An exploration of the gender and sexual dynamics for women performers in the Cape Town jazz community

by

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Abstract

This research explores the dynamics of gender, sexuality and power for women performers within the jazz community in Cape Town. Although the history and development of South African jazz has been extensively researched, very few texts mention the presence and impact of women performers and has yet to include how questions of gender, power and sexuality influence both the cultures of jazz and the experiences of women jazz artists.

The current study is strongly influenced by feminist theory, which seeks to uncover experiences obscured by patriarchal epistemologies. A qualitative methodology is used to ensure each narrative remains at the forefront of the research. Interviews were conducted with jazz women musicians involved in various roles within the jazz industry in Cape Town. These semi-structured interviews allow for these women to narrate their turbulent musical journeys. What is revealed and subsequently further explored are the rich identity politics involved in being women "performers", what is assumed and expected of them, the role "boys clubs" play in their exclusion, and the pressures and implications of stringent gender stereotypes, beauty ideals and vicious hyper-sexualization. Moreover, I explore the analytics of power within this specific culture and its' effect on jazz women. Their accounts reveal how the Cape Town jazz community remains saturated with gender stereotypes and is seemingly committed to continuing violent displays of misogyny.

The study argues that despite the prevalence of this misogyny, women jazz artists actively design strategies which skilfully and innovatively allow them to pursue influential careers, deepening the meaning of "jazz" in Cape Town and beyond. The research thus both extends the analysis of feminist jazz theorists in Cape Town, and suggests that understanding the contemporary dynamics of gender and sexuality in South African jazz artists' experience deserves more research.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Historically, little of jazz scholarship has involved the critiquing of constructions of normative gender dynamics. This is problematic when one considers how socio-cultural contexts and intersections such as gender, race, class etc. ultimately shape jazz culture globally. Gender intersects with race, sexuality, class and ethnicity, yielding vast insights into the performances of jazz but has yet to be incorporated as a “salient point of analysis” (Tucker, 2004). As it stands, there is little to no research integrating feminist and queer theories within jazz discourse, nor is there space for the exploration different “shapings of sexuality and gender” (Annfelt, 2003).

Jazz culture has been known to cultivate stringent “masculine” arenas, maintaining traditional and gendered divisions of labour (Annfelt, 2003) in accordance to stereotypical gender roles (“Call for papers…”, n.d.). Feminist theorists argue that the development of jazz has been devoted to celebrating versions of masculinity as embedded within what is seen as authentic jazz culture. Yet, there is no shortage of talented jazz women musicians, rather a lack of complex engagement with their musicianship within universal narratives of jazz. This “phenomena of marginalization” (“Call for papers…”, n.d.) further perpetuates the genres’ “distinct connotations to heterosexual masculinity” (Annfelt, 2003). Coupled with “historiographical invisibility” (“Call for papers…”, n.d.) women enter these arenas subserviently, unable to establish personal and creative individuality. The impact of such marginalization is two-fold; it both distorts debates of the emergences of jazz itself, and profoundly influences the experiences of jazz artists who are gendered as women.

This study is aimed at investigating the dynamics of gender, sexual and power for jazz women performers in Cape Town. I interview 8 jazz women musicians who hold a multitude of roles within the jazz industry but who primarily identify as performers. I uncover their multi-layered gendered experiences, making use of feminist theories and methodologies to analyse these concepts and themes through an intersectional lens. These semi-structured interviews include questions surrounding their musical backgrounds and multifaceted identities as women and musicians, but predominantly explores the role gender plays in their professional and personal journeys.

Participants narrate how they navigate as marginal individuals, and reveal and centralize the significant impact of power and sexual dynamics. My study explores how women contest and negotiate their gendered identities in the practice and performance of jazz. Not only are these experiences consistent with mine, but give a voice to the discussions of earlier research conducted in different parts of the world.

As a jazz performer and emerging feminist researcher, this research project is deeply personal as I am situated within the crucible of jazz culture in Cape Town as an artist who is gendered as a woman. Throughout my experience as a jazz performer, predominantly as a vocalist and scholar, I have both encountered and witnessed gender bias and misogyny within this jazz community. While it could be argued that this would lend bias to my research, I argue, alongside many feminist theorists that direct experience of material and symbolic marginalization or violence is a critical resource for new theory. In addition, I am passionate about addressing the challenges jazz women are up against, determined to better define and openly critique the professional and personal restrictions placed on women musicians. I hope to bring awareness to the lived realities of jazz women performers, and academically problematize the systemic patriarchy and misogyny which continues to thrive within jazz communities.

This research project consists of 6 chapters, the first being this introduction where I launch the broad foundation of my research. Chapter 2 contains an extensive literature presenting existing literature and surveying several theoretical ideas, namely: the historic and hegemonic discourse surrounding the development of jazz (globally and locally); the selective inclusion of the lone jazz woman; education and representation; gender roles; the subsequent sexualization and gross instances of sexual harassment, and lastly, jazz and gender in South Africa. Chapter 3 outlines a research methodology, includes a theoretical framework, my motivation behind the use of qualitative data, my data collection process, a discussion surrounding ethics as well as reflexivity and positionality.

Chapter 4 includes the research findings and prevalent themes that emerge from the interviews, some themes are further divided into subthemes. Overall, this explores these jazz women's' dual identities as women and musicians; the prevalence of a boys club within various aspects of jazz culture; performances of patriarchy; the sexualization of jazz women

and instances sexual harassment, and finally the ways in which these 8 jazz women resist and ultimately, “survive” the jazz community in Cape Town.

The research question is reintroduced and centralized based on the research findings in the final discussion chapter. This segment, Chapter 5, critically reconsiders and centralizes the initial research questions, combining the themes within the external literature with the patterns and themes as narrated by the participants lived experiences, concluding the overall data analysis process.

Chapter 6 is the closing chapter where I reflect on the overriding conclusions throughout the research paper. I elaborate on my limitations as a researcher due to my positionality and the subsequent limitations of my research. I discuss how all 8 participants resist and excel within a community that renders them inauthentic and less talented placeholders, celebrating how they embody their subjectivities. Finally, I advocate for further gender specific discourse within jazz scholarship and discuss the importance of persistent and punitive critique of normative jazz culture, academically and practically.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Theories of gender and power relations within musical contexts presented throughout this thesis are closely positioned to those of Koskoff (2014), who explores the unwavering inequality in musical experience and opportunity for women within any given musical society. Koskoff challenges ethnomusicological research that refuses to "address issues of women's status, inter-gender relationships or the effects of a society's gender arrangements on women's musical behaviour" (Koskoff, 2014:33). Koskoff (2014) informs my basic understanding of how feminist theories, gender relations, and their effects should integrate themselves within musical frameworks by addressing the following questions, "First, to what degree does a society's gender ideology and resulting gender-related behaviours affect its musical thought and practice? And, second, how does music function in society to reflect or affect inter-gender relations?" (Koskoff, 2014:32). I argue that the feminist ethnomusicologist should emphasize the meaning of experience for musicians who repeatedly reside in negotiated positions of power and influence that are rehearsed in their day to day lives.

Koskoff's work is not restricted to jazz studies, but I would argue that marginalities generated through gender dynamics may drive the jazz industry as they are buttressed by cultural and societal contexts deeply embedded in intersectional relations to power. Like Koskoff (2014), I look towards theories of gender to determine the fundamental reasonings behind the feminization of instruments, and indeed the genre itself, which is culturally defined due to its proximity to masculinity. I aim to take up Koskoff's challenge of prevailing bodies of research on jazz as performance as it marginalizes people gendered as "women" and see the music's' histories, practitioners, and meanings through patriarchal analysis. My own thesis will be rooted, from the outset, within Koskoff's feminist framework of the importance of "re-seeing jazz performance", as a practice through which gender and sexual dynamics are simultaneously rehearsed, and – more importantly – resisted.

There is limited research, in South Africa, exploring the hegemonic culture of jazz and the inclusion of sexuality and gender dynamics in such research is almost completely absent. I am interested in exploring the dynamics of gender and sexuality in jazz performance for women in Cape Town by theorizing the lives and musical journeys of women jazz performers. The areas under critical review explore the lack of material on gender and

sexuality theories in jazz studies, surveying the exclusion of women in jazz frameworks in academic and historic texts and the societal or political contributions that allow such oversight. This precedes an evaluation of what constitutes a “woman performer”, and the material on the meaning of the “woman” performer as “one exceptional performer”, who has historically existed within marginality. The experience of women is of utmost importance, and my review of the literature expands on the “women’s experiences’ of being sexually objectified, marginalized as artists, targeted for sexual harassment, under-recognized within the industry.

Lastly, I survey contextual materials on South African jazz, and how South African research on jazz “fits into” this story, exploring who has written about “jazz histories and performances”; and whether there are South African studies which recognize gender/sexuality when researching “jazz performance”. Each argument I review speaks to the countless ways in which “jazz women” have been historically, and presently, marginalized and objectified. The review will conclude with a synthesis of the key arguments as they related to my own research focus, as well as what my contribution to South African jazz scholarship intends to be.

2.1 Debunking Dominant Jazz Discourse

Gender is seldomly a central focus point for ethnomusicologists as often these exoticized research groups are a “no-woman’s-land” (Koskoff, 2014:178). Normative gender-frameworks have been traditionally practised to exclude women as informants as way to favour the “prevalence of male dominance and the resulting subordination of the female in all known societies” (Koskoff, 2014:43). The patriarchal hegemonic practices of earlier ethnographers have led researchers to disregard “issues of women’s status, intergender relations and the effects of a society’s gender arrangements on women’s musical behaviour” (Koskoff, 2014:33), and rehearse restrictive gender biases that contaminate many spheres of musicology.

Koskoff (2014) recognizes the innumerable complexities of gender and power dynamics for women active within musical or creatively expressive domains, stating the impact of rigid gender expectations on musical performances and experiences, as “provid(ing) context for behaviour that challenges or threatens the established social and sexual order” (Koskoff,

2014:40). Koskoff (2014) draws on Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990) as it explores "biological determinism" (Koskoff, 2014:173) which attaches sex to gender, introducing new ways of gender presentation and performance. Butler (1990) introduces gender as a "notion of performativity" (Koskoff, 2014:173) established by an individual's personal, social and cultural norms, and interrogates conventional norms around the relationship between biology and gender. Koskoff (2014) explores the ways in which gender influences the practice, documentation, culture and perception of music as well as the implications for musical performances for taking the politics of gender seriously.

Koskoff explores the experiences and perceptions of singers versus instrumentalists, the positionalities of women in musical settings in various locations, the differences in music-making experiences between men and women, and the devaluation of a women musicians creative contributions are reoccurring concerns as they have been disregarded in ethnomusicological and musicological disciplines (Koskoff, 2014). Although Koskoff (2014) does not extensively explore contexts beyond the western world, her acute research does, however, meld gender studies, anthropology and ethnomusicology as disciplines which inform and sustain patriarchal social and sexual intergender relationships within various musical contexts.

The inclusion of gender studies within jazz frameworks has yet to be taken seriously and not merely labelled as an exercise in "women-in-jazz" (Tucker, 2002:377). It is crucial for jazz academia to take on feminist analysis to structurally challenge the field and set precedents for a new relationship to the meaning of 'jazz studies". Most literature available on the history and fundamental developments of jazz is simply single-minded analysis, constituting a "dominant jazz discourse" (Tucker, 2002:380). This discourse prioritizes the historical lens of a damaged bebop fraternity. Tucker (2002) reveals several archival examples of the intentional omission of gender analysis within jazz culture. This serves as evidence of the perception and practice of jazz as a field dominated by men.

By contextualizing the fundamental and historic implications of jazz literature and practice, Tucker (2002) argues that within debates on gender and music, people are often expected to locate themselves within the recovery of the " 'lost' histories of women who played jazz" (Tucker, 2002:386). According to Tucker (2002), gender analysis should be used as an

analytical tool to determine "how power is organized, maintained, and challenged, and how change occurs " (Tucker, 2002:386).

The patriarchal exclusion of women as artists is what has fuelled the erasure of women in traditional jazz history. Any attempt at their inclusion within jazz frameworks is often a mere reference to a vocalist. Only recently has there been any mention of women bassists, drummers or horn players. Klotz (2017) suggests the lack of women scholars, performers or audience members is even evident in the presentations of jazz culture in films such as *La La Land* (2016) and *Whiplash* (2014). Both films describe the competitive nature of the style and "uses jazz as a marker of value, integrity and nostalgia" (Klotz, 2017), depicting all the sacrifice and pain of the genre itself in an entirely "masculine realm" (Klotz, 2017). *Whiplash* especially portrays a modern outlook on present-day jazz culture, filled with and in support of common examples of the gender-based stereotypes which subsequently portray women as having no "ability to cultivate talent" (Klotz, 2017).

Jazz culture, as a gendered nexus of assumptions and practices, has yet to receive enough academic consideration and needs to be investigated as it is central to the holistic understanding of its community, development and "process of production and consumption" (Caudwell, 2012:401). Caudwell (2012) pleads for academic contributions that theorize the understanding of gender and sexuality within jazz social and cultural frameworks. These works should mention and critique the sequential exclusionary practices of dominant jazz culture, especially in the United Kingdom and the United States of America, that perpetuate the exclusion of women in the creation and production of jazz.

Jazz scholars have been reluctant to discredit or critically challenge the normative decrees of dominant jazz discourse. The issue is not that there are a lack of women participating in jazz; rather it is that there is next to no record of them nor their extensive and valuable contribution to the institution. Dominant jazz culture, traditionally and presently, refuses to acknowledge the woman jazz musician unless it supports the "heroic stature of jazz history's favourite geniuses" " and stops at "token inclusion" (Tucker, 2002:393).

2.2 The ”One Exceptional” Jazz Woman Musician, in theory, and practice

As the American entertainment industry expanded, due to the huge development in recording and sound equipment, specific music styles and performances, such as jazz, were commercialized. Bebop became an extension of the swing and blues style, with a strong focus on the individual musician, often a man, and improvisation (Caudwell, 2012). With significant engagement with other researchers, Caudwell (2012) argues that the new-found emphasis on improvisation and eccentric individualism created “a cultural politics of machismo” (Caudwell, 2012:395). The modern sound of jazz had been instrumentalized, and due to the patriarchal norms surrounding femininity, women were encouraged to sing and teach rather than play. There were numerous women instrumentalists within the jazz scene as bebop gained popularity, but were made invisible as they “dislocate and transgress the dominant gender ordering within jazz culture” (Caudwell, 2012:397).

Women instrumentalists were rarely celebrated in mainstream media and avoided hostile jazz spaces, like jam sessions, where they were sexualized and excluded. According to Tucker (2002), women jazz musicians were offered space only due to their sexualized femininity and were forced to navigate a profoundly gendered environment that set a precedent for the expectations of women in jazz. Most work in jazz studies write as though the terrain is gender-neutral, without possessing any distinctive gender dynamics; in fact, to some, it is “gender-free” (Tucker, 2002:398).

Tucker (2002) and Kernodle (2014) identify the trend of the “one female creative voice’ designated to the lone “exceptional” women “allowed” to take up space within the fraternity. Such patriarchal ideology forms the groundwork of further exclusionary measures and the subsequent erasure of women musicians in jazz habitats and archives (Kernodle, 2014). Acknowledging historical examples of the “exceptional” women in jazz does not require us to abolish the false notion that women cannot powerfully participate in jazz musicking. Instead, “we use her inclusion to argue that our historical vision of jazz is not sexist, but merit-based” (Tucker, 2002:384). Jazz may be intended to aid the development of an individual’s musical voice, but an opportunity to explore one’s sound can quickly turn into “one where she is forced into battle to be the “one creative voice” that goes on to earn “a place in the historical narrative” (Kernodle, 2014:29).

Kernodle explores the musical voyages of two exceedingly talented black jazz women; Melba Liston, trombonist and arranger, and composer Mary Lou Williams (Kernodle, 2014). Both have been repeatedly cited as historic examples of the "exceptional woman". Apart from being talented, they were well-educated and mentored, toured internationally alongside their doubtful male contemporaries and successfully performed their own repertoire whilst existing within the "racial and gender politics of the cultural industry" (Kernodle, 2014:34). Although, Liston and Williams eventually entered professional academic positions at respected tertiary institutions towards the end of their performing careers, "their mentorship of younger musicians would position them in a larger ideological struggle surrounding race in the feminist movement" (Kernodle, 2014:52). Their tokenization is a prime example of the "exceptional women" being granted access into the jazz instrumental world by earning admiration and respect from the men in the room. This superficial and misleading inclusion of a select few women jazz musicians in the 1930s has now justified the omission of any others.

A modern example of this is Simuro's writing on the career and experiences of jazz woman bassist, Esperanza Spalding as she negotiates "between feminist ideals and commercial success" (Simuro, 2018:1). Simuro intends to reveal the impact and implications of existing gender and race and how they "overlap and intertwine forming a co-constitutive relationship within each individual" (Simuro, 2018:1). Simuro (2018) acknowledges the specificity of her research and understands its limitations as it destabilizes humiliating misogynies to the subliminal dependence and internalized attitudes that support the patriarchal nature of the environment. However, it is tricky to disassociate this dissection of Spalding's career from yet another appraisal of a single "exceptional" woman jazz musician.

Where jazz studies do highlight a woman artist's influence, such research interest is considered "specific" and often used to inauthentically correct the historical exclusion of jazz women (Tucker, 2002). It is not enough to select few and far between "exceptional" jazz women who fit the requirements of a "successful jazz musician" to satisfy the demand for the inclusion of women. For every "one exceptional" woman in jazz, there are a multitude of women struggling to live through and past these exclusionary experiences. They are left damaged by the predatory and sexist nature of this industry (Barnett, 2016). The "wider recognition of exceptional talents does not indicate a progressive shift in jazz culture as a whole" (Pellegrinelli, 2017), and we cannot rely on the sole resurrection of past women in

jazz to address, or worse, correct the sexist and exclusionary nature of this community and the practices that reinforce it.

2.3 Jazz Instrumentation, Education & Representation

Most traditional jazz band settings require "stereotypically masculine" instruments such as the saxophone, trombone and rhythm section instruments with some studies arguing that the gendering of such instruments is especially detrimental for women. By exploring the personal and educational experiences of two women educators who "cross the gender line with their instrument selection and/or their career choice" (Gathen, 2014:5), Gathen (2014) hoped to gain insight on the possible reasonings behind instrument choices as it pertains to gender. Although neither of Gathen's participants expressed any typical gender stereotyping when choosing their instrument, they regularly mention their complex positionalities as minorities within jazz environments, labelling jazz education as a "man's world".

According to Hope (2017), women make up less than 10% of jazz scholars at tertiary institutions globally, and are underrepresented within the jazz industry with very few receiving recognition as instrumentalists or composers. Wehr (2016) outlines a clear framework that maps the research of various scholars that explore gender imbalances within jazz institutions to demonstrate the differences in participant experiences. There is a noticeable relationship between jazz participation and jazz education that suggests the participation of women only occurs with enough supportive tutelage. Wehr (2016) suggests more research be done on the effect of instrument choice in jazz students specifically and calls for further research to understand the effects of equalizing gender representation and ratio in educational streams. Music educational spaces should be eradicating these predispositions concerning instrument choice, genre specialisation and performance ability (Gathen, 2014).

In an earlier study, Wehr-Flowers (2006) explores the explicit deficit in women participating within jazz improvisation as she believes, and her research shows, there is no explanation except for "one based in social psychology" (Wehr-Flowers, 2006:338). This study directly deals with the inherent issues of efficacy in women jazz artists, Wehr-Flowers (2006) attributes the insecurity and anxiety embedded within these women to the hegemonic patriarchal teachings, experience and perception of jazz. This study shows that women are

“far less willing to attempt jazz improvisation than males” and essentially lack the confidence to attempt “more difficult improvisation tasks” (Wehr-Flowers, 2006:338).

McKeage (2004) specifically targets improvisatory and educational spaces that instinctively disadvantage women instrumentalists with the backing of several considerable research studies inquiring about the experiences of improvisation. Improvising is incredibly demanding, requires confidence and assertiveness which can be especially tricky when establishing your musical individualism has yet to prioritized or encouraged. The expectation to improvise and perform within the “dominant styles” of jazz to gain prestige positionality as “one of the boys” comes with immense pressure (Caudwell, 2012).

There is notable value in McKeage (2004) and Wehr-Flowers’ (2006) research as they both acknowledge the varying psychological, epistemological and social factors that influence not only how women are perceived as improvisatory jazz artists but how they perceive their own capabilities and abilities as women improvisors.

2.4 The Role of a Jazz Woman

A women’s role in jazz has been limited to “nourisher and voyeur” (Lawson, 2011) or sexual object. The ideal embodiment of a jazz woman would be the non-musician “wives, girlfriends, patrons or groupies” (Kernodle, 2014:35), essentially women who do not infringe on the fraternity. Women jazz musicians, especially instrumentalists, remain on the peripheral as they are a direct threat to the masculine “authenticity” of jazz. Often, the following roles of “mother, seductress, pet and iron maiden” (Wehr, 2016:475) are the primary token roles women are expected to uphold. Playing into these gender roles as token lacks individuality, and therefore women become invisible and unnoticeable in environments dominated by men.

Wehr (2016) produces in-depth analysis of all editorial pieces and responses regarding one question, “Why aren’t there more women in jazz?” (Wehr, 2016:474), posed by the editors of the Jazz Changes journal from 1995 – 1997. Although the data is limiting, as it only focused on small statements published during those two years, over two decades ago, each text uncovers several substantial examples of these roles. The results indicate tokenism,

stereotyping, and direct threats around issues of competence as contributing factors to low self-esteem performers for most jazz women.

Tokenism not only diminishes access to opportunities, but also limits the shape of roles available. As a result, women performers may be wary of accepting some of those which simply confirm unwanted negative stereotypes about sexual women (Steele & Aronson, 2005). Self-esteem, and professional self-regard concern an individual's judgment of ability and competence at a specific skill. Wehr studies the concept of 'self-efficacy' addressing the gendered source of these doubts that influence women performers' confidence and motivation (Wehr, 2016). The impact of women's anxieties ultimately affect the motivation to participate. Wehr's data argues that without "enough positive self-efficacy" (Wehr, 2016:476) to move beyond the barriers of difficulty and access to participation within jazz environments, women will continue to struggle with taking up space or challenging stereotypes which limit the roles they can find. Wehr (2016) argues that the threat of reduced self-efficacy or stereotyping needs to be eliminated to allow for more women to actively participate in jazz. This will hopefully provide future generations with role models who infiltrate many aspects of various jazz spheres, including composing, conducting and performing (Wehr, 2016).

Women face stereotype threats when attempting to seek individualism, combine that with tokenism and the very nature of the patriarchal jazz environment, the detrimental effects of merely existing within the genre are apparent and is enough to inhibit women from wholly participating.

2.5 Over-sexualization & Sexual Harassment

Men are often the gatekeepers of important economic and social circles where access is limited for women. The women who are granted access often have horror stories of men personnel and/or musicians demanding sexual favours in return for career advancement opportunities or simply in exchange for their help (Ansell, 2017). The universal over-sexualisation and objectification of women uniquely affects jazz women as they are "presented as obstacles, yet their presence functions to define the hero's stature" (Tucker, 2002:378). Women are having to consistently negotiate power dynamics whilst juggling comments comparing them to their colleagues, about their body shape, appearance and

musical capabilities, all whilst remaining needing to remain "likeable" in order to exist within the space (Hope, 2017). Historically, jazz women have been branded as mere garnishes to "beautify and embellish the band, not the music" (Caudwell, 2012:392). This is clearly indicative of a gendered and sexualized culture.

The #MeToo movement, inspired millions of women to share their stories of gender-based violence globally, especially within the cultures of the entertainment industry. Women participating as musicians within jazz communities have especially spoken out about the destructive nature of the field. The number of public testimonials of instances of sexual harassment and sexism is alarming and speaks to the entrenched societal issues that marginalize women within the jazz industry (Russonello, 2018). The responsibility not only lies on the men actively participating within jazz communities but on educators, sound personnel, managers, venue owners, festival directors and journalists to reject the reinforcement of objectifying stereotypes of women musicians and confront our "homegrown Weinstein's" and the "societal and ideological manure" (Ansell, 2017) that permit such behaviour.

There are real risks for women who decide to speak out against powerful and well-known musicians to report instances of misogyny and sexual harassment or assault. What choice are women left with, "A choice for self-preservation? A choice to purposefully sublimate emotional pain" (Pellegrinelli, 2017). There is no choice for many jazz women without the potential risk of irreversible ruin to their careers.

2.6 Jazz & Gender within South Africa

Globally, the history and development of jazz has always been linked to political resistance and economic, and socio-cultural, liberation. More specifically in South Africa, the listening and playing of jazz is directly linked to resistance against an oppressive apartheid state (Ansell, 2017). The fundamental roots and elements of South African jazz lie in harmonic and cyclic movements inspired by indigenous musical traditions, a swung groove, and the intangible feelings of sociocultural discourse evoked from the spaces it existed (Ramanna, 2016). South African jazz has been undoubtedly defined by its location, a township dance music derivative of foreign and colonial influences together with traditional African musical elements (Muller, 2008).

The available research on the beginnings and developments of South African jazz has been framed by the work of David Coplan and more notably, Christopher Ballantine. Ballantine, a highly established and published music emeritus, is widely known for his articles and books which combine analysis of the socio-political developments with the musical progression of jazz, and other South African genres of music. Ballantine's *Marabi Nights* (1999) is a chronological combination of South Africa's social history and musical developments between the 1920s and 1950s with a collection of supporting principal sources (Ramanna, 2016) whilst Coplan's *In Township Tonight!* (1985) is an epistemological study of South African urban music. Both contributions are commendable and widely utilized but Ansell (2016) argues that they lack a "nuanced handling of the relationship between the ideas around South African jazz, and the ideas contained within and expressed by the music itself" (Ansell, 2016).

Academically, the genre had been defined by musicology scholars as "instrumental music made by male musicians" (Muller, 2008:162). Neither study, despite their wide circulation, takes issues of gender as significant to jazz in South Africa. Ballantine's second edition of *Marabi Nights* included a chapter on "exploring the complex and contradictory currents that characterized both changing social role of women in South African popular music of the 1950s and the attitudes lyrics expressed towards and about them" (Ansell, 2016). Ballantine suggests that the overpowering masculinity of 'musicking' in South Africa during the 1950s "put men into a position of complete dominance" (Ballantine, 2012:184). As a result, women's roles were limited to submissive roles of sensual objectification and maternal protagonists (Ballantine, 2012). However, although it may have intended to include women, it does not consider women musicians as contributors to the development and practices of South African jazz.

Allen's work is undeniably informed by feminist theory whereas Ballantine's simply states the processes of masculinity within the music industry in South Africa and suggests possible reasonings for the negative effects of misogyny, gender-based violence and sexism in relation to the country's oppressive past (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013). Allen (2000) discusses the challenges black South African women musicians faced from the early 1930s to 1990s and reveals some of the realities of their experiences. Women, specifically black women, were having to manage legislative surveillance and negotiating multiple ways of resisting this.

They also faced sexual objectification and harassment whilst balancing professional lives on stage and their personal lives, all in the context of extreme racial oppression and economic exploitation (Allen, 2000). Allen (2000) describes the experience of black jazz women and the ways in which they were expected to take on stereotypic gender racialized tropes of performance. She questions whether women merely co-operate to survive and ensure their professional and personal goals seeking to theorize the seeming tolerance for misogynist or objectifying behaviour (Allen, 1997: "Introduction").

Women performers' experiences of sexual harassment and assault within the jazz community in South Africa are not uncommon. Journalist and researcher, Gwen Ansell accounts for many of these instances; historically through her publications, and presently via her blog. Both channels acknowledge the gruesome sexual violence's, of different forms, that women in jazz have had to experience and continue to face. By mapping the available research Ramanna (2016) provides a synopsis of the political location, musician biographies, an analysis of compositions and transcribed improvisations in conjunction with journalistic and creative writing pieces that address the socio-political characteristics synonymous with the introduction and development of jazz in South Africa (Ramanna, 2016).

Moelwyn-Hughes's 2013 thesis, *Women, Gender and Identity in Popular Music-Making in Gauteng 1994 – 2002*, is the most relevant academic contribution to my own preparation for my research. She focuses her work through a question "How does gender mark the professional lives of female musicians working in post-Apartheid South Africa?" (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013) and interrogates the effect of gender roles in professional environments and exchanges for women musicians. It is an interdisciplinary ethnographic study exploring the lives of 28 professional women musicians active within popular music, jazz and "urbanized" African music. Faced with uncovering the colonial realities of power and knowledge in South Africa, Moelwyn-Hughes (2013) highlights the sensitive and intricate groundwork needed to understand the country's' musical history as race relations have been at the forefront of the country's political discourse.

Moelwyn-Hughes (2013) thoroughly investigates the social and individual meanings of "musicking" and suggests practical ways of improving access to legal resources while investigating the broad definition of gender roles. Although gender is merely one "aspect in our social and cultural identity construction" (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:2), its oppressive

dynamics are overwhelmingly endured by women. Respondents in her study expect sexism and misogyny once they enter the field and deal with this behaviour passively to survive this male-dominated environment. The jazz community is specifically mentioned as the hub of gross instances of sexual harassment and rape in South Africa in Moelwyn-Hughes (2013) research, "The women who divulged darker experiences were invariably working jazz or popular and focused on the "'original' musical material" (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:64).

Moelwyn-Hughes (2013) participants express their experiences as musicians working popular music in post-apartheid South Africa as both negative and positive. Some uncover the options available to them through the appeal of pursuing feminine images to push their careers forwards. Others resent the unwanted and sexual objectifying attention and the affect this has on women musicians. Instrumentalists are specifically affected as the stereotypes of women instrumentalists are often associated with masculinity; their positions are still unpalatable for audiences and pose a threat for male instrumentalists. Moelwyn-Hughes' research often points to the "identity crisis as a female performer" (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:49) as a reoccurring point of tension. She draws on the many contrasting ways her participants describe their identities in relation to their careers as musicians, often as the "consequence of their femaleness" (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:111). Moelwyn-Hughes (2013) also explores how women move through this industry, sustaining careers but not without wrestling sexism and gender-stereotypes that have a lasting effect on their personal and interpersonal relationships with others and with themselves.

2.7 My Contribution

As feminist scholarship evolves so does the growing body of work on women and music. Throughout my literature review, I have noted arguments on the sustained resilience of jazz women suggesting feminist agency (Tucker, 2002). A critical perspective on these artists' lives show how they directly challenge the dominant discourse responsible for the universal and historic erasure of jazz women. My literature review shows how jazz scholarship has historically ignored critical engagement surrounding questions of gender and sexuality. By exploring the historic notion of the "one exceptional" jazz women, Tucker (2002) and Kernodle (2014) theorize the gendered politics of access, and opportunities for women. This reveals the unmarked meaning of women jazz artists as a question: "how can we write a history of absence – of gigs not only unheard by the 'right' people (critics, musicians,

audiences) but of gigs unplayed?” (Klotz, 2017). As my literature review suggests, this question can only be answered by researching the operation of gender dynamics within the experiences of women jazz artists, within their contexts of place and time.

The development of South African jazz has been widely researched and documented as an industry dominated by men. Esteemed writers and academics such as Ansell (2017), Muller (2008), Moelwyn-Hughes (2013), Tucker (2002) and Allen (2000) challenge this homogenous narrative by telling the stories of jazz women, past and present. More importantly, highlighting their valuable involvement in the establishment of South African jazz.

My research builds upon this analysis through an exploration of specific gendered experiences of current jazz women performers in Cape Town. I hope to reveal and theorize the ways in which gender dynamics have shaped their personal and professional journeys as musicians. Given the arguments outlined in my literature review on both the power of patriarchal norms to silence, or marginalize, women’s jazz artistry and on women jazz artists’ experiences of sexual objectification, harassment and tokenization in multiple contexts, I have engaged with how South African women navigate their positionality as jazz musicians.

Chapter Three: Methodology

This research dissertation is aimed at investigating the gender dynamics experienced by women musicians actively participating within the jazz community in Cape Town. It is a study on jazz culture and the gender dynamics subsequently impacting issues of representation, discourse and power (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013). My research will explore the gender dimensions that challenge historic jazz discourse and how they have been influenced by patriarchal ideas that place women in socially, professionally and economically inferior positions to men. Undeniably rooted in feminism, it is geared to towards contributing to the existing, albeit limited, literature on the presence and impact of gender roles and stereotypes for South African jazz women. I theorize the lives and musical journeys of 8 jazz women, involved in all aspects of performance and industry roles, and ask the following question; What are the gender dynamics for women performing jazz in Cape Town?.

3.1 Theoretical Framework: Feminist Research & Feminist Ethnomusicology

Early feminist research was aimed at addressing "positivist and quantitative research methods and approaches constructing knowledge about the world and about a dominant group of people – men" (Kiguwa, 2019:225). Feminist and gender-based researchers challenged the definitions of stereotypical labelling and the biologically determined categories of identity (Koskoff, 2014). Fundamentally, feminist research aims at challenging "individual and social explanatory frameworks of gender" (Kiguwa, 2019:227), engaging in various aspects of gendered subjectivity, and the manner in which these partialities are put into practice.

Feminist ethnomusicological work is rooted in postmodern genealogy and feminist anthropology, focused on documenting and interpreting differences and similarities in social and cultural understandings of gender within musical contexts (Koskoff, 2014). Koskoff's *A Feminist Ethnomusicology* (2014) shaped my personal and intellectual practice of feminist ethnomusicology. It informed my thinking as she links the feminist commitment to political advocacy on the premise of gender equality to the ethnomusicological emphasis on making sense of the importance of music in human lives. My work is not distinctively situated within the confines of traditional ethnomusicology, as I do not embark on fieldwork or participate in methodologies such as participant observation. However, it is an interdisciplinary exploration on women, gender, jazz and its South African location, where I employ feminist frameworks

and research methodologies. In writing this thesis, I have situated myself as a feminist and musician. I use feminist theory to analyse the cultural norms and gender dynamics that have yet to be adequately challenged within the South African academic paradigm.

Feminism vouches for the respect and solidarity of all women within a non-hierarchal and democratic institution, establishing "organizational and intellectual autonomy" (Mama, 2011:8) for women. The definitions of feminism are considerably debated and include a vast variety of focuses such as class, race, patriarchy, sexuality, liberation and identity, moulded by "specific ideologies, training, race and histories" (Chege, 2014:2). These distinctive definitions reveal differences in affinity and agenda, illustrating the significance of intersectionality within feminist research as all scholarship contributes to the diverse and complex "question of woman" (Chege, 2014:2). Intersectionality is paramount to feminist theory and research; it is the core political praxis of all feminist work. Intersectionality calls for the theoretical analysis of interlocking tensions and "homogeneous constructs of gender" (Kiguwa, 2019:227) to reveal the magnitude and multitude of power relations that point to differences in privilege and access, and its' influence on how gender is embodied differently.

The differences and multiplicity of marginalized voices, especially women's voices, must be prioritized to gain insight into various power dynamics/relations and how we begin to theorize them (Kiguwa, 2019). Unequivocally, women, as a group, are subject to oppression and subordination, feminist research aims at revealing this experientially. Feminism directly confronts and criticizes the ongoing subordination and marginalization of women and is dedicated to the eradication of systematic oppression and gender stereotyping (Mama, 2011). Fundamentally, feminist research is aimed at addressing, transforming and disrupting the damaging impact of gender discrimination and inequality through varying and diverse research methodologies (Bennett, 2008).

My political agency drove the pursuit of feminist research. Through the use of critical and scholarly resources, I hope to produce a thesis rooted in independent feminist thinking in response to a specific South African context entrenched in "contemporary manifestations of historically rooted patterns of subordination and oppression" (Mama, 2011:6). I use the experiences of jazz women "as significant indicators" (Chege, 2014:2) of an unjust and patriarchal community. I aim to academically problematize social and cultural procedures within jazz environments. I seek to answer questions that survey the subordinate positioning

of women within a specific homogenous and patriarchal culture. As I discover the "influence of located misogyny" (Bennett, 2008:6), I hope to theorize the "essence of such subordination" (Chege, 2014:3) and the manner in which it manifests to bring about change and resolution for the women participating within this culture.

3.2 Rationale

Feminism is informed by a multitude of paradigmatic frameworks. Therefore, the core principles of feminist research are widely debated but possess several merging theories of approaches that are commonly used in methods of feminist research. Research, such as mine and many others, aim to attend to the marginalization of women in not only social worlds, but in the processes and procedures of knowledge (Boonzaier, Shefer & Kiguwa, 2006; Wilkinson, 1996). The theoretical inclusions within my literature review speak to the pertinent issues key to women's experiences within jazz communities at large. The historic erasure of jazz women, globally and locally, speak to their exclusion and highlights the lack of representation. This has had a powerful effect on how women are treated within the jazz community. This treatment of women should be atypical, not the cost of being a woman in the industry.

My research is in support of the various performances of feminism within this community as it reveals the "structures and dynamics of oppression and subordination" (Mama, 2011:12) of jazz women. It is women-centric and therefore I argue for an emphasis to be put on the experiences of women musicians who reside in and rehearse negotiated positions of power, calling for an analysis of these routine procedures in order to bring the lives of women musicians to the forefront. By conducting interviews, I am investigating the experiences and journeys that incapsulate the voice of jazz women, who may be very diverse in terms of background, race, and class, as they tell stories of harassment, humiliation and invisibility.

Quantitative methodologies rely on gathered numerical information that can be quantified to contest a hypothesis (Williams, 2007), this is not a viable method when investigating people's lived experiences. Qualitative methods aid and facilitate this particular research best. Interviews reveal comprehensive narratives about the working conditions for professional jazz women in Cape Town and give insight into their lives and musical journeys. The role of women's voices is imperative to feminist methodology, these voices reveal central

information about the positions, locations and institutions women find themselves in "outside the male-centric experience of being or the masculine epistemology" (Chege, 2014:4). The choice to undergo qualitative methodology is not uncommon amongst feminist researchers, in fact Chege (2014) suggests feminist research should initiate "evidence-based knowledge" (Chege, 2014:3) that reveal women's perspectives to expose the existing delusions of patriarchy.

My research is designed to reveal repeated displays of subordination. I seek out to explore what these women jazz performers' oppression and repression involves, and who or what the sources are by. I hope to directly address the challenges that jazz women face and expose the intentional efforts of men to keep women away from decision-making and power procedures within this community. Applying qualitative research methodologies allows me to address the nuanced and multiplicity of power relations and intersectionality. By allowing my participants to tell their stories through their musical journeys and experiences as women within the jazz community, I hope to illuminate their voices in the face of "colonial and postcolonial information system that have silenced women and suppressed their perspectives" (Mama, 2011:13).

3.3 Sample

Primarily, feminist researchers rely on various paradigmatic approaches applicable for specific social contexts. Although gendered subjectivity and "sociopractice" (Kiguwa, 2019:223) of women's experiences is the focus of most feminist research. This interpretive approach supports varying levels of analysis which aim to address and understand situational and subjective objectives of an individual's everyday life (Foster, 2006). My research explores gender dimensions that challenge historic jazz discourse and how they have been influenced by patriarchal ideas that place women in socially, professionally and economically inferior positions to men.

One-on-one interviews have the potential to provide valuable information about the social milieus of people's lives. They uncover unique perspectives and experiences, and are a valuable data gathering tools (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009). My primary sources of data are interactive and semi-structured interviews which reveal the oral histories of each participant's musical journey. All participants are self-identified women between the ages of

twenty-one and forty who contribute to the jazz industry in Cape Town as academics, educators, performers, bandleaders, arrangers and composers. However, no judgments have been made on their skill or musical capabilities.

By allowing participants to tell their stories, I am able to gather “richer more textured data” (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009:35) from each participant as they themselves have varying subjective and individualistic perspectives of their experiences as jazz women. Each women’s experience is an amalgamation of their personal and social exposure, and educational opportunities that inform decisions about their careers and the ways in which they put their ambitions in motion (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013). Several questions explored specific areas but did not restrict me from pursuing explicit answers for more detail nor did it limit participants from responding liberally (Gill et al., 2008).

Each interview began with an exploration into their musical backgrounds regarding education and musicianship to illustrate what led them to their current career path. I encouraged all participants to share their experiences beyond musicianship, as my research is about their human experiences within the industry as women. Participants were asked to elaborate on how gender dynamics play a role in their everyday lives as professional musicians. They speak about their experiences and familiarity with common sexist subtleties such the indirect undermining of their capabilities as musicians or comments about their behaviour, appearance and many other ways in which they are subject to judgement on the basis of their gender. They were asked about the presence of sexism and other gender-based wrongdoings within the jazz community in Cape Town, and the various ways these instances affect them personally and professionally.

Although I do use a fairly structured predetermined interview schedule, to ensure specific topics were addressed, I allow for “unanticipated responses and issues” (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009:310) to determine the succeeding questions. My role as interviewer and researcher is to be an active listener, to allow participants to speak uninterruptedly and at their own pace. I explored these unexpected responses or issues further; this flexibility allowed some interviewees to take control of the interview process and often revealed topics that I had not previously considered as pertinent to my research. Some participants were more respondent to a better structured and more standardized interview approach. Due to the sensitive nature of the research, I let participants decide how much they felt comfortable

revealing. Through these one-on-one interviews, I am able to witness and interpret body language, facial expressions and other non-verbal cues, this deepened my understanding of their responses.

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the analysis of qualitative data needs to be systematic, deduced to a coding system before each theme or pattern is further developed. I make use of thematic analysis techniques to identity patterns and themes related to my research questions as well as the reoccurring topics mentioned by participants (Sishuba, 2018). This thematic analysis organizes and richly describes the data at hand. Each theme is determined by the "patterned response or meaning" (Braun and Clarke, 2006:10) as it relates to the research question. This research is not a comprehensive study of all jazz women musicians in Cape Town, nor is it an indication of how all men musicians behave towards jazz women. However, it does speaks to a culture that continues to propagate the intolerance of the women in the room.

3.4 Discussion of Research Ethics

Ethical research requires researchers to reflexively consider not only how one interprets and represents women, but how we generate "knowledge about women and their experiences" (Palmary, 2006). It is the responsibility of the researcher to conduct ethical research with the same objective and to continuously interrogate the personal intersections which govern "broader sociostructurally inequalities" (Kiguwa, 2019:232).

Qualitative feminist research exists on the basis of principles of respect, sensitivity, compassion and reflexivity. I am exceedingly aware of the level of transparency and trust required when handling such intense dialogues, especially because several participants retold instances of sexual assault, harassment and sexism. Reliving these instances have the potential to cause psychological harm, and should any details be identifiable, there is a possibility that they could face ostracization and potential exclusion from future job opportunities. It is my responsibility to ensure participants are well informed of the nature of the research and its' purpose, as well as to respect requests for confidentiality. Each participant was provided with information sheets which included a biography, a description of the intended research and its usage, a draft of questions and a document detailing their rights as participants. All participants have been given pseudonyms, and any mention of

fellow colleagues, educators, projects, bands and ensembles have been anonymized accordingly. I recorded, transcribed and anonymized all 8 interviews, and respected any special requests for anonymity.

I am well aware of how interviews are subject to bias due to the process of participant selection and the influence of the researcher or interviewer. Traditionally, it is a researchers responsibility to “minimize the risk of bias” (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009:312) to enhance its’ credibility. However, this proved to be challenging as a passionate feminist researcher as Kiguwa (2019) argues that the practice of feminist research is political and therefore neutrality and objectivity goes against its very nature (Kiguwa, 2019). Nonetheless, it is important that boundaries are made explicit and that my role as interviewer “is understood to be that of a researcher” (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009:312).

The premise of such activist research is based on the “politics of solidarity” (Mama, 2011:14), this requires an amplitude of reflexivity and cognizance of my own subjectivity. Subjectivities that have been manifested through years of negotiating my own political, institutional, gendered, sexualized and classed positionality (Mama, 2011). As a partial insider, I feel a deep sense of “social responsibility and accountability” (Mama, 2011:14). Due to this familiarity, I am able to initiate intimate engagements within various manifestations of difference, power and privilege that characterize the particular contexts that I am engaging in (Mama, 2011).

3.5 Reflexivity & Positionality

Reflexivity describes the process of how researchers acknowledge their impact on the research process, the changes within themselves as a result and how the research has been shaped by the researcher (Palaganas et al., 2017). Reflexivity is the analytical processing of a researchers role and positionality. Equally a concept and process (Dowling, 2006), reflexivity prompts consciousness and self-awareness to activate an introspective process where researchers reflect on subjectivity and the ways in which their “social background, location, assumptions affect their research practice” (Hesse-Biber, 2007:17). Reflexivity is pertinent in feminist research as it alerts us to our biases and relations to power governing the relationships between researcher and participant. It prompts introspection and self-critique of

one's role, positionality and experience as a researcher that allows for that greater reflection to deepen analytical thinking and writing.

Feminist research challenges hegemonic methodologies which place researchers as supreme passivists urging neutrality and impartiality as not to pose threat to the objectivity of academic research. Dominant discourse within disciplines such as ethnomusicology have often doubted the reliability and scientific validity of reflexive writing as it directly challenges homogenous scientific paradigms that pursue objectivity and neutrality. England (1994) argues that the complexities of our constructed social world needs to be "embraced not dismissed" (England, 1994:81) and suggests that the pursuit for objectivism is naïve as it does not allow for critical reflexivity. Therefore, it does not support the acknowledgment of researcher's subjectivity and positionality (Bourke, 2014).

Positionality explores the eminent manner in which researchers are 'positioned' in terms of their socio-political power within the research dynamic and research process itself (Sirnate, 2014). Due to the personal appeal of this research, my positionality plays a central role in the research process as well as in my analytical interpretation of the data at hand. I have positioned and identified myself as a jazz woman in Cape Town, and as result have been situated within a marginalized group. The women I had sort out to interview were not only a representation of a patriarchal and problematic culture, unique to the jazz community, but were also a representation of my own experiences as a jazz woman. Essentially to some extent, I was who I was researching.

Much like Moelwyn-Hughes (2013), I am able to establish common ground due to this duel positionality. I have shared stages and lecture halls with several of the chosen participants, and even have personal relationships with a few. I believe that as a result, the interview process was efficiently executed as I did not experience any hostility or antagonism from my interviewees. For some participants, I took on the role of confidant or friend, and for others I was merely a co-worker. The interviews themselves revealed a myriad of interlocking themes; some expected, some unexpected. I can acknowledge that my experiences as a jazz artist in combination with my race, class and sexuality have shaped the ways in which I have experienced the jazz community in Cape Town, and thus varies from that of my participants. However, as they share their unique stories, their narratives illuminate my own. While I may I have not suffered such intense moments of distress, I relate to their adverse struggles with

sexism, gender bias and imploding thoughts of insecurity and anxiety. Although we share similar experiences, I did not expect for several participants to reveal such cruel instances of sexual harassment and sexism. My experience as an insider is further convoluted as I am either personally or professionally linked to both participant and offender.

The decision to focus on the jazz community in Cape Town was undeniably based on my journey as a woman and musician in this industry. The decision to undergo this particular investigation was informed by my personal feminist agency, desperate to academically challenge dominant jazz discourse which had historically and universally contributed to the erasure of jazz women. I battled to find my place and have stomached many instances of sexism and gender bias. I know of few women who have gone without experiencing such instances, and questioned whether my experiences mirrored those of others. This particular research is grounded in by feminism which allows for the use of qualitative data seeks to understand the unique and detailed experiences of these specific jazz women and relies on an ethical relationship with each participant. My intention is to centralize gender issues within the jazz community, in the process of this investigation, I hope to provide a space in which women express emotion freely.

A concept of self is an evaluation of my own subjectivities that will have an impact on not only the research process but my subsequent interpretation of data findings (Bourke, 2014). As I investigate issues surrounding the presence, experience and implications of gender and sexuality dynamics for jazz women in Cape Town. I am reassessing assumptions I may have made throughout the interview process, examining my positionality as a part of my reflexive process. It is my ethical responsibility to prompt self-exploration and critique about how I may be further marginalizing or relegating a specific group of people in the process. I am forced to question how my positionality as a jazz woman has played a role in my decision to undertake such research, how this may have affected my positionality in other jazz environments and how my positionality influenced interactions with participants.

Chapter Four: Analysis of Data and Findings

4.1 Identity & Musical Identity

The first theme analyses participants' representations of their own self-location as jazz musicians, how they perceive and speak of themselves as musicians and how they relate to conventional notions of identity which matter to them. For all participants, music has always played a significant role in their lives, Dolly says "Music has always been a part of my life. I started out doing music very young." This is mirrored in Busi's experience as she states, "My music journey started at a really young age, I played in church, my background is very much gospel orientated.", as well as Dorothy's who says "I was obsessed with music from the age of 6 and played multiple instruments…". Although music had always been something she wished to pursue professionally, Nellie, a well-known and widely celebrated jazz performer, is clear when describing her journey developing an appreciation for jazz," I only started to really appreciate jazz just before I finished undergrad, I really began to absorb jazz in my third year." She goes on to comment on the complexity of jazz music, saying "…I think people come into the program and feel the pressure to love jazz and understand it. Jazz is not an easy music!".

All participants began training as classical musicians before eventually being introduced to jazz, and subsequently deciding to pursue careers as jazz musicians. Much like other creative professions, the multiplicity of skill required of jazz musicians enables them to engage with various aspects of the field. It is not uncommon for jazz musicians to take on a wide array of work within the jazz industry to create opportunity to earn a living. In addition to being teachers and performers, these jazz women are arrangers, composers, session musicians, art administrators and band managers. For example, Lil has been widely involved within the jazz industry in Cape Town, not only as a composer, producer and performer but taking on several other roles; "I have since been a part of every aspect of the industry, which involves backing vocals, session singing, tour managing, conceptualizing events, helping other musicians with branding. I've been in music education, teaching at high schools, doing workshops at university, lecturing at universities."

Busi began playing music at a young age, a multi-instrumentalist and widely known as a conductor, arranger and freelance musician, and has extensively toured and recorded locally

as well as internationally. Thandi, a performer, composer and band member, takes pride in her multifaceted career, stating it has given her the opportunity to tour the world, “I’ve played for some gypsy jazz bands, and some funk-jazz bands. I’ve travelled to Oslo and New York, and a bunch of other places!”. Billie, who uniquely identifies as a daughter, aunt and teacher, disassociates herself from jazz completely, saying, “I don’t necessarily identify myself as a jazz musician, I identify myself as an instrumentalist of whatever genre.” She is adamant that any jazz performances she chooses to undertake remains her choice, as she seeks a wholistic musical experience rather than solely seeking payment, “I try to be quite selective with whom I play with, I only feel committed if I feel I will be getting something out of it which is not usually a monetary outcome.”

All participants are clear that being a professional jazz musician is central and at the core of their identity. They also invoke other identities, such as race and body type. Lil says, “I definitely got the fat thing a lot” while Mary is clear that being racialized as black mattered deeply to her stating, “I identify as black, as black black”. Most participants spend very little time with identities involving religion, class, or sexuality etc. However, this differed dramatically from participants’ investments concerning “woman”. For almost all participants, the narrative of being a jazz musician is inextricable from their identity as “women.”

The experience and meaning of being gendered as a woman participating within the jazz community in Cape Town is both unique to themselves and similarly comparable for all 8 participants. All participants recognize and elaborate on their experiences as stigmatized minorities in this profession. Busi states, “Most of the professional big bands I have played in it has just been myself and another female musician at the time; there were very few female instrumentalists around.” Their musical identities coupled with their gender identities reveal a rich and multifaceted understanding of gender and sexuality dynamics in the Cape Town jazz community.

Dolly’s experience as a jazz musician is synonymous with her gender, she never separates her gender, and the surrounding dynamics, from key experiences of her life within jazz. She categorizes herself as a “straight white woman”. It is within the term “woman” that she offers a wider, and occasionally contradictory, set of concepts about what it means for jazz musicians to be gendered as women; “often when people picture female jazz musicians, they imagine this sexy woman wearing high heels and lots of make-up.” She is simultaneously

resigned to the way her gender labels her yet she is also angered by it. “I don’t wear make-up, I don’t like wearing high heels, I prefer to go barefoot on stage actually because I’m more comfortable that way. So, I definitely feel that I am judged in that way, and I don’t think those same judgements are placed on men.”

Similarly, Lil explains how her appearance and identity as a coloured woman had introduced expectations in the initial stages of her career as a performer; “I definitely got the fat thing a lot when I was singing with the other two ladies in my late teens, earlier twenties because I was the big one and they were all skinny…And you know, coloured community… expects straight hair, skinny and pretty, there were always comments made.” Although Lil exhibits a remarkable resilience, she does however place emphasis on her experience being compared to other fellow women musicians, stating “What I always hung on to was that no matter what size I was, none of these skinny bitches can do what the fuck I do on stage!”. She fails to acknowledge that those assumptions form part of, and are a result of, a larger systemic and patriarchal system which objectifies and sexualizes women. Lil does however touch on an emerging theme which illustrates the presence and administration of the varying types of sexism that jazz women are subjected to on the basis of their multiplicity of identities and intersections.

Nellie describes herself as “Young, gifted and black!”, and is acutely aware of how her identity as a black woman shapes her experience as a jazz musician. She elaborates on her earlier journey as a musician within the Cape Town jazz community, describing it as “very cliquey” which ultimately lead her to disassociate. She says, “I had to make a decision about who I was as an artist, as a black woman, and my music needed to represent my identity, I felt that the Cape Town scene no longer provided me the platform to do so.” Nellie speaks about how unaware she had been about gender and sexuality dynamics in the beginning of her career, “We weren’t aware or awake, at the time, to the other dynamics underlying in the music spaces, like gender vibes, that were happening at the time. I did not have a sense of awareness of it at the time.”

This is different for Mary, a full-time freelance musician and part-time teacher, who strongly identifies as “black, black” and states her identity shaped her career as a jazz musician. She elaborates on the uncommonness of her position and expressed how cognizant she became about “what it meant to be a black woman in a jazz band”, avoiding thinking of the

“preconceived notions that people have of me”. Mary admits to feeling pressured to remain “up to par with what the guys were doing”, to “earn” her place, or “to be part of or seen as one of them”. It was her understanding that she would have to work twice as hard as men to feel she was “worthy of existing in that space”. Mary says that she did not seek differential treatment nor did she “want to be made to feel special”, she merely wanted to be included and worked hard to achieve this.

Busi does not believe gender has played any significant role in her career as a jazz woman, she believes she was granted access based on “merit or because they thought I was good enough to be there”. Although Busi may not explicitly link her gender identity to her experiences as a jazz musician, she does however relate instances where her gender was not considered; “There are instances like whilst on tour a national jazz festival and the band books a house, I think there were about 7 of us, and I end up having to share a room with the male drummer, who I don’t even know. This is not normal, they did not take into consideration that I am not one of the boys and their response was “Oh sorry, we didn’t even think about it!”. In Busi’s case, she had been perceived as “one of the guys”, her gender goes unrecognized, “I get treated like one of the guys, I’m just there. Whether its sexist jokes or whatever, the guys don’t think twice about saying it in front of you because I am just one of the guys”. Despite clearly feeling disrespected by this insensitivity, she admits she finds comfort in this as it protects her from any differentiated treatment, “it feels accepting to be a part of them”. For other participants, especially instrumentalists like Dorothy, being a jazz woman meant consistently negotiating her proximity to stereotypical or normative femininity, seeking acceptance and inclusion. Dorothy says her early experiences were “never normal” and admits she had spent a large part of her career trying “to adapt and adjust to make it normal”.

Overall, participants’ representations of themselves as “women jazz musicians” reveal many manifestations of the various ways in which “being a woman” and “being a jazz artist” overlap, become intertwined, and often become co-terminus. Although some do not explicitly say so, all participants value “gender” as a troublesome identity in conflict with the positioning location of themselves as jazz artists. In the following themes, I explore how participants’ unpack their relationship between their identity as women and the experiences of living and working as a jazz musician in Cape Town.

4.2 The Boys Club

The prevalence of a "boys club" within the jazz community in Cape Town is undeniably present within all participants' experiences and is frequently experienced in the form of erasure. Mary repositions the idea of a boys club "outside of the jazz context" as a result of global historic events. She simply states, "I think it happened that way, I don't think they planned it". She explains it through stories of black masculinity in racist economies by saying, "Black men always had to leave their homes to make money and so always ended up in whatever industry, most industries, you'll see the men who were doing the work and that forms a brotherhood in whatever context they find themselves in." She is however loathe to attribute overt misogynist intention to the exclusion of women artists from black men musicians' homosociality; "I don't think they expect women to be killing, you know when men are chowing bebop, I don't think they expect a woman to be as good and when we are, they are surprised."

As stigmatized minorities within jazz communities, women musicians are not expected to play instruments or to take on enhanced leadership roles and responsibilities. Several participants express how often their presence in such roles are unanticipated, not only by fellow musicians but members of the audience, Mary states "It's always a surprise, like, "Wow, I didn't expect you…". Billie believes that boys' club culture is about "ego". She views this investment in an individual's sense of pride and self-confidence as musically damaging: "there is this self-righteousness and ego associated to the men in the jazz world", and "a large part of the music itself is lost". In her experience, men musicians aren't focused on creating music, instead "they are looking to create an image and that comes with being with their boytjies and drinking and living this macho livelihood that perpetuates this dominating competitiveness." Billie reveals a measure of scorn for the air of superiority which she describes as "...an old school, traditional view of jazz, that just stereotypes woman and instruments."

According to all participants, the "boys' club" continuously excludes and limits opportunities for jazz women. Sometimes, they represent this exclusion as part of one's preference, Dolly says, "I know that one conductor in particular who likes to book his jazz boys club". Other participants see the exclusion as endemic to the whole "boys' club" culture. Billie simply states "… some men will only play with their mates. Certain individuals will only book one

male musician because they think he is better, just because he is a male!". She has "definitely felt excluded" on numerous occasions as a result of men who act as gatekeepers to the performance scene, and who prefer booking their men friends.

Nellie is emphatic about the normative jazz culture in Cape Town which she describes as patriarchal, "full of dense masculinity" and "inherently designed for men". She states, "Immediately when you walk into a jazz space, assuming any position of power, you are already on the backfoot. Even when you are in a position of power or authority in a particularly jazz project, it's still not good enough." Her use of the word "dense" is potent and strikes one as illustrative of the kind of power she ascribed to the "boys club". The weight and complexity of the homosocial bonds within the club is simultaneously heavy and impenetrable to outsiders, women.

Almost all participants expressed a need to feel accepted or considered and seen along with men musicians, despite acknowledging the unduly elevated status of the "boys' club". Mary says "It was kind of a thing of like you have to play the players game, in order to get into that position." Mary feels she "earned" her position "to be part of or seen as one of them" but is always mindful of the presumptions placed upon her as a jazz woman, stating "I have always understood that I would have to work twice as hard as the guys in order to actually feel I am worthy of existing in that space." Despite her hard work and perseverance, Mary seems to acknowledge that she is hoping for the impossible by saying "One thing I will say is that they don't see you as one of them and that's always evident." Thandi has felt undermined and disregarded not only on the band stand but in social settings, "I approached another instrumentalist when I was in New York, I was with one of my guy friends, who is also a musician, and I wanted to talk to this instrumentalist and he answered all of my questions but spoke directly to my male partner. He didn't speak to me at all, and that stood out in my mind!".

Dorothy elaborates on her first encounter with the "boys' club", when she noticed how the only other young woman in an ensemble would be ridiculed and made to feel embarrassed for making mistakes. Dorothy says, "When she would mess up her solo, in a rehearsal space, the boys would laugh and be incredibly immature, but when another male musician would mess up on a solo he would be complimented on his "hip" solo; there was warmth towards one another in their boys' club". The comradery amongst men musicians was always evident to

her, and she admits to desperately wanting to be included saying "I really wanted to be part of that club, to not feel excluded and that's where it all started."

For Busi, who plays a typically "masculine" instrument, the "boys club" proved to be beneficial, she says "I get treated like one of the guys, I'm just there", "being just there" meant not performing "as a woman." Busi enjoyed being granted such access as she says; "it feels accepting to be a part of them and that they're not tiptoeing around you but at the same time, we have these differences." Busi's unintentional access and approval, amongst men proved to be an intentional "goal" for Dorothy. Dorothy yearned for the respect and acceptance of the men musicians surrounding her, "I really wanted to be part of that club, to not feel excluded…" and as a result she "adapted and adjusted to acting more than a boy". She began to dissociate from any stereotypical feminine traits to avoid being treated differently, she says "I began to wear male clothing so that I wouldn't be objectified and was more relatable to the male musicians in the band… So… I think I wanted to not be seen as a female."

As Dorothy narrates, she is deeply conscious of her own complicity with affirming a "boys' club" culture, her tone when describing her desire to be "more like a boy" is both self-ironic and self-critical. Her apparent desolation here can be attributed to the gender trap for women jazz musicians; in order to be "included," it is necessary to either "be" a boy or inhabit the pose of the "derided feminine." At a young age, she was able to realize that certain perceived "types" of women were treated differently and therefore tried to emulate a level of masculinity to avoid differential treatment. Dorothy admits that her eventual positioning as "one of the boys" was immensely beneficial, saying "I think because I morphed myself into being a boy worked. I think I made myself noticeable enough as a guy, with that man energy; that male crowd…". Unfortunately, her positionality as "one of the boys" only benefited her socially. She distinctively recalls an instance where a conductor had screamed, "Stop playing like a woman and play like a man!" but her peers were unable to stand up for her. She say, "For me, the worst part was looking out to my male peers in the band for help and them looking down and staying quiet. In that moment I realized how deep this boys club goes, to the point that they don't say anything, mind their business and don't get involved."

Participants characterize the "boys' club" as a space transparently immersed in "old school" thinking about jazz performance, informed by "disgusting conversations" unable to recognize

women's artistry. This space is desired as access and acceptance thereto indicates members are considered "fully professional jazz musicians". Participants are well aware of its tensions and contradictions, but such insight is complicated by discourses of misogyny that moved beyond "exclusion" into allied, and complex, representations of "boys club" culture.

4.2.1 Jazz Tutelage for Women

Musical training or education plays an integral part in how all participants come into contact with and experienced jazz. Thandi states that being at a tertiary institution "affected" her "quite a lot", she says "music school is a big chunk of your young adult life so without you even trying it does shape who you are or what you think of yourself in that space." Several participants indicated that their experience training as jazz musicians vastly differed to that of men. They argue that these seemingly educational spaces are merely breeding grounds for "boys clubs" which mimic and perpetuate sexist and patriarchal behaviour in the professional music world.

Dolly had been acutely aware of the presence of a "boys' club" within educational and performance spaces, "the jazz department is definitely a little bit of a boys club". For all participants, (excluding Nellie who largely speaks of her journey outside of her tutelage), their gender awareness was heightened as a result of the sexism and gender bias they encountered throughout their training as jazz musicians. Much like most participants, Dolly's experiences are an amalgamation of her time as a student as well as her career as a professional jazz musician. However, she does attribute the majority of her emotional distress and trauma to her time studying, stating; "I almost felt that after studying I had something else to prove to people and myself, because I didn't feel like I was, for the most part, part of a nourishing educational environment, which is what this is meant to be."

Both Billie and Lil speak passionately about the challenges they experienced as women within learning spaces, where instances of gender bias were common and regularly rehearsed. Lil states that these educational spaces are primarily dominated by men, "Old men run this space", who ultimately lead by example, teaching students the already established practices of the field. Billie elaborates on how unhealthy patriarchal and hegemonic jazz culture seeps into educational spaces, is encouraged by men educators and is reminiscent of the "boys

club" in the professional jazz world, stating "It's totally encouraged by the teachers! It's perpetuated and developed through them; they are the cheerleaders!".

For Billie, it was clear that educational jazz spaces function as "boys clubs", favouring, and ultimately benefiting, men students. She says; "Definitely women are taught differently especially because of the very prevalent male comradery and "macho" behaviour displayed by men in various jazz environments, and especially when men are taught by certain individuals." This is mirrored in Lil's experience as she remains affected by the habitual treatment of jazz women within educational spaces, stating; "You have to work your way up, I had to fight to be seen as an equal, as a man. I had to reject a bunch of people and call them out on their shit, when it wasn't cool to do so, in order to get respect."

According to Billie, women students, especially instrumentalists, would go unnoticed or overlooked by lecturers. Billie recalls specific instances where she felt undermined by several men educators, who she not only was being taught by but regularly performed with whilst she was studying. One encounter with one particular educator almost turned violent when she requested that he try "a different method of teaching". This request "aggravated the situation" to the point where she believed it may get "physical". Billie is convinced had she been a man, the educators' response would have been different, stating "If I was a male, he would've taken my request on board and had a different approach to teaching me."

Admittedly, Billie recognizes that her position as an instrumentalist, gave her access to "elite" educational spaces, "I was in a privileged position to have played in a large ensemble, I feel that it allowed for me to be recognized, which I am grateful for…". Not only does she admit to feeling "grateful", she describes how being granted such access gave her a "renewed faith" in her musical ability, especially in instances where she was the only woman in the band. Despite exhibiting feelings of gratitude, Billie admits that it did not prevent her from feeling undermined and overlooked; she says, "my potential was often doubted, more than overlooked." For Mary, the opposite reigns true. Fortunately for her, she did not experience jazz training as damaging, nor did it have an effect on her self-esteem. She considers herself "lucky" to have had a fairly good experience studying. However, she does not dismiss that these instances do occur, stating "It's only when I step out of my own network where I start to feel other vibes."

The ill and unequal treatment of women musicians within educational spaces go beyond remarks on their playing or musical abilities. In Billie's case, there were multiple inappropriate comments on her personal life, "There is definitely a fine line, even though everyone is friends with one another, I do have a good understanding that they remain my teachers regardless." Several participants rely not only on their own experiences but those of others that indicate that jazz women leave institutional environments distraught. Dolly states, "From what I experienced, I will say a general rule is that a lot of the women have more stories and traumas to speak about after studying. Even going there for a year and then leaving because it was just too traumatic, and I completely understand that because of what I know and what I've experienced."

4.2.2 Improvisation

Several participants find improvising and the manner in which it is taught deeply problematic. Busi reveals how improvisation not only identifies what is classified as jazz music, but how it is used against musicians, especially women, to determine their worthiness or musicianship, "If you don't take a solo, it seems as though you are not good enough to take it." Lil reveals that often she will choose to not improvise publicly, "especially if the jazz police is on the gig".

The pressure to perform impeccably when improvising, proves to be at the core of most participants' angst. Busi often refuses to improvise in some ensembles, saying "I stand up in rehearsal and I have to be perfect every single time." She interrogates the anticipated judgement associated with improvisation, "What if you just had nothing to say in that moment? What if you just didn't feel the moment to stand up and do that?". She believes women are especially reviewed and disparaged, "That space is not given to female musicians. The moment you get up, it's always a case of "Is she going to be as good as the guys?". Similarly, Dorothy recollects feeling just as surveyed and judged when soloing, she recalls a specific incident at a rehearsal where the conductor indicated she take a solo, "I remember all the boys looking at me, almost as if they were saying, "Are you going to do it or are you going to chicken out?". I broke down in that moment, I cried."

For both Busi and Dorothy, the fear of judgement has limited and prohibited them from performing. Busi recalls a specific instance where a world-renowned conductor asked her to

improvise and she immediately declined, she says, “I have this opportunity to play with a world-renowned musician, who is phenomenal and plays my instrument! I have all his albums! Here, I have an opportunity to play with him and I don’t want to play.” If it weren’t for another woman in the band encouraging her, she says she would not have improvised. Her fear stemmed from feeling as though she would be judged and ridiculed, “I felt that I needed to be someone else, I felt that I needed to be so much better than I was because I had to prove something to these guys. I am not just playing music because I love music in that moment, I just need to prove that I am good enough to take that solo. I have to prove that I can.”

Dorothy ultimately chose to abandon her studies, suggesting the space was not the right fit for her. When discussing her relationship with improvisation as an instrumentalist and women, she is adamant that men receive differential treatment, “you are seen as weaker than the male musicians!”. This had an effect on how she viewed herself as a musician, “I started to believe that I wasn’t as strong.” Both Busi and Dorothy agree that women are not given the opportunity to learn. Busi is especially adamant that women are unable to view failure as part of a learning process, she says “You don’t want to go on stage and completely mess up anything, but when we fall down that is how we learn to get up again, that’s how we take the next step. I feel that as a female, I don’t have the space to fall.”

4.2.3 Bebop or Bust

Several participants comment on the stringent expectations of them as jazz musicians to appreciate and play bebop. They are expected to play bebop, but not necessarily well. In Mary’s experience, men do not “expect women to be at a certain level”, she says “I don’t think they expect women to be killing, you know when men are chowing bebop, I don’t think they expect a woman to be as good and when we are, they are surprised!”. For several participants, the notion of “bebop or bust” meant they weren’t given the opportunity to study other styles of jazz or genres of music. This is mentioned throughout continuously several interviews.

For Thandi, studying at a tertiary institution meant she adapted this mentality, says “Being at music school was a lot of different emotions, being around musicians and having the mentality that jazz is all that you’re going to do, and that jazz is all that you should do and it’s the way of life!”. Once she had graduated, she admits to feeling guilty when exploring other

genres, “When I came out of school, to start reintroducing other genres or other ways of playing my instrument, I felt as if I was cheating. Is this okay? Is this what I should be doing?”.

Participants reveal they feel creatively limited and ultimately began imitating rather that creating. Lil says, “You start compromising pieces of who you are, and what you love because of opinions.” Busi discloses she feels as if she “lost a lot of stuff” because of the years she spent imitating bebop musicians, “I love bebop music and its great, but I realized that there are other avenues I enjoy more, where I feel I contribute, and that I have something to say.” For Billie, it was a relief to graduate, she says “Now that I have left music school, I’ve realized that I don’t just have to play bebop or straight-ahead jazz. I don’t like that shit actually. I’m not a fan. I can now play music that I enjoy, and they can’t comment.”

This section uncovers a terrain of the “boys club” or “fraternity” which defines the experiences of women training as jazz artists. Several participants are especially haunted by their choice to study music as it came at the cost of exploring their creativity and musical identities.

4.3 Performances of Patriarchal Power

4.3.1 Talk as Weapon

The use of derogatory and disparaging language is common within jazz culture. According to participants, comments and remarks are not only targeted at objectifying and sexualizing women, musicians and non-musicians, but also derogating their musical abilities. Although Busi may not have explicit experiences of her own, she speaks of often witnessing how the “boys’ club” regularly verbalizes harsh critique on fellow musicians. She says, “ It’s about the moment you walk on stage and those connotations are placed upon you, and sometimes it’s not even about me”. Words such as “folding” or “bombing” are used to negatively describe a player’s capabilities before they have begun playing.

This culture of prejudicial negativity affects everyone. Lil confesses to still being terrorized by typical jazz vocabulary and terminology. Words such as “burning” and “folding” trigger her and are commonly used by those whom she labels the “jazz police”, who represent a similar concept as “boys club”. The “jazz police” typically only consists of men assessing

and commenting on the quality of jazz music being performed in and around Cape Town. The culture of commentary on musicians' performance mocks men artists yet allows room for 'mistakes'. However, according to Busi, women artists are always and only ridiculed.

Until faced with the "subtle things", much like Nellie, Busi did not believe gender played a role in her early experiences with jazz. She claims she had always been aware of her presence, and the lack of women within jazz spaces, but had not thought that being a woman altered her experience nor does she attribute it to the existence of any "boys club". Despite this, her gender is a clear indicator as to why she was, and continues to be, subject to specific treatment, especially through talk, which marks her as "woman." She is the only participant to comment on the remarks made by men in corresponding industries, such as sound engineers, "You get comments sometimes, actually a lot, from sound engineers saying, "Oh women don't play the trombone. Oh, women don't play the drums", or "You're pretty good for a girl". Am I not good for instrumentalists? I am good because I am girl?". These comments are often masked as compliments, when in fact they demonstrate a doubt and disbelief in a woman's capability as instrumentalists.

As an acoustic instrumentalist, Busi takes pride in her attention to detail and knowing what she requires from sound engineers when performing but is met with sexist and condescending commentaries, "I often tell the sound engineers what I want but they'll turn and say, "Why are you such a bitch?" I actually just know what I want, I am not doubting their ability and what you want to do with it, but this is what I want to sound like on stage because I work hard on my sound." Busi takes great pride in being meticulous but has had numerous encounters where she is labelled as "bossy". For Busi, confidence in her artistry, leads her straight to "being a bitch."

All participants, despite having varying levels of comfortability within jazz spaces, are consistently reminded they exist on the fringe. Billie and Dolly have been similarly made to feel as if they are "too emotional" or "too invested" in the jazz arenas in which they are involved. This criticism creates a greater dissociation between them and the "boys club", often women performers feel that their attachment to jazz spaces gets pathologized. In spaces where Billie has voiced her opinion or creatively contributed, she describes the men as openly dismissive, often perceiving her as "too confident". She elaborates; "It hasn't been said to me, but I often get the impression that men look at me as if I am too assertive of

myself." According to them, she should not feel too comfortable in a space where she does not belong. They may acknowledge her presence, but rarely will they engage or support nor are they encouraging, she says "I think they think, how dare I speak or act that I know them and we're friendly. It's bizarre. There is an understanding that I can speak, but I shouldn't speak too much."

4.3.2 "Peacocking"; overt displays of gendered power

Participants related many stories of men behaving as though only men jazz artists carried any credibility. On several occasions, Dolly felt her ability and skill were doubted by men musicians and speaks of feeling entirely overlooked which resulted in feelings of self-doubt contributing to her lack of confidence. She recalls a particular incident where she had been hired by a conductor, who has a history of booking his "boys' club" and being positioned below a far less experienced musician who had abandoned performing entirely for nearly two years. Dolly voiced how the conductor had known that she was leading other sections in other bands and even complimented her on her performance in those bands, yet he chose to book a man she viewed as far less capable as the section leader. She says; "I understand that certain male musicians are the go-to people, but when I was put in comparison to someone like him, I was taken aback." She admits to feeling undermined and overlooked when positioned below a weaker and less experienced musician who lacked the depth of experience to lead a section.

On another occasion Dolly was forced to book three men for a recording of her arrangements, once the rehearsal had begun, she was quickly overthrown and disregarded by the men in room. She states, "They began to say "Oh, don't you think we should try this?", not trying to make any suggestions to me, they just took over the rehearsal and the other men started listening to whoever was speaking. I arranged the tune, I know the ins and outs of this tune, better than all of you. I was completely spoken over and ignored. I tried to gain control back, but it was not happening." At a later stage during the interview, she comes back to this particular incident, saying "I definitely felt undermined there. In other spaces, even when I wasn't leading, when it was more of a democracy, I've felt that way." For Dolly, is it not uncommon for her authoritative voice or creative input to be blatantly dismissed by men.

Billie claims she has been “looked over and seen as not skilled enough, or as proficient” because of her gender. Her musical or creative contributions have been ignored on multiple occasions, “In music contexts, depending on the dynamic and the members of the band, my voice is often suppressed, and my opinion is often put to the side… I was not being heard or not even looked to for an opinion.” She, much like several participants, often had men undermine her theoretical understanding of jazz; “I have had close friends speak down to me about theoretical explanations or understandings of music”.

Lil elaborates on the many ways she has felt undermined as a jazz woman by men who have diminished her capabilities. She says; “I like to have a look at the conductors score so that I know the form, and little things conductors do like stating, “You don’t have to look at the score, I will cue you”. I would still like to know, so that I can do my job. The song begins, and they don’t cue you, but you know exactly where to come in…Little things like that, why are you undermining me?”. Lil is constantly musically challenged by men who interrogate her creative efforts and has been forced to “mentally prepare” her “rebuttal”, stating “A lot of male musicians are not okay with that, so there’s this unconscious bias that comes out as mansplaining. I’ve written a perfect amazing song with the perfect chart, everything is where it needs to be, the geography is there, but you want to change the ending of my song.”

Nellie has felt similarly challenged, she is especially cognizant of the differential treatment of singers in comparison to instrumentalists in this regard, saying “we are already put on the back burner”. As a singer, Nellie feels she deals with a lot more judgement and disregard for her musical direction, “You write the music and you write the chords, and you get people who want to play them in their own way.” Although she is open to suggestion and guidance, she admits she often has to reaffirm her position as the creative lead when men try to overpower her, “I always want to create a space where I can recognize that everyone in room has something to contribute…You have to recognize that you also have limitations.”

Busi experiences being professionally undermined rather than musically undermined. She recalls a particular instance where she had been selected to conduct an ensemble at a national jazz festival. She decided on a strictly African jazz repertoire, showcasing “South African jazz stalwarts”. Her decision was highly questioned; she says, “They said “No, you can’t. You need to swing”, I was met with such resistance”. Busi says the performance was incredibly impactful, “There wasn’t a dry eye in the house. It was such a powerful gig!”, but

up until then the festival executives (all men) were against her creative/musical decision. She says, “All of a sudden the people at the top are congratulating me, but can we tell the reporter standing next to me that you didn’t want me to do?”. Overall, all participants experiences reveal the gender biases within the community at large, some blatant, some unconscious, but all undermine and discredit the efforts of jazz women.

4.3.3 “The Rose Amongst the Thorns” – The Sexualization of Jazz Women

Jazz women exist within a hypersexualized cultural milieu where they are violently stereotyped and sexualized. These patriarchal typecasts place limitations on their capabilities as jazz musicians. All participants acknowledge and relate how they exist as oversexualized and stigmatized minorities, these instances are in conjunction with other exclusionary behaviours that sustain the toxic masculinity within the jazz community in Cape Town.

For the majority of participants, the most common example of the manner in which they are sexualized is when their musical capabilities and skill are secondary to their appearance. Jazz women are often introduced to audiences on the basis of their looks rather than their skill. Billie says men are introduced on stage as “the burning” or “the amazingly talented” whereas conductors often introduce her as the “the beautiful” or “the gorgeous”’. She says, “One conductor in particular loves to introduce me as the, “rose amongst the thorns”. It is often a statement about my looks, more than it is about my job.” Similarly, Dolly feels reduced to her appearance, “I’ve definitely been introduced as “the beautiful…”, not “the talented”, because in their minds we are not here to play music. The men will be introduced like “the bebop king!”, and I am introduced as “beautiful and blonde”. And that’s it.” Thandi has received “the sexy” or “the instrumentalist with the legs”. She says; “It’s usually comments that I can laugh off because it’s kind of nice in a way, but at the same time it’s not really necessary. They don’t say “the grooving” or “the instrumentalist with the licks”, they’re not necessary talking about your capabilities but more about what you look like.”

Dorothy’s introductions are further complicated because of who her father is, she believes this determines how she is received and welcomed in various jazz spaces, “ because of who my dad is, he is a musician as well, I get referred to as his daughter on stage”. However, this does not exclude her from being introduced on stage like several other participants, “I get, “the rose amongst the thorns” or “the beautiful” in comparison to the “burning” or “talented”

male musician". Nellie and Busi share similar experiences that are unique from that of other participants as they both disclose that it is more common for them to experience judgement, regarding their appearance (outfit, make-up etc.) or introductions on stage, from women than from men. Nellie says, "Different people introduce or greet me differently; I find that I have gotten the most amazing introductions from men and the slanderous introductions from woman."

Not only are jazz women placed in persistent comparison against one another, they are reduced to their bodies and musically excluded, dismissed or undermined whilst their gender and subsequent objectification do not go unnoticed, Busi says, "You can't just be the musician; you can't just walk onstage and be in the section." Thandi mimics Busi's frustration when sharing instances of how she has felt sexualized in the past, "I kind of get tired of seeing these fat lazy old men sitting behind a guitar or a piano or whatever, but when a woman is on stage, she is always judged on how she looks! If she's big girl, then she's lazy. If she's a small, then she's sexy! We can't just be there; we can't just be who they are!". The reality is that jazz arenas are dominated by men. The perception of the genre itself is that it should be reserved for men musicians, only to include the one exceptional, and only "real" acceptable, woman, usually, the oversexualized and stereotypical jazz singer; the rose amongst the thorns. As explored in the literature, the notion of existing as the "rose amongst thorns" suggests that only one can persist. This metaphor is extremely telling when one considers how jazz women exist as stigmatized and sexualized minorities.

Several participants reveal countless encounters where they were made to feel as mere sexualized objects rather than musicians. Lil early experiences within this community lead her to believe that "as a woman, your talent has fuck all to do with anything. It's all about the way you look, and if you are seen as a sexual being by the opposite sex." She goes on to describe the persistent sexist commentary and behaviour within the jazz community in Cape Town, "It's almost like when there's a mosquito in the room, at first it irritates you but after a while your ear adjusts to it and you can carry on." Such commentary or behaviour, however miniscule, is masked in passing comments drenched in sexual innuendo's, "Little things like always being sexually suggestive, there's always some sexual reference."

As previously explored, Dorothy actively placed herself in close proximity to men, exhibiting masculine behaviour to avoid being excluded or sexualized. She even altered the way she

dressed, “I have always worn baggy jean or oversized men’s shirts, I tried to hide my body as much as possible so that the boys wouldn’t make a comment because I suck at confrontation and I wouldn’t have known how to handle it had someone in the band said something inappropriate”. This proved successful as she “stood out positively”, being “cool enough” to “hang out with them” despite “being a girl”.

In Billie’s experience, these sexually suggestive comments happen both on and off stage, “I feel that when I occupy musical spaces, even if I just watching, not playing, I feel that as a woman in the industry – you’re sexualized.” From as young as 18, Billie has been at the center of sexually suggestive commentary since she “stepped on the scene”. When a button had fell off at a performance, she fussed to fix it and a conductor commented, “Don’t worry. Keep it like that.” She recalls a rather shocking instance where a long time educator of hers began to make sexually suggestive jokes, “I had a scratch on my knee, a male musician noticed it and proceeded to say, “I know what you’ve been doing this weekend”, insinuating that I had been doing sexual activities on my knees.” It’s more common for Billie to receive comments about her appearance or outfit choice than about her playing particularly at performances, “After the gig, the attention shifts on to me, especially if I’ve worn a dress. Because of my instrument, I do try to wear certain outfits that do not accentuate my breasts more, because I have had comments made about them.” She feels constantly badgered and harassed by men musicians, she explains how the constant suggestive remarks are actually intended to gauge her romantic interest in them, “They like to think that they are being kind when they complement you, but when they’ve said it for the fifth time, the sexual intention comes through and it is creepy.” Billie believes that her past romantic relationships with musicians allowed other men musicians to sexualize her even further, “As soon as you’ve had a relationship with one musician, you’re almost expected to then be able to sleep with any of them or have a relationship with any of them.”

Lil suggests that men are given the freedom to behave and speak as they wish, she believes that she was conditioned to “brush off” such behaviour, “men can say and do whatever they want to, you just have to go with the flow, and you act accordingly, and you giggle it away”. She believes men musicians consider themselves far more valuable than the women in the industry and only granting them enough access to be sexualized on the band stand. Lil states,

"It's an ego thing, they are thinking 'Yes, you might be the bandleader. You might be hustling to get gigs, but I'm here and this is MY space'. They'll be okay to get the gigs from you because they are loyal to the money, the gig."

Thandi expresses conflicting ideas surrounding the process of sexualization, specifically regarding sexually suggestive comments or remarks, stating "we don't want to lose that idea of spontaneous compliments". However, she does interrogate the intention of each remark, "It's something that you get used to but now that things are coming to the foreground, it's a question of; "What is this person saying? Am I offended by it? Or is it making me feel good? Is this person saying it in way makes me uncomfortable or is it honestly just a compliment?". Despite this, she is clear she has experienced being sexualized and speaks about a particular instance where she was instructed to dress suggestively. Thandi speaks passionately describe how blatantly her and other women were vividly sexualized by the bandleader, "We didn't even play our instruments; it was a backing track! We were the backing dancers with instruments in our hands, to the singers who were singers! We just had to dance and look sexy...The guys just had to wear a suit and shirts with a tie and look presentable!".

Lil speaks to this oversexualized concept of the stereotypical jazz woman and how it has played a role in her career, "I've had times when people saw a picture of me, and they're did not want to book me. Or they've heard me somewhere and say, "We want that singer" but when they see me, they don't want to book me." This concept of this "stereotypical jazz performer" is held against each participant. At times, Dolly and Busi are often welcomed through this stereotype, as they both recognize their positionality as instrumentalists allows them to avoid certain judgements as they get to "not be women". Busi, a well-seasoned instrumentalist, is widely celebrated by numerous men and admits to seldom being at the receiving end of sexist or inappropriate behaviour. However, she regularly witnessed the "same circle of musicians" make derogatory remarks about women, especially women musicians. She says, "When you get to the gig, there are always comments about a "sexy" dress, aren't we here to play music?". Surprisingly enough, although Busi may not have any personal experiences being sexualized due to her positionality as " just one of the guys", she does admit to feeling judged on her appearance when involved in an all women band.

It's not uncommon for band members to fuss over guests or audience members, Nellie says, "If let's say I could be doing gig with a bunch of men, the way they would banter about

another woman at the gig. Not necessarily me on the bandstand, but women at the gig or female guests' remarks were definitely made." Mary has even come to know the "look" shared amongst men jazz musicians once women step into a jazz space, she says "It happens every day, whether they say it or not, I already know the look." Nellie claims she was not made aware of the presence of any gender bias or sexist undercurrents earlier in her career. She says, "it was not even a conversation, it was not that it was; out of sight, out of mind, it was not being spoken about. It wasn't a thing there was awareness too, we weren't aware of it." Despite this, Nellie, much like all participants, is unequivocally conscious how jazz women, herself included, were sexualized and objectified on the basis of their gender.

4. 4 Violent Attacks on Jazz Women

Throughout their respective journeys as jazz women, it is apparent all 8 participants have been subject to numerous and varying instances of violence as they navigate the jazz arena as stigmatized and sexualized minorities. Most share multiple incidents of subtle displays of misogyny, chauvinism and the exclusionary and dismissive behavioural aspects of the "boys' club". In addition to these experiences, and connected with them in many ways, participants spoke of severe moments of distress occasioned by a range of overtly abusive behaviour they encountered as part of their professional training and professional lives. These behaviours vary from blatant and aggressive displays of sexism or misogyny to extreme instances of verbal denigration and include direct sexual assault.

Lil refers to instances where men musicians would often invade her personal space and overstep boundaries by initiating and persisting with inappropriate physical contact.
She speaks fervently of one conductor in particular, "One conductor is the most disgusting motherfucker, he has now booked me for a couple of gigs, and every time he insists on trying to kiss me on the cheek. So now I wave from a distance to try to keep space between whoever I'm around, because I don't want these fucking men touching me. (uncomfortable laughing)". It is clear that for Lil, this is sexual harassment and a constant point of distress.

As previously discussed, Billie speaks of being put in a frightening position where she felt a teacher may even physically harm her during a lesson. She relates feeling especially disturbed by a musician whose response to her inquiring about him recording a second album was, "I will record it after you have sex with me." According to Billie, the quid pro quo offer

was made without any appreciation or sense of its abusiveness. Almost as though such an arrangement would be normal and acceptable to her as the terms on which she could get recording work.

Dolly disclosed she had been sexually assaulted by the same well-known and widely celebrated musician, who had also been a lecturer of hers at the time, “Some people know about it, and some people saw it happen. I never took it further; I’ve never said anything because it happened after a gig.” Dolly’s confidence and self-esteem were greatly affected. She believes that the distressing gender dynamics she experienced whilst studying, and eventually was exposed to by the jazz community at large, had a lasting effect, “I definitely think like what I experienced during my undergrad took a long couple of years to emotionally get and deal with, I did not feel like I wanted to put myself out there as much.” Dolly comments on the regularity of such instances within the jazz community in Cape Town, “I think there are definitely enough intense stories of hectic sexual comments, to the point of sexual assault and physical assault.” These narratives of direct, and criminalized, forms of sexual assault are present at varying points in the participants’ trajectories as jazz artists; as students, as negotiators of contracts and opportunities, and as members of ensembles. This hints at the strength of the roots, within jazz culture in Cape Town, of what activists have termed “rape culture,” the idea that a woman is always, and everywhere, ‘rapable’ as a norm of her life (Gqola, 2015).

Thandi knows of instances that include educators, “I have heard of some educators hitting on girls, and a more recent thing that happened at the jazz fest where some guy doing some stuff…It’s ridiculous and gross, those types of things do happen and it’s not a once-off thing.” Lil admits to witnessing some horrid instances, “I have friends, former friends and acquaintances that studied with me, in higher and lower years, who would be pulled into bathrooms at Tagore’s and other different jazz venues, by male musicians and were violated.” She believes that women aren't “seen as people or musicians”, nor are they “respected for their skills”. Lil believes that some women are “still tortured” from their experiences as jazz musicians in Cape Town. The use of the word “torture” struck me as pointing to the extremes of violence, where one person’s pain is extractible for another’s benefit, and locates the men musicians implicated within a hostile state. It is a damning image of the “boys’ club culture”.

The impact of this culture is something participants were clear about. My participants' stories of autobiographical assault were complemented by what they said about other jazz women's experiences. Dorothy says, "It's common enough for it to be a problem that needs to be fixed. I don't see it every day, and it's a shock, but not much of a shock when it does happen and that needs to change." Busi has witnessed many encounters where "male musicians looked down the top of someone's dress and shirt or grabbed someone's ass as they were walking by". Busi distances herself from the scenes she describes ("I have heard of"; "some guy,") her representations of the frequency at which sexual harassment and abuse happen correlate with Dorothy's "it's common enough". Although, Nellie and Busi remain on the "outside" of what they believe other jazz women experience within the jazz scene in Cape Town, there is no denying their colleagues and friends have experienced instances of sexual assault at the hands of men musicians. In fact, all participants agree such instances happen regularly in the jazz community in Cape Town. They confirm that although some may not have personally experienced instances of sexual harassment or assault, they "definitely" know of women who have.

Much like Dolly, Dorothy reveals feeling "violated" as a result of her treatment as a jazz woman, "As a woman, I don't want to be a woman because if a woman is treated like this, I don't want any part of it. As an artist, I feel violated. I feel small, and that what I have to say isn't important. People don't really want to listen; they just want to take what they can from you." She, and several participants, relate how these relentless attacks on jazz women have subsequently had an effect on their playing and performance. According to Lil, the trauma jazz women experience within this community is enough to deter them from a career in performing jazz music, and attributes this to the damaging treatment of jazz women by male jazz musicians. She goes as far as to say that some avoid jazz spaces all together; "They don't want to be in any spaces where jazz is being played or where alumni are performing, they steer clear. There is a disparity between the woman that study jazz, and the ones who are in the professional world as music jazz musicians".

It is undeniable that rape culture, sexual harassment and sexism exist side by side within the jazz community in Cape Town, and especially within supposed professional and educational spaces. Whether it be the not so subtle undercurrent of gender bias and sexism in a rehearsal, or an instance of sexual harassment after a gig; it is expected of men musicians. For many jazz women, it is unavoidable.

4.5 Resistance and Resilience

As a result of having to navigate the jazz community as stereotyped and stigmatized minorities, most participants express feeling encumbered with doubt. Despite this, all 8 participants exhibit tremendous resistance and resilience as they continue to exist and even thrive within the very community that disregards and delegitimizes them.

4.5.1 Curating and creating safe spaces

For some participants, the insecurity and apprehension about their own future as jazz artists was caused by years of unfair treatment and feelings of anguish at the hands of the jazz community in Cape Town. Similarly, to Dolly and Lil, Billie felt "completely ridiculed, isolated and never seen as good enough". As a result of the constant criticism, exclusion and chauvinistic torment, Billie confesses she had become "very anxious and nervous to perform". She says, "I would go watch the jam sessions but never play. I am only coming out of that now, I am only willing to play at the jam session now because of the damage of being told I was not good enough, and I felt that I was never good enough because of that." This admission for the need to "come out of" a place in which she had been silenced is core to the development of resilience and strategy. All participants identified and could relate to the process of "coming to understand" how hard they would have to fight for their own careers. For Billie, her fightback only began once she had given up exclusively playing jazz, "I've realized that I don't just have to play bebop or straight-ahead jazz. I don't like that shit actually. I'm not a fan. I can now play music that I enjoy, and they can't comment." For others, however, the fightback against self-doubt has been a critical facet of their own professional growth and journeys.

Busi's journey dealing with self-doubt came at a later stage in her professional career. A comment made by another jazz educator was particularly triggering for her, "Last year another teacher, I don't know his name or if he even plays, says to me, "Oh with all these giants on stage, I wouldn't think that you would get up to play, but congratulations." She describes her immediate reaction, "I thought to myself, 'obviously you don't consider me as one of the stalwarts of this institution" I don't think he would have said that to a male musician, what is it that makes you say that to me?".

After having spent nearly two decades performing globally and being widely celebrated by those very same jazz "stalwarts", this remark had a devastating impact on her self-esteem. Busi confesses that earlier in her career any doubts in her musical ability would "fuel" her resolve rather than dent her confidence. This incident led her to not only doubt her musical ability but her value within the jazz community, she says "I was surprised that these comments really affected me. It got to the point where I thought, "Wow am I worth anything? Am I meant to be here?". Despite expressing immense feelings of inadequacy, Busi continues to perform. She no longer feels as though she has something to prove, stating, "It has taken a long time to understand that it is okay to be me, if I don't need to be in those circles then that's okay, I will find other gigs with people who want to play the music I want to play."

For several participants, strategies to resist "violent attacks", such as a sexual harassment or assault, include coming forward and speaking out about their experiences. These women feel comfortable to name the culprits and expose how institutionalized and systemic homosocial structures like the "boys club" perpetuate such appalling behaviour. Lil has had no problem calling out problematic and exploitative men musicians as she believed it was the only way she could gain their respect. She says; "I had to reject a bunch of people and call them out on their shit, when it wasn't cool to do so, in order to get respect".

Busi admits she has been a mouthpiece for several younger jazz women in the past who fear they may not be "accepted" within the community should they speak out. Some participants feel obliged to remain "friendly" with men musicians, who are known abusers, because of their direct influence on the jazz community in Cape Town. This poses a real threat to jazz women's careers. For Billie it is purely an issue of survival, "I still somehow maintain a friendly relationship with these men, but internally I have a very good understanding of where I stand with them." For other participants, it has been a clean and clear-cut dissociation from known abusers, despite the influence or control they may have on the trajectory of these women's careers.

Several participants have taken matters into their own hands by creating and curating the musical spaces in which they choose to exist. Seldom do they occupy spaces which no longer serve them; Nellie says " If you don't respect, I am not coming. I book people who are my friends, I book people who I respect and who respect me back." Billie chooses to be "selective" when deciding who to perform with. Ultimately, she believes she has her own

“circle of musicians” who do not dismiss her, nor do they belittle or diminish her role as a contributing musician, “The guys I choose to play with and book now are my friends, who respect me and look at me to speak. There is that understanding.” Although Dolly limits who she works with, she remains acutely conscious of how she is received and surveyed by men, “I am a classic over thinker, and as you say, now that I’m standing up for myself and taking that control, it plays through in my mind afterwards and I’m left thinking, “Oh flip, will they ever work with me again?”.

Dorothy simply left the ensembles where she felt she “was not being taken seriously” and began performing under her own name. This allowed her to choose who she worked with, “I let it be known that I am the musical director, please respect me. I have called people out respectfully, I try to stay fair and handle each situation with respect, but I let it be known that it is my space, and no one will be disrespecting anyone.” As a result of launching her own projects, she no longer doubts her worth as a jazz woman. She feels “positive” about her message, stating “Its’ pushing me to not deprive the world of my message just because someone violated me. It has pushed me in a healthy way, as unhealthy as it was, to just do better and be better.” Dorothy is “thankful” for the push to begin her own project, “I wish that female musicians were pushed just as hard as the men are to start their own venues, to have their own bands and book their own tours and write their own music.”

Rather than dwell on how so many jazz women artists may have been unfairly overlooked and excluded, Lil took it upon herself to “shift the perception of the female musician” by launching her own all women ensemble. The band is well received and has gained recognition within the community at large, but does face criticism, even from fellow jazz women. Nellie admits to being apprehensive about the concept of all-girl bands but has come to understand their presence as greatly beneficial, she says “At first, I didn’t understand. Now as I am getting older, I am realizing that there is a need for these bands because we need to dismantle this community, we are all we have. We are literally all we have.”

In these stories, the environments of hostility are powerful. Participants are able to talk about how to “exit” these environments and continue to imagine themselves as jazz artists, despite rumination and worry.

4.5.2 Resistance against "the male gaze"

Much like several other participants, Dolly's displays of resistance are often inflected by seeing herself "through" heteronormative men's eyes; refusing to "dress-up" or wear "revealing" clothing as it does not match her personality. Dolly says, "People that want to dress up and have that image - that's great, it's just not me." Mary does not conform to these societal pressures either, stating " society has a way they want woman to dress but for me, no. I don't". Lil began confronting men musicians merely referencing her appearance when introducing her on stage, "I always confront it afterwards if somebody does introduce me as 'the beautiful', and that's it! Reference my talent, reference my skill – that's it."

For Lil, resistance is present in the active creative choices she makes to defy the assumptions and expectations of her as a jazz woman, she says, "At the end of day, my skill is there but the aesthetic is not. It can be, but I choose for it not to be, because I don't want to be the same as everybody else." Lil encourages her listeners to connect with the music rather than the lens through which she is sexualized, "…in terms of branding, for instance my new album all the album art is solely my logo. I didn't do a photoshoot with me posing, it's my way of saying "Listen to the songs and listen to the lyrics, don't think of me as a sexual being".

Nellie defiantly argues that the manner in which jazz women are sexualized should not take away from their talent, she says, " I am going to be a great singer. I am going to be sexy. I am going to play this instrument well. I am smart. I am going to be all of it." Nellie, who is married to an equally successful jazz musician, is adamant she, and other jazz women, must establish individual identities, "I think as a woman, even more so, it is important to make that decision, because our identities very much get lost in a man identify." She refuses to let her reputation be discredited purely because she is married, stating "One has got to be very careful, because the casualty becomes the woman."

Nellie advises women against exhausting themselves trying to dismantle the patriarchal and misogynistic "boy's club" culture within this jazz community, and suggests they redirect that energy into bettering themselves, "I try to use my energy to make me better, as opposed to fighting the patriarchy and that's why I continue to do what I do and study. I can't sit and complain that the jazz world and business is all men, and they make the decisions about how the world works and how the music works, what can I do?".

Throughout Nellie's experience within the jazz industry in Cape Town, countless men have made assumptions about her musical abilities based on her gender. Although it is now expected, she, quite uniquely, uses it as an opportunity to reaffirm her skills, she says "Maybe because of years of wisdom and my age, I have come to embrace that and understand that is the status quo, that is how it is." Although some participants are clearly affected by a lack of confidence in their skill as musicians, much like Nellie, Mary sees it as an opportunity, " It's like an underdog position… Not an opportunity to prove myself but an opportunity to worm my way into access because people don't expect you to be there".

All participants were willing to deconstruct the way "the male gaze" worked to diminish their musical stature, through the sexualization of their "look" or appearance and sexist assumptions on the musical capabilities of women. It became clear that over time participants had adapted numerous strategies for resisting the tactics which disregard and discredit them as musicians. Some participants may not exhibit overt resistance but do however form part of a larger group of women who choose to perform as jazz artists and do so proudly. Therefore, demonstrating loud resistance by persisting and persevering as jazz musicians.

Chapter Five: Final Discussion Chapter

For the most part, jazz discourse has yet to thoroughly investigate the ways in which gender and power dynamics interlock within jazz communities. My research explores the myriad of intersections at which gender influences jazz artists' experiences of themselves as musicians. I was drawn to this research through a number of routes; for the past several years I have trained as a jazz artist, performing in diverse spaces and with different ensembles. My own experience provoked my curiosity about the ways in which womanhood houses invisible narratives of becoming a jazz artist. This led me into the theorization of gender dynamics and towards others' research on the history of women in jazz, especially within South African jazz culture.

I found myself immersed in a research archive where the meaning of gender dynamics for women jazz artists, in many contexts, entailed questions of marginalization, sexualized surveillance, and the critical analysis of jazz history. This proved how deep questions of gender have been omitted from research and thus validates the depth of the gender issues at hand (McKeage, 2004). The literature which took on the work of understanding the influence of gender within jazz illuminated the historic patterns and practices of patriarchal jazz cultures (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013; Tucker, 2002; Kernodle, 2014). Reviewing this material grounded my hunch that jazz women face a magnitude of obstacles in pursuit of professional success as musicians. These include exclusion from many opportunities and networks, working under the surveillance of aggressive beauty standards of "femininity", and the ways in which they are vulnerable to gross sexualization, sexual harassment and abuse (McLaughlin, 2015). This review assisted me in conceptualizing my own approach to researching contexts not studied in what I read. Research on gender dynamics in South African jazz culture is very minimal but I was reassured by the scholarship on the importance of taking gender seriously within global jazz cultures, allowing me to develop my own research focus methodologically.

My exploration into uncovering the dynamics of power through questions of gender and sexuality in jazz performance for women in Cape Town may have begun as a passion project but has since been grounded by the lived experiences of my participants. I interviewed eight women jazz artists in depth, and what is revealed in these 8 narratives mirrors that of other

investigations into the lives of pop or jazz women globally. These interviews were analysed to reveal a multitude of themes and patterns that expose the presence of patriarchal and hegemonic gender dynamics in Cape-Town based women jazz artists' lives. They simultaneously suggest that women jazz artists negotiate their musical careers in relation to their own insights about the patriarchal dynamics of jazz culture. These women often silently inhabit a shared knowledge of how "women" are seen and treated, subsequently developing strategies in order to side-step sexism. This is a core facet of their professional expertise as "women jazz musicians". In the following sections, I discuss in more depth the links between the arguments of the literature and my analysis of the data I collected.

5.1 Existing within marginality

The hegemonic "binary construction of gender" (McLaughlin, 2015:11) within jazz rarely allocates any control to women, and sustains a notion of "males as innovators and females as appreciators" (McLaughlin, 2015:13). Men musicians often act as gatekeepers and therefore create and control the historic "masculine" narrative of jazz globally (McLaughlin, 2015). As expected, all participants unanimously acknowledge they form part of a minute number of women within the community and are exceptionally discouraged by the overpowering "male-dominance of jazz" (Valenti, 2018:48). The lack of role models and appropriate representation feeds a perpetual gendered image of jazz.

These women are perceived outsiders who "threaten the male-centered arena" (McLaughlin, 2015:42) of music-making, and as a result, men musicians revert to "covert methods to undermine their ability to participate as freely as men do" (McLaughlin, 2015:42). I did not expect to uncover the plethora of systemic and social barriers jazz women face; I had of course experienced them myself but had not been able to identify them as exclusionary tactics rooted in sexism. My own involvement led me to believe that only a few women "talented enough" were granted access and acceptance based on merit, and earned their place by being extraordinarily and exceptionally talented. Admittedly, some participants, namely Billie, Busi and Dorothy, even take pride in being the only woman in certain ensembles as it affirms their musicianship. Women are forced to battle one another to earn a place in the historic narrative as the "one female creative voice" (Tucker, 2002). Those of us who are deemed "unexceptional" are left unheard and on the peripheral.

The notion of the “one exceptional” jazz woman is vigorously debunked, in theory and in practice, by both Tucker (2002) and Kernodle (2014), as a misogynistic method of exclusion that forms part of a multitude of rehearsed strategies aimed at excluding, devaluing and objectifying jazz women. Participants rely on the notion that their inclusion or exclusion is based on merit, when in fact - it is merely an example of the oppressive strategies of normative jazz culture which urge women to “earn” their place. This cyclic pattern gaslights women into believing their individual ineptitudes are behind why they are excluded and justifies the oversight of others (Tucker, 2002). As a result, several participants question the presence of any violent gendering regime despite having experiences being purposely excluded on the basis of their gender.

Participants are clear that their multiple relations to identity were much less significant than their immersion into “being a woman”. This immersion immediately changed everything about what is possible for them as musicians. They are restricted by the roles available to them as musicians which are “consistent with the other ways women must navigate patriarchal society” (McLaughlin, 2015:11). Questions surrounding the experience of one’s intersectional yet marginalized identity implicates the embodiment of self. This is further complicated by experiences of “musicking” within various jazz spaces intertwined with instances of sexism, misogyny and sexual assault (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013). Jazz women are “constantly doing identity work” (McLaughlin, 2015:42), refocusing and readministering value to the meaning of their career whilst tackling systemic gender inequality and objectification.

For the majority of participants, “being a jazz musician” is tantamount with “being a woman”. Their musical identities are intertwined with their gender identities, and reveal an intersectional understanding of the state of gender and sexuality dynamics within the jazz community in Cape Town. It is important to acknowledge that all women aren’t “marginalized equally” (Tucker, 2002:398). Lil, Mary, Dorothy and Nellie speak about what it means to be racialized within a jazz community where they already exist as gendered minorities.

Lil specifically speaks about the stringent beauty standards that come with being a coloured woman where “ straight hair, skinny and pretty” is expected. Dorothy often feels exoticized as a mixed-race woman and has experienced being praised, and subsequently booked, for

having an “ethic look”. As women who unequivocally locate their identity as black women, Mary and Nellie are aware of how they are tokenized or further excluded, Mary says, “I feel like if I were a white woman, I probably would’ve been liked more.” There are a surplus of damaging and hypercritical stereotypes imposed on black women. This intersectional categorization has historically supported the popularity of white women within the jazz space (Tucker, 2002). Although white women may be better supported (due to hegemonic colonial, racist and colourist societal attitudes which aim at celebrating women, and all peoples, who aspire to whiteness), this does not exclude them from facing debilitating homosocial barriers, sexism and gender bias nor does it shield them from gross hyper sexualization or sexual harassment.

5.2 Beauty Standards, Over sexualization & Sexual Harassment

Stereotypes about women’s bodies are culturally defined within normative gender frameworks. These typecasts “standardize expectations about what roles women should fulfil” (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:156) and exist in educational texts, pervading the perception of jazz women performers. Lil is particularly vocal about the stringent beauty and body standards placed on women performers, “As a woman, one hair can’t be out of place or there’s a fucking problem”. She, and several other participants, actively reject these expectations, repeatedly describing themselves as “ not the stereotypical jazz performer” and supposedly lacking the “aesthetic” people are looking to hire. Both Thandi and Dolly admit to feeling pressured to dress a certain way as though it has a direct effect on how they are perceived as credible musicians.

There is a substantial disparity between the stereotypical image and perception of a jazz woman performer versus the reality of the women participating within the community. The literature mainly Tucker (2002), Moelwyn- Hughes (2013) and Allen (2000), certainly exposes jazz women’s sexualization as core to their ability to find space and recognition within both ensemble and individual work. My analysis of my participants’ experience both confirmed this as part of the Cape Town jazz culture and further offered a sense of women jazz artists’ capacity to theorize the disjunctions between the patriarchal expectations of their embodied performance ‘selves’ and their personal choices about their style, dress, and engagement with “femininity” on stage.

All 8 participants comment on their experiences being habitually sexualized. Participants often feel pressured to present themselves as marketable, under immense pressure to use their sexuality to gain the attention of men (McLaughlin, 2015). Some even confess to feeling compelled to "adhere to certain tools of the trade" (Simuro, 2018:30) by wearing heels, make up and dresses. They are expected to uphold stereotypical concepts of femininity, to dress and behave in a particular way but are not expected to be brilliant jazz musicians. Participants are cornered into negotiating sexual dynamics due to gatekeepers who beseech sexual favours in exchange for employment or career opportunities (Allen, 2002). Although only one participant explicitly revealed having been sexually assaulted by a jazz musician, all participants are aware of the commonality of similar instances of assault and abuse. Women musicians are repeatedly sexualized and have been deemed "deserving" of such gross instances sexual harassment (McLaughlin, 2015).

5.3 Surveillance

Women within the jazz community are heavily impacted by the "gendered, sexualized and racialized modes and effects of surveillance" (Shephard, 2016). Jazz women are under strict surveillance to maintain an air of desirability as their value and credibility is irrefutably linked to a process of stereotypical sexualization and objectification. Participants are cognizant of the binary expectations of women who occupy musical spaces where sexuality is salient, and body image is policed and politicized (McLaughlin, 2015).

Several participants feel under constant review at numerous intersections. Dolly feels she is habitually surveyed as a woman musician, admitting it has always played a role in her training and performing, "I'm often more judged than my male peers on gigs. I'm under more of a microscope, about how I am behaving or how I am dressed or how I am playing." Thandi battles to verbalize the stringent observation she is under because she is a woman, she says, "It's hard to put into words, but when I go to a jam session and get to the band stand, I immediately feel like the eyes on me and people are wondering, "What is she going to do?" or "How is she going to play? Is she going to be okay?". Nellie's experience is unique in that it speaks on the pressure placed on women to "be entertaining" or "perform". She says; "There was this whole thing about, "you are an entertainer", there was this pressure to an entertainer". These are clear examples of how women are habitually surveyed, not only as performers but as sexualized bodies (McLaughlin, 2015).

Both Nellie and Mary express how their identities as black women have shaped the manner in which they are observed and subsequently treated. Nellie has a clear and mature understanding of the expectations and assumptions of her gender and race identity, and its subsequent affect within jazz environments, "People profile you before they listen to you speak. I look a particular way, I am black, and I am a woman, the last thing people are expecting from me is to open my mouth and sound smart…We expect more from certain people than we do from others just by the way that they look and by their gender."

Participants reveal how their experiences are impacted as a result of being fiercely surveyed. Participants are exponentially musically surveyed; they are not expected to master jazz, especially improvisation, as authentically as men. Moreover, participants are subject to repugnant sexual surveillance governed by fierce objectification and misogynoir within the jazz community in Cape Town. My data contextualizes several intersections of regulation and surveillance that reign true for women musicians.

5.4 Ideas of Self-doubt

The theory of self-efficacy within jazz denotes a participants judgement of their ability and competence at performing or "being a jazz musician". Studies suggest men are more self-assured than women, therefore it is believable that self-efficacy and stereotype threat adversely affect the women participating in jazz (Wehr, 2016). According to Wehr (2016), women are more likely to battle with internal and external insecurities linked to jazz participation and performance as they lack the social and self- motivational persuasions to confidently and comfortably participate (Wehr, 2016). Unfortunately, my own study confirms this. Diminished self-efficacy is an overriding motif in the journeys of jazz women and has greatly impacted their perception of themselves as musicians. Participants experience intense psychological and epistemological doubt, bringing about questions of their value as musicians.

From a young age, women are encouraged to take up as little space as possible, expected to prioritize others before themselves, to be perfect. The pressure of being perfect prevents them participating in fear that they will fail (Cross, 2017). As reflected in my study, jazz women are not given the space to perform or exist as themselves, nor are they encouraged to do so

without fearing the untidiness of self-expression free from the limitations of their perceived ability (Lawson, 2011).

5.5 Resistance & Embodied Subjectivity

Participants are consistently negotiating a number of social and cultural processes which influence their "subject-formation and subjectivity" (Caudwell, 2012). I am focused on how these women embody their experiences as "sexual subjectivities of social and political happenings" (Caudwell, 2012) and listen as participants narrate how they pick apart at these internalized expectations. Their journeys provide a unique and complex representation of expressions of gender and sexuality within jazz in Cape Town at this very moment.

Participants face vigorous forms of oppression as a result of gruesome power relations within this jazz community. There is a clear "consequence of their femaleness" (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:111) as participants battle to dismantle the perceptions about their gender, age, race and sexuality. The knowledge of patriarchy is both 'an open secret' and a 'hidden one', and therefore is an unstable platform from which these participant struggle to jump off from. Nonetheless, participants move through an industry dominated by men and sustain lasting careers as professional jazz musicians. Not only do they theorize their experiences, in a kind of organic, un-marked, feminist rage and strategy, but develop personalized strategies to combat the sexist attitude within the jazz community in Cape Town. By repeatedly repelling dominant discourses in order to produce "new truths and norms" (Lilja & Johansson, 2018:85), this display of resistance undermines power relations and "the force of normalization" (Butler, 1997:93).

Participants exercise their own feminist agency as both a point of power and resistance. This concept of feminist resistance is "related to other practices of resistance" (Lilja & Johansson, 2018:82) and individual understandings of feminism. Although, some strategies and expressions of resistance are less visible than others, all participants practise "everyday resistance" (Lilja & Johansson, 2018:82). Participants are actively breaking ground by curating their own performance and professional arenas by creating women-only spaces or holding high positions of power in education systems or executive boards. These patterns of resistance circulate amongst participants, each narrative of defiance inspires the next and acts as "an instrument and an effect of resistance" (Lilja & Johansson, 2018:85). Together

participants collectively form an allegiance to resistance aimed at the progressive social transformation of hegemony within this jazz community. These consistent displays of resistance, however subtle, overlap and ultimately, strengthen various technologies of power (Lilja & Johansson, 2018).

It is vital to acknowledge that these women display feminist agency merely by existing and simultaneously acting as agents of change. However, by merely celebrating or overemphasizing how these women have persevered, I run the risk of normalizing problematic normative jazz culture “rather than subjecting it to critique” (Chamarette, 2015:289). I believe it is of utmost importance that the regularized patriarchal misogyny within jazz cultures undergoes fierce critique, not only by jazz women and feminist researchers, but by all its’ constituents.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The “historical and cultural significance of jazz production and consumption” (Tucker, 2002:400) provides an accurate context for the “behaviour that challenges or threatens the established social and sexual order” (Koskoff, 2014:40) within the sociocultural norms in the jazz community. I believe the research referred to throughout this project contextualized my own study and gave substantial academic standing to participants' experiences. However, there remains a scholarly gap in literature which specifically explores the implications and infiltration of notions of “masculinity” within jazz. There are critical gaps in research exposing the experiences of jazz ‘musicking’ through the recognition of the dynamics of gender. My work hopes to contribute, culturally and academically, by analysing the influence and impact of hegemonic, cisgender and heteronormative “white male power” within jazz arenas (Tucker, 2002).

As an insider, I expected to hear of instances where women were made to feel less capable or accomplished, as it mirrored my experience as a jazz woman. However, I did not expect to hear of the lengths men musicians are willing to go to exclude, discredit and violate jazz women. As I began interviewing participants, it became clear that all participants carry the consequences of being jazz women within this community. Based on these 8 stories, it is clear that instances of sexual harassment and assault are not uncommon. Jazz women are not only debilitated by the inherent exoticization and harassment but by the incessant doubt and undermining of their musical abilities.

The women participating within this “male-identified” genre are fiercely regulated and surveyed at several intersections. They are faced with navigating ideals of femininity and beauty within binary gender stereotypes. Moreover, the notion of musicality and femininity remain mutually exclusive as stereotypes are preserved and protected (Sauzier, 2019). What stands out as I analyse the data is the multiplicity of repeated violations jazz women regularly face. These 8 women are balancing tokenism against selection on merit whilst under strict surveillance and experiencing overt sexualization, (Hope, 2017).

As I thought through the performance and restrictions of womanhood and femininity within jazz culture, it is clear my research has its own limitations. Although, the terms “woman” or

“women” have been “rallying point(s) for sociopolitical change” (Feder, 2009:134), they are exclusionary. Admittedly, the majority of this paper promotes a binary concept of gender and heterosexuality as it solely speaks of the problematic and patriarchal power dynamics between men and women. I may not intend to “discount the diversity of every individual” (Simuro, 2018;4) nor do I promote regressive and binary concepts of gender or sexuality intentionally or directly. However, I am well aware that by omitting persons who identify differently, I am marginalizing and othering additional gender and sexual identities.

My research contributes to the excessive gender-based research which excludes other existing marginalized communities which exist within jazz communities globally. There is something to be said about how women and members of the LGBTQIA+ community navigate the “dense masculinity” within the jazz community at large. This is a topic I hope to expand on academically in the future. I hope to include the experiences and locations of queer, non-binary and gender non-conforming jazz voices to explore and challenge how this known traditionally hegemonic and patriarchal community has damaged or affected all its contributors.

Nonetheless, I do believe my contribution to the growing work of feminist scholarship within musical disciplines challenges pre-existing homogenous narratives by telling the stories of present jazz women. As I theorize the way in which their gendered experiences shape their personal and professional lives, I explore their musical identities, issues of limiting performative options, jazz tutelage for women, homosocial barriers, hegemonic jazz culture, sexualization, sexual assault and harassment, the various gender roles and stereotypes imposed on women and their fightbacks. Similarly, to Moelwyn-Hughes (2013), I hope to contribute to the growing scholarship of South African jazz literature, illuminating the importance of “gender-sensitive discourse” (Moelwyn-Hughes, 2013:156) in hopes that it positively influences the jazz community in Cape Town.

Initially, I was tentative about moving into the space as a researcher due to my proximity to the community under investigation. Throughout the process, I feared my positionality as a jazz woman would inhibit me from producing valuable research as an credible emerging feminist writer. Eventually, as I began interviewing participants, the need for such research became blaringly obvious. Participants speak with such conviction, affirming not only the

questions embedded within the research, but my own experience as a woman jazz musician. Undergoing this research has been incredibly challenging yet immensely rewarding.

The lived experiences of all 8 participants act as embodied symbols of challenged subjectivity. This is an act of resistance and resilience in of itself as these women come to understand their subjected bodies and minds, both their "possession and project" (Williams and Annandale, 2014:3). To varying extents, all participants exhibit what Ahmed (2017) describes as "wilfulness"; being the ability to "assert one's own will against persuasion, instruction or command" (Ahmed, 2017:65). More often than not, normative jazz culture wants to tell the story of a "willing" jazz woman. One who is obedient and uninterested in disrupting hegemonic systems or practices but who does not have any personal or creative will of her own. The choice to assert one's own will is an uncomfortable one as it goes against and challenges normative expectations of "who we are and what life should be" (Ahmed, 2017:65). Only when jazz women refuse to be musically undermined, when we refuse to exist submissively, when we refuse to be excluded, when we refuse to act as secretaries rather than musicians, only then will we truly become wilful subjects (Ahmed, 2017).

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