1980s to early '90s (Mulenga, 2011; Koloko, 2012:153). Whole bands disappeared, suddenly leaving a musical vacuum in the industry. As a result most of the contemporary Zambian musicians or singers are between the ages of 18 and 35 with very few older and more experienced musicians to look up to and learn from as mentors (Mulenga, 2011; Koloko, 2012:153). Musicians were encouraged to keep working on their craft as this is

the only way careers could be developed. They cannot expect to make it big instantly, an impression given particularly by the younger musicians entering the industry. Newer musicians did not seem to understand the importance of arranging music, the use of actual instruments rather than programmed ones, and the recording of music that stands out and lasts longer from the 'easy-to-do' music that every other musician is producing. Chilumbe (Author's interview, 2014) also mentioned how a number of artists do music from "a passion point of view" and so their purpose for making music is not to make a profit from it but rather they "have a message which they want to kind of spread at all costs."

There also appears to be a low level of tertiary education among musicians - although it should be pointed out that there is no direct correlation between having a higher level of education and a guaranteed and successful music career. Many musicians just entered the music industry and expected to make it big right after secondary school. Some did mention that they are continuing to get tertiary degrees while trying to start up their musical careers. For example, Duncan Sodala spoke of how he always encouraged the Zone Fam group members to complete their tertiary degrees as he considered it very important as it contributes and can often be utilized in the music industry. Scarlet (Author's interview, 2014), one of the two female artists spoken to, already had a degree in education and is currently in her fourth year of a law degree. She took night classes to complete her first three years of law while she worked during the day.

Furthermore, the perception that things from outside Zambia, particularly music, are 'better' than what Zambians can deliver is an idea that needs to be dispelled among audiences and even artists themselves (Author's interview with Sister D., 2013). Audiences are prepared to pay more for music coming from across the border or abroad but are not prepared to pay the same value for music by Zambian musicians.

7.7. Conclusion

The above discussion focussed on the personal experiences of musicians and their managers in an attempt to understand why they operate as they do currently do in Zambia. Their challenges were also noted as these put restrictions on what musicians can do and how quickly and successfully their careers develop. The lack of knowledge about the overall industry and understanding of the importance of contracts and managers can also hinder the development of

musical careers as musicians get exploited and perform for next to nothing. The longer careers take to develop, the more musicians and those supporting them have to find other sources of income to sustain daily living. This is why there is a strong emphasis on collaborating with other musicians and performing on a regular basis to generate public interest. Those who do have traditional jobs generally do music as an extra activity as they cannot rely on the proceeds from musical sales to support themselves and their families if they have one.

The exposure to studios and the development of studios play a role in the quality and style of music that a musician creates. If low quality singles and albums are being produced, the music does not generally do well outside of Zambia and the musician achieves a bad reputation. But when quality music and music videos are produced and distributed, interest from external parties such as musicians from other countries and companies prepared to sponsor certain musicians are more accessible. International exposure results in a wider audience who will be willing to find and pay for the music regardless of where they are in the world, generating more income for local musicians. International performances also increase social capital by providing access to more investment and record contracts with influential studios that produce higher quality singles and CDs. All these can generate more income, establishing and maintaining successful careers.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUDING REMARKS

8.1. Introduction

This final chapter provides a summary in terms of the theoretical framework used, the historical context of the music industry, and what perspectives were gathered through the interview process. In terms of theory, this research began by examining Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and three forms of capital, and viewing them in relation to the music industry within the international, African and Zambian contexts. African musicians experience similar aspects within their individual country's music industry. Music is intertwined in everyday societal activities with different meanings, purposes and tastes. As social activities vary, what is considered popular music differs from group to group according to habitus. To gather information about the current habitus and fields within the industry, in-depth semi-structured interviews were carried out, enabling the twenty-three participants to add information they felt was essential.

8.2. Fields and habitus

Bourdieu's theories of fields and habitus were useful in understanding the working of music industries. Within habitus three key forms of capital impact the music industry on all levels. Cultural capital, social capital and economic capital are accumulated by musicians to different degrees, often based on how long they have been in the industry. So the longer the musician had been in the industry, the more likely they were to have more access to the three forms of capital. This was clearly demonstrated in the wide range of experiences that the musicians shared through the interviews. For example, musicians such as JK, Sister D., St. Michael and Brian Shakarongo have been able to build their music careers to the extent that they could do collaborations with musicians from other countries, tour and perform all over the world, and also support their families. JK was chosen to represent Zambia in the African musicians' collaboration with R-Kelly on the track 'Hands Across the World' (Author's interview with JK, 2014). Sister D. and St. Michael (Author's interviews, 2013) were able to tour in several European countries and pay for their children's education and upbringing. Brian Shakarongo (Author's interview, 2014) was also able to tour through several first world countries as well as receiving regular invitations to give music skills workshops in British and Scottish schools.

However, for the musicians just starting in the music industry, such opportunities to work in central fields of the global industry had not yet come their way and they were still quite restricted to Zambia or had managed to work in a neighbouring country, thus remaining on the margins.

Cultural capital, social capital and economic capital are accumulated by musicians to different degrees. Cultural capital for those interviewed was firstly limited due to having very little to no exposure to formal musical education, formal training for managers, promoters and studio producers. Experience was gained through on-the-job training, often taking several years as benefiting from mentors within the various divisions did not come across as being a regular avenue for acquiring knowledge. Exposure to these divisions was usually acquired through social capital in terms of who an individual knew, thus enabling access. Bourdieu defines social capital as “the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates and, second, the amount and quality of those resources” (Portes, 1998:3). Once access is gained economic capital becomes essential as the production, marketing and distribution require financial investment, something few musicians at beginning their careers could secure. Musicians need to pay for recording and producing time and annual membership fees for associations such as ZAM and ZAMCOPS if they wished to be members. Managers need to be able to pay for promotional strategies such as organizing tours, live performances, and paying band members. Holograms also need to be purchased to be placed on all produced cassettes, CDs and DVDs to enable royalties to be collected by ZAMCOPS and then paid to the musicians.

There are other fields that musicians must contend with in order to establish firm careers and be considered successful. To begin with an underlying factor that is still detrimental to any music industry is piracy. The challenge within fields, according to Bourdieu, is that they are dynamic as “actors compete for access to and control over scarce resources” (Aldridge, 1998:4) such as the three forms of capital noted earlier. Such struggles are within each field and between different stakeholders of the industry (Bourdieu, 1993:73). However, an underlying factor that is still detrimental to any music industry which kept being raised during interviews is piracy.

8.3. Challenges within the industry

Piracy has and continues to plague the African music industries, even to the extent of forcing recording and distribution companies to close. Habitus within societies can encourage the regular purchasing of pirated musical units and sharing these commodities for free generally because of high levels of poverty. As noted by interviewees, music is viewed as a leisure commodity and so the illegal purchasing of music is a perception that needs to be broken in the Zambian society. Gaining the purchasing support of the local Zambians is important to all those interviewed as a way to combat piracy and support local musicians. Holograms were introduced in Zambia as a vital strategy to combat piracy. The holograms are designed to be bought and stuck on all cassettes, CDs and DVDs produced, generating revenue for ZAMCOPS for royalty distribution and taxes for the government that could hopefully be reinvested into the music industry. ZAM also plays a role in fighting piracy as it provides support and guidance as well as educating musicians on their intellectual property and rights to royalties.

Another challenge experienced by musicians is the process of royalty payments which is still unstructured in many African countries with few enforced and regulated policies. Musicians often sell the rights to their singles as a once-off transaction which allows them to receive an immediate payment rather than holding onto the hope that they will receive royalty payments in a timely fashion for album sales. Focusing on getting a whole album out in Zambia is currently not the aim of all musicians, particularly those just starting their careers. Their focus is on getting as many popular singles into the market and making some money from them.

8.4. Approaches to building a career

Promoting one's music or role within the music industry can be done in various ways in Zambia. Promotional strategies that can be utilized are online devices such as profile pages, write-ups in music magazines and local newspapers, television and radio interviews, and live performances. Live performances are the 'bread and butter' of Zambian musicians regardless of how long they have been in the industry. Performances expose the music to more listeners than those who would regularly purchase the music bringing the musician closer to the public. With the introduction of television, music television shows were introduced as a new avenue for promoting musicians. Radio was identified as the main promotional method used by every

musician interviewed. Getting their music played regularly over the airwaves by popular radio DJs was considered highly beneficial, linking back to social capital. However, a DJ may have a personal preference for airing a particular genre of music, possibly shaping the musical tastes and cultural capital of the listeners.

With single tracks regularly being recorded by hopeful new musicians and played over the airwaves, musicians need to find ways of standing out. This is important as in the rush of pushing out singles the music can become very similar as musicians combine popular music styles that get played to the same population groups. To keep interest up more interviewees are using the internet as an educational tool and putting their music on the internet. Musicians are using the internet to gain exposure to music styles from around the world enabling them to stay current with what is considered popular. Some musicians also try to incorporate various aspects of the different genres they hear into their own music. There is an increasing number of starting-up and established musicians using the internet to upload their music online which exposes their music to a much wider and eclectic audience. Music can then be bought and downloaded over the internet rather than consumers having to wait for CDs and DVDs to be physically transported around the globe. This online system puts more regulating power in the hands of the musicians as they no longer need to wait for contracts from large recording companies to record their music, promote it on the international market and have their music categorized as world music to be sold (Bockstedt, Kauffman & Riggins, 2005:6). Online banking is still a work in progress within Zambia itself and there are currently no policies and systems that are in effect about how it would operate and be regulated.

Overall the music industry is gradually getting more attention from the government, investors, within the SADC and central Africa, and in more countries around the world. An understanding of how the various interlinking sectors of the industry operate is still needed on many levels, but with the forward momentum of organisations such as ZAM, NAC, and ZAMCOPS, those entering the industry as the various stakeholders will be able to have easier access to needed information as well as how the music industry operates. As the success and awareness of Zambian musicians within the country, on the African continent and around the world grows, the careers of Zambian musicians can become more long-term focused as well as more financially stable.

8.5. Conclusion

This research has contextualised the *Zambian music industry* with the use of Pierre Bourdieu's theories of field and habitus. The growth and development of the industry is also affected by its position as a developing country in the international global music industry, making Zambia a marginalised field and countries such as the England and the United States of America being central fields. The understanding of these theories provided an understanding of how the *Zambian music industry* and the stakeholders within it operate. Although the majority of musicians who agreed to be interviewed recorded hip hop or rap music, the information gathered was still beneficial in gaining some insight into the music industry. In retrospect, several snowball effects could have been utilised within different music genres active in the *Zambian music industry*. Interviews were the main method used to gain information about how the contemporary industry is currently operating as there is very little documented research on the industry. This thesis attempted to add to this knowledge gap. The music industry has gradually grown and continues to grow as more interest is developed resulting in more governmental and business support and investment.

References:

- Abderton, C., Dubber, A., & James, M. 2013. *Understanding the Music Industry*. London: Sage.
- Airtel. 2012. 'Airtel ONE8 and Education Funding.'
- http://www.airtel.com/wps/wcm/connect/africaairtel/africa/Home/CSR/Airtel_ONE8_and_Education_Funding
- Agawu, K. 2003. *Representing African music: Postcolonial Notes, Queries, Positions*. New York: Routledge.
- Aldridge, A. 1998. 'Habitue and cultural capital in the field of personal finance.' *The Sociological Review*. Vol. 46(1) pp. 1-23.
- Ambert, C. 2003. 'Promoting the Culture Sector through Job Creation and Small Enterprise Development in SADC Countries: The Music Industry.' *International Labour Office (ILO). Seed Working Paper No. 49*.
- Anderton, C., Dubber, A., & James, M. 2013. *Understanding the Music Industries*. London: Sage.
- Anheier, H.K., Gerhards, J. and Romo, F.P. 1995. 'Forms of Capital and Social Structure in Cultural Fields: Examining Bourdieu's Social Topography.' *American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. 100(4) pp. 859-903.
- Ashworth, E. 2009. "The Post-millennial DIY Explosion and its effects on record production." *Proceedings of the fifth annual Art of Record Production Conference*. pp. 13-15, November. <http://www.artofrecordproduction.com/content/view/220/114/>
- Barrowclough, D. & Kozul-Wright, Z. (Eds). 2008. *Creative Industries and Developing Countries: Voice, Choice and Economic Growth*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Bennett, A., Shank, B. and Toynbee, J. (Eds). 2006. *The Popular Music Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Betts, R. F. and Bly, L. 2013. *A History of Popular Culture. More of Everything, Faster and Brighter*. 2nd Ed, London and New York: Routledge.

- Bockstedt, J., Kauffman, R. J., Riggins, F. J. 2005. *The Move To Artist-Led Online Music Distribution: Explaining Structural Changes In The Digital Music Market*. Minneapolis. University of Minnesota. Proceedings of the 38th Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences.
- Bourdieu, P. 1983. 'The Field of Cultural Production, or the Economic World Reversed.' *Poetics*. Vol. 12 pp. 311-356.
- Bourdieu, P. 1984. *Distinction: A social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production. Essays on Art and Literature*. New York: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. 1996. *Physical Space, Social Space and Habitus*. Institutt for Sosiologi og Samfunnsgeografi, Universitetet i Oslo. Report 10.
- Bourdieu, P. and Wacquant, L.J.D. 1992. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Broughton, S., Ellingham, M., Muddyman, D. & Trillo, R. 1994. *World Music: The Rough Guides*. London: Penguin Books.
- Broughton, S., Ellingham, M. & Trillo, R. (Eds). 1999. *World Music: Africa, Europe and the Middle East*. London: The Rough Guide. Vol. 1, pp. 702-705.
- Brusila, J. 2003. 'Local Music, Not From Here. The Discourse of World Music Examined Through Three Zimbabwean Case Studies: The Bhunda Boys, Virginia Mukwesha and Sunduza.' Finnish Society for Ethnomusicology Helsinki, No. 10.
- Burnett, R. 1996. *The Global Jukebox: The International Music Industry*. London: Routledge.
- Caves, R.E. 2003. 'Creative Industries: Contracts between Art and Commerce.' *The Journal of Economic Perspectives*. Vol. 17(2) pp. 73-84.
- Chaffee, S. 1985. 'Popular Music and Communication Research.' *Communication Research*. Vol. 12, pp. 413-424.

- Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary. 2005. 2nd Ed. UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Colonna, C.M., Kearns, P.M. and Anderson, J.E. 1993. 'Electronically Produced Music and its Economic Effects on the Performing Musician and Music Industry.' *Journal of Cultural Economics*. Vol. 17(2) pp. 69-75. December.
- Concise English Dictionary. 2005. 2nd Ed. London: Bloomsburg.
- Connell, J. and Gibson, C. 2004. 'World Music: Deterritorializing Place and Identity.' *Progress in Human Geography*. Vol. 28(3) pp. 342-361. <http://phg.sagepub.com/content/28/3/342>
- Curin, N. and Moreau, F. 2009. 'The Music Industry in the Digital Era: Toward New Contracts.' *Journal of Media Economics*. Vol. 22 pp. 102-113. Published online 6 June.
- Cusic, D. 1996. *Music in the Market*. Ohio: Bowling Green State University Popular Press.
- Debrah, A. 2011. 'Hands across the World' by ONE8 gets Billboard Endorsement!' <http://www.ameyawdebrah.com/%E2%80%98hands-across-the-world%E2%80%99-by-one8-gets-billboard-endorsement/> Posted online Feb 1.
- Denisoff, R.S. 1975. *Solid Gold: The Popular Record Industry*. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Development Economics Research Group on International Trade (DERGIT). 2001. 'Workshop on the Development of the Music Industry in Africa.' Synopsis of conference in Washington, D.C. June 20-21. Australia: Sage. http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCEERD/Resources/CWI_music_industry_in_Africa_synopsis.pdf
- Dex, S., Willis, J., Paterson, R. and Sheppard, E. 2000. 'Freelance workers and contract uncertainty: the effects of contractual changes in the television industry.' *Work, Employment & Society*. 14(1) pp. 283-305.
- Downing, J.D.H., McQuali, D., Schlesinger, P., & Wartella, E. (Eds). 2004. *The Sage Handbook of Media Studies*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

- Drewett, M. and Cloonan, M. (Eds). 2006. *Popular Music Censorship in Africa*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Eribo, F. and Jong-Ebot, W. (Eds).1997. 'Press Freedom in Zambia.' *Press Freedom and Communication in Africa*.
- Ewens, G. 1991. *Africa O-Ye!* London: Guinness Publishing.
- Fairley, J. 2001. 'The 'local' and 'global' in popular music.' In Frith, S. Straw, W. and Street, J. (Eds). *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 13.
- Falola, T. and Fleming, T. (Eds). 2012. *Music, Performance and African Identities*. New York: Routledge.
- Feld, S. 1994. 'From Schizophonia to Schismogenesis: On the Discourses and Commodification Practices of 'World Music' and 'World Beat'. In Keil, C. & Feld, C. (Eds). *Music Grooves: Essays and Dialogues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Pp. 257-289.
- Feld, S. 2000. 'A Sweet Lullaby for World Music.' *Public Culture*. Vol. 12. pp. 145-171.
- Ferguson, J. 1999. *Expectations of Modernity: Myths and Meanings of Urban Life on the Zambian Copperbelt*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Finger, J.M. and Schuler, P. (Eds). 2004. 'Poor People's Knowledge: Promoting Intellectual Property in Developing Countries.' *The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank*. Washington, DC: World Bank and Oxford University Press.
- Fiske, J. 1989. *Reading the Popular*. New York: Routledge.
- Fries, B. and Fries, M. 2000. *The MP3 and Internet Audio Handbook*. 1st Ed. Burtonsville, MD: Bruce Fries.
- Frith, S. 1989. *Music and Society: World Music, Politics and Social Change*. UK: Manchester University Press.

- Frith, S., Straw, W. and Street, J. (Eds). 2001. *The Cambridge Companion to Pop and Rock*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frith, S. 2007. *Taking Popular Music Seriously. Selected Essays*. Cornwall: Ashgate.
- Gebesmair, A. and Smudits, A. (Eds). 2001. *Global Repertoires. Popular music within and beyond the transnational music industry*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Ginsburg, F. 2008 'Rethinking the Digital age.' In Hesmondhalgh, D. and Toynbee, J. 2008. *The Media and Social Theory*. Chapter 8. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gitlin, T. 1981. 'Television Screens: Hegemony in Transition.' In Apple, M. (Ed). *Culture and Economic Reproduction in Education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Grosz-Ngate, M. and Kokole, O. (Eds). 2013. *Gendered Encounters: Challenging Cultural Boundaries and Social Hierarchies in Africa*. New York: Routledge.
- Glanvill, R. 1989. 'World Music Mining: The International Trade in New Music'. In Francis, H. and May, T. (Eds), *Rhythms of the World*. London: BBC Books. pp. 58-67.
- Graham, R. 1989. *Stern's Guide to Contemporary African Music*. Volume 1. London: Pluto Press.
- Graham, R. 1992. *Stern's Guide to Contemporary African Music*. Volume 2. London: Pluto Press.
- Harker, R., Mahar, C. and Wilkes, C. (Eds). 1990. *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu. The Practice of Theory*. London: Macmillan.
- Hartley, J. (Ed). 2005. *Creative Industries*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Heinze, R. 2014. "'Men Between': The Role of Zambian Broadcasters in Decolonisation'. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 40(3) pp. 623-640. Published online 23 May.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2002. *The Culture Industries*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2006. 'Bourdieu, the Media and Cultural Production.' *Media, Culture & Society*. Vol. 28(2) pp. 211-231.

- Hesmondhalgh, D. 2010. 'Media Industry Studies, Media Production Studies.' In Curran, J. (Ed). *The Media and Society*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Baker, S. 2011. *Creative labour: Media work in three cultural industries*. London: Routledge.
- Hesmondhalgh, D. and Toynbee, J. (Eds). 2008. *The Media and Social Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Hirsch, P.M. 2000. 'Cultural Industries Revisited.' In '*Organization Science*.' Boston: Harvard Business School Press. Published online June 1. Vol. 11(3). pp. 356-361.
<http://pubsonline.informs.org/doi/abs/10.1287/orsc.11.3.356.12498>
- Hoskins, C. & McFadyen, S. 2004. *Media Economics*. Thousands Oakes: Sage Publications.
- Howkins, J. 2001. *The Creative Economy. How People make Money from Ideas*. London: Allen Lane.
- IFPI. 2012. *Recording Industry in Numbers. The Recorded Music Market in 2011*.
- IFPI. 2014. *IFPI Digital Music Report 2014. Lighting Up New Markets*.
<http://www.ifpi.org/downloads/Digital-Music-Report-2014.pdf>
- Impey, A. 2008. 'Popular Music in Africa.' In Stone, R.M. (Ed.) *The Garland Handbook of African Music 1*. pp. 124-147.
- infozamiba.com. 2014. *Zambia Music Copyright Protection Society (ZAMCOPS)*. Accessed 13 August 2014.
<http://infozambia.co.zm/index.php/component/mtree/NGOs%20and%20Charities/intellectual-property/zambia-music-copyright-protection-society-zamcops.html>
- Kamara, Y. 2004. '*Keys to Successful Cultural Enterprise Development in Developing Countries*.' Prepared for UNESCO Arts and Cultural Enterprise Division. December.
- Kangwa, B. 1994. 'Broadcasting and Development: The Case of Zambia.' MA Thesis Journalism. University of Wales.

- Kellner, D. 1995. 'Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism, and Media Culture'. In Dines, G. & Humez, J. (Eds). *Gender, Race and Class in Media: A Text-Reader*. 2nd Ed. California: Sage.
- Klerck, G. 2008. *Introduction to Industrial Relations*. South Africa: Rhodes University.
- Koloko, L. 2012. *Zambian Music Legends*. United States of America: Lulu.
- Korpe, M. 2007. 'Music will not be Silenced.' 3rd *Freemuse World Conference on Music & Censorship, Istanbul*. 25-26 November 2006.
- Koval, H. 1988. 'Homogenization of Culture in Capitalist Society.' *Popular Music and Society*. Vol. 12, pp. 1-16.
- Latukefu, A. 2006. 'Remote indigenous communities in Australia: questions of access, information, and self-determination'. In Landzelius, K. (Ed). *Going Native on the Net: Indigenous Cyber-activism and Virtual Diasporas of the World Wide Web*. London: Routledge.
- Laing, D. 2010. "Hand-made, Hi-tech, Worldwide: Peter Gabriel and World Music" in Drewett, M., Hill, S., and Kärki, K. (Eds). *Peter Gabriel, From Genesis to Growing Up*. Surrey: Ashgate.
- Malm, K. 'The Music Industry', in Hellen Myers (Hg.): *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*. 1992. London: McMillan. pp. 349-364. http://institut17.kug.ac.at/fileadmin/media/institut13/Dokumente/Myers_Ethnomusicology_Malm_Music_Industry.pdf
- Martinez-Mullen, C. 2005. *Globalisation and Consumption of Material and Symbolic Goods by Black Africans Zulu-English Speakers in DMA: Clothing and its Power of Symbolisation with Popular Culture*. University of Kwazulu-Natal. Thesis.
- Maton, K. 2005. 'A Question of Autonomy: Bourdieu's Field Approach and Higher Education.' *Journal of Education Policy*. Vol. 20(6) pp. 687-704.
- McNeill, F.G. 2012. 'Making Music, Making Money: Informal Musical Production and Performance in Venda, South Africa.' *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*. Vol. 82, pp. 93-110.

- Mensah, A.A. 1970. 'The Music of Zumaile Village, Zambia.' *African Music: International Library of African Music*. Vol. 4(4) pp. 96-102.
- Merriam, A.P. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Northwestern University Press.
- Mhiripiri, N.A. 2010. 'The production of stardom and the survival dynamics of the Zimbabwean music industry in the post-2000 crisis period', *Journal of African Media Studies*. Vol. 2(2). pp. 209-223.
- Mukando, M.H. and Mumba, M. (Eds). 2012. *Music Xtra*. Fialink General Dealers.
- Mulenga, A. 2011. 'In Mali, the Kora is no one-night stand, it requires commitment'. *Hole in the Wall: Arts and Culture Interviews, Reviews and Critiques*. Published Friday 27 May. <http://andrewmulenga.blogspot.com/2011/05/in-mali-kora-is-no-one-night-stand-it.html>
- Mwaffisi, S. 1989. 'Zambia Broadcasting Corporation News: A Content Analysis.' *Africa Media Review*. Vol. 3(3) pp. 70-85.
- Navarro, Z. 2006. 'In Search of a Cultural Interpretation of Power: The Contribution of Pierre Bourdieu.' *Institute of Development Studies*. Vol. 37(6).
- Ndomondo, M., Sanga, I., and Strumpf, M. (Eds). 2014. *Readings in Ethnomusicology: A Collection of Papers Presented at Ethnomusicology Symposium 2013*. Department of Fine and Performing Arts, University of Dar es Salaam.
- Negus, K. 1992. *Producing Pop. Culture and Conflict in the Popular Music Industry*. London: Arnold.
- Nelson, S. 2001. 'Rock and Roll Royalties, Copyrights and Contracts of Adhesion: Why Musicians May be Chasing Waterfalls.' 1 John Marshal Review Intellectual Property Law 163.
- Oswald, A.J. 1982. 'The Microeconomic Theory of the Trade Union.' *The Economic Journal*. Vol. 92(367) pp. 576-595.

- Ott, B.L. and Mack, R.L. 2013. *Critical Media Studies: An Introduction*. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons.
- Peterson, R.A. and Berger, D.G. 1975. 'Cycles in Symbol Production: The Case of Popular Music.' *American Sociological Review*. Vol. 40(2) pp. 158-173. April.
- Peterson, R.A. and Anand, N. 2004. 'The Production of Culture Perspective.' *Annual Reviews*. Vol. 30. pp. 311-334.
- Picard, R.G. 2002. *The Economics and Financing of Media Companies*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Portes, A. 1998. 'Social Capital: Its Origins and Applications in Modern Sociology.' *Annual Reviews of Sociology*. Vol. 24, pp. 1-24.
- Prins, H. 2001. 'Digital revolution: indigenous peoples in Cyberia.' In Haviland, W.A. (Ed). *Cultural Anthropology*. 10th Ed. Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt.
- Raballand, G., Kunaka, C., and Giersing, B. 2008. 'The Impact of Regional Liberalization and Harmonization in Road Transport Services: A Focus on Zambia and Lessons for Landlocked Countries.' *Policy Research Working Paper* No. 4482. The World Bank.
- Robinson, D.C. 1986. 'Youth and Popular Music: A Theoretical Rationale for an International Study.' *Gazette*, Vol. 37, pp. 33-50.
- ROCKSTAR4000. 2012. 'Airtel ONE8 Announced as Global Top 2 Most Innovative and Creative Music Marketing Campaigns.' <http://www.rockstar4000.com/profiles/blogs/airtel-one8-announced-as-global-top-2-most-innovative-and-creativ> Posted February 24.
- Roe, K. and Carlsson, U. (Eds). 1990. *Popular Music Research*. Sweden: Nordicom.
- Rutten, P. (Ed). 1996. 'Global Sounds and Local Brews: Musical Development and Music Industry in Europe.' In Part II of European Music Office, *Music in Europe. Brussels*. pp. 64-76.

- Salamon, M. 1998. *Industrial Relations: Theory and Practice*. 2nd Ed. Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall.
- Sánchez Dromundo, R.A. 2007. Bourdieu's field theory as a theoretical framework for analyzing the process of degree completion in graduate education. *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa*. Vol. 9 (1). <http://redie.uabc.mx/vol9no1/contents-dromundo.html>
- Sandstrom, B. 2008. *World Popular Music and Identity*. St. Louis: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company.
- Sinclair, J. 1992. 'Media and Cultural Industries: An Overview.' CIRCIT Newsletter. pp. 3-4.
- Stahl, M. 2008. *Recording Artists, Work for Hire, Employment, and Appropriation*. Muhlenberg College. <http://web.law.columbia.edu/sites/default/files/microsites/law-culture/files/2008-files/Stahl-%20%20Work%20for%20Hire.pdf>
- Street, J. 1997. *Politics & Popular Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Street, J. 2003. "Fight the Power. The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics." *Government and Opposition*. Vol. 38, pp. 113-130.
- Stone, R.M. (Ed). 2000. *The Garland Handbook of African Music*. 2nd Ed. New York: Routledge.
- Sweden Abroad. 2013. Embassy of Sweden, Lusaka, Zambia. <http://www.swedenabroad.com/en-GB/Embassies/Lusaka/Current-affairs/News/SwedenZambia--Enhancing-our-Enterprise--sys/>
- Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA). 2004. 'Zambia'. *SIDA Country Report 2003*. Embassy of Sweden, Zambia: Edita Sverige. AB. http://www.sida.se/contentassets/a035769f83b746a1b98e72abb3c16340/zambia-sida-country-report-2003_431.pdf

- Szeman, I. and Kaposy, T. (Eds). 2011. *Cultural Theory: An Anthology*. United Kingdom: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tagg, P. 1982. 'Analysing Popular Music: Theory, Method and Practice.' *Popular Music*, Vol. 2, pp. 37-69. Published online 11 November 2008.
- The Development Economics Research Group on International Trade (DERGIT). 2001. 'Workshop on the Development of the Music Industry in Africa.' Synopsis of conference in Washington, D.C. June 20-21.
http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTCEERD/Resources/CWI_music_industry_in_Africa_synopsis.pdf
- Towse, R. (Ed). *Creativity, Incentive and Reward: An Economic Analysis of Copyright and Culture in the Information Age*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- United Nations (UN). 2011. 'Strengthening the Creative Industries for Development in Zambia.' *Strengthening the Creative Industries in Five Selected African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries through Employment and Trade Expansion*. Multi-Agency Pilot Project: ACP/EC/ILP/UNCTAD UNESCO.
- Wacquant, L.J.D. 1993. 'On the Tracks of Symbolic Power: Prefatory Noes to Bourdieu's State Nobility.' *Theory Culture Society*. Vol. 10(1) pp. 1-17.
- Waksman, S. 1999. *Instruments of Desire: The Electric Guitar and the Shaping of Musical Experience*. USA: President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- Wall, T. 2013. *Studying Popular Music Culture*. 2nd Ed. London: Sage.
- Wallis, R. and Malm, K. 1984. *Big Sounds from Small People: The Music Industry in Small Countries*. London: Constable.
- Waite, M. (Ed). 2012. *Paperback Oxford English Dictionary*. 7th Ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Webster's College Dictionary. 2001. New York: Random House.
- Wikström, P. 2009. 'The Music Industry: Music in the Cloud.' *Digital Media and Society Series*. UK: Polity.

Williams, K. 2003. *Understanding Media Theory*. London: Arnold.

Young, S. and Collins, S. 2010. 'A View from the Trenches of Music 20.0.' *Popular Music and Society*. Vol. 33(3) pp. 339-355.

Zulu, C. 2012. 'Zambia: ZAMCOPS' Campaign to Improve Royalties.' *Times of Zambia*.

Published 10 August 2012. Accessed 13 August 2014.

<http://ukzambians.co.uk/home/2012/08/10/zamcops-campaign-to-improve-royalties/>

SOUNDS TOP 40 - WEEKLY SALES REPORT

For Week No.		46	Commencing on:	11/17/2013	Ending on:	11/23/2013
Rank	Sales Value	Qty	Artist's Full Names and Title of Recording			
1	K685.30	14	SAKALA BROTHERS SAKALA BROTHERS - BORN IN MATERO ³			
2	K587.40	12	KARASA KARASA - TITAN REVOLUTION ²			
3	K538.45	11	ROBERTO ROBERTO - MY NAME IS ²			
4	K377.85	3	MICHAEL LEARNS TO ROCK MICHAEL LEARNS TO ROCK - PLAYED ON PEPP ²			
5	K299.90	2	KLUGH EARL - BEST OF /BEST OF VOL 2 ²			
6	K299.90	2	NAMBA MTHUNZI - MERCY-LIVE IN DURBAN-2 ²			
7	K299.90	2	RICHARD CLIFF - PLATINUM COLLECTION ²			
8	K299.90	2	VARIOUS VARIOUS - ONLY 90S ALBUM YOU LL EVER NEED ²			
9	K299.85	3	JACKSON FREDDIE - GREATEST HITS			
10	K299.85	3	KLUGH EARL - ESSENTIAL			
11	K299.85	3	PARTON & ROGERS KENNY & DOLLY - ONCE UPON A CHRISTMAS ¹⁹			
12	K299.85	3	VANDROSS LUTHER - THIS IS CHRISTMAS			
13	K299.85	3	WINANS CECE - FOR ALWAYS-BEST OF			
14	K293.70	6	BR MUKUKA BR MUKUKA - NIMWE MWEKA ¹¹			
15	K251.90	2	BROOKS & DUNN BROOKS & DUNN - GREATEST HITS COLLECTION ²			
16	K251.90	2	IL DIVO IL DIVO - GREATEST HITS			
17	K251.90	2	MC CLURKIN DONNIE - PSALMS, HYMS & SPIRITUAL SONGS			
18	K251.90	2	OLOMIDE KOFFI - BEST OF - BOMA NGA N ELENGI			
19	K251.90	2	R KELLY R KELLY - 12 PLAY/R KELLY			
20	K244.75	5	BR MUKUKA BR MUKUKA - HEART OF PRIASE VOL 1			
21	K199.90	2	BELLAMY BROTHERS BELLAMY BROTHERS - 14 GREAT HITS ⁴			
22	K199.90	2	BOYZ II MEN BOYZ II MEN - II			
23	K199.90	2	BUTLER JONATHAN - 7TH AVENUE			
24	K199.90	2	BUTLER JONATHAN - GOSPEL DAYS			
25	K199.90	2	CLAYDERMAN RICHARD - ROMANTIQUE			
26	K199.90	2	DION CELINE - A NEW DAY HAS COME			
27	K199.90	2	GWALA FREDDIE - AMADAMARA			
28	K199.90	2	LEMAR LEMAR - THE TRUTH ABOUT LOVE			
29	K199.90	2	LIRA LIRA - LIVE IN CONCERT-A CELEBRATION			
30	K199.90	2	MCCLURKIN DONNIE - DIAMOND ULTIMATE COLLECTION			
31	K199.90	2	MOKOENA VUYO - BEST OF			
32	K199.90	2	NAMBA MTHUNZI - SEND YOU GLORY			
33	K199.90	2	NDOUR YOUSOU - JOKO			
34	K199.90	2	OCEAN BILLY - BEST OF-2			
35	K199.90	2	PARTON DOLLY PARTON - I BELIEVE			
36	K199.90	2	PLATFORM 1 PLATFORM 1 - BEST OF			
37	K199.90	2	R KELLY R KELLY - 14 GREAT HITS			
38	K199.90	2	RICHE LIONEL - RENAISSANCE			
39	K199.90	2	RICHE LIONEL - TRULY LOVE SONGS			
40	K199.90	2	RIHANNA RIHANNA - LOUD - RSA			

November 24, 2013

124

ANNUAL SOUNDS TOP 40

For the Year: 2013 Commencing on 12/31/2012 Ending on: 01/04/2014

Position Artist's Full Names and Title of Recording

- 1 POMPI POMPI - MIZU
- 2 JK JK - PISTO
- ~~3 SONY SONY - XPERIA Z1 HONAMI-BLACK-C6903~~
- 4 CHUNGU ABEL - WORSHIP OF THE LOVE REVOLUTIONARY
- ~~5 SONY SONY - XPERIA E CHAMPAGNE-C1605~~
- ~~6 BOSE BOSE - BOSE LIFESTYLE 135~~
- ~~7 BOSE BOSE - BOSE LIFESTYLE 235~~
- 8 INNOCENT INNOCENT - ALUMBWE
- 9 MAG44 MAG44 - SELF DISCOVERY
- 10 UNCLE REX UNCLE REX - FELLOWSHIP
- 11 SAKALA BROTHERS SAKALA BROTHERS - BORN IN MATERO
- 12 MOEN DON - HIDING PLACE (PLATINUM EDITION)
- 13 OC OC - FOLO FOLO
- 14 YAHWEH MY DESTINY YAHWEH MY DESTINY - NABA PA LWENDO
- 15 MULUMBWA MULENQA - ALAPALA
- 16 EPHRAIM EPHRAIM - WORSHIP COMPILATION VOL 1
- 17 ZAHARA ZAHARA - THE BEGINNING LIVE
- 18 EPHRAIM EPHRAIM - PRAISE COMPILATION VOL 1
- 19 INNOCENT INNOCENT - UNSTOPABLE
- 20 NANCY NANCY - MULWELELE
- 21 SUWILANJI SUWILANJI - MULILONSHI
- 22 MWANZA REGINA - MY GOD IS GOOD
- 23 JUDY JUDY - CHIKAWAMA
- 24 MACKY II MACKY II - LEGENDARY
- 25 MUANA TSHALA - SIKILA
- 26 ZAHARA ZAHARA - LOLIWE
- 27 MOEN DON - MERCY SEAT
- 28 EPHESIANS PROJECT EPHESIANS PROJECT - ABANA BANKONDO- RELOADED
- 29 UNCLE REX UNCLE REX - THIS IS ME
- 30 KINGS KINGS - PYE PYE PYE
- 31 B1 B1 - PERFECTO
- 32 B-FLOW B-FLOW - VOICELESS WOMAN
- 33 VARIOUS VARIOUS - ONLY R&B YOU WILL EVER NEED
- 34 VARIOUS VARIOUS - PURE R & B
- 35 ZSCHECH DARLENE - SHOUT TO THE LORD GOLD EDITION
- 36 MAMPI MAMPI - NATURAL BORN STAR
- 37 ROBERTO ROBERTO - MY NAME IS
- 38 VARIOUS VARIOUS - 10 YEARS OF POP ANTHEMS-2002-2012
- 39 ORDAINED SISTERS ORDAINED SISTERS - ENA TAFILWA
- 40 VARIOUS VARIOUS - DANCE HITS 2013

January 06, 2014

PROCEDURE IN MUSIC COPYRIGHT REGISTRATION

1. Submit one copy of **published** music on CD or tape (already playing on radio stations and/or on the market/ready for the market) for a ZAMCOPS panel to listen to the music. The **Minimum** period for the listening of the music is 3 days.
2. After the 3 days elapses, the applicant will fill in the membership application forms. Submit a copy of receipt from the recording studio. This is only done on **Mondays and Thursdays**.

Composer/ Authors or groups will pay a registration fee of **K210**. **THIS IS ONE OFF MEMBERSHIP FEE (NON REFUNDABLE)**.

A representative of the group should have an authorization letter from the group or church to register the songs on its behalf. Attach copies of Composers' NRCs and authorizations allowing the group to record and release their songs.

Publishers will pay a registration fee of **K300**. **THIS IS ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION**. Copies of publishing contracts must be submitted prior to publishing.

3. After filling the forms and payment, the letter of membership/Deed of assignment and Clearance letter are issued.
 4. After registration, the initial copy of the music left for listening purposes is deposited at ZAMCOPS library for documentation.
-

UPDATING OF WORKS (SONGS)

1. If a member releases another/other album(s), they need to update their file, (which they leave at ZAMCOPS secretariat when they first registered) at a fee of **K150**
2. Change of CD/inlay/ names and/or representative /titles is **K150**
3. Replacement of Deed of assignment/Clearance letter /Letter of membership is **K80**. Replacement of 1 of the documents is **K50**
4. Borrowing of a CD/Tape by the composer/author of the music from the ZAMCOPS library is **K200** (Within 1 day)
5. Surcharge on late returning of borrowed CDs is **K100**
6. Special notifications is **K300**
7. Memorandum of Association – **K50**
8. Registration must be completed within 2 months. After 2 months, CDs are disposed off due to lack of storage space for unfinished CDs.