Experiences of Belonging and Exclusion in the Production and Reception of Some Contemporary South African Jazz: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis[1]

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ABSTRACT

Focussing on music as a locus of power relations, this article explores how individuals' musical experiences may be discursively mediated. Drawing on Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) and aspects of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) it specifies some of the ways in which a small sample of interviewed jazz musicians and audience members active on the jazz scenes of mid 1990s and early 2000s Durban and Johannesburg used aspects of their musical experiences to affirm or contest aspects of their membership within larger social groupings defined by generation, language identity, and gender. At an epistemological and theoretical level the article tentatively proposes that combining IPA and CDA may be a productive way to explore – in some empirical detail – how larger societal dynamics find expression at a unitary individual level of musical experience.

[It] is not enough to ask, *What is the nature or meaning of this work of music? …* Using the concept of musicking as a human encounter, we can ask the wider and more interesting question: *What does it mean when this performance (of this work) takes place at this time, in this place, with these participants?* Or to put it more simply, we can ask of the performance, any performance anywhere and at any time, *What's really going on here?*
(Christopher Small 1998, 10)

Power is written into music in many ways: the fact that I was excluded from sharing the music that was meaningful to my father is present as I listen to that music now. He's not around anymore. I listen to it, I own it, and I wonder what it was that he enjoyed in it, saw in it.
(Audience member Ralph Adendorff)

According to Robert Walser (1993, 34-35), most musical analysis occurs within the context of a 'disabling methodological split between aesthetic and sociological analysis'. Similarly, Ingrid Monson (1996, 3) notes that 'discussions of musical structures and cultural issues in music have generally proceeded along parallel – decidedly nonintersecting – lines'. However, particularly since 1990, a small but rapidly growing body of work has emerged that explores contextualised approaches to musical analysis. United in the recognition that 'the familiar humanist separation of art and life … no longer holds' (Hutcheon 1988, 7), these writings emphasise that 'music cannot be other than something that is constructed by and in, and that constructs, social activity' (Middleton 2003, 11-12).

Like Small, Richard Middleton (1990, 95) recognises that '[m]usical meaning is generated within a *field*, not a discrete musical work, and the non-autonomous aspects of this field lead one to think in terms of a complex system of socio-musical *ecology*'. For Middleton, 'what is at issue for any "critical musicology" is the exact nature of the relationship between particular musical problematics and the wider cultural, social and ideological forces' (1990, 126). In a similar vein, Monson (1996, 3) notes the need for 'a more cultural music theory and a more musical cultural theory'. Walser (1993, 31) voices this idea more forcefully:

> There is no essential, foundational way to ground musical meaning beyond the flux of social existence. Ultimately musical analysis can be considered credible only if it helps explain the significance of musical activities in particular contexts.

In my doctoral research, I responded to this call in the literature of 'the new musicology' for an engagement with the particularities of music's production and reception by applying Small's question (cited above) to the real-world situation of (a slice of) contemporary jazz musicking in post-apartheid South Africa. By way of an 'answer' to Small's question, I presented an ethnographically contextualised close reading of the music played by three 'jazz'[2] groups in eight concerts held in Durban between June 1994 and December 1995 and in Johannesburg between August and November 2003. I chose to focus on performances by the

Durban-based groups Counterculture and Mosaic and the Johannes-burg-based Prisoners of Strange because I had ready access to them when I lived in Durban in the 1990s and in Johannesburg in 2003. More-over, they were the only groups in these situations that played their own music exclusively. Typically, most groups in both cities at both times were 'pickup bands', temporarily brought together to play a specific engage-ment, that performed a combination of standards and some of their own music. I wanted to focus on bands that played originals as I was equal-ly interested in composition, performance and reception as forms of musicking.

My research involved the following activities: 1) I video-recorded the eight concerts and produced written descriptions of them; 2) I analysed lead sheet versions of the 37 compositions performed at the concerts and compared these to the actual performances of the pieces; 3) I con-ducted interviews with thirteen of the participant musicians and twelve audience members. I did second interviews with four of the Durban-based audience members and three of the Durban-based performers, conducting 32 interviews in total. Each interview was unstructured and lasted 45 to 90 minutes. I typically initiated the interviews with open-end-ed questions such as 'Why do you play jazz?' in the case of the partici-pant musicians, and 'Why did you come out in the rain to a live concert?' or 'What stands out for you from concert [X]?' in the case of the audience members. The interviews would then develop conversationally out of these questions. I transcribed the interviews and teased out common themes and sub-themes in the resultant 250 000 word text.

With this sheer quantity of raw data, it was not feasible to try to pro-vide exhaustive analyses of the composition, performance and reception of all of the music played and heard at the eight concerts. Rather I fo-cussed my analyses around 'telling' moments in the interview testimony that illuminated the (potentially generalisable) ways in which particular musicians' and listeners' experiences of particular musical moments were mediated by wider societal dynamics.

Consequently, my primary unit of analysis was not – as I initially thought – the musical performances 'themselves', but rather individual musicians' and listeners' *experiences* of producing and receiving that

music. As such, the question my thesis really addressed was: What are some of the experiences and perceptions of these particular participants who were present at these performances by the South African jazz groups Mosaic, Counterculture, and The Prisoners of Strange?

In recent years I have come to recognise that the phenomenological and idiographic thrust of this research placed it closer to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) than to ethnography, which still typically focuses on 'a community' as its main unit of analysis. Developed by psychologists Jonathan Smith, Paul Flowers and Michael Larkin, IPA is a qualitative methodology suited to the close analysis of personal experiences that stand out from the general flow of normal everyday life and that research subjects themselves interpret as significant or noteworthy (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009, 1-3). IPA is rooted in psychology, but has increasingly informed research in other fields, including music. Not surprisingly, IPA has informed research in music psychology and performance (Foxcroft 2014; Griffiths 2011; Herbert 2011; Oakland, MacDonald and Flowers 2009; Clark et al 2007; Faulkner and Davidson 2006; Bailey and Davidson 2005) but increasingly also music education (Ellis 2014; Bainger 2011; Taylor 2010; Taylor and Hallam 2008).

IPA has three key theoretical features. Firstly, 'IPA is phenomenological in that it is concerned with exploring experience in its own terms' (Smith, Flowers and Larkin 2009, 1). Secondly, IPA is idiographic in that it strives to detail the particular ways particular individuals interpret particular sets of experiences. Thirdly, IPA is 'doubly hermeneutic' in that it requires the researcher to create 'meta-interpretations' of the research subjects' primary interpretations of their experiences.

The meta-interpretations I made in my research concentrated on the ways in which the participants' experiences were discursively mediated. Following Easthope (1983, 47), Eagleton (1983, 210), Weedon (1987, 108), Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1998, 70-72) and Blommaert (2005, 1-3), I conceptualise discourse as an expressive practice in which textuality, subjectivity, and power function as interdependent constituents of an integrated social totality.

Discourse analysis typically concentrates on uncovering the ways in which the linguistic or visual construction of widely circulated texts and

images engender forms of social action that promote hegemonic agendas and produce constrained social subjects (Van Dijk 2008; Blommaert 2005; Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard 1996; Easthope 1983). While this sceptical and pessimistic outlook is apposite and necessary in a highly unequal socio-political order, it does mean that discourse analysis is generally less attuned to the kinds of genuine agency that can emerge in the case of non-hegemonic expressive practices and resistive receivers. Because of its focus on individual experience, IPA also affords glimpses of those rarer instances where agency is possible and the constraining influences of larger societal forces are resisted.

In this article, I investigate these structure-agency dynamics with reference to the experiences of musical and social belonging and exclusion mentioned by certain musicians and audience-members. Placing 'power' at the centre of my analyses, I consider how these individuals use aspects of their musical experiences to affirm or contest aspects of their membership within larger social groupings defined by generation, language identity, and gender.

Ralph and Matthew: Parenthood and Childhood

> My mother and father's music never got shared. (That's a recognition I've developed later) … The [record player] was in the lounge, and children didn't go into the lounge. When we did go into the lounge, on very special occasions, we sometimes heard their music. It was on oddish occasions that one was permitted into that territory, into that music. (Ralph Adendorff)

> My son had expressed interest in going to a concert. I'd told him about the ones that I'd been to during 'office [university] hours'. He was at school during all of those, so he couldn't attend, and he put pressure on me and I thought, "Well why not!" In part, it was a way of taking him into a little world of mine … I've been very free to draw him into things that I found exciting. It's not something that my father did, [but] I didn't do it because [my father] didn't. I did it because I wanted to. (Ralph Adendorff)

Affirming Cameron et al's (1999, 153) observation that the 'person becomes an intricate mosaic of differing power potentials in different social relations', Ralph Adendorff's respective accounts of his musical experiences as a child/adolescent in the 1960s and as the parent of an eight-year-old boy thirty years later illustrate how differing enactments of a particular social identity may imbricate music consumption in contrastingly exclusionary and inclusive economies of power. In the first situation he recounts, childhood is constituted as adulthood's 'other'. Dissonant dynamics predominate, and parenthood and childhood occupy (largely) separate and opposed physical and imaginary realms: the lounge is a physical area that is reserved for grownups and is out of bounds to children; consequently, the music played on the record player housed there becomes an imaginary domain from which children are also excluded. Similarly mired within this adult-dominated economy of constraint and exclusion, hit parade pop becomes another imaginary territory that adults and children may not share:

> I remember listening to radio hits on a Saturday afternoon, but again it was frowned upon: it was the hit parade, it was pop music, something forbidden; you didn't listen to that music with your parents. (Ralph Adendorff)

The anxiousness that attends the consumption of pop music indexes an epistemic disjuncture, a force field of social tensions actuated by respectively antagonistic modernist and postmodernist enactments of age/power. Subtending this tension is the following array of dissonant power dynamics: first, the exclusionary politics Adendorff describes depend on the constitution of childhood and adulthood as strictly binary oppositions; next, as the 'interstitial stage between child and adult' (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998, 24), adolescence threatens this polarity-dependent field of power relations; finally, through a syllogistic enchainment of adolescence and pop, hit parade music is constituted as a dangerous (and therefore, 'forbidden') domain that children must experience on their own, away from the ears of disapproving adults.

By contrast, in the second situation Adendorff recounts, childhood and adulthood are construed as less oppositional subject positions, and experiences of power as capacity (rather than constraint) predominate. In 'putting pressure' on his father to attend the concert, Matthew Adendorff functions as an agent of power (though, obviously, he inhabits the lower status subject position, and it is Adendorff who controls the resources that make their presence at the concert possible, and who ultimately decides whether his son may accompany him or not). For Matthew, the concert hall and the music he hears there become respectively real and symbolic parental territories that his father renders accessible to him. In this dialogical field of power relations, parenthood and childhood do not occupy rigidly separated spaces, and as a shared and 'co-owned' domain, music becomes the locus of a set of consonant energies. Simultaneously, however, music functions as the locus of some dissonant energies:

> Loyalties were split at interval. He wanted to go home. It was 'very big',
> the music, he said, and it was a lot louder clearly than we'd ever played
> music at home.
> (~~Ralph~~ Adendorff)

Like audience-member Seena Yacoob who found the 'busy and loud and full' music of the African Jazz Pioneers 'overpowering' and excluding, the younger Adendorff felt overwhelmed by saxophonist/composer Chris Merz's modernist 'post-bebop' sound, experiencing this intense acoustic environment as an uncomfortable physical space he was reluctant to endure much longer. By contrast, Merz's concert was of personal significance to Ralph Adendorff on two levels, and he would have been disappointed to miss the second half. Firstly, it was a chance to for him to share 'a little world' of his with his son:

> It was an important occasion, and it was just me and him. Mum wasn't
> there and the others, just the two of us.

Secondly, because Merz was leaving South Africa for America, it was a final opportunity to hear a musician whose work he admired:

> It was the last time to listen to Chris Merz. I felt, during the time that he was at the University, he had made an impact and he was one of the people who kindled the interest that I had in jazz so that I began then, regularly, to come to the lunch hour concerts. In part, it was a funny way of saying thank you to him.

Thus, in capitulating to his son's request, leaving early, and cutting short an 'important occasion', Adendorff 'de-polarises' parenthood and childhood, momentarily actuating (as an agent of power) an alternative to the more hierarchical field of domestic power relations that *he* often inhabited (as a subject of power) nearly three decades earlier.

Stacey and Mosaic: Language-identity

In South Africa, as with other multilingual societies, 'language' is a bitterly politicised sphere. As part of its divide-and-rule arsenal, the Nationalist government cynically used linguistic differences to sow intra-African political divisions and rationalise its farcical homelands policy. Tensions between white Afrikaans and English speakers hark back to the South African War of 1900-1902 (formerly referred to as the Anglo-Boer War) and to the Great Trek some 60 years earlier (Ross 1999, 72-74; 39-42). Especially among many South Africans of colour, Afrikaans was (and quite often still is) negatively associated with Afrikaner dominance during apartheid, and most infamously with the 1976 Soweto student uprisings that contested the government's implementation of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in black schools.

Power dynamics around language in South Africa do not just play out on national levels, but simultaneously find expression in very personal contexts. For example, Seena Yacoob recalls that in the 1980s she 'felt quite ashamed of enjoying' Afrikaans lessons at school, as did I. At that time for politicised South Africans of Indian origin, Afrikaans – as an official language and compulsory school subject – was to be endured, not enjoyed; to find pleasure in 'the language of the oppressor' felt traitorous.

However, the demise of apartheid has precipitated a renegotiation of Afrikaans's social meanings in some circles. Taking a conciliatory stance in the excerpt below, Yacoob tries to transcend the dissonance surrounding Afrikaans by deploying a strategic amnesia to positively re-imagine this contested language. Questioning an acquaintance's refusal to communicate in Afrikaans, she said:

> He said to me, even if he understands [an Afrikaans interlocutor], he won't respond. But it's a language; it's a means of communicating of millions of people in this country and despite whatever histories it has, it's still here and, to me, that's what's important.

Yacoob's argument is sensible and indeed there are more (white *and* black) first-language Afrikaans speakers in South Africa than first-language English speakers. Nonetheless, the attitude of Yacoob's acquaintance is not unusual. Moreover, feelings of negativity around 'Afrikaans-ness' in contemporary South Africa do not just find expression in private discourse, but are often stubbornly present in more public contexts too. Wryly observant, audience-member and jazz critic Dinga Sikwebu commented on a local record company's marketing of a jazz pianist of Afrikaans extraction as follows:

> [In] '98, Wessel van Rensburg was Wessel van Rensburg. Now he doesn't put the 'Van Rensburg' [in]. It's part of a marketing thing by Sheer Sound. No one's gonna buy some 'Van Rensburg': 'He's a boer.' So now, if you get his things, it's 'Wessel'.

For flautist/bandleader Stacey van Schalkwyk, who was 'brought up as an Afrikaans child, with an Afrikaans identity' in the English-dominated province of Natal[3] (as it was then known), English-Afrikaans discord has been a source of much intrapersonal conflict. In the social environment of her pre-school childhood, English and English-ness were considered alien and 'other', and she remembers that feelings of anxiousness and mistrust commonly attended interactions with 'English' people. 'But then suddenly,' as she put it, she was thrust into an all-English milieu, and as

she made this 'cross into a new world' the 'Same-Other'/Afrikaans-English poles that had underwritten her sense of self until then were entirely reversed:

> When I went to an English[-medium boarding] school I became 'English'. I wanted nothing to do with [my Afrikaans] heritage. I started dreaming in English, I started thinking in English – even now, I don't dream in Afrikaans, I don't think in Afrikaans, I don't create in Afrikaans … I even pretended that I couldn't speak the language anymore when I met up with family and I would purposely not speak the language properly, with an English accent, and all of that.

As a university undergraduate, Van Schalkwyk began to question her estrangement from her mother tongue, feeling increasingly uncomfortable about unitarily occupying the identity of, and presenting herself as, 'English South African'. No longer wanting to partake of this exclusionary and polarised politics, she consequently 'went back to aspects of [her] Afrikaans-ness', arriving at a dialectically re-imagined sense of self that better suited and expressed the 'mixed-ness' of her bilingual/cultural identity. For Van Schalkwyk, composing for and performing with the 'Indo-Afro-jazz' group Mosaic[4] allowed her to partake of a pluralist and 'post-binary' expressive space in which she felt freed from the English/Afrikaans polarities that had provoked so much personal unease:

> Until [I started performing with] Mosaic, I didn't have a solid mode of expression: I couldn't express myself in Afrikaans, I couldn't express myself in English, but I felt that I consistently could express myself in Mosaic … This was a new language. It was essentially, 'I can speak this. This is mine. I know where I'm at. I'm comfortable with this. I can express what I [want].' The language was made up of many variables [and] that was appealing. I didn't have to be this; I didn't *have* to be that in order to speak this language.

Underlying Van Schalkwyk's descriptions of Mosaic as 'a new language' and a 'comfortable' and empowering forum for self-expression is a

complex interpenetration of identity dynamics, history, place, and textuality. Firstly, as with any other social identity category, Van Schalkwyk's Afrikaans-ness references a historically-saturated field of power relations: had she been around during the Anglo-Boer War in an area that was captured by the English, she would most probably have been placed in a concentration camp; on the other hand, during the Nationalist government's reign, being Afrikaans would have enhanced her chances of gaining employment in the civil service, accessing other state-controlled resources, and so on. Next, these dynamics play out differently in different spatial contexts: had Van Schalkwyk grown up in the Afrikaans-dominated Orange Free State province, and/or attended an Afrikaans school, the discord that she experienced in Natal may not have occurred at all; by contrast, had she grown up *English* in the Free State, she may have experienced quite similar feelings of dissonance around language.

Textuality is a final ingredient in this stew of power relations. Although instrumental Western classical music, like jazz, operates outside spoken language, Van Schalkwyk experienced the dictatorial relationship of composition to performance in classical music as 'limiting [her] personal voice', thereby implying that the feelings of constraint she experienced when expressing herself in English or Afrikaans were somewhat replicated when she played classical music. By contrast, the dialogical, pluralist, and relatively non-proscriptive ethos of jazz improvisation constituted 'a good way of expressing [herself]', functioning, for her, as an arena within which she could actuate a transcendent alternative to the negatively politicised expressive experiences of her past. Whereas communication in English or Afrikaans (or playing classical music) located Van Schalkwyk within a field of (largely) dissonant dynamics and (mostly) constituted her as a subject of power, composing/performing with Mosaic placed her within an arena of consonant energies that better enabled her to function as an agent of power.

Seena and Siya: Gender

[It] is almost certain that the rock guitarist will play her electric guitar with a plectrum and it is very likely that she will use an electronically

generated sustain in her playing. It is unlikely that she will hit a diminished thirteenth chord, play a solo with constant intonation, or indeed be a woman.
(Jason Toynbee 2000, 39)

I don't really like drums because it borders on the masculine. No, it is masculine; it's military, militant, and, everything that it stands for is so 'I'm in power, I'm in control'.
(Stacey van Schalkwyk)

All six women I interviewed made some reference to music as a gendered discourse whereas *none* of the (nineteen) men interviewed did. This is not surprising: locked into a 'Same-Other' polarity by a male-dominated social order, men and women are respectively pre-constituted as agents and subjects of power. Often violently consigned to the disadvantaged pole, and rarely exempt from the persistent, pervasive, and damaging operations of male hegemony, women experience their lower status subject position as a painful and all-too-visible presence; by contrast, as occupants of the more privileged subject position, and as beneficiaries of patriarchy, men typically luxuriate in a blissful blindness to its operations.[5]

Predictably, given the ubiquity of gender inequality, patriarchy (or resistance to it) finds expression in music in numerous ways. The under-representation of female performers, especially in jazz, is one of these, and in familiar analysis of this situation, Durban jazz journalist Gisele Turner remarked:

Women were generally home-makers and therefore couldn't be up late at night hanging about jazz bands whereas the men could. They could roll in at six o'clock in the morning and sleep all day and wake up to dinner and then go off and do it all over again. Somebody had to stay home and look after the kids and whatever.

Mavis Bayton (1997, 48) offers similar reasons for the rarity of woman electric guitarists:

Male guitarists typically have their career serviced by the hidden labour of girlfriends and wives. Female guitarists are far less likely to get such support. Where were Erica Clapton and Pat Townsend? Washing the dishes and feeding the baby, probably.

As Turner and Bayton recognise, women's bondage to a 'reproductive' economy (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 39) of home-making and child-rearing virtually precludes their participation in time-expensive and 'high-visibility' public pursuits such as professional music-performance. In other words, and as gender inequality makes especially clear, subject position does not simply refer to the 'neutral' emplacement of actors in social space, but rather, to strictures on the roles that individuals may play within their designated domains. As such, where women *do* participate in the formal or 'productive' economy (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 39) as wage workers, they typically remain hostage to their prescribed domestic role as 'nurturers', and are generally restricted to performing what patriarchal society deems '"women's work"': taking care of others and providing emotional and maintenance services (counselling, welfare services, clerical support, cleaning)' (Peterson and Runyan 1999, 39).

Because 'music does not exist by itself [but] is constituted in social practice and … bound to society through social contexts and social consequences' (Berger 1999, 277), this gendered division of labour also finds expression in jazz, where women typically occupy just two roles, those of singer and/or pianist:

> Women have been encouraged to sing and play the piano since the 1700s. Where women have developed a tradition of performing on an instrument – such as the piano – there are examples of genuinely 'great' individuals, such as the late Mary Lou Williams among jazz pianists, who must be counted on anyone's list among the all-time 'greats' on that instrument, regardless of sex. But there are very few major figures among all the other instrumentalists in jazz. As an indication, in the 1988 *Downbeat* readers' poll in 35 categories, women were ranked in only 4 not exclusively reserved for women (i.e., 'female singer'), 1 as composer, 2 as arranger, 1 on soprano sax.
> (y Pratt 1990, 156)

As my interchange with Gisele Turner below reveals, the 'encouragement' (to play the piano) that women receive (especially as children) can be quite forceful and is indicative of the coercion that frequently attends individuals' socialisation into their gendered identities. Although I had known Turner for over eight years[6] and often interacted with her both professionally and socially, I didn't realise – until this interview – that she had received formal training in music. Recognising, in the way she was describing some music she had heard, that she had had 'hands-on' musical experience at some point in her life, I asked:

> Did you play?
> GT: I played classical piano for years and years and years and years. I started when I was five and I played till I was 17 and I went for my grades and I did theory.
> NR: Why did you stop playing piano?
> GT: I *hated* it!! I never wanted to play it. I wanted to dance! I'm a physical person! To be stuck behind the piano was deadly. My mother used to set the clock for two hours, so that I would practice. And all I ever did was these [grade] examinations. And I was *not* a talented musician, so it was really hard work. It was not natural for me ... it was one of those things where girls of my generation learned an instrument, and, they generally learned the piano.

Piano-playing and singing (and indeed musical performance in general) become gendered through their enchainment to a hegemonic ideological system which – through a lattice of syllogistic associations and metonymic transferences – works to sustain patriarchy by reductively constituting a multiplicity of objects, spaces, expressive modes, and so on, as either positively 'male' or negatively 'female'. Within this patriarchal semiotic regime, singing may be said to attain its status as an 'acceptable' female pursuit as follows: firstly, as with 'male' and 'female', patriarchy brings 'culture' and 'nature' into a 'Same-Other' relationship (Coates 1997, 59); next, singing is construed as the 'natural' and feminine 'Other' to more 'masculine' modes of musical expression (such as instrumental performance). As such, (conventional) female vocalities (typically) fail to

contest the patriarchal status quo. With 'domesticity' as the pivotal trait, piano playing becomes acceptable feminine behaviour through a similar process: firstly, patriarchy constitutes domestic spaces as female and public spaces as male; thus, as *the* musical exemplar of (bourgeois) domesticity, the piano is metonymically invested with a 'feminine' identity, thereby becoming an 'allowed' means of musical expression for women.[7]

Whereas women classical musicians have been 'allowed', for some time now, to play woodwind and string instruments, female wind players remain a rarity in jazz:

> Women [in jazz are] not encouraged to play wind [instruments]. It's funny, because of course in a classical orchestra, women are very much part of it. I think it's more ladylike to be in a classical thing. There's something about jazz which has also got that slightly raw edge to it: who you hang out with, smoky venues, alcohol, catcalling. Some women just don't want that kind of attention. (Gisele Turner)

A different set of associations, pertaining to place, social identity and textuality, underlies *this* exclusion. Firstly, because the physical contexts of jazz performance often stubbornly recall its lower class origins in bars and brothels, jazz retains an attitude of sexual explicitness that is incommensurate with the 'sugar-and-spice-and-all-things-nice' ethos of bourgeois femininity. By contrast, classical music performances take place in sexually restrained and 'respectable' contexts like churches and state-funded concert halls. Moreover, whereas jazz horns (in essence, the saxophone and trumpet) are 'loud' (read 'sexually-dominant/masculine'), classical woodwind instruments, especially the flute, are 'soft' (read 'demure/feminine'). Additionally, allowing women musicians to partake of the 'ultimate freedom' of jazz improvisation (as interviewees Neil Gonsalves and Marion Caldwell put it) is a 'dangerous' manoeuvre, antithetical to the operations of patriarchy. On the other hand, (women) orchestral players are seen and heard as part of a highly disciplined collective that obediently affirms male musical authority in the forms of the (almost always male) composer and conductor.

Instantiations of patriarchy in jazz run even deeper, and, even after they overcome innumerable hurdles and eventually earn a place onstage, women jazz singers are further marginalised by being denied the status of 'musician'. Singing is constituted as 'Other' to instrumental performance, and as with pretty packaging – there to attract attention, but ultimately extraneous to the 'important stuff' inside – the jazz singer's musical work is construed as ancillary to the 'real' 'content' of the music. However, as with most oppressive gestures, this rendering of the singer as other is a double-edged sword and it can become as disadvantageous to instrumentalists as it is to singers:

> One of the things that [Durban-based jazz musician] Natalie [Rungan] will complain about is that as a singer, people will not necessarily think of her as being a member of the band, but will see her [as] separate from the band. The woman's place in jazz has often been in the forefront: short skirts, attracting [and] holding the attention. It's quite tricky because as soon as you have somebody singing it also cuts down on the possibilities for what the band can do in terms of improvisations. You'll find that some bands will still take their breaks and other bands will simply back the singer. It becomes very complicated. (~~Gisele~~ Turner)

Just as musical instruments become instruments of patriarchy, so too, as classical pianist Marion Caldwell suddenly figured out as she spoke, does musical process:

> Ha-ha! I've just realised something! I think although I did seminars and stuff on this very issue, I was – deep down – a lot more accepting of the fact that jazz seemed to primarily be a 'male music' if I can use that term. It makes me feel that it's not something that I can actually do. It's music that I love so much but just like I couldn't really see myself playing rugby I can't quite envisage myself being a jazz pianist. I've always felt, deep down, it would be out of character for me and maybe that has got something to do with maleness.
> NR: How so?

MC: There's a kind of arrogance in improvising often; I don't mean in a bad way, but in this assurance that 'Here I am; this is me. I can *do* this on the spot; work with it, play it for you. I could show off a bit: I can show just how fast I can play certain scales; I can show just how interesting I can make certain chords.' There is a kind of arrogance there. Just like I can't imagine myself being an electric guitarist duelling on stage with someone – it just wouldn't happen – it's the same with jazz.

Wittingly or unwittingly echoing Judith Butler (1990) or scholars influenced by her, Caldwell recognises that gender identities are performative. For Caldwell, jazz improvisation exhibits a set of characteristics conventionally marked 'male' including confidence, a take-charge attitude, and exhibitionistic displays of physical and mental prowess. In other words, jazz performance simultaneously involves the performance of a cockiness that Caldwell reads as incommensurate with performances of femininity.

Given the exceedingly exclusionary environment that jazz is for women and the fact that jazz performance is only rarely lucrative, the few women that manage to make their way into jazz usually find it difficult and impractical to *remain* in this male-dominated arena:

A lot of the very good [women] pianists who are also singers leave the jazz world because they can make themselves very good money in supper theatre. Why should [they] try and scratch a living out as a jazz musician when [they] can actually cut it in a more commercial field? I think Stacey was a very *rare* person in that she not only stayed true to the jazz medium, but also took the effort and energy to hold a band together. (Gisele Turner)

The dystopian intensity of gender discrimination in jazz, especially in comparison to the ostensibly more hierarchical world of classical music, involves a contradiction that hinges on the following complex of factors. Firstly, 'there has been a tendency to diminish music by categorising it as "different", that is by privileging other forms of human expression and activity as more important and more fundamental to social and individual

existence' (Shepherd 1993, 49). As such, 'music has been constituted as an "Other" to dominant forms of intellectual discourse and social practice' (1993, 49). Furthermore, within 'music' as a whole, different genres tend to be ranked in terms of prestige, and although jazz presently inhabits an 'upwardly mobile' trajectory (Meltzer 1993, 29; Neal 1999, 29; 68), it nonetheless lacks the 'pedigree' of Western classical music and is lower in status than that music. Consequently, through a series of transferences, jazz musicians are rendered 'multiply-Other' by virtue of their occupation of a multiply 'othered' expressive domain. Severe[8] expressions of patriarchy then come into play through a process of 'displaced abjection … whereby "low" social groups turn their figurative and actual power *not* against those in authority, but against those who are even "lower"' (Stallybrass and White 1986, 533 [in Coates 1997, 60]). In the end, and as Coates (1997, 60) argues is the case with rock music, women jazz musicians tend to be more discriminated against than women classical musicians.

Through the work of 'rare' women like Van Schalkwyk, singer/trombonist Siya Makuzeni, and others who contest male domination in jazz, there *are* exceptions to this dystopian situation. As described by Seena Yacoob, Makuzeni's presence in the Prisoners of Strange, presents a striking instance of resistance to patriarchy in local jazz:

> That was one of the things I loved the very first time I saw the band. I've never seen a female trombonist before and Siya's obviously a very strong member of the band. She doesn't hide out or anything; that is really cool: it didn't seem like she's overpowered by the men.

Outlining four ways that Makuzeni transgresses the patriarchal norm for jazz, Yacoob's comments neatly reference and summarise the main issues explored in this article. It is therefore instructive to examine each of her propositions in greater detail:

> 'I've never seen a female trombonist before':

Makuzeni represents a welcome exception to the infamous rarity of female jazz performers especially on instruments other than voice or piano.

'Siya's obviously a very strong member of the band':

Both as singer (Mombelli's compositions often use the voice as another instrument, doubling or singing in counterpart to the other horns) and trombonist, Makuzeni is a fully-fledged member of the group, and therefore, very unlike many women singers who tend to be marginalised and seen as 'separate from the band' (Turner). Moreover, like the other men, she is featured as an improvising musician and more than holds her own as such.

'She doesn't hide out or anything':

Makuzeni's status as a 'very strong member of the band' subverts expectations of female invisibility. (As mentioned before, patriarchy works to render women invisible by consigning them to a hidden domestic economy that often precludes their participation in high visibility public pursuits.) This visibility is, in part, musically engendered: because of its contrapuntal character, Mombelli's music renders its constituent elements, and therefore the musical contributions of individual members (Makuzeni included), relatively easily discernable; by contrast, as the fourth trombonist in a traditional big band, Makuzeni's musical work would be far more difficult to disaggregate from the composite homophonic texture and she would be more 'hidden'. In this instance, there is a conflation of musical and social equality and music temporarily becomes a site of resistance – and possibly even a transcendent alternative – to instantiations of patriarchy in wider society.

'It didn't seem like she's overpowered by the men':

Quite simply, women mostly *are* 'overpowered by the men' whether on the bandstand, in the home, the corporate world, etc. Conventionally, they are 'Other'. In stark contrast, Makuzeni displays mastery (!) of a

male-dominated musical discourse and is seen and heard as an agent of power, equal in musical status to her male counterparts onstage. Again, conventional (patriarchal) constructions of femininity are contested and transcended in music.

Yacoob's comment, 'That was one of the things I loved the very first time I saw the band' references a fifth proposition, which sums up the present article's primary claim: in making music and listening to it, individuals affirm and/or contest their participation within a range of socio-political narratives in ways that are diverse and sometimes surprising. Thus, in 'loving' watching and hearing a band that includes an empowered female trombonist – tellingly, this did not register as noteworthy for any of the male interviewees – Yacoob identifies herself as a resistant member of patriarchal society. For Van Schalkwyk, jazz improvisation becomes an empowering expressive space freed from the intrapersonal tensions that attended her bilingual identity. For Adendorff and his son, a jazz concert becomes a co-owned domain where parenthood and childhood are temporarily brought into a relatively egalitarian relationship with one another.

On the other hand, when Adendorff was obliged to listen to pop music in secret as a teenager, or when Turner was forced to practice the piano as a young girl, music functioned as a technology of adult control. When Van Schalkwyk played the flute in a Western classical orchestra, she experienced music as a constraining space in which the dissonances surrounding her English-Afrikaans heritage were somehow replicated. For most of the women interviewees, jazz occupies spaces and involves a materiality and performativity that they experience as alienating and patriarchal.

Closing Remarks

What does it mean when this writer makes these claims about these moments in these musicking individuals' lives?

Like the stories recounted and analysed here, this article is rooted in a particular biography. I began my undergraduate training in 1990, and so my scholarly biography coincides with the ascendancy of the new musicology. The new musicology emerged out of a concern that the formalist

focus of earlier academic writing about music felt far removed from people's actual experiences of music. Its central claim, as one of its pioneers (and my primary teacher) put it in the 1970s, is that 'if we see music in isolation from society, we shall not only distort its meaning, but what we say will be subject to serious factual error' (Ballantine 1984, 17).

But while I found much 1990s scholarship on music and society illuminating (Walser 1993; McClary 1991; Shepherd 1991; Middleton 1990) it still felt far removed from how I, and other musicians and listeners I know, actually experience music. I was excited when Christopher Small's *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (1998) was published, and was then disappointed to discover that it replicated the abstract and theoretical tenor of earlier work in the field because Small answered the question cited in the epigraph to this article with reference to a hypothetical concert.

Rooted in this sense of frustration with the relatively abstract thrust of writings on music and social meaning, my work here and elsewhere (Ramanna 2013; 2012; 2005b; 2004) has been animated by three dispositions that are respectively empirical, theoretical, and epistemological.

Empirical disposition: Tia DeNora (2000, 46) points out that 'the self and its accompanying narrative of the "unitary individual" is a linchpin of modern social organization'. In spite of this, Shepherd and Wicke (1997, 40) observe in their study of music and cultural theory, 'there has been little conceptual space created for a theorisation of the private, internal world of an individual's awareness of existence and self'. Like DeNora, I believe that such theorisation – in a music research context – is more convincing when it is informed by empirical descriptions of what actual individuals do in actual musicking situations.

Among other things, the sheer heterogeneity and unruliness of real, live, on-the-ground experience can destabilise received disciplinary perspectives and lead the researcher down new analytical paths. Although I know many of the interviewees very well and I am still in contact with the majority of them, the things they told me often took me by surprise. When I set out to write a thesis on the performance and reception of jazz in post-apartheid Durban and Johannesburg, I never expected that I would end up writing about childhood, parenthood, language identity, or

– elsewhere – furniture removal, a baboon in a ceiling, or the delivery of a baby (Ramanna 2005, 156-7; 156; 230-2).

Theoretical disposition: Discourse analysis is typically a top-down theoretical endeavour, and by and large, it has been used to analyse linguistic and visual textual practices. In this article I hope to have shown that discourse theory can also be invoked in the context of a bottom-up analysis of musicking. Using discourse analysis in this way, I believe, can shed light on the ways structure-agency relations shape individual musicking experiences. It also allows the analyst to explore the ways in which larger societal dynamics find expression at a 'unitary individual' (DeNora 2000, 46) level of musical experience.

Epistemological disposition: In addition to the empirical and the-oretical claims it makes about the discursive mediation of individual musicking experiences, this article makes a case for IPA as an appro-priate methodology for the study of such experiences. Such a project is possible within the context of ethnomusicology, and scholars like Ingrid Monson (1996), Kathryn Olsen (2009) and Carol Muller (2011) have written evocative and richly textured 'subject centred' musical ethnographies (Rice 2003). But by and large, ethnomusicologists focus on musicking communities rather than individuals. As an avowedly idiographic ap-proach, IPA affords easier access to the rich heterogeneity of individual musicking experiences. The doubly hermeneutic character of an IPA study highlights the interpretative agency of its research subjects, since the study focuses on the experiences that the research subjects them-selves identify as significant.

Moreover, because IPA studies typically feature extended verbatim quotations from research subjects, they enable the researched to have a say in what the researcher says about them. I find this ethically appealing because it flattens the power relations between the researched and the researcher. The relationship between IPA researchers and their readers may also be flattened, since the presence of extended verbatim quota-tions in IPA research reports affords readers the opportunity to cross-check researchers' analyses and formulate alternative analyses.

That said, the idiographic thrust of my research compromises its gen-eralisability and constitutes a limitation. An unsympathetic reader could

(justifiably!) complain that – at an empirical level – the work presented here involves the reproduction of common sense: young children tend to be less socially empowered than their parents; being a non-mother-tongue speaker of a hegemonic language can be distressing; jazz is a patriarchal domain. As a theoretical lens, discourse is open to criticisms that it analyses phenomena in over-generalised terms that can – in the case of musicking – render it indistinguishable from any other kinds of social activity.

Considered in isolation, these respectively empirical and theoretical dispositions have clear limitations. However, I would like to argue that pitting them against one another in a single study sets up a produc-tive tension that can – in a music research context – help to articulate the connections between the deep complexity of individual musicking experiences and the broader social contexts within which they ultimately operate. But this is a tentative proposition and one that has to be repeat-edly tested in different musical and social contexts.

ENDNOTES

1   I am very grateful to Christopher Ballantine, Nanette DeJong, Christine Lucia and Roger Parker for their comments on earlier drafts of this article.

2   'Jazz' is a slippery and contentious term. Elsewhere, I argue that (South African and North American) jazz may be profitably conceptualized as musical styles that involve improvisation as a central feature *and* include several or all of the socio-musical characteristics that Olly Wilson (1996) identifies as emblematic of African-American musical culture (Ramanna, 2005a: 69-88).

3   The province was/is often jokingly referred to as the Last Outpost (of the British Empire).

4   For an example of how the band looked and sounded, please refer to http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ARpyPPrBtLE

5   Most asymmetrical power relations work this way. Thus, 'although not all whites endorse racism, all men masculinism, or all heterosexuals homophobia, *all* whites, men, and heterosexuals *benefit* from their positions of relative privilege within the structures of racism, sexism, and heterosexism' (Peterson & Runyan 1999, 45). Moreover, they experience this privilege as 'natural' and 'given' and are typically blind to its operations.

6   As of December 2003, the time of the interview.

7   Obviously, men sing and play the piano, but those who are *valorised* for doing so frequently express 'heroic' or transgressive vocalities and pianisms – I think here of opera or the virtuoso piano repertoire, Bruce Springsteen's singing or Jerry Lee Lewis's piano playing, for example. Also, many counter-examples exist – Madonna and The Pet Shop Boys, to name two famous examples, are often lauded by popular music scholars for the progressive gender politics they express – and these may reference music's 'prophetic' function (Attali 1977, 11): its status, in these instances, as a utopian prefiguring of a post-gendered future.

8   Severer than in classical music, but in all probability significantly less severe than expressions of patriarchy in, say, a squatter camp where 96% of the male population is unemployed, and the women eke out meagre livings as domestic workers.

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