

## MAPPING THE FIELD: A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF SOUTH AFRICAN COMPOSITION AND PERFORMANCE AS RESEARCH<sup>1</sup>

*Christine Lucia*

### **Introduction: the aim and scope of this research**

The South African National Research Foundation (NRF) like other bodies concerned with research internationally, has found itself under pressure to recognise creative work as research. Composers and performers from the South African Higher Education (HE) sector became part of this international lobby as they began applying to the NRF for rating as researchers. Tessa Marcus (former head of the NRF) thus asked me in 2005 to research preliminary guidelines for evaluating composers, performers, and their outputs.<sup>2</sup> This brought several strands of experience in my own career in HE together: as concert pianist in the 1970s and '80s especially in Durban (where *inter alia* I played new work by Volans, Bräuninger, and Süsse), as researcher on composers as different as Schumann, Volans, Ibrahim, and Mohapeloa, as media critic and editor, and (even) as composer – in the 1970s in Grahamstown I wrote incidental music for some Rhodes Theatre productions. Having worked for four university administrations over thirty years (Durban-Westville, Natal, Rhodes, and Witwatersrand) I had followed the emerging debate on equivalence between musical work and research with interest and concern. My position in undertaking the present research, then, was that of an individual insider offering 'outsiders' at the NRF a preliminary perspective on what composers and performers do, how they see themselves, what they think of research equivalence, and how they relate to the larger musical world(s) they are affiliated to, in order to put music more securely onto the agenda of the NRF. This article remains the perspective of one person, however much I have tried to represent others' views here.

The present research was based largely on interviews conducted between April and September 2005, embedded in other forms of documentary research. I gave a preliminary report-back to the NRF on 16 September 2005 and revised my report with less emphasis on equivalence and more on explaining what composers and performers *do* and the public(s) they address (at the NRF's request). I sent my final report to the NRF in April 2006, but this is only a preliminary guideline, adding to a wider debate at the NRF that also involves practitioners in drama, fine art and other creative arts areas of HE.

---

<sup>1</sup> I gratefully acknowledge the financial support of the NRF in this research and Tessa Marcus's interest and encouragement. The word 'performance' as used here implies classical performer and jazz musician who is a performer-composer. The word 'composition' implies 'art music composer' (as defined for example by Martin Scherzinger (2004)) as well as jazz composer-performer. This is a regrettable limitation, but is one necessarily imposed, partly by the small scale of this research but also by the reality of employment practices in South African Music HE, where there are almost no full-time personnel in African or Indian music performance for example. The notion of composer does not include personnel employed in Music HE who teach only music technology.

<sup>2</sup> These guidelines are preliminary, and at the time of going to press (November 2006) are still under consideration by the NRF. The process of applying for 'rating' as a 'researcher' is now an obligatory national exercise for staff in higher education, driven by a culture of accountability under the post-apartheid regime combined with financial imperatives that have changed the face of university bureaucracies globally in the past ten years. Unlike most other countries, however, South Africa rates individuals not institutions. On the conceptual separation between (written) composition and (live) performance: this is a western one arising out of 19th-century music pedagogy and exacerbated by the rising importance of musicology in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century. Yet performance and composition are what musicologists write about, in most non-western cultures performance is an act inseparable from composition, performers in the west are often also musicologists, and so on. Hence the separation of all three activities is problematic, and they should rather be referred to as different aspects of 'creative work' resulting in different kinds of output.

There were several limitations on the scope of my research, which had to be completed within six months and therefore could not be comprehensive: indeed, it seems to present more problems than solutions. I considered only how individuals in the (fifteen) national HE institutions with music programmes might be evaluated, not institutions themselves or individuals in the music industry at large.<sup>3</sup> The methodology I used was qualitative and largely descriptive, and although this accorded with what the NRF wanted it left unsatisfactory loose ends and some data uninterrogated; but by the same token it has also opened up opportunities for further research. I had to limit the historical period in which I contextualised music practice to the last thirty years, and although any glimpse of present practice offers ‘historical’ views I could not (for example) catalogue the history of tens of thousands of individual performers and composers who have promoted musical work in South Africa for several centuries.<sup>4</sup> This was not part of my concern for this project.

There are limitations in the current presentation, too. The original NRF report was seventy pages – too long for this issue of *SAMUS* – so I have chosen to focus on some of the more interesting and controversial issues in order to stimulate debate.<sup>5</sup> My preliminary report for the NRF foregrounded the idea of research equivalence but for my final report for the NRF I was asked to de-emphasise this. I have brought it back here. In my NRF report I represented the world of music composition and performance to those who generally do not understand it very well, but in this article I address mostly those who do. The main aim of this article is substantially the same as my report to the NRF, however: to show some of the issues that arise when considering how the work of performers and composers can be recognised as equivalent to that of researchers within the complex set of imperatives and conditions that constitute the field of music in the South African academy.

## Methodology

For my NRF research I collected data from the following sources:<sup>6</sup> current policies on creative work from South Africa and overseas,<sup>7</sup> the literature on music performance and composition, and interviews with musicians connected to the academy. The first kind of source tells us what people do elsewhere; the second gives perspectives from a history of compositional and performance practice; the third offers a range of views and insights and is the main data used here. Rather than the eight in-depth case studies I originally

<sup>3</sup> The Appendix to this article shows numbers of performers, composers, and researchers in each of the fifteen HE ‘music’ institutions. My findings cannot assume to be a reading of the situation for all the practitioners in this field, however, for music, like other fields, produces extremes: the rarefied specialist who has an internationally significant outcome every two or three years, and the all-rounder who performs and composes regularly and produces occasional scholarly publications.

<sup>4</sup> These would include for example histories of the following driving forces behind contemporary music: UCT Contemporary Music Society in the 1970s and ’80s, the New Music Network (Johannesburg late ’70s and early ’80s), Soundwaves (Durban 1980s), Obelisk (Pretoria 1980s-’90s), NewMusicSA (Grahamstown and Johannesburg late ’90s to 2006), Kemus (Stellenbosch University 1980s-present), the Composers’ Guild (late 1980s and the International Society for Contemporary Music in two periods of its existence – the 1940s-’50s and the 1990s-2000s (see Blake 2006); and it would include histories of numerous concert societies that go back far longer than new music societies and often operate(d) in a more country-wide way, networking with each other to present South African or international artists in concerts of solo, chamber, orchestral, or choral music. Examples of the latter are Cape Town Concerts (founded by Hans Kramer) and the Johannesburg Music Society (founded by Hans Adler). The last two names point to another topic completely untouched in this research: the sustaining of a European notion of musical life by a small but highly significant immigrant minority.

<sup>5</sup> When the NRF has finalised its criteria my Report may be publicly accessible; at present it is still an in-house NRF document.

<sup>6</sup> I was enormously helped in this project by my research assistant, Alison Gericke.

<sup>7</sup> These include the websites of a number of universities world-wide and important documents such as the Strand Report (Strand 1998) and responses to it in, for example, the Australian Creative Arts Review.

envisaged in my proposal to the NRF (four performers and four composers) I interviewed twenty-one colleagues in four institutions in different parts of the country (the University of Cape Town, the University of Stellenbosch, the University of the Witwatersrand, and the University of KwaZulu Natal) including performers, composers, and conventional researchers.<sup>8</sup> The latter group were added because many of my colleagues in South African HE are not *only* performers *or* composers *or* researchers but lead double or even triple professional lives, and creative musical work is the material researchers write about. Several interviewees who are exclusively composers or performers were adamant that 'musicologists' (meaning researchers in general) should be part of rating panels. Finally, in South African HE there are several jazz departments, and composition and performance are not separate activities in jazz – a point to which I return several times below.

Another reason I moved away from a case-study approach is because the fields of composition and performance in the South African academy are far smaller than I had realised before I did this research, and no individuals seemed to be typical enough to stand as 'cases'. But the expansion from eight to twenty interviewees is still only a sample, and this is another reason why my findings for the NRF (and here) cannot be considered conclusive, only preliminary. My interview material is used largely at face value, as an expression of participants' experience or of what ethnomusicologist Steven Friedson calls 'the phenomenological surface of things' (1996, xiv); it is not closely interrogated and I use it rather to draw out themes that explore the domain in which practitioners operate. In any case it was not part of my NRF brief to critically interpret data from interviews, but to present it as the major evidence in my report. I am aware that this leaves issues unexplored and sometimes exposes discrepancies between epistemologies of thought, but this is unavoidable here.<sup>9</sup>

The key questions I asked in interviews were designed around notions of research equivalence, based on the following hypotheses: that composition and performance *can* be assessed as both processes and outcomes; that composition and performance have unique elements of system, rigour, and discipline like conventional research; and that composition and performance have their own critical properties that make contributions to an intellectual debate at various levels and that these can be identified and evaluated by peers internationally. Bearing these assumptions in mind, my core questions to interviewees were:

- what parts of the process of composition and performance are systematically and rigorously pursued?
- what is the intellectual work of practitioners?
- what constitutes the product of performance and composition?
- how does it go beyond reliance on previous work and become original?
- how does recognition (reception) of performance or composition differ from recognition of conventional research?
- who should be involved in the rating process?

---

<sup>8</sup> I am aware that restricting my interviews to people in these four institutions is not unproblematic, but all four have long traditions of performance, composition, and research in the areas of Western art music and jazz that I limited myself to for the purpose of this research.

<sup>9</sup> I am grateful to one of the reviewers of this article for making me more aware of this aspect: that for example one composer may talk about writing spontaneously out of improvisation and thus reflect romantic notions of what composition is, while another may compose quite analytically and talk about the process using quite a modernist paradigm of thought.

The answers raised further questions about who peers are and what the field is; for this is a scattered community as are other academic communities, and in many ways a more 'imagined' one, since performers and composers do not congregate at annual conferences as researchers do. The difference, however, is that music practitioners, like people in other performing and visual arts, address publics far beyond the academic world, and this raises issues about reception, recognition, and value but ultimately, again, about the constitution of the field and its viability in HE. Questions also came up in interviews about conventional research constituting a norm. The interviews were thus very rich conversations in which ideas were continually developed.<sup>10</sup> Since my interviews were conducted under conditions of anonymity, I retain that anonymity here, referring to interviewees only by letter ('A', 'B', etc.). For the NRF interim report I presented notions of equivalent process in composition and performance that I summarise in Section 1 before mapping the field with an emphasis on production in Section 2 and reception in Section 3.

## Section 1: Equivalence

### Equivalent process in composition

The process of composing, like making works of art or writing, is a performative act in which one or more author(s) build up a work in stages that lead ultimately to actual performance or publication. The way a work is recorded or notated during these stages varies according to the cultural tradition of the author(s). For the purposes of this research I adhered to a western notion of composition and performance embracing both art music and jazz (the practices most typically found in South African HE). In western art music the composer nowadays usually works on a computer using a software programme such as Finale, Sibelius or ProTools, with access to hardware such as a midi interface, keyboard, and other instruments. Composers often work in a space with a hi-fi system to listen to other repertoire, and with a selection of scores for study nearby – including their own. For one of my interviewees, reviewing his previous work was often a starting point for composing, for he is 'a bit of an analytical kind of composer':

I always go back. [And] I try and keep sketches, but not everything – I just keep which I think is really important to keep as a reference for myself. Because sometimes, if you look at a piece, you can't really remember how you got to the end product. But looking at the sketch: 'Oh! That is how it started and that's how I actually got there' ('B').

This is not however necessarily the case with all composers. As with research, some of the stages in the process overlap and they are not all necessarily followed by every composer; but it is here that 'equivalence' may be seen most clearly. A typical sequence that came out of what my informants said, might include any or all of the following (suggested research equivalents shown in brackets):

- getting a commission or occasion for which to write music [idea]
- planning: sometimes called 'pre-composition' and sometimes involving looking at models by self or others [preliminary literature survey]
- recording or notating material [collecting data]
- experimenting and changing [writing draft]
- trying things out with performers or listeners [reading paper at conference]
- scoring or adding instructions (expression, tempo etc.), and editing [editing]

<sup>10</sup> Another reason I stopped at twenty interviews was that the same kinds of issues – all the ones just mentioned – were being raised, and since this was a qualitative rather than quantitative study the number of references to the same point ceased to add value to that point.

- rehearsing for a 1st performance [further editing]
- getting the work premiered and a response from an audience – a ‘public’- and/or a critical response [peer-review]
- getting a live recording from the premiere [publication]
- editing and/or rewriting
- getting a studio recording [publication]
- disseminating (through self-promotion, agent, or publisher) the score/recording
- getting further performances of the work [publication].

Only the final stages begin to shed a direct sense of equivalence, and this is because publication in conventional research is far more ‘final’ than a published composition, where dissemination is slower and difficult, and ‘publication’ itself more a case of going public than committing music to paper (I speak about this later). Processes vary according to the kind of music composed, too, but there are common elements and one of them is experimentation, which has equivalence in some forms of science research. As one interviewee put it:

Composition is a process [of] ongoing experimentation and research, and I think that those words *can* be used here. There have been very famous cases of Mahler coming back after a rehearsal and re-orchestrating his 5<sup>th</sup> Symphony because he discovered that what he had planned really didn’t work out. And to a large extent I suppose that that is equivalent to *in situ* experimentation (‘H’).

Another equivalence – in the human sciences – is the notion of collecting, consciously gathering ideas from other music, using both an archival (score-study) and an ethnographic (field-work) method. An equivalence obviously missing from the above list is ‘methodology’, which in composition – as in research – is the main element in the process, although composers tend to call it ‘technique’ or ‘system’. But a composer’s method can perhaps more easily be overturned than a researcher’s, since ‘the best things that happen are intuitive, and probably subconscious’ (‘H’). Building on previous work – the use of literature – is just as crucial in composition as in research. In some ways this leads to a referential or intertextual quality in composition that is not only of a different order from research but far more intense and limiting: within the confines of twelve notes to an octave it is almost impossible not to sound at many fleeting moments (and sometimes longer) like someone else’s or your own previous work. (This relates to what some composers refer to as ‘style’.) Even twelve-tone technique, as Adorno says laconically, still ‘suffers, if we may be allowed to caricature it in this way, from a chronic deficiency of notes’ (1998, 194). Choices of combinations of sonic material are however as great as choices of words in a sentence, and similarly made either positively or negatively: ‘a composer in a sense develops originality, a voice’, as the above interviewee said, ‘by being meticulous about what he or she does or does *not* want’ (‘H’). The intertextuality of music aside, originality is also always relative to wider public context: there is a limit to how radical you can be, for example, writing Anglican liturgical music.

### **Equivalent process in performance**

Reliance on previous work is far more important to performers of western art music than composers. ‘The literature’ is not just a point of departure, it *is* the thing itself, worked with directly; thus what performers have to do is not develop *out* of previous work but *reimagine* previous work. There are stages in the process of preparing for a classical music performance, however, just as there are with composition. These were described by one of my informants (who is an organist) as follows:

getting music into your fingers, working out registration, choosing repertoire to suit audience, occasion, venue/instrument; intuitively relating to pieces themselves as you try things out. [These are] various stages that can happen simultaneously: notes, interpretation (loud-soft? long-short? How does the piece 'go' from beginning to end? Trying things out but using 'well-informed intuition' ('M').

Performance outcomes are absolutely 'in-the-moment' compared to composition or research outcomes. The notion of physical-mental preparedness is thus an imperative behind this, which makes performance seem to hold more in common with sport than research at various times.

It is a science ... it is also a discipline, to a tremendous amount ... one compares it to an athlete or dancer; it's the same kind of hours that you've got to put in. And then of course it is the ability [to] log on to your own sensibility, your own emotional psyche, in order to produce at the piano some version of what you're doing ... and to be able to connect ('A').

Jazz performers are often also composing 'in the moment' in the sense that improvisation can be seen as an immanent activity. Both classical and jazz performers inscribe music into their minds and bodies – literally 'em-body' it – a process equivalent (in research) to getting to know one part of the literature extremely well: but doing so not in order to *add* to it, rather to re-inscribe it, or to add to ideas about it. Some practitioners see this as a kind of re-birthing of previous work: 'if you are a responsible and committed performer you will not only reproduce. For that we could employ computers. We are trying to get into the headspace of that composer and to, really, to put ourselves there as not a performer only [but] as an interpreter of what that composer meant' ('A'). This is why many so performers are specialists – in a single era, composer, or style. Part of this commitment involves a technique of 'over-preparation': a performer 'must master the work at least 150% so that under conditions of pressure he can produce 100%', as Isaac Stern once said (cited in Applebaum and Roth 1981, 119). A researcher or composer is never under these *kinds* of conditions of physical and mental pressure.

Some performers see in the intellectual rigour of their work a separation between knowledge *about* (e.g. the composer) and knowledge *of* (e.g. the practice). An informant referred on this point to the limited sense of 'research' in English, comparing it to the more nuanced (two) senses of research in Afrikaans: *ondersoek*(ing) or reading up, reading about; and *navorsing* or systematic thought, research leading to new knowledge ('D').

Russian violinist Tatyana Gridenko described her playing in the 1970s as follows:

We studied the original methods of ornamentation and phrasing, whereas our colleagues were still playing Bach in 19<sup>th</sup>-century romantic style ... Armed with these 'ideas', I, who used to be afflicted with stage nervousness, was cool as a cucumber doing exactly what I intended to do.

[Her interviewer interjects:] Tanya, you call this an idea, but others might merely call it research.

[She replies:] They would be wrong! I, too, always examined the historic roots, details and interrelations of the works I played, but all this was generalized. [N]ow I have the *conviction* as to how a work should be performed (Appelbaum and Roth 1981, 55, 58; Gridenko's emphasis).

Knowledge as systematic thought activated through performance as opposed to knowing the historical context of a work as an adjunct to praxis, is well illustrated by the kind of historically informed performance practice described above, still fairly unusual in the 1970s but now virtually a requirement. It can be seen as the equivalent to knowledge of current literature in research. For example:

If you get onto the stage with [the Bach] Goldberg [Variations] you need to be well embedded [in] certain notions of historical performance practice. This performance needs to be informed by all the others that already exist. You need to be able to explain why you did this in that way and not that way. How does this translation work from the harpsichord to a piano? What is difficult about it? What works and what doesn't work? ('F').

But there are other qualities needed to present a convincing performance that go way beyond systematic thought, however well informed. One informant cited the way

performance can have a 'revelatory' quality ('K'), referring me both to Paul Klee's maxim '*L'art ne reproduit pas le visible: il rend visible*' (art does not represent the visible, it *makes* visible), and to Adorno's notion that composers have X-Ray vision. Or as Frederic Jameson points out in his Foreword to Jacques Attali's *Noise: The Political Economy of Music* (1985), music can 'anticipate historical developments ... foreshadow new social formations in a prophetic and annunciatory way' (Jameson 1985, xi). The visionary quality that performance can have is sharpened by its ephemeral quality too: it cannot *literally* be repeated unless frozen through recording. One informant suggested that 'in conventional research you can 'follow on' from your previous article, but you can't 'follow on' from your previous performance' ('M').

Performers however argue constantly about how the body of knowledge that constitutes the literature is interpreted. Without such interpretation indeed, as another informant put it, the results two practitioners might come up with could be identical, as occasionally happens in research in Chemistry or Mathematics ('D'). Each performance is a new statement, and the nearest a performer can get to 'following on' is 'exploring one composer thoroughly through a series of programmes. Repeating a programme is not following on and [by the same token] you can't 'repeat' an article' ('M').

I now focus on mapping the field, using Bourdieu's notion of a field of limited production as a framing device and thus regarding the field from something of a social constructionist, 'etic' perspective. In the main, however, my presentation of data is ethnographic, coming from the 'emic' position of work-making and reception as perceived by my interviewees. In Section 2 the field is mapped with an emphasis on production and a focus on composition (simply in order to limit the amount of data presented here). In Section 3 I explore reception as an aspect of both composition and performance by considering some of the 'particular publics' each addresses.

## **Section 2: music as a restricted field**

### **Bourdieu's theory of the limited field in relation to music**

The field of cultural musical work in the academy is a particularly restricted field, I suggest, which although it is a microcosm of the larger South African and international fields and intersects with both, has its own peculiar dynamic: I use aspects of Bourdieu's essay 'The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed' (Bourdieu 1993) as a way of introducing this dynamic, and refer to some of his thought in order to reflect on how the field works. I am only using Bourdieu selectively, as some aspects of his work make a useful architectural framework for this investigation; I do not interrogate his whole approach to cultural theory or compare it to the work of other cultural theorists.

Bourdieu's model is based on his analysis of the literary field of late 19<sup>th</sup>-century France. This is clearly very different from that of the field of musical practice in the South African academy of the early 21<sup>st</sup>-century, but Bourdieu's is a model intended for adaptation. His notion of field is fluid rather than static, and his central thesis is that the explanation for works of art and the way they are valued lies not in monographs about art and artists (the psycho-biographical approach emphasising production and the prevalent approach of early 20<sup>th</sup>-century musicology), or in a historical-analytical approach (individual musical works analysed within their 'historical context'), or in the socio-political work that art does (emphasising reception, an approach of musicology since the 1980s). It lies, rather, in the 'objective relations' as he calls them, which constitute the 'field of cultural production' from which works emerge.

The task of the analyst is to critique the constantly changing relations and especially power relations, forged in the field; it is the task of seeing how 'the space of positions and the space of position-takings' is constructed (Ibid 30); one asks, therefore, not only how the composer or performer came to do what they do (origin, background), who they were taught by (influence), how they survived as individuals (career), how successful they were, artistically or financially. Bourdieu's analysis allows space for all these things, but it also allows for an analysis of how artists' milieu and *agency* (a complex notion that implies both an active and passive relation to the environment that Bourdieu calls *habitus*) came to be constituted the way they are. What are the preconditions, he asks, that enable or disable the production, reception, and critique of artistic work?

The analytical work required for Bourdieu, therefore, is not necessarily music-analytical: not analysis of technique or style. Nor is it simply comparative analysis of one musician in relation to others. It is a far more complex kind of analysis of preconditions; of *that which makes it possible for the artwork to be produced and consumed* – the web of people, activities, institutions and cultural codes that constitute 'the field' – and it includes analysis of how that field assigns value to works as symbolic (culturally significant) capital as opposed to artistic (aesthetic) or economic (income-generating) capital. This latter point is particularly significant in the South African academy, as will become clear, where practice tends to have been regarded mostly as resulting in *either* aesthetic work (which becomes the object of musicological analysis) *or* financial gain. Critique of work as symbolic capital has, I suggest, been largely neglected, although there are some outstanding exceptions (see for example Muller 2000).

In Bourdieu's terms a field is not a homogenous single entity but three interlocked universes co-existing in tension with each other, their borders porous and all three collectively giving meaning to the production of symbolic capital. I think these can usefully be a starting point for looking at the musical field in South African academia. The first is a limited field of production comprising a specific circle of practitioners and their immediate surroundings. In the limited field one would find the composer or performer in her studio, her peers, teachers, students, concert organisers, venue managers, publishers, journalists, and academic critics: a network of people, musical activity, and public or private relations more or less situated within the confines of a single academic institution but spilling over into a wider community and relating to other institutions.

The second is a larger field of power partly in and partly outside the academy, with which the limited field interacts and by which it is to some extent controlled while also 'possessing a relative autonomy with respect to it' (Ibid 37-38). In this field one would find research offices, commissioning bodies, sponsors of public and private concerts, various publics, concert agencies, recording studios, recording companies: all of these are agents giving or withdrawing support in the form of artistic attention, political power, social influence, organisational skill, financial reward; and collectively they construct a constantly shifting 'space of possibles' as Bourdieu calls it, with which the practitioner in the very limited first field constantly negotiates.

The third is a very much larger field comprising nothing less than the economic, race, and class imperatives of society as a whole. These larger imperatives are always subject to change, and the profound social and political changes that South Africa went through between 1980 and 2005 are obviously particularly pertinent to the present mapping of the field. It is not difficult, in summary, to see the field of either composition or performance in the South African academy as small circles of practitioners within slightly larger power structures contained within a huge economy of race and class; and as should now be clear, this multiple 'field' has to be viewed both historically and in a process of constant change. The complexity of such a view begins to make phenomena such as 'the music industry' – a

seeming monolith in control of music production and dissemination in South Africa – break down, under Bourdieu’s gaze as it were, into a series of interrelated structures and shifting relationships.

The three interrelated fields that comprise ‘the field’ have a positive and a negative pole in Bourdieu’s model,<sup>11</sup> which he explains as follows:

[The limited field] is contained within the field of power [while] possessing a relative autonomy with respect to it, especially as regards its economic and political principles of hierarchization. It occupies a *dominated position* (at the negative pole) in this field, which is itself situated at the dominant pole of the field of class relations (Ibid; his emphasis).

This notion of ‘poles’ of relative autonomy-dependency might be felt in relation to how composers achieve status within the first, second, or third field, and how their work becomes viewed (or not) as symbolic (rather than artistic or economic) capital within the academy. Whatever position a composer may take as an individual is always

subjectively defined by the *system* of distinctive properties by which it can be situated relative to other positions; that every position [depends] for its very existence, and for the determinations it imposes on its occupants, on the *other positions* occupying the field; and that the structure of the field, i.e. of the space of positions, is nothing other than the structure of the *capital* of specific properties which governs success in the field and the winning of the external or specific profits ... which are at stake in the field (Ibid 30; my emphases).

Within this model music-as-capital constantly changes its meaning as a text within shifting contexts that are often of far greater importance than the original context of production.

### **Bourdieu applied to South Africa**

But how does this apply, *in situ*? The two areas of composition best represented in the South African academy are art music<sup>12</sup> and jazz.<sup>13</sup> Both genres concern new work, the border between the two being increasingly eroded.<sup>14</sup> Jazz composition also overlaps significantly with jazz performance because of the ‘seam’ of improvisation, and it is hard to see them as separate fields especially when they co-exist cheek-by-jowl in the academy (outside of it they are perhaps more distinct). For most jazz musicians, composition ‘comes out of performance in the first instance’, as one of my informants explains:

so I’m doing my usual practising to perform. And then from the ideas, the warm-ups and the various things that are happening there, there’s something that will grab me. Sometimes it’s a highly intuitive process and it just takes shape on its own. At other times it’s an idea that really needs working on, and I have to step back from it, think about it intellectually, think about what I’ve already done in other compositions that I want to try not to repeat. And then the composition takes shape (‘U’).

Compositions in jazz don’t only generate improvisation, in other words, they also emerge from it. Such compositions can for some musicians have ‘a more natural and personal feel ... as they have come from a deeper place than compositions that were composed more intellectually’ (Carlo Mombelli, pers. comm.; see also fn. 9 above). Composition and

<sup>11</sup> See the diagram in Bourdieu 1993, 38; see also the interpretation of this diagram in Schwarz 1997.

<sup>12</sup> I use this term rather than ‘classical’ or ‘serious’ music to refer to music from the western tradition composed and notated and disseminated through concerts and recordings.

<sup>13</sup> There are many other notions of ‘composition’ in South Africa such as African choral songs that bear the sense of ‘prescribed works’ because of the competitions for which they are written, or composition-performance in ‘traditional’ or ‘popular’ cultural domains, or jazz composition in which performance plays a major role. Apart from jazz however these ‘others’ are not dominant forms of composition in the academic world, so for the purposes of this research I largely exclude them here. It must however be borne in mind that to the vast majority of the South African population composing and performing are understood in terms far richer and more nuanced than they usually are in HE.

<sup>14</sup> See the work of Carlo Mombelli, Marc Duby, Paul Hamner, Julia Raynham, or Nishlyn Ramanna for example. Overseas, artists such as Eddie Provost and the group AMM (UK), the Art Ensemble of Chicago (US), or Luc Houtkamp and Ensemble POW (The Netherlands) have for a number of years existed in the emerging borderlands between avant garde composition, improvisation, and jazz. Within the academy ‘turf’ is circumscribed by curricula, teaching methodologies and the economics of how many music personnel an HE institution can support.

performance in western art music are, by comparison, more discreet entities. Their separation is unusual among world cultures; indeed, within western art music they only drifted apart in early 19<sup>th</sup>-century European culture, under pressure from what Jim Samson calls the 'widespread professionalism of musical life' that developed at that time, 'embracing the conservatoire, the music shop and the [instrument] manufacturer's *salle*, as well as the benefit concert and the subscription series' (2001a, 11). Gradually 'the training of virtuosos [became] a highly specialised activity, carving a space for keyboard technique outside the general field of musical training. Hence the 'swarm' of pianists ... all of them [at first] performing their own music' (Ibid, 15). The rise of virtuosi moved performance into the limelight and from the late 19<sup>th</sup>-century composer-performers became the exception rather than the rule. A new notion of composer-conductor has now developed, although in the South African HE context independent conducting work is not so much a question of working with fellow professionals but more of 'working with artists in formation [i.e. students]' ('O'). This does not usually apply to other kinds of academic performer.

The idealisation of the composer, or rather the 'great composer' has been another corollary to specialisation, the notion of 'greatness' in both work of art and composer creating what Jim Samson elsewhere calls a 'fetishism of greatness' (2001b, 259) among audiences, critics, and artists. This created a distinction made in the assessment of works as either 'an object well made, a task well done' or 'an achievement or an aptitude so far beyond the ordinary that it is capable of remaking the conventions – resetting the terms on which future evaluations might be made' (Ibid). Greatness here, then, becomes an aspect of the power of symbolic capital, not only among those in the second field of power – including commissioning and research bodies – but also among composers themselves, in the most limited field.

The space of power immediately surrounding this limited field in South Africa profoundly affects what composers do, and the degree to which they rely on each other or are successful in the public eye. Composers whom I interviewed mostly feel their space is a more difficult one than it was ten years ago – not just their space within the academy (threatened by restructuring) but their space in South African composition outside the academy as well. Such an experience might be read in Bourdieu's terms as a shift in the compositional field along a continuum at one end of which lies a condition of 'autonomous hierarchization' and at the other 'heteronomous hierarchization' (1993, 38). At the 'autonomous' end, the limited artistic field is a law unto itself where composers recognise only the world of other composers without concern for the second and third fields of power and economics, and where success would be measured purely in terms of what Bourdieu calls 'prestige', a form of recognition 'accorded by those who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they [in turn] recognize' (Ibid).

At the other 'heteronomous' end of the continuum there is no artistic field at all but only the fields of power and economics. Composers in this scenario have to take into account the power structures surrounding them, including their employers, and are exposed to degrees of success or recognition driven by sales of CDs or scores, number of performances, awards, or public honours (Ibid). Most commercial musicians in South Africa would recognise this scenario, where the notion of star performer and the pressure of the market-place predominate. Performers or composers in the academy would also recognise the way in which a more heteronomous scenario has impacted on their lives as the culture of power in pre-1994 South Africa gradually collapsed, experiencing the effect of a lesser degree of autonomy in the sense that their work has to be more accountable now to the larger field of economics and the new political order.

The greater autonomy of art music composition in the 1970s and '80s was due, I suggest, to the way it was protected from (and by) the racialised class politics of the third field,

enjoying certain privileges even from *within* a dominated position in the hierarchy of power, such privileges including financial support endorsed by that power. For as Bourdieu points out, when the limited field of cultural production achieves total autonomy from the laws of the market, recognition and legitimacy are informed not by a logic of economics but by one of politics. This is not to say individual composers agreed with the politics of the larger field, but rather that larger politico-economic power – then as now – encouraged and supported a particular notion of music. Such support might be read for example in terms of airplay on radio and appointments to jobs; or commissions.

### Commissions and the recognition of symbolic capital

Commissions are important indicators of standing in the border between the first and second fields and in the recognition of composition as symbolic capital in both. They not only make it, as one of my interviewees said, ‘a lot easier for a composer to maintain a composing life’ (‘R’), they even make that life possible, and (more important) they also make it possible to demonstrate its existence to administrations in the academy. The usual process is that a performer approaches a sponsor (from the second field) such as the Southern African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO), the South African Broadcasting Service (SABC), or the National Arts Council of South Africa (NAC), and requests that a fee be given to a composer to write a piece (symbiosis between performer and composer articulated here). Alternatively, a composer approaches the commissioning body direct; more rarely, the commissioning body approaches a composer.<sup>15</sup> If the commission is awarded, a fee and criteria are set: the piece must be completed within a given time (a year, maybe, in the case of a symphony), it must be premiered within a set period, it should be a certain length, and so on. The process of commissioning is a competitive one creating ‘forces of relation’ not only between commissioning agent and composer (conditions that might be difficult to meet), but also between composers and performers (‘this is impossible to play!’), and *between* composers (several may approach the same agent at the same time).

Being a commissioned composer allows one to adopt a position in the ‘field’ (as a three-fold entity). As one of my interviewees put it, ‘what *situates* a composer as a professional in the field – somebody whose work is in demand – is commissions’ (‘R’). Work resulting from a commission consequently has greater symbolic value as capital. It can also lend symbolic support (in some cases, or resistance in others) to imperatives emanating from the larger field of socio-economic power. Why composer A gets a bigger commission than composer B, or C never gets one at all, is not a matter of public debate: this being the kind of information (in Bourdieu’s words) ‘about persons, their relationships, liaisons and quarrels, [ideas] and problems which are ‘in the air’ and circulate orally in gossip and rumour’ – information that is not documented and gets lost over time (1993, 31-32). But under conditions of increasing heteronomization where commissioning bodies are more conscious of the economic logic of class or race (as they became during the 1990s in South Africa), they may even prescribe the style of a piece; and this is the kind of information that *does* persist.<sup>16</sup>

So commissioning occupies a janus-like position in the politics of composition: looking at recognition and status, one way, artistic constraint, the other. Constraint can also be a kind of freedom, putting composers into a specific realm of requirements: ‘what the occasion is, who the performers are, how big or small the ensemble is, what the budget is’, so that they

<sup>15</sup> This happens for example when SAMRO commissions works to be prescribed for its annual overseas scholarship competitions, which it does in both the ‘jazz/popular’ and ‘serious/classical’ genres. The works in 2005 were commissioned from composers Andile Khumalo (2005) and Surendran Reddy (2005).

<sup>16</sup> In his ‘Composer’s Statement’ about *White Man Sleeps* Kevin Volans refers to SAMRO’s request for a ‘a cross-cultural element (however superficial) in all its new commissions’ (www.kevinvolans.com, 18.11.05). This practice persists to the present day.

'know where to begin' ('R'). There is also a direct relationship between commissions and performances: the more commissions a composer gets, the more first (and probably subsequent) performances. Thus performers also benefit from commissioned composers and sometimes develop productive long-term artistic relations.<sup>17</sup> Commissioning bodies are either 'public' government or para-statal sponsored bodies and companies, or more 'private' individuals, Section 21 companies, or non-governmental bodies. Most commissioned composers in South Africa are South African nationals, and it is difficult for a South African who resides overseas to get a South African commission.<sup>18</sup>

Clearly, commissioning is symptomatic of the way a limited field can be dominated by the immediate field of power while still operating with some autonomy from it and be relatively unaffected by the largest field. During the 1970s and '80s powerful media and business interests – most of them supported directly or indirectly by the apartheid government – provided the bulk of commissions (the SABC and the four provincial Arts Councils, the Rupert Foundation, the Oude Meester Foundation, the National Arts Festival, Adcock Ingram, and Total). In the 1980s and '90s SAMRO and the Foundation for the Creative Arts became major commissioning agents. Universities, local municipalities, businesses, and wealthy individuals also commission(ed) works.

Many contemporary composers (and also performers of new music<sup>19</sup>) are still affected by power-relations around commissioning, but these have now shifted along the autonomy-heteronomy principle of Bourdieu's model. While in the 1980s there was still a high degree of autonomy around commissions, by 2001 the situation had changed radically. The Foundation for the Creative Arts, which was founded in the 1980s and morphed into the NAC in 1996, has left evidence of what one might call an 'escalating autonomy' ahead of major political and economic change in the early 1990s – like a sudden rush on the stock market before a crash – with its list of commissions given between 1989 and 1995 (Foundation for the Creative Arts [1995]). In this transition period in South Africa's political history running up to major changes in the larger socio-economic field after the 1994 elections, the Foundation commissioned 118 compositions and arrangements from fifty composers, and sponsored nine publications and a CD.<sup>20</sup> They also sponsored many smaller compositions, including examination pieces for the UNISA Grade Exams. Many of the works were not performed: it was not a requirement of the Foundation's commissions at that stage so the list of premières on pages 28-34 includes many 'not scheduled yet'. What it reflects *par excellence* is what Bourdieu calls the 'degree specific consecration' (1993, 38) of a type of composition leaning towards an overwhelmingly instrumental tradition in western classical style.<sup>21</sup>

Whatever created the 'space of possibles' (see above) for 118 commissions to be produced in the six years 1989-1995 represents the last flowering of a particular type of composition,

<sup>17</sup> An example here would be Johannesburg-based pianist Jill Richards, who has recorded many new works by South African composers, most of which were specially commissioned for her.

<sup>18</sup> Kevin Volans, for example, relies almost completely on overseas commissions because he spends half the year living in Ireland – see list of works and commissioning agents on his website ([www.kevinvolans.com](http://www.kevinvolans.com)) – and because he is not a member of SAMRO.

<sup>19</sup> I use the term 'new' rather than 'contemporary' because it denotes 'new art music' for most South Africans whereas 'contemporary's use in record stores implies popular music. However, 'new' is also a problematic, even meaningless term, as Adorno points out in his essay 'Music and New Music' (2002).

<sup>20</sup> Publications included the revision of Yvonne Huskisson's revised *Bantu Composers of Southern Africa* (1993), and compositions include large-scale works such as Jeanne Zaidel-Rudolph's *Sefirot Symphony* (1991), Hendrik Hofmeyr's ballet *Alice in Wonderland* (1992), Stefans Grové's organ work *Afrika Hymnus* (1992-3), Peter Klatzow's Double Concerto for flute, marimba and strings (1993), Khumalo's oratorio *Ushaka Ka Senzankakhona* (1994), and Roelof Temmingh's opera *Enoch, Prophet of God* (1994).

<sup>21</sup> It also reflects considerable continuity with the present in that some of those listed in the Foundation's *Catalogue* are still employed in South African HE (see pages 21-27).

however. In a catalogue of commissioned works produced six years later by the South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO 2001a) – 127 works written from 1980 to 2001 – a different configuration emerges, especially after 1994 when names such as Bongani Ndodana, Surendran Reddy, Victor Masondo, Shalati Khosa, and Rashid Lanie appear. In addition to more jazz and African composers more orchestral arrangements of ‘traditional’ (black) music by white arrangers appear – a phenomenon emerging with new force in the late 1990s. Although the majority of composers in SAMRO’s *Commissions* 2001a are still white, middle-class and predominantly male (which in 2001 no longer reflected the logic of the large field) there is nevertheless a shift towards ‘heteronomous hierarchization’ in the recognition of market forces and race/class relations through both the kinds of new composer supported and the kind of work gaining symbolic value.<sup>22</sup>

What these catalogues also reflect are ways that music and training are linked, to such an extent that what composition *is* and how people are *trained into it* (especially through their ability to read staff notation or not) are seen as virtually synonymous. My interviewees all bore this out in terms of the way they spoke about composition.<sup>23</sup> Only one informant articulated a separation between training and upbringing having a bearing on the kind of work that might be produced:

[Composition is] a multi-layered knowledge. On the top layers and the least meaningful in many ways [it’s] being informed by training, by one’s participation within a kind of discursive field. But then more fundamentally it’s being informed by a *habitus*. In other words, what were those deepest layers of cultural conditioning that informed people at the earliest stages of their existence and somehow make them ‘tick’ as individuals, and somehow find their way into the pieces they write (‘U’).

These examples show how the agency of power in terms of Bourdieu’s second field affects structure, perceptions, and the ability to work, in the first (limited) field. I now shift the emphasis towards reception of music in the public sphere and begin by exploring the notion of ‘publics’ who listen(ed) to new composition and (new or old) performance.

### Section 3: reception by particular publics

#### Recognition and reputation

The South African public sphere is not a homogenous or unchanging entity for the reception and critique of musical work any more than it is for other artistic endeavours. Producers of musical work, their audiences, and their critics are moreover (still) largely dependent on defining themselves in relation to work produced in the northern hemisphere.<sup>24</sup> This dependency on ‘the global north’ is manifest in the way composers and performers still usually, at some stage in their formative development, go overseas to study. Some remain there because of the perceived lack of public and state support in South Africa for art music. Both the act of going to study overseas and the perception of the public sphere in South Africa therefore are still however motivated by Western notions of music and society, by what David Attwell has described in relation to the literary field, as a ‘post-Enlightenment ideoscape’ (2005, 4).

<sup>22</sup> The following are examples of ‘cross-cultural’ titles reflecting the imperative of an ‘African element’ requirement (see fn. 16 above): *Five African Sketches* for guitar, *Inyanga* for solo marimba, *Mass for Africa*, *Metamorphosis on an African Wedding Song* for violin, *Music for the Rainbow People* for chamber orchestra, *Nonyana – The Ceremonial Dance* for piano. See also SAMRO 2000, SAMRO 2001b, and Levy 1992a and 1992b, which are catalogues of new South African works.

<sup>23</sup> It is also borne out by SAMRO’s categories for the 2006 Overseas Scholarship Competition for Composers: Jazz/Popular Music and Western Art/Choral Music. The requirement for the latter included composition of a string quartet and work for chamber orchestra, the unstated assumption lying behind this being that ‘composition’ was work for western instruments written in staff notation. (Needless to say, no choral composers writing in tonic solfa notation entered this category.)

<sup>24</sup> Not to say that this is untrue of much popular ‘commercial’ music as well, but this is not under consideration here.

South African performers have not experienced a sense of alienation in South Africa however with the same force as composers, since the kind of public performers address(ed) has existed for several centuries.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps for this very reason, performers do not seem to have taken advantage of the possibilities to redefine themselves in relation to the 'difference' of being in South Africa, rather than subsume difference into a borrowed model. This is far less true of composers, who have been in the past twenty years increasingly – extremely – conscious of the imperative of a more African ideoscape.

The establishment of reputation is an aspect of this lack of redefinition. Linked not only to power relations but also to 'the democratization of taste', as Richard Taruskin has reminded us, that flowed from '[t]he enlargement and social broadening of the musical public in response to new economic, demographic, and technological conditions' in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Europe (2005, 251), reputation as a performer or composer in the academy is contingent both on the way institutions are structured and on the way concert life is constructed inside and outside the academy. The disruption to state arts funding in the post-apartheid period notwithstanding, it is more or less 'business as usual' in the concert halls of South Africa, although there is evidence in the archives of concert societies that many more 'top international artists' visited SA during the decades before 1990 than afterwards (see for example Adler 1 and 2 [n.d.] and *History of the Musica Viva Society from 1951 to 1965* [n.d.]). The repertoire performed however has changed little in 150 years. A recent (re)democratization of taste has produced new publics – listeners to Classic FM or Fine Music Radio for example – with commensurate new packaging of music; and the corporate world supports a growing number of classical and jazz musicians.<sup>26</sup> Jazz was traditionally performed in clubs but it is now increasingly performed at cocktail parties or classical concerts, where people are not 'following the groove' in the more informed way they used to.

In the international field of jazz one informant cited an example of a 'thorough recognition of every gig [especially] the significant gigs' in the promotion of a faculty member to full professor; significant in this case meaning someone who 'played at all the smooth jazz festivals' ('P'). Being recognised as someone good enough to play at major festivals by invitation comes on the back of smaller things such as session work for studio recording or being a backing act for big international artists. Reputation has to be earned, in other words, by doing gigs of all kinds on the lower rungs of the ladder – and this seems no less true of classical performers than of jazz musicians. Visibility is what counts for performers, and this is where the limited field is heavily interdependent on the second field of power, in which agents, venue managers, and publics are situated. Managers rely on the public to make their living, thus 'invitations rely on audiences indirectly' ('P'). This does not mean the public drives the process of creating symbolic capital, but the reciprocal performer-audience relationship provides the means by which performance can do its work. The notion of 'public' it might be argued, then, is far more important for live performers (including jazz musicians) than it is for composers.<sup>27</sup>

The issue of popularity is a double-edged sword, however. A public following is absolutely necessary to a performer (and also to a composer); but commercial success is not

<sup>25</sup> There is a huge literature on music in South African cultural history, including newspaper and magazine articles, biographies, memoirs, and academic theses. See for example Bouws 1982, Egel 1909, Faktor-Kreitzer 1988, Hall 1969, Jackson 1970.

<sup>26</sup> As mentioned earlier in respect to commissions, corporate money can significantly affect the field, but its role has been more important to reception than production of musical work: the work of Adcock Ingram in promoting concerts and festivals of new art music, jazz, and black choral music in the 1980s and '90s is an example.

<sup>27</sup> There is another kind of 'public' I am not considering here, and that is the huge one (millions of people) who make or listen to music in relation to worship. I am also not considering here, because it complicates the issues without adding significantly to the argument, the unseen hordes of listeners to media or recordings.

necessarily valued in the academy.<sup>28</sup> I take a little time to digress on this issue, at the risk of sounding polemical. One South African university turned down an application for senior promotion on the basis that the CD recordings submitted as part of the motivation were sold commercially ('T'). 'You can't use the popular context to be judged academically', as another interviewee put it ('J'). Commercial or popular here is being opposed to – what? Art for art's sake? Symbolic capital valued 'by those [in the academy] who recognize no other criterion of legitimacy than recognition by those whom they [in turn] recognize'? It is well known that the recording industry is not the place to make money, but rather the Internet; and exposure to a wider public should be welcomed. One interviewee expressed the view that this negative view of 'commercialism' was as detrimental to the evaluation of performers and composers as the view of journalism as un-academic writing was to the evaluation of researchers ('K').<sup>29</sup>

The work of journalism for example can in some circumstances be vital to the dissemination of new ideas, even change the public view of music. Schumann's reviews of Chopin and Brahms in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1830s-'50s) are now regarded as mainstream musicology; Adorno, Marx and Benjamin wrote 'journalism' that was seminal to the development of 20<sup>th</sup>-century cultural theory. Commercial recordings can also be of seminal importance. The CD *Blacklight* recorded by percussionist Robyn Schulkowsky and released by Sony in 1985 (Schulkowsky 1985), was one of the first CDs ever released internationally, and included Kevin Volans's *She Who Sleeps With A Small Blanket*.<sup>30</sup> The Kronos Quartet's *White Man Sleeps* (released in 1987 on LP, Cassette Tape and CD simultaneously), which included the 1<sup>st</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Dance from Volans's classic, became by 1989 'the biggest selling string quartet record in history' ([www.kevinvolans.com](http://www.kevinvolans.com) 18.11.05).

### Professionalism

One thing underlying the suspicion of the 'commercial' may be academic administrations' fear that their staff are moonlighting; another may be an assumption that such products are not somehow 'professional' – which may in turn echo a fear that they are not 'peer-reviewed'. The lingering distinction between amateur and professional in music is however another matter, altogether. It has long been a distinction made in Western performance practice (especially in Britain), and it came up in several of my interviews, insofar as the word 'professional' was used in tandem with the following ideas: 'if you are a professional ... you're constantly producing something' ('N'); 'somebody whose work is in demand' ('R'); 'pressure on survival, a compromise morning, noon and night' ('I'); 'getting lots of performances' ('Q'). 'Lots of performances' means constantly being 'in work'. This is what makes a performer or composer professional in the public eye too, indeed would even *get* them into the public eye. Other notions of professional recall the mediaeval guild, as in

<sup>28</sup> This might be related to an arcane notion of universities as closed communities; it might be related to outdated notions of high or low art; but given the increasing commercialisation of classical music and the classicisation of popular music in South Africa, it makes no sense. It's also punitive: few musicians in South African universities can financially afford to turn down 'commercial' gigs. Academic performers see 'outside work' (as university bureaucrats put it) not as a detraction from their job but as quite the opposite: a way of maintaining their professional life, indeed often affording to maintain that life. Performers further argue that public recognition is what gets them jobs in the academy in the first place.

<sup>29</sup> The idea of commercial here also seems to exclude work that has a critical edge and can be judged by scholarly criteria but includes work that generates income. But these are criteria of entirely different orders, and while there is evidence that journalism lacks critique, not all of it does; and there is far less evidence that academics get rich from recordings.

<sup>30</sup> My recollection of Volans in 1985 is that when he received a copy he complained that he did not yet have a CD player on which to listen to it.

‘there are few ‘professional’ composers in South Africa’ (‘I’). Professional here means trained in a particular craft, and outsiders sometimes see themselves struggling to get into the guild as thus conceived: ‘I left school at Standard 8 [but] I ha[d] to make this work. This is gonna be my profession’ (‘L’). Others see professionalism as an attitude:

there are often those students – I’ve come across a few in my life – that have got a tremendous talent, and a facility, but are often prone to doing things at the last minute and therefore not delivering of their best. There’s an inherent discipline [and] a responsibility towards yourself, and of course more importantly [towards] the music ... What you’re doing is not a half-baked job (‘A’).

Some informants felt that because of changes in the social structure of music, training to be a ‘professional’ practitioner in the sense implied above is no longer even possible in South African HE: ‘our students don’t know a thing. They listen to a recording and they want to copy that. And very often the class tuition [and] one-to-one situation [in lessons] is more of a glorified practice class’ (‘C’). Training might also be a restraint, on the other hand, or a diffusion of focus: ‘[there] was a possibility of getting degrees. And then I said ‘No, no, no this is not helping me. ... I realised if I can sacrifice a piece of paper, I must promote my [own] standards, and being a professional became a calling’ (‘L’). Professionalism need not necessarily mean being musically trained, in this view. For people among whom one informant does her research, for example, ‘what constitutes a professional musician is ... also someone who carries him- or herself with a certain sense of deportment [and] discipline’ (‘E’). In the reception of art music a paying public still believes strongly in a professional performer who ‘knows the score’, and this is usually because audiences are publics generally untutored in music theory. The very knowledge they lack, indeed, helps to preserve music’s ‘mystery (accessible only to a trained priesthood), lends it higher prestige in a culture that values quantifiable knowledge over mere expression, and conceals the ideological basis of its conventions and repertoires’ (McClary 1996, 150).

Behind the ‘trained priesthood’ as Susan McClary darkly puts it, lie hordes of acolytes who keep the system oiled. There are many performers (and some composers) trained in the academy who attain for example a doctorate in composition or performance, or a Licentiate Diploma, without necessarily becoming ‘professional’ in the public eye. They mostly go into teaching, perpetuating what sometimes seems like a closed cycle or system. Thus there are two ways of engaging in performance: one adequate to get the majority through the system and able to perpetuate it through teaching; one enabling a tiny minority to break out and be exposed to a paying public. The majority help to create a small but significant mass of school-leavers for whom doing music at HE level is mostly about performing, those who proceed to HE forcing South African music departments (in turn) to employ a higher number of practical staff than academic staff or composers, and also perpetuating the cycle.

### **Comparison of the reception of performance and composition**

The imperative to perform, the limitations of the compositional field, the relatively large size of the performing community, and the fact that the public has ‘been there’ for classical music for 150 years (100 years for jazz) – all these have contributed to making performance reception far healthier in South Africa than that of composition. The size of audiences for new (contemporary) music is often tiny (averaging twenty to fifty people) in comparison with the size of audiences who attend symphony concerts, classical piano recitals and jazz gigs.<sup>31</sup> The new music audience is also ‘a very mixed bunch’ (‘R’) by comparison, including composers and their students, performers interested in new music,

<sup>31</sup> Music societies and orchestras in South Africa have tried to include contemporary i.e. ‘current’ or ‘new’ work in their concerts each season, but as the anonymous author of the *History of the Music Viva Society* put it, ‘as is common in most countries the majority of the audience prefe[r] earlier works to contemporary works’ [n.d. c1966, 10].

artists, film-makers, writers – but not usually the ‘general public’. Not only audiences, but most performers in such concerts, are drawn from the academic community, and more often than not new music concerts are restricted to campuses, although there are ‘outside people coming in too’ (‘N’). Work that originates in or for the South African academy does not easily find its way to national audiences ‘outside’ because by and large such audiences do not exist; even international performances are fairly unusual.<sup>32</sup>

There are no designated public spaces on or off campuses in South Africa for the purpose of performing new music; and indeed there are few in the world. Thus the notion of ‘significant venues’ used by performing rights societies and universities overseas for evaluating outputs (and collecting royalties) is highly problematic. It may well be, too, that the audience is more significant than the venue. If a composer has a work performed in the Queen Elizabeth Hall, London as opposed to the Wits Atrium, Johannesburg, for example, this at first glance has some symbolic *gravitas*; but *if* at the QEHL performance, the audience ‘consisted only of family and friends, and if the performance in the Wits Atrium was played to an audience consisting [of] composers, performers, music critics, and it was reported in several media, also recorded and a CD circulated – does[n’t] this raise the significance of the [Wits] performance?’ (‘Q’).

For those composers I interviewed, ‘the creation of the work and the performing of it [are] two sides of the same coin’; but ‘the performance also adds things to the work, which the composer hasn’t foreseen ... makes it complete’ (‘B’). Composers rely on performers for the interpretation and success of their work – unless it is entirely electronic – so ‘public’-ation starts with making [a work] public by having it performed’ (‘N’). Once in the public domain a work slowly permeates ‘the field’, takes its position, maybe gradually reaching a ‘level of public acceptability’ (‘K’). This can be a very slow process, indeed may never happen. For after the premiere, ‘maybe there may or may not be a second performance. It may or may not be recorded’; but it might be ‘a very significant piece [and] people who are there who are in the know [think] ‘gosh, this piece was really saying something new in a new kind of way’. But on paper it, you know, it doesn’t look...’ (‘K’). Assessment of a work ‘on paper’ lacks this dimension of the performative: ‘you can read the work and you can make an assessment of it and so on, but it seems that when you look at it like that, that the abstract [aspect] of it is still more important [than the *sound*]’ (‘B’).

Publication ‘on paper’ – having a music manuscript type-set, printed and distributed by a recognised music publishing company – is barely an option for most South Africans because there are no music publishers as such, in South Africa. Indeed there are increasingly few in the world and it is difficult for even top international composers to be signed up. Chester Music in London, for example, which has published a number of Volans’s scores and was a subsidiary of the Scandinavian firm Hansen, was bought out some years ago by the mega-company called Music Sales Ltd., founded in 1970 by Robert Wise. Music Sales’s takeovers include Schirmer, Hansen, Chester, Novello, Union Musical Ediciones, and Universal Edition’s (UE) London office. By 1995 there were only three print-music publishing companies left in Europe and north America: Music Sales, Boosey and Hawkes, and Schott (Lebrecht 1996, 337-40).

Some composers in Britain who were ‘fall-out victims’ of company takeovers formed a collective (York University Music Press) at York University (Ibid 341), but there is nothing comparable to this in South Africa. Peter Klatzow’s Musications (formed in the late ’70s)

---

<sup>32</sup> There are of course always exceptions: one informant told me of a work that has become a regular repertoire piece of the (Swedish) ensemble for whom it was composed: ‘they said that, “well we have performed this piece sixty times now”, nine times in China or something like that’ (‘N’).

no longer exists, and Kevin Volans's Newer Music Edition of the 1980s was designed around a few specific early titles. The shift away from niche production by local or international publishers to desk-top publishing i.e. self-publishing and distribution by composers themselves has also profoundly affected publishing patterns world-wide. Software such as Finale or Sibelius and internet access to sound-files and scores has helped to render traditional publication not only unprofitable, but in many ways irrelevant and unnecessary.

As a way of getting into the public domain, then, publication in the former conventional sense of printed scores is increasingly irrelevant. 'It's much easier, as we know, to get an article published than [a] composition' ('K'). Composers rely on a work being requested by performers, students, or a library, and they will then send a copy; so they are at the mercy of a good public response to performances. But the response is unpredictable: 'one work may have a long and lasting effect, another not. These are factors beyond one's control' ('H'). More gets into the public domain (for both performers and composers) through CDs, and as these become easier and cheaper to produce their number increases.

Composers still however need dissemination, long for a public reception that expands gradually outwards, beyond the academy or an immediately circle of friends. For performers, addressing a public is not just an aspiration, it is an absolute requirement, a function of what they do. Performers are by definition public figures. Their following includes the informed and uninformed; they have to satisfy a far more diverse public than composers, 'constantly evaluating their performance with criteria that are entirely different from ones which would come from an academic institution' ('M'). Choice of programme (thus) often matches expectation. Although 'the more informed listener, shall we say, or the one who is exploring music in the way that academic institutions typically do [is] not simply looking at the greatest hits' ('M'), elsewhere the listening public often is.

A classical pianist typically learns a new concerto each year and plays it several times; she does many solo and/or chamber recitals, includes occasional premières of new work, and makes a recording every couple of years – all of this addressing 'a fairly kind of amorphous, non-[specialist], sort of a mass market' ('K'), and involving the performer in a number of moves in terms of 'positions' and 'relations' in the field. A jazz sax player typically performs on a regular basis in several clubs and at corporate gigs, also does recordings, also often plays her own or others' (new) work. Both classical and jazz performers present a public face, but with different levels of awareness and responsibility. (For an analysis of venue, place and meaning in South African jazz, see Ramanna 2005.) Both performers and composers, in whatever style, have to be aware all the time of negotiations and compromises required to get a 'gig': for a composer these might revolve around the commissioning agent, for the performer around the venue's acoustics or the quality of a piano, for the jazz musician around the availability of other players. (For an analysis of the impact of market forces on the training of South African musicians in HE see Viljoen, Viljoen, and Pelser 1994.)

### **Public responsibility and critique**

What is the effect of a constantly shifting public gaze on a performer or composer's sense of public responsibility? As Bourdieu puts it, the aesthetic and institutional gaze are interlinked, and

the constitution of the aesthetic gaze as a 'pure' gaze, capable of considering the work of art in and for itself [is] linked to the *institution* of the work of art as an object of contemplation, with the creation of private and then public galleries and museums [and concert halls], and the parallel development of a corps of professionals appointed to conserve the work of art [composition], both materially and symbolically (1993, 36).

Bourdieu further argues – in one of his rare references to music – that the musical work is ‘preserved’ (one might say ossified) by classical performers who continually reiterate mainstream repertoire from the 18<sup>th</sup>, 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup>-centuries. This leads audiences ‘to expect works to be performed and conducted from memory – which has the effect of limiting the repertoire and excluding avant-garde works’ (Ibid). It is not audiences but another kind of ‘public’ – the education system, Bourdieu argues – that inculcates this institutionalisation of expectation and fulfilment, often to the detriment of new work. (And as we have seen, the education system breeds more performers than composers.) This is borne out by some of my informants, one of whom complained that classical performers in South Africa repeat the same tropes, not bringing anything original to the old material. ‘There must be new interpretation each time. If you listen to recordings and [just] do same...’ (‘J’). Another said, ‘I am constantly expected to include on my programme either the [X], or the [Y]. That’s what people want from [a] recital. I’ve been asked, for example, to play a recital at the [Z private] School at the end of this year, and they have told me the audience will expect popular, light music there’ (‘M’).

Composers may *seem* to have fewer qualms about public responsibility but the prevailing ignorance about (new) music cuts both ways. One interviewee illustrated an advantage:

the idea that the composer is sort of autonomous – he can do what he likes – often means taking a chance. [X] had to give [his music] a title, and he was thinking: what shall I call it? And he called it, say, ‘Autumn Leaves’, or whatever. And people came afterwards, and [said], ‘hmm, this whole piece has the feel of autumn; something autumnal’ (‘C’).

A disadvantage is lack of critical media coverage, illustrated at the 2005 National Arts Festival in Grahamstown, at which no premieres – or even concerts of new music – were reviewed. Perhaps journalists are not being trained to write about new music (Gwen Ansell, pers. comm.); more likely they need some kind of controversy, a ‘story’, to make them interesting, the kind that happened for example around the first performance of Hendrik Hofmeyr’s *Sinfonia Africana* in Stellenbosch in early 2004, where, as one of my informants put it, ‘artistic opinions were outweighed by the political ones’ (‘D’). Generally, however, my informants were of the opinion that ‘you can’t count newspaper reviews because they’re written by amateurs’ (‘J’).

Here ‘autonomy’ creates for composers, not so much artistic freedom as serious ‘ignorance; a huge critical vacuum. There are weekly media reviews of new art, new books, new plays and films in South Africa, but almost never of new music, least of all in the sense of regarding it as a form of intellectual enquiry. Even a response on campuses is not necessarily well informed, and is often conditioned by habits acquired from concerts of ‘old’ music: ‘if the music ends loudly and fast [then] we all stand up ... People react in a certain way because of the decibels’ (‘C’). The absence of critique also extends to journals: there is no musical equivalent to *Art South Africa* for example, a critical forum where artists and their work are embedded and interrogated, compared, and thus given substance to, so that their creators are made to become important and relevant in the academic and public eye.<sup>33</sup>

The academic critique of music studies in South Africa is not insignificant, and has been gathering momentum for a number of years (see for example Lüdemann 1993, Viljoen, Viljoen, and Pelser 1994, Muller 1998), but the embeddedness of this critique in academic journals has not contributed sufficiently, I would argue, towards the construction of a field of composition and performance in the academy; it is too often validation of music as

<sup>33</sup> The NewMusicSA *Bulletin*, which first appeared in 2002, to some extent begins to meet this need; but it is not yet accredited.

autonomous object, taking the form of analysis of individual compositions and rather unquestioning promotion of their authors. Examples from two recent issues of the *South African Journal of Musicology* illustrate this: Spies (2002) and May (2003). The latter particularly might have enhanced a debate about new South African composition, if James May had perhaps *situated* the composer and the piece in question (Hendrik Hofmeyr, *Alleenstryd*) in a critical context of new work. ‘Situated’ here, though, is a case of ‘merits mention’ – in the company of two other ‘great Afrikaans song cycles: Arnold van Wyk’s *Van Liefde en Verlatenheid* and Hubert du Plessis’s *Vreemde Liefde*’ (May 2003, 43).

Bourdieu’s model of the limited field implies a fairly constant space – significantly lacking in South Africa academia, as I have shown – in which debate around cultural as opposed to symbolic capital is as vital as the capital itself, part of its very construction *as* capital, a space where ‘relations’ and ‘positions’ (including those between an artist and her critics) do much of the work of *creating the field*. Where that does not happen, the limited field is far more likely to swing between extremes of autonomous and heteronomous hierarchization, becoming now a function of meaning for music scholarship, now a project of the latest socio-economic order or cultural lobby group.<sup>34</sup>

The academic world for art-music composers is, then, an example of a very specific and limited kind of field, very different from that of performers. In the public domain where old work is ‘conserved’, in Bourdieu’s sense, conventional performance thrives, whereas composers’ new work is often squashed between Beethoven and Brahms. Not surprisingly composers suffer too much from what Harold Bloom (1973) has called the ‘anxiety of influence’ (performers, perhaps, suffer from too little). Works that stand up to influence or challenge prevailing aesthetic norms also take a long time to become disseminated, understood, and accepted – years, even decades; and only a few South African compositions ever become classics. This is why the evaluation of composition, one informant felt, ‘should take into account not only *this* [latest] composition, but the whole history of the composer ... [in] some form of compensation for the fact that this is a single piece and we don’t know what it is. It will take the next fifty years to find out what it is all about’ (‘C’).

### Following and visibility

Composers are not only competing against the past. ‘There are more composers alive and working today than in the entire history of composition’ (Volans, pers. comm.), and outside the academy the field of composition is very large indeed, especially if one defines composition as performing rights societies globally do: composers working in both classical and popular music. In South Africa there are far more composers outside the academy than in it: the list of new works in *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology* (Blake and Levy 2003, 99-103) shows seventy-five scores/CDs produced by thirty-six composers in 2002 alone. SAMRO also looks after the rights of several thousand South African composers and arrangers world-wide including many who are either South Africans living abroad or overseas composers whose works are performed here. Given this, the number of composers listed in the Appendix who work in South African HE, represents a shockingly small field. In terms of numbers alone, indeed, it barely manages to constitute a field, even in the most ‘limited’ sense implied by Bourdieu.

<sup>34</sup> Such swings are illustrated in the intermittence of national contemporary music festivals which, because they have not sustained a critical ‘climate’, have tended to throw the logic of power back onto individuals or their sponsors. There have only been four post-World War II examples of such isolated festivals: the SABC Festival of Contemporary Music in 1949, the Adcock Ingram Contemporary Music Festival of 1981, the SABC Festival of Contemporary Music on 1983, and the International Composers’ Workshop of 1996. See also fn. 4 above.

The fields of composition overseas are generally far larger, both in the academy and outside it, and thus they are also far more competitive. One informant spoke of three kinds of composers in Britain:

[first:] a number of professional full-time composers getting lots of performances – some attached to institutions, even vaguely or part-time. Among the ‘very much attached’ (up to 100%) there are those who gets lots of performances as well as teach, and there are those who don’t and rely almost entirely on their income from teaching ... The majority of composers are school or private teachers who do composing on the side. Then there are free-lance locally-based composers who call themselves ‘composers’ but their works are not ... widely known; they have a small local following (‘S’).

To some extent this correlates with the idea of ‘two worlds’ in performance: the public performer and the non-performing teacher. The notion of a large number of small-town or ‘parish’ composers is also nothing new. (Bach was one such.) Few in South Africa can call themselves ‘professional full-time composers’, with the exception of people in the their seventies or eighties such as Abdullah Ibrahim and Stefans Grové. And few have ‘lots of performances’ unless writing for TV, film, dance, or choral competitions.<sup>35</sup>

A following is as important for a composer as a performer: ‘no reception, no composer’ (‘S’). But ‘following’ is a socially-constructed phenomenon operating at various levels, one of the key factors, indeed in Bourdieu’s ‘space of possibles’. The local following is often extremely significant (more so than for researchers) – extended family, friends, students, and admirers, who often belong to communities for whom the composer or performer symbolises a cultural heritage (the Jewish community in Johannesburg, for example, or the Afrikaans community in Stellenbosch); and such communities help to bestow symbolic value on musical work. Parish churches or cathedrals in South Africa also provide faithful publics for the regular composition of new church music, the only downside being that a service does not count as a ‘performance’, for royalty purposes.<sup>36</sup> At the macro level a following is what helps to create national and international recognition, and few people in South Africa at present can be said to have either. Whether large or small, though, a following constitutes a particular public for whom the value of a composer’s work as symbolic capital is often more important than its aesthetic value. The same holds true for performers.

## Conclusion

What I have tried to show in this very preliminary mapping of the field of music performance and composition in the South African academy are the contradictions, changes, and constraints shaping it. There are substantial differences between conditions that make (or made) it possible for musicians to produce creative and critical musical work and spaces for various publics to consume them. Composition in the academy is an extremely restricted field in comparison with performance, but I have seen both as broadly problematic here. My research shows that there are clear areas for the very easy recognition

<sup>35</sup> Most choral songs prescribed for schools and adult choir competitions and sung by tens of thousands of choirs all over South Africa, are written by composers not registered with SAMRO, or if they are registered, they cannot collect royalties because most venues are not registered and composers often don’t know when or where their works are performed. These works and their composers thus circulate almost entirely outside the economy of real capital yet they have huge symbolic capital: an extreme case of ‘the economic world reversed’. A handful of art-music composers who now live overseas because of the limitations of the field in South Africa do have works in regular performance there (for example Stanley Glasser, John Joubert, Kevin Volans, Bongani Ndodana).

<sup>36</sup> The South African Music Rights Organisation (SAMRO) and the South African Recording Rights Association Limited (SARRAL) collect royalties for South African composers registered with them and performances in South Africa by musicians registered overseas; The Performing Rights Society of the UK (PRS) and the American Society of Composers and Performers (ASCAP) collect royalties for overseas performances of SA works. Most composers or performers, however, earn very little each year from royalties.

of equivalence between processes and products, but a far more difficult area is that of recognition of value because of the size of the limited field and because of power dynamics between the most limited and the second and third fields. It indicates that in rating performers and composers enormous due consideration needs to be taken of crossover practices (jazz-classical, performer-composer, composer-musicologist). It shows that a long view needs to be taken of composers and their work, which takes years to develop as recognised symbolic as well as aesthetic capital and get into the public domain; and it also shows that historical changes and vested interests in that domain, too, need to be taken into account when considering prestige and recognition by peer-reviewers.

Above all, my preliminary research reveals that compositional and performing spaces in the academy are fraught ones, somewhat artificial in comparison with larger spaces in more public spheres, yet serving as fields of production that perhaps would not survive outside the academy. For as one interviewee put it, 'academic institutions are very important institutional homes for sometimes very fragile creative activities [and] assume a greater significance and importance than they do in some other places' ('G'). Unlike researchers however, who also barely operate outside of academia, performers and composers also have to locate themselves in several fields simultaneously: the field of academia, the field of national and international peers, the larger and more public spaces of music in South Africa and abroad, the commercial and non-commercial worlds of music. They are thus far more subject than researchers to both pressures and opportunities that come from outside the institution, far more susceptible to the second and third fields of power, in Bourdieu's model. Yet their very survival as practitioners in the academy is constantly at stake, which is why their work needs the recognition it deserves from the NRF, however accorded and rewarded. Composers and performers in the limited field of South African HE are obliged to think in a way that researchers are not, I suggest, about their future in the academy as 'researchers'; they are forced, as the above informant (who shall have the last word) said, 'to think of how they situate their activity in this institutional setup; because this is the institutional setup they need' ('G').

There are many areas that my research has left untouched. One concerns the work of composition and performance as critique in and of itself as opposed to parallel commentary on that work as critique. Another is the measurement and evaluation of composition and performance outputs (portfolios and examination recitals) among students of those employed in HE – especially viz-a-viz outputs in terms of research dissertations and theses. It should be possible to find a way of quantifying and analysing the former in the same way, for instance, as Beverly Parker has quantified and analysed the latter (2001). These and many other lacunae exposed by my research will I hope be taken up by other scholars, as the debate about recognition of professional musical work as research continues to unfold.

## REFERENCES

- Adler, Hans. [n.d.] *Hans Adler Album 1 and 2*. Adler Collection, Wits School of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Adorno, Theodor W., trans. Rodney Livingstone. 1998. Berg's Discoveries in Compositional Technique. In *Quasi una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, 179-200. London and New York: Verso.
- \_\_\_\_\_, trans. Rodney Livingstone. 2002. Music and New Music. In *Quasi una Fantasia: Essays on Modern Music*, 249-68. London and New York: Verso.
- Apple Baum, Samuel and Henry Roth. 1981. *The Way They Play: Illustrated Discussions with Famous Artists and Teachers. Book 9*. Neptune, N.J.: Paganiniana Publications Inc.

- Attali, Jacques, trans. Brian Massumi. 1985 (1977). *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Minnesota & London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Attwell, David. 2005. *Rewriting Modernity: Studies in Black South African Literary History*. Scottsville, Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu Natal Press.
- Blake, Michael and Michael Levy. 2003. South African Compositions 2004: A Selected List of Commissions, New Works, Premières, Prescribed Works and Recordings. *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology* 23, 99-105.
- Bloom, Harold. 1973. *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bourdieu, Pierre, trans Richard Nice. 1993[1983]. The Field of Cultural Production, or: The Economic World Reversed. In *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, ed. & introd. Randal Johnson, 29-73 [*Poetics* 12(4-), 311-56]. Cambridge: Polity Press [Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers].
- Bouws, J. 1982. *Solank Daar Musiek Is... Musiek en Musiekmakers in Suid-Afrika (1652-1982)*. Cape Town: Tafelberg.
- Egel, H.W. 1909. *The South African Music Calendar*. Cape Town: Darter and Sons.
- Faktor-Kreitzer, L. 1988. *Taking a Bow*. Cape Town: The Gryphon Press.
- Foundation for the Creative Arts/Stigting vir die Skeppende Kunste. [n.d.1995]. *Catalogue of Music Commissions Music Works Commissioned from October 1989 until April 1995/Katalogus van Musiekopdragwerke: Musiekopdragwerke vanaf Ocktober 1989 tot April 1995*. Newtown, Johannesburg: Foundation for the Creative Arts.
- Friedson, Steven. 1996. *Dancing Prophets: Musical Experience in Tumbuka Healing*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, E. 1969. *The Good Die Young*. Cape Town: Constantia Publishers.
- History of the Musica Viva Society from 1951 to 1965* [n.a.]. [n.d. c1966]. Unpublished mimeograph.
- Jackson, G.S. 1970. *Music in Durban: An Account of Musical Activities in Durban from 1850 to Early Years of the Present Century*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Jameson, F. 1985. Foreword. In Attali, Jacques, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, vii-xiv. Minnesota & London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Khumalo, Andile. 2005. *Schattenspiegel (Mirror of Shadows)* for Piano Solo. Braamfontein: SAMRO.
- Khumalo, Mzilikazi James. 2003. Some Ideas Offered to the National Arts Council of South Africa. [www.artslink.co.za](http://www.artslink.co.za), May 2003.
- Kronos Quartet. 1987. *White Man Sleeps*. Electra Nonesuch CD 979163-2 [LP 979163-1; CT 979163-4].
- Lebrecht, Norman. 1996. *When the Music Stops: Managers, Maestros, and the Corporate Murder of Cla\$\$ical Music*. London: Pocket Books.
- Levy, Michael. 1992a. *Catalogue of Serious Music: Original Works, Arrangements and Orchestrations Published and in Manuscript by Southern African Composers and Arrangers 1962-1992. Vol. 1* [original compositions Adams-Moerane]. 2nd ed. Johannesburg: SAMRO Ltd.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1992b. *Catalogue of Serious Music: Original Works, Arrangements and Orchestrations Published and in Manuscript by Southern African Composers and Arrangers 1962-1992. Vol. 2* [original compositions Mofolo-Zorgman and

- arrangements & orchestrations Acres-Zorgman]. 2nd ed. Johannesburg: SAMRO Ltd.
- May, James. 2003. Pitch Organisation in Hendrik Hofmeyr's *Alleenstryd*. *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology* 23, 43-53.
- McClary, Susan. 1996(1985). Afterword. In *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*, by Jacques Attali, 149-58. Minnesota & London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Muller, Stephanus. 1998. Deconstructing the Rainbow: Music and Musicological Discourse in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In *Proceedings of the 25<sup>th</sup> Annual Congress of the Musicological Society of Southern Africa, Grahamstown August 1998*, ed. W. Lüdemann, 70-84. [Stellenbosch: Musicological Society of Southern Africa.]
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2000. *Sounding Margins: Musical Representations of White South Africa*. Oxford University: unpublished Ph.D. thesis.
- Parker, Beverly Lewis. 2001. Recent South African Postgraduate Research in Music. *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology* 21, 39-46.
- Ramanna, Nishlyn. 2005. *Jazz as Discourse: A Contextualised Account of Contemporary Jazz in Post-apartheid Durban and Johannesburg*. University of KwaZulu Natal: unpublished Ph.D. thesis.
- Reddy, Surendran. 2005. *African Funk for Felix*. Braamfontein: SAMRO.
- SAMRO. 2000. *New Works by South African Composers & Arrangers from 1996 to June 2000*. Braamfontein [Johannesburg]: SAMRO.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001a. *SAMRO Music Archive: Commissions*. [Johannesburg:] SAMRO.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001b. *SAMRO Music Archive: Catalogue: New Works by South African Composers and Arrangers from July 2000*. [Johannesburg:] SAMRO.
- Samson, Jim. 2001a. The Musical Work and Nineteenth-century History. In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-century Music*, ed. Jim Samson, 3-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2001b. The Great Composer. In *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-century Music*, ed. Jim Samson, 259-84.
- Scherzinger, Martin. 2004. Art Music in a Cross-Cultural Context: The Case of Africa. In *The Cambridge History of Twentieth-century Music*, eds. N. Cook and A. Pople. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 584-613.
- Schulkowsky, Robyn. 1985. *Blacklight*. Sony CD 1985B 3634.
- Schwarz, David. 1997. *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Spies, Bertha. 2002. Alban Berg's *Wozzeck*: Revisiting a Historically Sedimented Metaphor. *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology* 22, 47-60.
- Strand, Denis. 1998. *Research in the Creative Arts*. Department of Employment, Education, Training and Youth Affairs: Evaluations and Investigations Programme, Higher Education Division [Australia].
- Taljaard, Hannes, ed. 2005. *The South African Music Teacher* 142 (November 2005).
- Taruskin, Richard. 2005. *The Oxford History of Western Music Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Viljoen, Martina, Nicol Viljoen, and André Pelsler. 1994. Career Expectations and Experiences of Some Professional Musicians in a Changing South Africa. *SAMUS: South African Journal of Musicology* 14, 71-81.



- |     |   |               |                |
|-----|---|---------------|----------------|
| 9.  | UNW=Noordwest-Universiteit Skool vir Musiek & Konservatorium (formerly PUCHE) |               |                |
|     | composers 2   | performers 9  | researchers 3  |
| 10. | UP=University of Pretoria Departement Musiek                                  |               |                |
|     | composers 2   | performers 3  | researchers 12 |
| 11. | US=Universiteit van Stellenbosch Departement Musiek                           |               |                |
|     | composers 2   | performers 12 | researchers 5  |
| 12. | UV=University of Venda Music School   |               |                |
|     | composers 0   | performers 3  | researchers 2  |
| 13. | UNIZUL=University of Zululand Centre for Arts and Culture <sup>37</sup>       |               |                |
|     | composers 0   | performers 2  | researchers 2  |
| 14. | WITS=University of the Witwatersrand School of Arts: Music Division           |               |                |
|     | composers 2   | performers 3  | researchers 3  |
| 15. | WSU=Walter Sisulu University Music Education Department (formerly UNITRA)     |               |                |
|     | composers 0   | performers 0  | researchers 4  |

### SUMMARY

This article is based on a report on composition and performance as research equivalence commissioned by the National Research Foundation in 2005. It shows some aspects of equivalence in process and outcomes but chiefly it interrogates composition and performance as 'fields' in South African Higher Education, using Pierre Bourdieu's notion of a limited field to map the size, scope, and nature of these fields. The conclusion it draws is that composition is an extremely small field that struggles to relate to the larger field of composition nationally and internationally and has little critical support. Performance on the other hand is relatively successful as a field in the academy, drawing on a much longer history of reception that has not had to adapt to socio-political changes since 1994, to the same extent as composition.

---

<sup>37</sup> Two of the personnel listed in the 'Directory' seem to be from the field of fine art and are not taken into account here. Christine Lucia is Professor & Chair of Music at the University of the Witwatersrand and author of *The World of South African Music* (2005).