

Thriving from a Riff: Identity of Jazz and Improvising Musicians

Thriving from a Riff? ジャズおよび即興ミュージシャンのアイデンティティー?

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本研究では、現代社会学が説明困難な問題を抱える中、どのようにしてアイデンティティーの概念が生まれたかを考察する。アイデンティティーはこれらの問題を解決するのではなく、表出する。問題の表出は段階的であり、まずアイデンティティーは問題のある概念を補い、次にアイデンティティー間の差異がアイデンティティー内の差異に取り替えられ、さらにアイデンティティーはそれ自体から差異を生み出す手段でしかないとされ、最終的には、自らの再生条件さえ作り出せないような不毛かつ全く私的な自己同一性へと成り下がるのである。本論文では、ジャズ・即興ミュージシャンという特定集団のアイデンティティーに焦点を絞る。ミュージシャンとのインタビュー結果を報告し、この中ではジャズ・即興音楽を生業として選択した理由やそれに対する思い入れ、(特に金銭的に)成功するかがほとんどわからない中でキャリアを積み上げる苦闘、演奏およびレコーディングの機会を広げるための人脈形成、そしてレコード業界との関係について言及する。ここから得られた結論は、上記のアイデンティティー理論に異議を唱えるものであり、社会現実を説明できる理論・概念の必要性を指摘する。

キーワード: アイデンティティー、差異、社会理論、即興、ジャズ

Abstract

This paper examines the way that the concept of identity has emerged out of explanatory difficulties in modern sociology. Rather than resolve these difficulties, identity expresses them. They are expressed as a process whereby, first, identities are supplemented to problematic concepts, second, inter-identity differences are supplanted by intra-identity ones, third, identity is proposed solely as a means to generate differences from itself, and, lastly, identity becomes an arid, privatised self-identity not even capable of generating the conditions of its own reproduction. This paper focuses on a specific group identity, that of improvising jazz musicians. It reports on interviews with musicians concerning their selection of, and commitment to, jazz improvising music as a career, their struggle to establish that career despite little certainty of success, especially financial success, the construction of social networks to expand performance and recording opportunities, and the relationships with the recording industry. The conclusions reached challenge those of the above identity theories, pointing to a need for theory and concepts to account for social reality.

Keywords; Identity, difference, social theory, improvisation, jazz.

Introduction

Identity became seen as a key explanatory category in, following trenchant critique of, modern sociology. The manner in which identity has been addressed is expressive of fundamental explanatory problems in the heart of modern sociology, problems further highlighted by the telling critique of feminism; that key concepts such as class, status, functionally differentiated social roles, and so on, did not account for women's social experiences. This critique was extended by work on ethnicity, race, sexuality, age, etc., for

which the concept of identity seemed to offer an answer¹. Quite quickly, however, what was looked to as a solution to explanatory problems, became a source of severe difficulties. What Weber saw as the answer to the explanatory problems of class based explanations; modification of the definition of class, allowing that intra-class differences may be more important than inter-class ones, and the layering of additional conceptualised causal factors, was quickly mimicked by identity theory. Attempts were made to weave the new identities into existing conceptualised identities, and to stress intra-identity, more than inter-identity, differences.

All too soon, these intra-identities were subjected to ever further sub-division, fracturing, with which the recognition and energetic search for difference itself, difference from identities, came to be prescribed as the fundamental theoretical and methodological attitude for all of the human sciences, not just for sociology. Consequent on this, identity was theorised as self-identity (the unique particular), dislocated in its meaning within the theories that it was developed, and from the societies within which it was located, and could no longer be said to contribute a reproductive role. Outcomes which suggested that this stream of sociological theory had entered an unproductive cycle. It will be shown here that this was consequent upon assuming that elements thrown up as problematic for theories (Parsons's residual categories), were real phenomena, independent of the problematic theories, revelatory of true insight, and not indicative of (more) fundamental explanatory problems. By making such an assumption, and working to incorporate these residual categories without restructuring theories, there was an acceptance, rather than a resolution, of explanatory problems. This is most apparent in the empiricist attitude of the post-structuralist and postmodernist theorists who insist that we should be seeking out difference from, in every nook and cranny of social theory, not necessarily in social life, rather than produce resourceful explanations. Detecting and classifying difference and identity to construct meaningful explanation is a fundamental requirement of scientific procedure, post-positivist included; what is **not** a requirement is the creation or location of difference in conflict **with** categories, **without** a simultaneous requirement to refine and improve, or to replace, those very same categories to account for any meaningful differences, inconsistencies, that are encountered through them.

The concerns of this paper will focus on a particular social group, of professional improvising jazz musicians, on a specific social identity. It will do so to contend that there is a very real attempt, supported by conviction, to pursue a career in accordance with an occupational identity as an improvising jazz musician. It will be proposed that the identity is socially located in their hard-won skills as musicians, the opportunities to create novel performances, the social worth of playing and listening to music, the social

and economic practices which surrounds these internationally, as well as in the contrasting conception of alternative possible income earning opportunities, for example. It will be suggested also that the musicians, draw on the history of jazz, as a rapidly, continuously changing, musical practice, which stressed individual voice, and creativity, for example, in their efforts, and that they do this with some ambition of adding to the 'spirit' of that history. In these efforts they are working to contribute to reproducing and expanding the values and social practices of the music, most often in the face of immense obstacles. The paper will shed some light on the ways that these musicians attempted to deal with these difficulties, which incurs the implication that some musicians are more resourceful, energetic and successful than others in the same circumstances. The paper will also look at the manner in which the musicians construct mutually supportive interactive networks for performing and recording, some of which are international in scope. The paper's findings do not support any suggestion of either a fragmentation, or a privatisation, of personal and social life. However, this is part of an ongoing research project, being co-ordinated with other researchers internationally, much work remains to be done. For, this paper, deliberately, the question of ethnicity has not been addressed², however, by conventional wisdom, the sample here would be considered ethnically heterogeneous.

Identity Theory; Explanatory Confusion

The background to the emergence of identity theory, and of identity politics, lies in explanatory problems within modern sociology, and social theory more generally. Identity itself was not a novel concept, it was a central concern of Hegelian philosophy, and its critique, for example. The apparent novelty of the concept identity followed explanatory problems with various conceptualised collective identities, which led to ever smaller and sterile explanatory refinements, reaching a level that fractures beyond the individual. The problems leading to the turn to identity as novel category will be discussed, through the first generation sociologists (Marx, Durkheim and, Weber, who laid the basis of theory, on through subsequent generations of theorist (e.g., Parsons, Habermas, Foucault, Giddens, Alexander, Bauman, and Lash).

The explanatory problems with the Marxist approach (e.g., economic determinism) are well known, as is the Marxist emphasis on ideology to account for, what is for them, dislocated class understandings; the persistent absence of homogeneous class identities, inverting Marx's explanatory tack. Musical activity and music, in Marxist theory become either another example of capitalist practice, equally subject to commodification and labour de-skilling (e.g., Westby 1960), or, as an ideology, is something which can either obscure the true social relations of capitalism (e.g., Althusser 1969), or (c.f., Adorno 1994), have the potential to undermine these relations and ideology by embodying utopian glimpses of future art and social relations³. Notwithstanding, such difficulties, the politics of identity often retains much of Marx's conceptual framework (e.g., market processes, commodification, class, deskilling), often with little offered either to illuminate their content, or account for why they should now function to explain when they had not previously.

Durkheim, also examined collective identity, determined in contemporary societies through the division of labour and normative social facts expressed through ritual practices⁴. The Durkheimian self is dualistic; one side is defined, situated and held in check by social location and group norms; the other side is unstable and instinctive, always presenting the possibility of not being so contained, particularly in periods of disequilibrium, e.g., social anomie. Implied within this theory, is that individuals attain some sense of self-worth; their specialisation distinguishes them, they cannot be easily replaced, except by another who has equally mastered the same, specific skills. This dualistic structure of the self is found in the Freudian, and post-Freudian psychoanalytic models of the self⁵, and through these, gender, post-feminist and sexual, identity explanations.

Weber's critique of Marxism provided the strategy for subsequent revisions undertaken by Marxists themselves, and was copied by poststructuralist, postmodernist, and other theorists. Weber shifted the explanatory focus to culture⁶, offered an image of a more heterogeneous social world, with indeterminate multi-causal influences and, with the addition of ideal types, theory was afforded significant independence from empirical reality; neither contradicting instances nor ill-

fitting examples could be sufficient grounds to doubt the explanatory worth of an ideal type, thus of its theory. Both ideal type, concept, and its subject actions could diverge, yet both were to be accepted as meaningful. Contesting Marx's economic determinism, Weber stressed equally material and cultural, meaning, factors, in consequence dividing culture from practice, the ideal from the real, requiring that both offer quite different explanatory accounts of one and the same social phenomena. Weber also, shifted the focus to a means - end, social action model, further differentiated Marx's definition of class, stressing intra-class differences, adding explanatory layers, e.g., status, organisation, and social values⁷. The conclusions Weber reached from his own theoretical approach were highly pessimistic; a rationalisation of all social action, leading to the destruction of human freedom. Although, he identified two realms of action that he thought were exempt from this, art and sex, and one type of character, the charismatic, which he thought was capable of disrupting that logically un-werving eschatological outcome. Unfortunately for Weber, when he examined the arts more closely he concluded that they too were subject to the exact same processes, leading to the exact same pessimistic conclusions.⁸

Explanatory problems such as these in Marx, Durkheim and Weber, and the response of loosening empirical criteria, offering multi-layered explanations are seen in the conceptions of identity as a novel category, and the construction of, first, a politics of identity, then, multiple conflicting identities, and next ever fractured identities, mirrored in a fractured concept of self and society. What it does not do, most unfortunately, is bring consistent, adequate explanations.

When theorists turned to identity they did so from the position of these explanatory problems, and the feminist critique that modern sociology was not gender neutral, that it neglected the social experience of women within a gendered society, or that it neglected differences such as race, ethnicity, national cultures⁹, and, sexuality. Identity was presented as a two way dynamic, something which was possessed, and something which needed to be recognised by others. Modern social theory was rightly accused with failure to account for the full complexity of social experience

and location, and Marxism with lacking a single privileged group capable of representing humanity, leading to identity, and identity politics, being forwarded as their solution. The next step was to follow the footsteps of Weber, with his internal differentiation of class, and layering, ultimately problematic, explanatory concepts. So, as Weber attempted to layer status onto class as an additional explanatory force, they cumulated, multiple, identities on top of problematic categories and afforded them open-ended, multi-directional, multi-causal relations; women, for example, become working class women in low status occupations, whose identity understandings are complicated by their being of a particular religion, nationality, ethnicity and/or sexuality. The main function of each identity, however, seemed to be to primarily to undermine each other identity; not to add explanatory features.

Moreover, what began as differences among identities, became differences within identities, leading to a constant spiralling of identity differences in social theory, especially in its postmodern and some late/high modern, varieties, ultimately said to be satiable through the market. What at first are addressed as meaningful for identity are inter-identity differences in circumstances and experiences (e.g., being a woman means not being a man, being 'Black' not being 'White', being Japanese not being Chinese, being a Catholic not being Muslim, being gay not heterosexual, and being a lesbian, being neither of these last two) which are said to account for common, shared identity understandings, are later substituted for with intra-identity differences in order to account for lack of common, distinguishing identity outcomes in understandings and/or actions.

Lack of common identity outcomes saw theorists, particularly poststructuralist and postmodernist theorists, prescribing recognition and promotion of difference itself as the single most important theoretical and methodological attitude for science; they prescribed a need for positive sensitivity to the differences that exist within identities which analysis should actively seek out¹⁰. They contended that there was a **logically** necessary un-dissolvable gap, misfit, between concepts and theory, on the one side, and its object, social phenomena, on the other (amplifying Weber's intra-class differences and ideal type strategy). Not to

recognise this, they charged, is an inhuman, positivist, empiricist dictation of categories onto subjects. However, this strategy of describing internal differences, explanatory discrepancies, as entailed smacks of the very worst features of the positivism that such theorists charge their opponents with, because it accepts the instances of contradiction of an identity construct as concrete instances. These contradictions are assumed to be real, independent of concepts and theories, and not to be a product of the identity construct and theory. Rather than leading to productive re-examination of categories¹¹, this strategy assumes that contradictions of these categories reveal; it overlooks the fact that these contradictions are *themselves products of the categories*, and lack any meaning independently of them; there is a self-indulgence in imposing categories that do not apply, and could we be utterly wrong to wonder if this is not pursued simply in order to have the fun of inventing and discovering supposedly critical, enlightening (enlightening, at least, would be an improvement) discrepancies, and indulge in endlessly fascinating, cryptic, word-play.

Not to recognise these intra-identity differences, post-structuralist and post-modern theorists charged, was to be guilty of essentialism; of ascribing an essence, a fixed, core set of irreducible characteristics, to a person which determine their identity. They contended that identities are social constructions, which vary over time and social context, that essentialism is authoritarian, imposing and over-deterministic. They have no wish, though, to replace incorrect conceptual identities with more accurate ones, which they proscribe by logical fiat. In other words, they first, posit an identity in order to characterise understanding and actions of those the identity is attributed to as different from those entailed by the conceptualised identity. Thus, for example, women¹² are, first, ascribed a gender identity as women, founded on their common sex, derived from common physical characteristics and social experiences, and second, the understandings and behaviours of actual women are expected to diverge from that ascribed identity as an expression of their freedom, difference, and the correctness of a theoretical approach which expects to be contested and contradicted. Moreover, the postmodernist, poststructuralist, set out to deconstruct the identity, in order to liberate. In other words, the more ridiculous the identity construct is, the

greater the opportunity for deconstruction, the more fitting the conscript, the less opportunity there is for deconstruction. Thus, they have no motivation to improve conceptual clarity. What Giddens called, the 'freedom to act otherwise', is here the expectation of being different, of subverting a (ridiculous) identity. The misplaced identity is to be neither reconstructed, nor abandoned and replaced by an improved one; simply, both the identity and its subjects are to be accepted equally despite their diverging from, indeed contradicting, each other. The essentialism that is actually spoken of here in this approach, is of concepts and theories; what are being argued as essential are failed, unreconstructed, concepts and theories.

Foucault's response to the above problems of identity formation and explanation of social processes, is to argue that identity itself is amorphous, shapeless and lacks any foundation in self; it is purely the external product of 'knowledge'. He argues that modern technologies of surveillance, medicine, psychology, social science, etc., establish identities more thoroughly than ever before, through knowledge formation and its imposition and adoption as regimes of the body. (Not many notice the irony in this; that sciences with explanatory problems evidenced by a lack of fit between explanations and its social object, is being said to become a more powerful determiner of behaviours that it does not explain.¹³) Knowledge formation, he argues, creates regimes of the body whereby people come to comprehend themselves and their own bodily needs in terms of these regimes, they come to control themselves through these regimes. As not only actions and understandings are determined by these knowledge, power regimes, but also needs and biological traits are too, there is no essential subject left which determines actions; the subject is decentred, viewed as a complete social construction. Not only the individual subject is controlled though regimes of knowledge, Foucault argues that the social order is so controlled and sustained.

This characterisation of identity formation and control, it should be obvious¹⁴, depends on the 'knowledge' that Foucault speaks of not, in fact, being knowledge at all. Indeed for Foucault, it is not clear if this is even partial knowledge; for him it is merely a claim to knowledge which,

to be determining of identity and social formations, must be either not knowledge, or at best very partial and inaccurate knowledge¹⁵. Were it knowledge people's identities would be appropriate and they would be acting optimally, achieving their maximum potential, and there would be no need to utilise the terms of power. However, Foucault argues that it cannot be concluded if people are acting appropriately because, his approach leads him to conclude, they have no essence, no identity, therefore no interests; the regimes of power/knowledge determine such things also, but where does this position his own theory within the regimes of power?¹⁶

Foucault, regardless of this overwhelming determination, argues that the exercise of power provokes opposition; therefore, he argues there are local conflicts over identities. What this yields is a move from a consensus explanation (of normative, structures of cohesive social integration), to conflict explanations (of contested knowledge, values and of the social order). What Foucault cannot provide, however, is a source for these conflicts, oppositions to identities, from within his explanation. How can people contest determining body regimes of identities when there is nothing from which to draw this opposition? Complete identity determination by regimes of truth requires complete plasticity of the subject itself, thus Foucault argues the death of the acting subject. There is a hint in Foucault that the source is in opposition to domination, which is little more than meaningless rhetoric if there is not source from which to recognise domination. Putting the matter so, indicates that Foucault's thesis can also be characterised as another dualistic regime of power; essentially one of consensus, of determining regimes of consensus, and another of conflict, of uncertain sources of opposition. What it does reveal, is that taking explanatory problems at their face value, and refusing to formulate more adequate explanations, especially while at the same time as wishing to provide an emancipatory critique, is an arid gesture.

Attempts to knit together, at best partial, incompatible accounts, resulted in contradictory explanations, paving the way for postmodern claims that it is the very nature of society itself to be contradictory. Which incurs the impossible difficulty of explaining apparently stable and

reproducing social processes through contradiction; contradiction cannot offer such, contradiction, also described as fragmentation, cannot be reproducing. Presenting the case for contradiction, Bauman writes that modernity:

"...gave birth to the multitude of uncoordinated and self-guided (local, parochial) rationalities which turned into the principle obstacles to universal rational order." (1995, p. 25)

In other words, postmodern society is the product of modernity, by the following route:

"a society which is 'modern' in as far as it constantly but vainly attempts to 'embrace the unembraceable', to replace diversity with uniformity and ambivalence with coherent and transparent order - and while trying to do this turns out unstoppably more divisions, diversity and ambivalence than it has managed to get rid of." (1993, p. 5)

It is easy to miss that what gives rise to postmodernity in this account is modern social theory; Bauman has misperceived modern, eschatological, sociological theories¹⁷ (the categories of which theorists are unable to reconstitute) for the society with which the theory exhibits embarrassing difficulties explaining. Bauman's arguments depend on confounding the theory for its object, society, which, combined with highly imaginative weaves of metaphors, form the basis for his explanation of the formation and worth of identity and identity pursuits within modern and postmodern society; scant evidence is offered in support. In this, is Bauman's approach really so very different from much of synthetic social theory, that of Parsons, Giddens, Alexander and Habermas, for instance? It certainly shares with it meta-theorisation and acceptance of problematic categories.

The construction of individual and society, which Weber envisaged, occurring through means-end social action schemata (thinking - planning - execution (conditions and means)), is common to theoretical endeavours through Parsons, Habermas, Giddens, Lash, Taylor, and Alexander. Giddens, for example, writes:

"Self-identity, in other words, is not something that is just given, as a result of the continuities of the individual's action-system, but something that is created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual." (1991, p. 52)

These reflexive activities can take into consideration the accounts of social theory, in a procedure that was earlier

called the double hermeneutic of first and second order accounts, introducing a feedback loop into theorisation and social processes¹⁸. While it could be expected that social theory would then proximate social processes more closely, as actors accept the wisdom of social theorists and accordingly modify their behaviours, this is not, surprisingly, what is being argued, and the above noted writers see the double hermeneutic as one reason why their explanations are seldom likely to accurately fit social practices. As Giddens notes, actors can always choose to act differently; that actors do choose to act differently they see as expression of their freedom, unfortunately this expression is meaningless in terms of the theory itself. Moreover, they contend, this very discrepancy, is in accord, with post-positivist conceptions of science, which reveal that there is no one-to-one correspondence between categories and theories, on one side, and their objects, on the other. Not to be undone by this, Giddens argues, that social actors are taking on the reflexivity of modernism (which he prescribes for sociology):

"Self-Identity is not a distinctive trait, or even a collection of traits, possessed by the individual. It is *the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography*. Identity here still presumes continuity across space and time: but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted by the agent." (1991, p. 53)

However, this brings Giddens, quite uncomfortable for him, closer to the theories of Lyotard (1989) and other postmodernists which posit that social reality is little more than a series of local narratives, all different and equally true. Giddens shies from this outcome turning to lifestyles, as mapped out in self-therapy and self-help guides, for a lifeline determiner of identity. Now the double hermeneutic is no longer with the science of society, sociology, but with psychology (pop psychology¹⁹ at that), and the explanatory focus shifts to residual categories, categories which can be defined within, but which cannot be explained within, a theory (Parson, 1937, pp.16-20), Giddens writes:

"I make fairly extensive reference to social research and practical 'guides to living', not as a means of documenting a definite subject-matter, but as symptomatic of social phenomena or trends of development I seek to identify. These are not just works 'about' social processes, but materials which in some part constitute them." (1991 p. 2)

These guides are bought on the open market, as are the identities they recommend for individuals: the choice of a lifestyle guides selection of the range of consumer products which it requires and also of occupation²⁰. Thus, what Giddens earlier singled out as a crucial restraint on lifestyle choices for many people, occupational location, he argues itself to be the result of lifestyle choices. While there may seem to be some justification to this, there is more to the matter than choosing a book from a shop to live by, and there is some need for the exercise of this choice and composure of behaviours in line with the texts' recommendation to be demonstrated, not simply asserted. As expressed, it is a circular, self-contradictory argument.

Habermas, as does Alexander, incorporate Parsons's work, for a synthesis of opposed sociological approaches, which he argued were fruitfully converging on common explanatory grounds. Habermas proposed communicative action and identity formation, and theorised society²¹ as composed of a lifeworld and a system world, each reflecting opposed perspectives, the first, those of social actors, the other, those of scientists; unhappily for him, his analysis leads him to conclude that the lifeworld, whose humane values, he had argued, were protected by being uncoupled from the system world, was in actual fact converging: with the system world. That in the life-world communicative action aimed at improved understanding was bringing increasing rationalisation of action, and that in the system world, increasing complexity brought by the socially structured process of science, capitalist market processes and bureaucratic legal procedures were bringing them closer together²². More tragically, with convergence of the two, Habermas saw the principles of communicative action being submerged under those of scientific and capitalist rationality. As others in the synthetic project, Habermas's findings are the very conclusions that he set out to thwart in the name of free social action, as did Weber, Parsons, Giddens, and, now, so does Alexander. Alexander writes:

"There certainly has been in enormous differentiation of culture, society and personality, and it is this differentiation that has allowed consciousness and rationality to emerge in the modern sense. The 'problem' for social theories of modernity however, is that the arbitrary, unconscious, fused, and, yes, irrational elements of culture have not at the same time disappeared....

Finally, there seems to be an abundant evidence that moderns still seek to understand the contingency of everyday life in terms of narrative traditions whose simplicity and resistance to change make them hard to distinguish from myths."

(Alexander 1985, p. 421)

In other words, there has been functionalist modernisation leading to the differentiation of levels of culture, society and personality, however, that is incomplete and its opposites persist, disrupting explanatory capacities. In addition, narratives continue to be developed by ordinary social actors to help them deal with these disruptive contingencies and impose order on their personal and social life. Unfortunately, the contradictions appear at the heart of the self also:

"The... way to conceptualise self autonomy in a more satisfactory way is to acknowledge the role of cultural internalisation while understanding that it allows the self access to collective representations that can be resources for its independence from social values and institutions."

(Alexander 1995, p. 146)

In other words, the very features internalised from culture through which an individual constructs a self-identity offer the individual the resources to act independently of these internalised features, to choose to do otherwise. Which means that the individual produces actions and understandings that are not meaningful in terms of the internalised social values, which act such that they undermine these internalised features, therefore disrupting their own very reproduction, destroying the means to their own (identity) creation²³.

In other words, meanings and action which are not positively integrated within the theory, are nonetheless necessary for the explanation of social practices located within the reproduction of social structures; it is hard to see where the meanings offering free and contrary action can provide resources when they are there to be dismissed by free and contrary action. Likewise, Lash writes:

"First-modernity²⁴ social relations are ideal-typically institutional, they are normative, they are functional for the reproduction of society.... second-modernity social relations are, in contrast, finalities. They do not function to reproduce society.... Second-modernity social relations have ontological depth: they do not betray normative functioning, but open out on to existential meaning.... In the second modernity the 'social

facts' of social relations are not the 'variables' so dear of positivism, but instead open out on to value-structure..."

(1999, p. 342)

Is this not contending that the reflexive subjects of second modernity are free and concerned with constructing identities, within the framework of (disorganised) capitalism, but neither the meanings they formulate nor the actions that they participate in, contribute to the reproduction of society? Does this mean that where for Giddens and others, society was the product of the actions of individuals, individuals now produce nothing, and very soon not even themselves?²⁵

When talking of the (narrative) construction of self-identity, Giddens turned to self-help guides to explain the process of transfer of social science knowledge²⁶ Bauman also cites self-help guides, alongside TV chat shows, and he too contends that work is displaced in importance for constructing identities, that identities are bought and sold on the consumer market, and are forever in flux:

"Given the intrinsic volatility and unfixity of all or most identities, it is the ability to 'shop round' in the supermarkets of identities, the degree of genuine or putative consumer freedom to select one's identity and to hold it as long as desired, that becomes the royal road to the fulfilment of identity fantasies."

(Bauman 2000, 83)

However, he continues, these identities are chosen from a limited range of commercial products and advertising of capitalism, from which some are excluded and frustrated (the poor powerlessly observe everyone else playing affluent identity games). Again, there is an embrace of contradictory positions; how is it possible for identities to be intrinsically volatile and unfixing, (or in the sense of his favoured metaphor, fluid) and yet be chosen from a restricted range, which lack authenticity, made available by capitalism? Even light capitalism, if we consider what is otherwise called post-Fordist, or disorganised capitalism, of flexible production (Amin 1944, Lash and Urry 1987), and designer products, provides, he argues, a sorely limited range of choice.

For the conclusions that Bauman draws he seldom offers evidence; of the importance of work for both identity and social reproduction he writes:

"Work can no longer offer the secure axis around which to wrap and fix self-definitions, identities and life-projects.

Neither can it be easily conceived of as the ethical foundation of society, or as the ethical axis of individual life.

Instead, work has acquired - alongside other activities - a mainly aesthetic significance. It is expected to be gratifying by and in itself, rather than be measured by the genuine or putative effects it brings to one's brother and sisters in humanity or the might of the nation and country, let alone the bliss of future generations."

(2000 p. 139)

Now this displacement may or may not be a correct interpretation of the worth of work²⁷ in a society that has undergone severe, neo-liberal restructuring, e.g., the U.K. the U.S., and the societies of the former Soviet bloc, with a lost sense of job security. We must enquire, however if its applicability is limited to sectors of the population, the long-term unemployed, of sectors subject to unstable employment, of age groups, for example? These sorts of issues are not considered, and instead, other than a concession that a small number of jobs may contribute to, and be rewarding for self-identity for a (fortunate?) few, there is a carte blanche statement that all work is displaced and meaningless for the vast majority.²⁸ Next, after expending 12 pages describing work as flexible, the capital and labour relation as cohabitation, not marriage, and the free movement of capital in and out of countries, he cites a 1991 study, categorising four types of work, the fourth, 'routine production workers fit his characterisation of work as meaningless, not the others.²⁹

There may be a sense in which science is narrative, but it is not the case that all narrative is science; Bauman writes:

"The passengers of the 'Light Capitalism' aircraft... discover to their horror that the pilot's cabin is empty and that there is no way to extract from the mysterious black box labelled 'automatic pilot' any information about where the plane is flying, where it is going to land, who is to choose the airport, and whether there are any rules which would allow the passengers to contribute to the safety of the arrival."

(2000, p.59)

Would we be completely wrong to think that we have come something of a full circle, that the course of theorising the history and society, down to the core of individual identity is actually an embarkation from, and return to market, liberal, if not neo-liberal, capitalism? Should we really be satisfied with this trend in social theory, in postmodern theories, that we really are subjects of a neo-liberal capitalist society of consumers buying to the persuasive tunes of lifestyle guides,

pop therapies, chat radio, the piper of advertising? It seems to have been a far and hard travelled journey over some very difficult terrain to have taken especially only to arrive back at the point of embarkation, missing the moral prescriptions. Indeed, we would seem to have arrived there with far less to show for all of the efforts applied, and to be no, if not less, closer to understanding what will actually bring us adequate explanations of identities, social practices, and so on, if we accept these sorts of flaccid arguments and conclusions. For Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Parsons and many others, class location and/or occupation were critical determiners of life chances, what is here called lifestyle. Now, for Giddens and Bauman, lifestyle choices are the determiners of class and / or occupational position, or, in other words, lifestyle is the prime determiner of life chances, lifestyle. It seems all too absurd.

Sociological theories of identity, identity formation, indeed of social practices generally, begin by offering the hope of a united explanation. Subsequent developments upon the difficulties inherent in these attempts do not offer substantial expansion of explanatory resources based on the resolution of their problems. They seem to afford instances which contradict theories to be actual, and not as much products of the theories themselves. All too frequently they do not actually address empirical situations, actual social practices, and all too often they make the features of their explanatory problems the content of their theories.

Improvising / Jazz Musicians Identities

The main problems of identity theory derive from its source in explanatory problems, an unwillingness to reconstitute theories and concepts, and a desire, first to apply them to very broad populations purportedly homogeneous, and then to present the resulting incoherence as though it were an explanation of the real world. Here, it is proposed that it is necessary to focus more sharply on a specific population, which should reveal a more cohesive social unit, and explanation.

Method and Sample

The core of this study is based first, on a sample of 48

musicians³⁰; 36 musicians interviewed in person, and a further 12 interviewed over the internet covering the same materials, conducted over the period 1998–2001, in Japan, New York and France. The face-to-face interviews were more extensive and interactive, than the internet ones, which covered core issues, and their elaboration. Information was also gathered from these and other musicians' published writings, interviews and their musical output. All of the subjects were professional musicians, most working in the avant-garde field of jazz, though 25% straddled both avant-garde and mainstream jazz and about 25% worked solely within mainstream jazz, as their musical identity. While most specialised in a particular instrument, or range of instruments, most were multi-instrumentalists. They were composed of varied nationalities; 46% U.S. citizens 10.5% French, 10.5% Japanese, 6 % Canadian, 6 % German, 6 .% Italian, 4 % Dutch, 4 % Swiss, 2 % British, 2 % Rumanian. While these musicians are based in cities, e.g., New York, Tokyo, Montreal, Marseilles, Koln, Vienna, for most, their arena of activity was international as well as local; they often toured, playing in the States, Europe, and Asia, thus, they are integrated into an international network of musicians, performance and recording; this paper will focus on these aspects. In addition, evidence was gathered using participant observation and observation of concerts and their preparations in Japan, and field work in the U.S., Germany and France, all providing supplementary data of interactional practice. Information was also extracted from the published writings, interviews and recorded output of other professional musicians working in the same field of music.

Jazz as a Musical Practice and Culture

In some senses it should be hardly surprising that some select a musical career in contemporary societies, where music is, in part due to broadcasting and recording technologies, all pervasive aurally; it would probably be necessary to make a conscious decision and effort not to hear music. In addition, music, heterogeneous in its variety, has a high visual and textual profile; television, film, newspapers, advertising, etc. Music has an obvious importance for many people³¹, with a secure place in the full spectrum of the educational system from early schooling, through university

to postgraduate and research levels, with institutions specialising in teaching music theory and performance skills³². Indeed, many parents choose, guided by varying ambitions, to pay for their children to take music lessons from a very young age, almost all of the respondents reported beginning their musical studies as children.

At the beginning of the 20th century in the U.S. there was a wide array of musical styles and practices derived from three continents, Africa, America and Europe. At the same time North American and European classical music was undergoing a profound transformation that would become increasingly varied and frenetic as the century progressed. Jazz was created in the U.S. from this very broad spectrum of music, drew on and added to many of its musical techniques, which provided an immense, heterogeneous, origin³³. This very richness that the preceding musical ensembles, from which jazz emerged, were playing meant that many musicians were knowledgeable of, and skilled in, playing a variety of styles, to fit various social events. This, and the fact that jazz amounted to more than the sum of its parts, also meant that musicians were willing to draw on multiple stylistic sources throughout the music's history to expand musical resources and maintain creativity.

Early jazz musicians revitalised the art of improvisation, and utilised syncopation and the driving rhythms of dance music; musicians were evaluated on their mastery of their instruments, ability to read, improvise and manipulate rhythmic accents. More than anything, these abilities needed to add up to a unique sound, fitting the musical context; each musician was expected to develop their own individual, authentic musical identity that could integrate with, and stimulate, other performers³⁴. Thus, such aesthetics were pointing the music in the direction of innovation and change, which soon became constant innovation and change. They also located the music firmly within the aesthetics of modernism, expression of an authentic self, creation of new elements of expression, new visions. What was true of the individual musician, was also the expectation for the jazz ensemble. The creations of these musicians become the starting resources, and musical problems, for succeeding musicians. That their creations are not simply disengaged value preferences; they are selections and choices made

within the context of the times, and more or less adequately address the limitations of the music, and do or do not expand its expressive capacities. In this sense, it came to be the aesthetic injunction in jazz, that the musician study its history in order to transcend, not repeat, it; the musician and ensemble who sounds merely like a preceding one is not considered to have achieved much, at worst to be plagiarising.

The early reception of jazz also impacted upon its identity. At its inception, and for the first three decades of its history jazz was widely condemned in U.S. society, it was associated with immorality, considered to be a low class cultural product and incurred a hostile reaction, being condemned on aesthetic and moral grounds, by 'proper' society (c.f., Berger 1947). The most positive reception in Europe was from rebellious artistic modernists who viewed jazz with interest and admiration; from the first two decades of the century, modern European aural and visual artists drew on non-European, musical and visual 'arts' for inspiration. For Stravinsky, Milhaud and Ravel, for instance, first ragtime and then jazz provided new themes, timbres and rhythmic ideas. The Swiss conductor Ansermet wrote³⁵ enthusiastically of a tour by the Southern Syncopated Orchestra and Sidney Bechet. Cubists, Surrealists, Dadaists and other modern artists were also attracted to jazz. Jazz was acclaimed in Europe by the modernists, who wove it into their musical, theatrical and visual artistic creations. Classical composers and musicians were stimulated to adopt features of the novel techniques jazz musicians created, in all instruments. The visiting musicians met and were openly admired by some of these artists, affecting their musical vision. Not just this, however, it would be wrong to think of the early jazz (indeed, later, also) musicians as having relatively constrained understanding of the wider musical environment and forms; ambitions that go back to Scott Joplin to write extended compositional pieces contradicts such. Peretti wrote of the time to the mid-20s:

"From the earliest years, jazz musicians were not content with making music on a small scale. Black jazz orchestras, featuring nine or more musicians, quickly achieved dominance in the North, as leaders drew on both southern jazz examples and the whole nation's rich orchestra and band traditions. The rise of orchestras hastened the advent of notated jazz and literate musicians.... Jazz band music rapidly increased in

complexity.... Creative leaders saw that the rise in literacy and musicianship opened new expressive possibilities. Jazz, therefore, became harmonically complex music in a matter of years. Western art music's recent interest in complex tonalities, chromaticism, and frequent modulation were quickly replicated in jazz." (Peretti 1992, p. 115-116)

There was a two way influence on the aesthetics of jazz, but it was an aesthetics created against the cultural backdrop of modernist conceptions of the creative artist, as the expressive individual, working against the everyday culture. Taylor characterises in terms of the self-defining subject, where the;

"realisation of his essence is a subject's self-realisation; so that what he defines himself in relation to is not an ideal order beyond, but rather something which unfolds from himself, is his own realisation, and is first made determinate in that realisation." (1975 pp, 17-18)

For some of the European modern artists this expression of jazz, was pure and primitive; closer to the subconscious and the natural, unspoiled by civilisation; they were, nonetheless, speaking of musicians from the industrial powerhouse of the States.

The music was created at a time when attitudes were shifting in the U.S. from an austere protestant ethic, to embrace consumption and leisure. This was also a time of rapid technological innovation; e.g., recorded music and radio; both enabled the music to rapidly reach a much larger audience in an aurally more direct way than ever before; music that would have taken many years to traverse the country could now do so in weeks if not days.. As Weber found notation to have an enormous impact on the development of Western art music³⁶, so recording technology had an enormous impact on jazz. It contributed to the hastening of innovation within the music, and provided a more direct aural transmission of the music, whereby musicians learned to play by listening to, transcribing and copying the style of their particular mentors. In the early years of jazz, the musician had a potential to make an income much higher than in any manual labour occupation, Peretti (1992) gives \$52.50 in 1922 and \$75 by 1928 as union rates³⁷. For this income, in the 20s, many musicians had to work in quite hazardous environments, in speakeasies, and amongst professional criminals³⁸.

In consequence of a rapid history of change, jazz now presents aspiring musicians with a plethora of styles and sub-styles which they can seek to adopt and to work on to develop their own voice. Rather than describe these in the common term of styles, elsewhere I attempted to speak of them as research programmes They can choose from within the confines of the characteristics which form its identity, or they can choose to seek to advance upon these characteristics.

The Historical Creations of Improvising Jazz Musicians

While it is commonplace to speak of different jazz styles, this term is inadequate to capture what these musicians were doing; it implies a fad or fashion, which the music they created was determinedly not. Perhaps adaptation of Lakatos's term research programme (Sutherland 1998) is more suited to what these musicians developed, as they constructed a clear theoretical perception and set out to explore sets of sound relationships and their effects. At the outset, these tended to come in succession; from early jazz, through big band, and swing jazz, to bebop. After bebop, however, programmes tended to coexist simultaneously; bebop, cool jazz, hard bop, free jazz, modal jazz, fusion jazz, neo-bebop, avant-garde jazz, and neo-classicism³⁹ being currently the main co-existing ones. These offer distinct sets of musical resources which musicians can pursue in the creation of their own distinctive sound and musical forms, either singly or in some forms of combinations, the latter can include drawing on musical practices from completely outside of jazz, e.g., some musicians are currently combining Klezmer with avant-garde jazz and harmonies derived from bebop, others are drawing on non-European musics to combine with jazz; Japanese, Okinawan, Thai, Indian, North-African, for example, and, or, incorporating recent developments in sound creating technologies, e.g., sound samples processed through incredibly powerful laptop computers.

While the current jazz world is quite eclectic, it is also overlapping and can be subdivided into three main areas of activity, with some overlap between the first and the second and the second and the third, in terms of venues and recording labels. This is a construct that has arisen over time in response to the musics created by the musicians, and the respective audiences. It now confronts new musicians as

something that needs to be negotiated, and accommodated in order to establish themselves within this world. While it is easy to distinguish this within New York, it is also found in Japan, and Europe⁴⁰, for example. These differences distinguish the music in terms of technique, repertoire and incomes. With venues, for New York, by far the largest of these would be the mainstream, which is more tonally oriented jazz, with firmly established musicians working on bebop, hard bop, modal and cool jazz programmes, or their combination. Booking for new artists is usually through agents, private contacts, recommendations when booked acts are suddenly forced to cancel, or, less often, having appeared there as side-musician in another established group and impressing the owner/manager of the venue. The few free or avant-garde jazz musicians who appear here are the most established ones, e.g., Cecil Taylor, Steve Lacy, who have achieved some fame and can attract the audience these venues require. These are some of the best known venues world-wide; most in the mid-town area of Manhattan, charging between \$20 and \$35 per show, with shows running of the same artists from Tuesday to Sunday⁴¹. These are the famous Blue Note⁴², classic Village Vanguard, the Sweet Basil⁴³ the stylish Iridium, the Jazz Standard, Birdland, Smoke, and the Lennox Lounge (the last is in Harlem). (There are also restaurants, which feature some of the same mainstream, usually duo or solo with no music charge, e.g., the Metronome, Knickerbocker, Zinnos and the Internet Cafe.) The determiners of who will play these venues are business connections, audience pull and aesthetics in that order; the first comes through booking agencies and established connections with the artist, the second is the size of the audience that that artist can attract and the fee that they charge⁴⁴. Next, is neoclassical jazz, based in the Lincoln Center, which focuses on retrospectives, an Ellington season, a Louis Armstrong, or promotion of retro-productions, with the most recent being bebop, or early 1960s modal jazz of the style of Miles Davis or John Coltrane; there is some aesthetic and musician overlap between the Lincoln centre and the mainstream music and musicians. The concerts are run very much along similar lines to the classical concerts at the Lincoln Center, with concert series ticket, of \$85 to \$185 for the series, sold for 3 individual performance spread over weeks or months. Lastly, there is the avant-garde scene, sometimes called

Downtown, jazz which features in much smaller, very sparsely decorated, venues, charging between \$5 and \$15 dollars per single show, but more often for an evening's performance; e.g., the Knitting Factory Old Office, Tonic, Roulette, and Comelia Street Cafe⁴⁵. The aesthetic of these venues is experimental jazz, with little restriction on the types of music that can be played; free-jazz, atonal, polytonal, micro-tonal, and tonal jazz as well as jazz in combination with Klezmer, or any other style of music finds a welcome here. Avant-garde jazz combined with other arts, e.g., performance, dance, poetry, painting, film, etc., is also presented here. This reflects the overlap with the avant-garde of the classical world, which is also performed in culture centres and art galleries around Soho⁴⁶ and elsewhere, as does the way that some of the concerts are organised, for example, established avant-garde jazz musicians curate musical series in Tonic⁴⁷ and of music. A few of the musicians who appear here will appear in the established mid-town venues, most often as side-musician, except where they have managed to establish a strong reputation and audience. The method of entry for new musicians here is either by sending promotion materials, usually with a very high chance of success⁴⁸. However, a major determining factor is the aesthetic of the music, experimental or avant-garde music.

Becoming a Jazz, Improvising Musician

In the literature on identity, there is a sense in which identity is, especially with the politics of identity; whether there is a constructionist or essentialist understanding of these identity, these are constructs of a completed identity that is thought to apply to everyone. That for are a women, regardless of whether the identity is seen as deriving from essential features or is a social construction; that identity is a given, if not imposed by society. There is no sense in which identity is developed, invested in and eventually, becomes embraced and embracing. It is within the boundaries of the music, that the jazz musician works.

Seldom did the musicians interviewed commence studying music intending to become a jazz musician, the vast majority began study of an instrument, most often playing classical music. Most began to play an instrument very early in life,

some as a result of their parents deciding that it is important, and with the value of classical music being generally unquestioned in contemporary societies, this was often the parent's music of first choice for their children to study. After, some years of study and hearing various pieces and styles of music, the child then begins to select which means the most, communicates the most, for them.

Sometimes, this can be as much from repulsion of the music they have been playing as the attraction of another style:

"Some of the reasons why I wanted to break away from classical had nothing to do with the music at all. I was tired of classical people's bureaucracy. The faculties in many conservatories in Japan think classical is the best music and other musics are silly - even if they haven't listened to them.

It is not easy to get into a conservatoire, which requires an entrance exam and an audition. If we want to enter a particular conservatoire, we are expected to take lessons with that conservatoire's faculty, at least for one year before the audition. Of course, we don't have to, but there is a space on the application form where we fill in the teacher's name, and we know it might be very difficult to pass the audition unless we study with the faculty there. There are some other strange things going on, like a faculty member hinted that she could pass me in the audition if I paid some money to the school, under the table.

I was 18 years old, and I just couldn't stand to be in that constitution. I began to doubt whether written classical music was my music, and I wanted to try to improvise instead of playing music that I cannot feel is mine. So I decided to follow my own ideas, and not the secure, guaranteed life by the conservatoire's certificate." (Fujii 1998)

She had begun to study classical music and enjoyed improvising at the piano as a child. Her parents ambitions were for her to become a classical pianist, but she came to feel that classical music was not her music, that it did not express her, thus she returned to improvising, and jazz appeared to offer the route to improvising without limits. A Swedish interviewee put it this way:

"Improvising appealed to me, because I always wanted to make my own music. I started with classical music, but thought this was restricting me too much. I could more easily express myself in jazz music, also with this rhythmical approach."

Thus, improvisation and jazz offered a way to develop a uni-

que voice with more heterogeneous rhythmic possibilities.

Where the initiative to play jazz came from a child at an early age, the vision of reason was often related to early contact with jazz, or a variety of musics including jazz:

"There was a lot of jazz in the house when I was a child, and I liked the sound. There was that sound... There were all kinds of jazz played in our house when I was young, Lester Young, Billie Holiday, Chet Baker, Parker, Duke Ellington, Armstrong, and many more. I was fascinated with the sound, it was the sound..."

The trumpeter Dave Douglas commented in an interview:

"I try to make the instrument as much like a human voice as I can, and that's been the goal for me from the beginning. The first thing that I remember playing on the trumpet was the song '*All of Me*,' and trying to recreate the Billie Holiday version of it that I had listened to probably from the age of six or seven."

(1999)

It was common for such vivid, impressive memories to be spoken of concerning music heard in childhood that influenced these musicians. That music was not always jazz, and on occasion it was not what might be thought music that sparked music's attraction, simply sounds and witnessing admired performances. A Romanian musician replied to why he decided to become a musician with:

"Well, first of all, I started as a kid to listen to a lot of folk music what was going on in my village at that time. Weddings, and parties of all kinds. As far as I can remember, I was 3 or 4 years old when my parents took me to such occasions. I was so fascinated about the musicians and the music, that I was just listening hours and hours their repertoire. Sometimes they played fast or slow dances, ballads or marches, also a lot of odd meters like, 10/8 or 7/8, a lot of different stuff. I was lucky to have the chance to even go to some rehearsals of the musicians and wonder how they can play together and enjoy the music. It was sometimes like a session, people (musicians) started to do a kind of... who's the "fastest" player, the nicest ballad player and everybody had a good time....

At weddings I just sat watching the musicians, just watching the musicians play, and I thought I want to be one of them, I am going to be one of them, a musician."

The Dutch musician Michael Weisvisz's described his entry into music, and first contact with jazz:

"My father... was an amateur radio operator, and had all these short-wave receivers at home... to communicate with his friends. It was their internet.... You heard all those burbles and squeaks.... All those sounds were fantastic. When we were three or four years old my father would take us on his knee and explain these sounds came from very far away. That was not a concept we really understood, so he explained the sounds were coming from behind the factory on the other side of the street. When I got to be a little older, I started looking behind that factory, and discovered that the people over there made the same sounds on our side. You could say I've been looking to recover those sounds ever since...."

The first things I remember listening to were by Louis Armstrong. I think at that time he didn't take to *Bells* by Albert Ayler, which was really the first record that I had...."

(Whitehead 1998, p. 93)

Sometimes these early influences can be heard in the music of each player now, in their manner of playing and or tone, the last musician creates electronic sound manipulating devices and uses these to improvise.

There is in these quotes the main elements creating an attraction to the music; in coming to make decisions that array of intimate experiences are important, this includes the background musical culture. There is sometimes an abstract interest in pure sound itself as well as in sound as music, a sense of emotion in the music, desire to copy and reproduce the meaning of the sound in the same or another form, the instruments, musician on a stage the focus of public admiration who are able to impact strongly especially with social celebrations, that this is a musical culture.

All of the musicians spoken to invested a considerable amount of time as children and teenagers studying, and practising. They were praised and it became a part of the way that others saw them. This kind of recognition of success engendered confidences, pride and helped maintain the stamina; of course many children begin to study music, but not all continue, and not all succeed so well; every one of the respondents were highly achieved musicians. However, some of those who continue do so because in the music they succeed; as the pianist Marilyn Crispell commented:

"I never chose this profession deliberately. Music was what I did best. Everything else seemed like a waste of time."

(Crispell, 1993)

An interviewee replied:

"We had a grand piano at home and I always wanted to play it. It was also very easy for me to learn that instrument, so maybe the instrument chose me and not the other way around. I never made the grown up person's choice of it."

In a sense, all of this effort in learning, attuning oneself to the music comes to take over, to become controlling; that it becomes to be seen as a necessary life destiny to be fulfilled. After devoting a considerable proportion of their waking life to learning, weaving their music skills and developing love for music, into cloth of their self-image, identity, of their perceptions of the extent of their confident abilities and opportunities, and having been carefully, lovingly groomed in their special skills and 'gifts' by parents and teachers, (which did not always translate into the idea of their becoming full-time musicians, due to uncertainty over questions of job security), it began to look like a career in music was what they were personally created to become. they had established a love of music and audition.

Why Select Jazz or Improvised Music to Build an Identity on?

The age at which the decision to become a professional jazz musician varied, usually as modification of an earlier decision to become a professional musician. After the investment of an enormous amount of time and effort, weaving their music skills into their perceptions of their range of abilities and opportunities, came the decision to play jazz. Usually the spur was something specific; either something very different or something they thought was very uniquely theirs. Like Fujii's repulsion of the classical music establishment in Japan, and her earlier experience of improvising as a child which she thought she had lost, but in addition she was inspired by both, her teacher who had resigned his position as dean of the piano department at Tokyo College of Art and Music to play jazz, and the jazz pianist Fumio Itabashi, to commit herself to jazz improvisation. Others spoke of the change more as a sort of revelation, a realisation of new, exciting musical techniques and soundscapes. Marilyn Crispell described the change in her career as partly the result of have being loaned some jazz LPs:

"One night... I put on A Love Supreme and something, the spirit

of it, just caught me. I was twenty-eight years old and, ah, I said to myself, I have to learn to play this music I loved it so much." (Motion 1988 p. 180)

Recounting how she developed her own musical voice she said, speaking to a friend:

"I told him, if I were going to improvise this is how I'd do it, and I improvised atonal stuff the way I do now. I said it's really crazy, nobody would listen; he said, it's OK, you can do that, but I went no, no, no! Then, later I heard a Cecil Taylor record and it was - YES, YES, YES! Like a door opening.

He [Cecil Taylor] was in the ping-pong room, so I went into the practice room next door and started playing. I played for fifteen, twenty minutes, knowing that he'd be out there listening, playing what I felt was my best, being on top every second, like you'd communicate to a soul mate.

When I came out he was standing there. He said, 'Uh, this lady can really play,' and he kissed my hand. I was in seventh heaven!... But... I was awe-struck by him and I had a lot of trouble talking to him, so I used to write him poetry and once gave him rose." (Motion 1988 p. 179)

Another pianist interviewee put the same experience in similar terms;

"When I heard Taylor's piano it was there, that was it, that was the direction I was looking for... it was like a whole new way, it was so complex, the world was spinning about in there, and so much was being said. I listened to every piece of Taylor's recordings I could get my hands on, again and again, and I went to hear him live. It gave me another part of my voice, my way of playing..."

She became acquainted with Cecil Taylor, and played with some of the musicians he played with regularly... but this was her voice she played; Taylor's music has opened the door that was blocking their advancing their own voice.

Jazz from very early on was an ambitious, open ended music, and any attempts to the contrary, to give it a restricted identity; a succinct and unambiguous set of confining aesthetic criteria, within the music of a definite period of its history has been vigorously opposed and had minimal effect on restricting the music's development⁴⁹. It is the openness, its potential that continually attracts many musicians to it, pianist Satoko Fujii's comments are typical:

"I use the word "jazz" for music that has improvisation and also can include any culture and can develop all the time. "Jazz" is

not the thing that we can see in a museum. With this definition, jazz is life and life is jazz." (1998)

These remarks were typical of the musicians interviewed; that jazz offered a strong musical history, that it pointed in an open direction, capable of being combined or coloured by the tones and timbres of other music, that it was a part of the musicians' lives.

The importance of jazz, playing jazz as a musical identity and career was expressed in two different ways, one by a respondent the other a musician in interview:

"Music liberates me, and through it, I hope to keep pursuing what I truly want to do, being free from whatever in the world. Spiritual liberation is the greatest reward I get through music."

On another occasion the same musician said:

"I love music. I love what I do and I live to play music. Music is my life, my life is my music. And, in this music, I can do what I want. It is my music."

Identity can be expressed in the negative also, as a loss; when this extremely deep identification with the music is disrupted, called into question for some reason, and there can be many, e.g., lack of wider recognition, failure of an extremely important project, or something as debilitating as drugs. In an interview the very famous jazz bassist, Gary Peacock said in response to the interviewer reminding him that in the late 1960s he had abruptly ceased performing.

"The music ended for me, essentially. It just ended. There was no more music in my life. I wake up in the morning and it wasn't there. That was coincident with serious health problems, serious, essentially an identity crisis. I was looking and trying to find out who I was and what was really my life about. I think for the most part it had to do with essentially a nervous and a physiological breakdown. I got involved at that time with Zen microbotics and I knew that I had to create a different base. I had to reorder my life and to get my feet on the ground and I had to stay there for a while. I still did some playing during that, about a six year period. I played with Miles at the Vanguard and in Philadelphia at the Showboat. What else was there? Oh, and then going to Japan and doing some recording there. But my heart really wasn't that much in it so it was ridiculous to stand up and pretend. So it took about six years for me to actually get my health back together. I would like to say to whosoever listening that I absolutely credit alcohol and drugs as the means by which I found myself in that

state."

(1999)

After working strenuously to construct an identity as a jazz musician, and attaining widespread recognition as an extremely imaginative, talented one, working for over 10 years with many of the top players in mainstream and avant-garde jazz a crisis, which he attributes to severe drug and alcohol problems but perhaps the sense of crisis within jazz itself - which appeared to be being supplanted by rock music at the end of the 1960s - was a contributory factor, found him with no sense of empathy with music any longer. A central anchor of his personal identity had been destroyed and vanished and he was left without a sense of direction and purpose, something that he had to slowly, successfully, reconstruct; currently, he is one of the foremost bass players in the mainstream and avant-garde jazz world.

Establishing and Advancing a Career as a Jazz Musician

Becker, in his study of the dance musician begins by citing Hughes' definition of a career, it is; "...objectively... a series of statuses and clearly defined offices... typical sequence of positions, achievement, responsibility, and even of adventure... Subjectively, a career is the moving perspective in which the person sees his life as a whole and interprets the meaning of his various attributes, actions, and the things which happen to him."(1963 p. 102) Within the classical world, for example, there is a clearly established route into a career,⁵⁰ and foreseeable progressions through stages. For the aspiring jazz musician there is a pattern that can be envisaged from the experiences of preceding jazz musicians, with the route in, path through, and levels of attainment afforded, strongly patterned by the musical identity which the musician chooses to pursue. Within the jazz world there is a perception of a career hierarchy of musicians whose status⁵¹ reflects their incomes and performance and recording opportunities; within each recognised style there is a hierarchy from the top players, who can attract large audiences, sell recordings well and attain substantial publicity in the music press, for example. Most of these play within the more mainstream forms of jazz, there are a few who have achieved this high star status within the less popular styles, but they are far fewer than those playing in more mainstream jazz. These are the ones who many musicians strive to emulate and transcend in their

musical abilities, if not also their star achievements. Knowing that these very same musicians, who they are in awe of, had to struggle through hardship at the beginning, and sometimes also during, their careers strengthens their resolve to struggle on when the going is tough; when the audiences, the concert promoters, the critics, are not giving them the recognition they hope to, or think they deserve to, achieve.

There are a number of entry routes into the jazz world and ways to make an income, which do not have to be pursued in isolation, but can be in some combination, and each with effect for the construction of a musical identity, that is slowly constructed over time and through association with venues, other musicians played and recorded with; the recognised musical identity of venues and players begins to reflect back on, and colour the construction of the musical identity of a musician, opening opportunities in one direction, and closing them off in other directions. Musicians select with more or less care to strengthen their identity, as they see it personally and through the eyes of others. As the career progresses, musicians accumulate a history of associations, some of which can be carefully composed into a biographical and promotion pack, which, with some demo recordings, can be sent to venues, international festivals, agents, recording companies and/or established musicians, ensembles. This is generally an ongoing practice, for self-promotion; the pack needs to be continually added to to show chronologically expanding achievements which translate into an expression of musical identity.

Similar to their classical counterparts, musicians who study in conservatories or music colleges, are in contact with other musician, in a similar situation to themselves, or, as their teachers, who have achieved some recognition in the music world. With the former, they form informal and formal ensembles and begin to practice, jam, compose and, occasionally, to organise these into more stable and enduring groups. The importance of these relationships is not so much in, if at all, what they achieve in the present, but what enduring musical associations that they secure for the future, when they may offer valuable contacts, performance opportunities, recommendations to others, ensembles or

performance locations in need of players, especially at short notice. In addition to this there are the teachers, conservatories with jazz programmes, especially the most famous in the states, employ noted jazz musicians to teach courses. Despite the fact that jazz aesthetics have been the subject of the same sorts of revolutions and critiques that led to uncertain and relativised values in the visual art world, contrary to the findings of Adler (1975), these musician-teachers had achieved the peak of jazz aesthetics within their own selected jazz research programme, they displayed considerable musicianship and knowledge, and they also imparted that to their student with enthusiasm and/or unique manner gave them sustained credibility. (As well as connecting with the established musicians through further educational institutes, it was also possible to do this as a private student, usually studying in the teacher's home, where there is more likely to be an affinity between the teacher's and the student's musical identities.) More pertinent than this was that they themselves, the teachers, were usually still very active working musicians, with important connection to other musicians on the scene, with recording companies, performance spaces, festival organisers, and offered name value when succeeding to become part of the teacher's performance or recording projects, or arranging with them a joint recording⁵², all added to the credence of the musicians in the eyes of the student wishing to break into the scenes. These links, of course, were as rich as the teacher's own musical identity, whether the teacher is a specialist or an eclectic

Creating a Unique, Established Voice, Identity

Above, it was argued that there was a movement from group, to collective identity, to a stress on difference for its own sake, which was a difference from the theorised identity, and then onto a highly personalised, self-identity that was neither productive for the society from which it is said to draw its resource, and eventually not even for itself. Here, there is a question of developing a unique aspect of identity, a musical identity which is recognised as different from all others. This could easily, but not with much explanatory worth, be interpreted within the framework of that theoretical framework of difference. What it is more worthy to realise is that this was the creation of a voice, of a

unique musical resources that contributed to, that is seen as contributing to, the heritage of improvising jazz music. That it is, at the same time, seen as engaging with the music, and capable of being integrated with the sounds of other musicians⁵³; after all, unless the musician performs **exclusively** as a solo artist, an almost impossible task, if their voice is so extremely unique, they will not find musicians who they can perform with, a particularly critical problem at the outset of a career. The history of improvising jazz music suggest, that from the existing resources of any particular time, more than one, usually a group of musician initiate a new direction simultaneously⁵⁴.

Music teachers, especially when these were or had been professional improvising musicians themselves, were seen as one of the connections that could lead the aspiring student into the world that they so coveted, although here also there is a connection with the individual's musical voice, which is sometimes the discovery of. One musician remarked at being so disturbed at times at not being able to play what McCoy Tyner could play, they paraphrased the conversation with the teacher, Paul Bley, thus:

"When I told Paul that I became so frustrated that I could not play like [McCoy] Tyner. That it was impossible. No matter how much I listened to his music, watched him play and tried to play like him I could not succeed. Paul replied: 'Why do you want to sound like McCoy Tyner, there already is a McCoy Tyner out there and he is the best one, he already does that very well. Do we need another McCoy Tyner? No, we don't, he does that better than anybody. But we do need you to play like you, and nobody else. Why don't you want to play like you? Go out and learn to play you, why don't you do that?' He was right. I knew he was right. But that is not so easy to do, you know. I needed to work more hard than before to get where I played me."

No matter how much study and practice she applied to the effort, she could not master what she heard of McCoy Tyner, despite the impossibility of this task she had set, that of developing her own voice was even more immense. Indeed it is not so easy, and the longer that jazz is played and the more musicians that play in their own voice, the more models there are which the musician does not want to sound like. However, there are also more resources to build on, to utilise to develop a unique voice, the horizons of the possible

have been expanded. Creativity is never easy, discovering new solutions to problems, perhaps old persistent problems is never easy, and demands recognition and to be given due credit where achieved. This is precisely what this musicians did, she redoubled her efforts in study and practice, and developed her own highly unique, inventive voice, and is now beginning to be acclaimed as a creative, energetic musician in her own right; this would have been impossible had she succeeded to sound like Tyner.

One of the time honoured methods of entry is by going to clubs with an instrument, especially the clubs that have open jam session or some of the smaller clubs which welcome all comers, where they can meet and play with a variety of musicians. Many of these will also be novices searching for experience, a space to be heard in, and other musicians to play with and learn from in the process. Some of the more firmly established musicians play there because they have a connection with the club, that is where they started, or the club is reputed for talented young musicians, and they want to maintain contact with younger musicians, to have cross fertilisation of new ideas or to find new talent.⁵⁵ A good many musicians would attend clubs with their instruments, hoping for a chance to 'sit in', to play with the band, hoping to impress. While the route into an acclaimed, established ensemble is more often by invitation or audition, musicians are sometimes hired through 'sitting-in.' Joanne Brackeen related joining Art Blakey's Jazz Messengers thus:

"I went out to hear him play. His piano player was new and seemed to be lost. I heard in my ear what the piano player should have been playing. So I walked up to the bandstand and asked the piano player if it was OK if I played. After that, Art hired me. He was the first person I played with who understood my sense of rhythm" (2000)

Every jazz musician at the start of, indeed throughout, their career has to confront the problem of finding venues, both in their home city and in the wider circuit, where they can play and present their music, one way to solve this problem locally is to create a space, which can be a venue. Examples of this are the New York Loft Scene, where musicians played together in their own loft apartments⁵⁶, which began as jam/practice sessions among the 50s and 60s, later becoming open to the public as a way to create a space

for their music which lacked a venue, or sufficient venues, and earn incomes. In Holland, in the late 1960s early 1970s, the younger improvising musician challenged the older established musician, captured the jazz musicians organisation, with its government financial support, and opened a club, set up their own record label, and established a wholly new environment for improvising jazz musicians (Whitehead 1998). In the U.K., some avant-garde jazz musicians, including Evan Parker, established a jazz club in the local tennis club so they could ply to an audience, and produce concerts by established jazz musicians. The creation of a space has been as organised as this, but it has also been more flexible; both John Zorn and Lol Coxhill busked in the streets, of New York and London, to be able to perform and earn an income. The critical element in creating a space, especially when it is commandeering a public space for a music whose identity has either a very limited or no public profile or space, is what is done with this. The loft scene recorded and published some of the live performances, Parker and his colleagues, did likewise and applied for art council grants to support touring and their performances, Zorn used the income to promote his career, carefully and prudently.

A very small minority in the jazz world make a level of income commensurate with the level of their educational attainment. For those who graduate through university or the conservatoire, their incomes are nowhere near the average of the average college graduate, it involves a struggle, that for some continues on for many years, they make ends meet, and sometimes they do not. For example, the pianist Marilyn Crispell said:

"...but every year it's getting a little better. People are beginning to recognise my name. I've been in this scene for twelve years. Sometimes relatives help me out so I can pay the rent. I have also worked different jobs in order to survive. I have worked in restaurants and once I worked as telephone operator. That was horrible!" (1993)

After 12 years working as a pianist, having released approximately 12 disks under her own name, appeared on an other 21 as a side-musician and performed with many of the more famous in the free jazz world, she still was not able to support herself from music. Having said that, when asked, "Do you see your work in relation to concepts like emanci-

pation? Did you want to cross boundaries, free yourself from dependencies and traditional ties?" in a context that should be expected to direct attention towards issues of gender and feminism, she replied:

"For me jazz is a part of emancipation. The more I progressed, the more I had to learn how to handle this new, great freedom. I was seeking forms that did not dominate the music so that I could develop it from its own inner logic. I like the interaction between set structure and improvisation. I am convinced that musical freedom is only bearable against the background of great musical experience. You have to know what you're doing and you have to know the reasons why you are not doing something. For me it was impossible to simply play Bebop, although Bebop had once been revolutionary music and a great liberation. But for me Bebop is the expression of its time, which I don't know, which has nothing to do with me. I live in a different time and it is my responsibility to find my own expression." (1993)

Thus, she is expressing herself and the times in music; it is the identity of her in tune with the period in which she lives, and that is emancipating, even if it is not financially emancipating. What she does is defined positively, as emancipation and expression, and negatively, as not bebop, which neither expressed neither her nor the times, a particularly telling point, given that the 1980s had witnessed a revival of bebop hurtling some onward into affluent careers, with secure contracts with major labels.

Musicians Association/Networks

In order to pursue a musical identity within jazz requires the establishment of networks of relationships with as wide a range of people as possible within, or important for, the career that they have committed themselves to pursuing to the exclusion of other opportunities.⁵⁷

Usually beginning during their education - whether formal or private with tutors - jazz musicians begin to make contact with other learning and or working musicians, like minded or otherwise, who they perform with, simultaneously learning ensemble interpersonal and musical skills. On establishing and pursuing careers, expanding and maintaining contact networks of musicians working within the same, similar and adjacent musical identities provides (a) a more extensive

range of potential recruits to ones' own ensemble projects⁵⁸ members; (b) enhanced opportunities to be either employed or recommended as a side-musician either temporarily or permanently (especially to established or highly regarded ensembles or leaders); (c) enhanced likelihood to be recommended for gigs in venues or festivals, especially at short notice, which may be at critical times for a persons career; (d) like-minded musicians whose skills, ideas, achievements, music, etc., are respected afford reinforcement (which may be mutual) on the quality and aesthetic importance of projects and performance, and where this group has, or is gaining, in widespread recognition the power of the support (or criticism) is accordingly magnified; and (e) provides more intimate information on musical trends, potential future venues, recording companies, social and musical trends (new venues or labels opening or old ones in crisis, people who cannot be trusted within the business), and the like. It is now increasingly important that such a network of musicians is not confined to the city where the musician lives, even if that is New York, but is international.

Equally, respondents reported it valuable to cultivate relationships with owners / managers / key staff of venues⁵⁹, record company owners and/or staff; jazz and other music promoters; jazz and other music critics working on magazines, newspapers, etc., especially which discuss and review work within the musician's identity range; record store owners/managers of specialist stores or sections in stores managers, and others. The value of these sorts of connections, greatest at the earliest stages of a career, remains, to varying degrees, imperative throughout the years of a developing careers, especially for the vast majority of players for who the peaks of the profession attained by an exceedingly small minority is unattainable; indeed the very musical identity that they cherish and pursue most likely excludes the success of the likes of Miles Davis, or currently Keith Jarrett⁶⁰. The respondents of this study were nowhere near this level of attainment, their identity was more modestly located, and they talked of maintaining the above sets of relationships as crucial to the pursuit of their career, which was as they envisaged it, without excessive compromise. After all, most of these musicians took a decision to pursue a musical identity that presented no prospect of attaining either high monetary returns or a mass

audience who buy copies of every CD issued, and who pay high ticket prices to attend concerts en masse. As one bassist said:

"What we do will never be popular, no way, it will never pull in a big audience, but that's cool, it's what we do, it's our music, what we have worked to create and play. It's what we hear, it speaks of our experience, and our families' experiences are in there too, that is why I wrote X. It is the music that comes from there, and it is uniquely ours. The show has to go on no matter how few there are there, but you need to dig in and pull it out of you. You need to produce the same music even if there is only one person, and as you saw in New York that is not always as the club owner sees it. But you can't let it get to you [he looked wistful at this point and hesitated...] Mingus had a hard time man, they threw him out of his apartment, onto the street, did you know that? But he was a tough cat, kept right on there... he played so much, man he played... I learned a lot from Mingus in LA. He showed me things and he knew the business.... We used to hang out together, sometimes jam together...."

The drummer Joe Labarbera remarked that music has:

"...to be something that you can't live without. I mean, that's number one as far as discovering whether or not music is for you, because I can't even begin to describe to you how difficult it is to get started in this business. You just got to be naive, a little stupid maybe, but willing to persevere anything to have the opportunity to perform, and the performance is the reward. Again, from Bill, he told me early on that you work very hard at the music. He showed me this by example, and all of the benefits that you're going to get are going to come from that hard work. It's not like you sit down and say, 'Well, I've got to write this kind of tune or play this kind of music and I'll make X amount of dollars.' Rather, you find out what it is that truly motivates and fulfils you as a performer and the benefits will come from that. If they don't, you simply have to accept the music itself as your reward because you will get precious little else from it. It's a difficult business. Fortunately for me and for a lot of players those benefits do come. Nobody's getting rich, but were enjoying what we do and that in itself is a gift, because I meet a lot of people in my life that make a ton of money, but they always are struck by the fact that they see a musician doing exactly what he wants to do with his life and being happy doing it. That is worth a whole lot of money."

(2001)

Interestingly, as did many of the musicians I spoke with, he

puts the point that it is difficult to enter and make a living in the music business, but at entry people think of the future and work towards that future goal with hope and faith in their own abilities, a passion to pursue a career that they consider to be critical to their identity. There was also the contrast with the alternative range of employment opportunities available to them, and the view that there was little to be preferred of the other conditions and rewards that accompanied the stable income they offered; in brief, the alternatives did not offer the expressive freedoms that they had spent so much of their lives carefully cultivating. That being improvising jazz involved them doing just that, doing what they wanted to do, and they sacrifice lack of income (perhaps hoping it would be short-lived), if necessary, but certainly it was not preferred⁶¹.

Live Performance

By their selection of a particular musical identity, research programme, involves a narrowing of the range of venues available to a musician and, at least until their career become firmly established and they have attained a level of widespread recognition there is a consequent limitation of possible incomes; those who chose identities that fit the more mainstream jazz, have the immediate potential to work in the larger, better paying venues, than those who select the avant-garde, free jazz streams, where the venues are smaller, and pay less. Equally, though, for the latter, playing in these avant-garde venues offers access to a core committed audience who value the apparent lack of commercialism. The latter musicians, less likely to fully agree, dismiss the mainstream - avant-garde venue distinction, and hope of attaining wider recognition (none have any illusions of mass appeal) by producing novel and creative work, of to them great worth; they would certainly like to receive much better incomes, commensurate with their years of investment in practice and training. However, as for attaining wider public recognition, the former venues are more likely to be attended by critics of the more prominent jazz magazines, and the newspapers than the latter ones are. More than this, while few, if any, of the venues have pristine, perfect facilities, those in the avant-garde, free jazz streams generally the poorest provisioned, musically pianists suffer most having to cope with old, often ill-tuned pianos, which means that any

critics who do attend need to see beyond the limits of the situation.

For the improvising jazz musician, all of their training, practising, effort at constructing and creating their own musical identity point towards performance, sound produced in time and social space, the performance. Goffman (1959) carefully distinguished between front regions and back regions; what occurs in the front is the product of careful, secretive preparation in the back to give an illusion of reality, implied of course is that the back is somehow more real, true than the front, as revealed in Goffman's constant discovery that the self presented was actually a false self. While there is truth in this, it is in fact a limited one; it is not that there is a true reality behind stage that must be covered up to present a contrivance on stage, nor is it the case, as the postmodern theorists argue no reality, nor is there, as Foucault argues, on stage presentation of sets of social practices determined by discourses of power inscribed into the body⁶², nor is there a sphere of social action being invaded by principles - of commodification and instrumental rationality.

There is more of a continuity between the back and front regions; from observation of rehearsal times and discussing with the musicians interviewed, what is critical is that at each stage, there is first a working through of ideas, to create the foundation for the expression of joint and individual musical identities in performance, so that the sum of the individual identities will, in conjunction with the audience, produce more than the sum of their individual parts. There are times they when are more successful in attaining that end than others, the ambition the musicians expressed was succeed to achieve ever better, high quality performances; they also hope to make musical discoveries, to attract larger audiences, and, thereby, improve their income security. Two musicians after a concert discussed what had transpired:

"Although we had that rehearsal this afternoon, and we have been playing together for... how many years Jonas?"

"Oh, egh, [jokingly] what twenty?"

"Yeh, so many years. When you changed that and made it a bowed you surprised me, after my solo in the [third] piece here [picks it out on piano], I did not expect that but it worked and it changed the feeling of it... egh, my approach to the solo the way

you came in low and soft, which was good, it brought another tone and way of thinking. It came out good, maybe better... don't you think Jonas... maybe we should leave that in there, don't you think?"

"If you think so Kyoko, it's your gig, it is your piece, you're the boss on this one. I was not so sure though, I was not sure when to come in there, where your solo was ending. I know I was supposed to play this [demonstrates] but then decided to put that bowed stretch in there [plays the segment again]. But you need to give me a clue when to come in, I did not know when to come in there, I kind of lost it there [Laughs]."

"But that was fine Jonas, it was your feeling, it was fine. You can come in at any one of those points, any time there. I had thought after the part where I [hums, then picks it out on the piano], but where you did is good. That was fine, I like it, let's do it that way."

The rehearsal is part of the preparation, but the performance is as much discovery as the rehearsal for the music. The trumpeter, Dave Douglas said in an interview:

"My least favourite gigs are gigs, and I've done a lot of them, where you just know from the first note what's going to happen. And nothing you can do is going to change that. It's the worst nightmare in the world, I think. That's when music can sound really old....

I think that it's a dangerous place for artists to be, having found a solution to whatever problem it was that they set out knowingly or unknowingly to find with their art. Once they've found it, they're going to recreate it every night... but if you're performing with someone that's in that position, very often there's an inflexibility.

It may be extremely beautiful what they do. But that's the only place that they can go, and that's certainly not where I want my music to be now or ever.

...We're pushing ourselves, but we're having a high percentage of success. Some nights you go out, and everyone is pushing themselves, and it's just not gelling... So those are the kind of risks that go into it. The most wonderful thing is when you find a new space and it's just perfect, and it serves the piece, and the moment of the performance, and all the players have a part within it that's fulfilling and satisfying for them.... Yeah. I think that's the feeling I'm describing, of not knowing, and it's not something that can be captured. It's something that is ephemeral, and once the gig is over; it's over." (Douglas 1999)

The rehearsal is preparation, but not for the perfect

presentation or the rehearsed performance to the public of a reality that is to appear un-faked; the rehearsal is preparation to a hoped for moment of further discovery, to which each and every musician has the opportunity to contribute. To repeat the past, to find solutions to specific problems and simply, constantly to repeat those solutions is not very satisfying, it is far from aesthetically adequate; that the musical identity is a process of discovery, of new solutions to old problems, and to see within those solutions their limitations and the way to expand upon them. It is not simply a staged performance, a presented illusion, or a completion in time; it is process of on-stage creation through musician interaction. What must be stressed though is that the performance is geared towards being as much a learning and discovery process, in that sense an addition, as it to being a carefully crafted affair, to which the audience response is a contribution.⁶³ One musician respondent said:

"You can feel an audience, you just know what the audience is thinking and whether it is good or bad. Tonight's audience was good, they did not know the music, they had never heard this kind of music before⁶⁴, so it was a big shock for them... to see the techniques I used. A classical teacher would be horrified to see me play, and to play with the things I do. But they were really interested, and they were sort of curious. They were enjoying what I did, It was a nice audience though, how do you get them to come? It is good that they are not used to my music, and they are not traditional jazz fans. Traditional jazz fans sometimes get very angry, and tell me that what I play is not jazz. It is funny really, but that is their problem. Here I could play my music and they liked it, it was a good night, they heard my music."

The musicians in performing connect with the audience, and they feel the audience as part of the performance, here it is either an audience that flows with the music in time, or it is an audience that is repelled, a good audience is encouraging. Audiences for this type of music, need to be created, they do not necessarily exist. There is an openness to newness within contemporary culture, novelty. However, that can be pursued in a variety of ways, it does not have to be through engaging with the sort of music that she and others in contemporary avant-garde jazz are creating, which can be demanding and difficult to engage with by someone steeped in tonal music.

Recordings

In line with their long-term perspective, of a gradually accumulating career, the artists spoken with and others usually began by producing albums, first as side musicians in ensembles, or as session musicians hired solely to record an album, which may or may not be within the spectrum of their musical identity⁶⁵, and then looked to record albums in their own name. When they come to recording and distributing their own work, they look to the small and medium size mainstream and avant-garde jazz labels, of which there are a good many⁶⁶. First, by sending demonstration recordings, and secondly, by producing a professional recording themselves, either from a live recording using DAT or by them paying for the studio time, etc., which they then offer to the small to medium size labels to issue. Alternately, perhaps when that had failed, the artists formed their own label for issuing these recordings, which incurred the problem of finding a distribution company, otherwise its marketing is extremely limited⁶⁷. The reduction in the cost of CD production has made this very much more feasible. Some of the musicians, making full use of technological developments, mastered the recordings on their personal computers, burned the music onto CD-Rs, printed labels and issued these themselves.⁶⁸ These they then sold primarily at concerts, retaining complete control over music content, artwork and returns. To enhance sales they also cultivate contacts with the local specialist CD stores in their areas of regular performance, enticing them to try to sell their own CDs and CD-Rs, or they may send copies to distributors who handle small productions of music, such as Cadence in the US, for wider sales. With the music issued by small to medium labels, more so their own label, the artists sold a large proportion, if not the majority, of the disks themselves, usually after concerts to audiences.

"I view my career as the proliferation of albums that I make. I have a whole graph in my head of what I want to produce, 'cause that's how people look back at you. Obviously, some people are gonna remember seeing you play live here, here and here, but most people's awareness of your career is centred around your flow of albums. I have an exact agenda in my mind in terms of the albums I want to put out, and in fact, I don't want to do that many more. I mean, I want to have a long career in terms of touring and performing, but I see my basic

output..."

(Shipp 1997)

The musicians spoken to strove to pursue a career trajectory in recording wholly conducive with their long-term career perspectives, accepting recordings as side musicians, sometimes whatever types of sessions arose justified in terms of the money earned. While it may be thought that the long-term goal of that pursuit would be a lucrative contract with a major recording label as the ultimate goal, that was not so; most did not expect this as possible nor did they consider it completely desirable.

The recording music business, in most, if not all, types of music, is dominated by a few major companies. There is some, not conclusive, evidence that they undergo repeated cycles of innovative diversification followed by product consolidation followed by innovative diversification; seeking out and signing new talent, then concentrating on best sellers, followed by another cycle trying to catch the next wave in the trends in popular and other music (Garofalo 1987, Lopes 1992, Peterson and Berger 1975). While a recording contract with one of these major companies could offer greatly increased incomes, wider and deeper distribution of their recorded music, greater world-wide publicity, promotion on radio, television, etc., and easier access to international festivals and other venues⁶⁹, most musicians expressed a wariness entering into a relationship with a major company. Certainly for most of the musicians that I spoke with contract with a major recording company was very unlikely. Nevertheless, they spoke about how such a contract would make their recording much more easily obtained in the stores, bring the musician to the attention of the media and, thus, a wider public, as well as bringing substantially more income.

The musicians spoken with, and others, expressed two concerns musical identity in respect of recordings: First, concern that musical identities may be contradicted by participating in incompatible recording sessions (viewed so by themselves, other musicians or their audience), which may divert them from their careers to satisfy a need for immediate income; Second, the idea of recording contracts with major labels⁷⁰ (which most thought not likely in any case), incurred anxiety about, (a) control of their musical

identity expressed in recorded output, (b) company promotion concepts, (c) fear that the insidious attractiveness of money may distort (without their knowing) their musical identities, (d) companies honouring pledges to respect the artist's musical priorities, and (e) the long term security of any such contract. Fitting the long-term perspective indicated elsewhere in their replies the musicians interviewed here had a strategy which attempted to accumulate a sustained recorded output with effective distribution and sales. Rather, than a lucrative contract with a large corporation, which may perhaps be considered to be a natural goal of such a long term career strategy, recording with small to medium size independent labels, preferably a good many of them, was much more desired. Sam Rivers commenting on his term with major label:

"They are evil... Business people are interested in one thing, the bottom line.... What advantage did I get from being with a major label? They didn't put my records out as a double disc, which I wanted, and they certainly didn't advertise my work either. Anytime I saw an advertisement from RCA, it had a bunch of records on one page. That doesn't help much, does it? The small independent labels are the ones that really work with you and push your product. So, no, I am not surprised at all by this action going on up there."

A Swedish musician interviewee replied this way:

"There is one advantage by being on a major label. They can promote it [your music] properly and have most of the time a good distribution. On the other hand when you have made your recordings and your contract has run out, you are often left out in the cold and you begin to be nobody again, and you have start from scratch again, almost. So in the long run you can keep a continuity better on a small specialised independent label."

It is not just these sorts of experiences of the musician, but also the perceptions of the musicians' carefully cultivated audiences who, equally wary of the motives and the musical pressures of the big companies, watch very carefully the subsequent recordings of musicians who have striven to cultivate a unique musical identity that cuts against the grain of the commercial signing to major labels⁷¹. The mainstream jazz musicians were more hopeful and willing to accept a deal with a subsidiary jazz label of a major company, such as Blue Note or Impulse!, because these currently produced disks closer to their musical identity, therefore not so likely

to impose unacceptable aesthetic demands on them. Among the more avant-garde jazz musicians, many artists expressed definite preference for the independent middle-sized labels for the artistic freedom that they give them, and the credibility of artistic integrity with audiences.

Thus, while most jazz musicians would like the income and the promotion that a large label with financial resources would afford them, they were also wary of the uncertain consequence, in the long and the short term, especially of the impact it would have on their musical identity, and whether it would lead to compromise and their loss of control over their careers. They mostly hoped for a situation where their recording is free of pressures to compromise. One established mainstream musician who released music with a Dutch mainstream label, discussed his next recording project for them:

"Nandeka Records always have a format for everything they put out, they want a few standards, a ballad or two to soften things up, pick up any of their disks and you can see that, they all have that lay out. But I am not going to give them that this time. This one is going to be all my own compositions, only my compositions. We played a couple of those last night [at the Blue Note]. My solo piece that I played last night is one of them. We are playing some of them on this tour. They will be on it, and I have others that I have written to. No standards this time, no ballads. I have told them that, this will be all my tunes, all my compositions. This will be my disk. I told them that, and they are not happy, but that is the only disk I will record for them."

The situation between this musician and the company was at a stand-off when he told me this; the company was insisting on their format for the disc, and he was insisting on his; time was passing and, for his career, that meant there was no new recording. When asked, he said that he had thought of setting up his own label and releasing his own recordings, but he had not because it was too difficult, that there were many problems with that method. Eventually the record was released, all his own writings, but at a cost of time, there was a delay of nearly a year. If he had accepted, the recording would have been made and out by that time of the conversation, and possibly the next one would be being planned. But, his insistence was, important for his musical identity, adamant. He was confident of succeeding in putting

out the record that he wanted and he eventually managed to influence the producers decision, and prevail. Later, he commented that this was a major success for him, and he was now planning a quartet recording.

Another mainstream artist was angry that a fairly large label had not lived up to its promises in promoting the CD that they had recorded of his group as promised and so far failed to pay him money:

"Do you know NandakaNanniX record company in Japan, that's where you live? Well, they put out one of my projects on disk, but they did not promote it. They promised to produce it and distribute it in the States as well as Japan. They promised to issue the liner notes in English as well as Japanese. They did neither of these things, man. They didn't sell or promote it well here, and they did not translate the liner notes. Man, people go into the store and they pick my disk up, and they can read nothin', they don't know nothing about the disk. Who is going to buy that, no one. And they have not paid me, NandakaNanniX records have not paid me anything what they promised me either. I'm suing them, man, I'm suing them., they lied and they cheated me. They promised to promote this here, and they didn't. That is not helping my career, that's worth nothing, and they did not pay. So, I'm suing them and I'm going to win. I have all the contracts, and it is in writing, I'm suing them now. My lawyer is taking them through the courts now..."

Did he win, I do not know as I have not met him since this conversation. He is definitely not the only artist to complain that they were not appropriately be paid by a recording company for issued recordings, and to recover payments is limited by their ability to finance a suit of the company through the courts, when they would rather play music⁷². This is probably a situation where it would be said that the artist does not have the power to deal with company, whereas it is not a matter of power, but of crime if true; it is dishonesty, not a stable resource that can become the standard relationship between company and artists. Musicians can and do, not frequently, sue and some win and some lose in these situations. The degree of the occurrence of this is an issue on its own that would benefit from detailed research.

Most of the musicians spoken to looked to releasing many

recordings in a regular pattern because that was the way for them to reach as many people as possible with their music, and to supplement their incomes. To succeed at that, they suggested, the optimal approach was to record for as many independent labels as would release their music, and also for their own label, if they had one, sometimes as home-made CD-Rs. The idea was to pursue many recording projects, in a variety of settings and with different combinations of musicians to maximise distribution and sales of, and public interest in, their music. One, very energetic musician remarked:

"It is better to keep recording, keep many projects coming out. It is much better to make many projects and many recordings. I usually record first and then look for a label to issue it. I send copies of the recording to many labels at once. Now I have sent a trio recording to Enja, ECM, Winter and Winter, Leo, DIW in Japan, and CIMP in the States to see if they want to buy it and release it. Maybe one of them will accept it and release it, I don't know."

What will you do if none of them decide to issue it?

"Send to other companies."

And then what, if it is still no thank you?

"If they don't, I will release it on my own label."

The recording was, quite beautifully issued by a medium-sized label. By this method the recording project always remains the artists' project, they retain control but they also bear the costs, when the musician waits to record for another company, then they experience pressures to compromise. The independent middle size companies focus on specific types of music and artists, Marilyn Crispell:

"All I can say is, "Thank God for Europe, ECM, Music & Arts, Victo Records in Canada and the European record labels like FMP and European festivals and promoters who believe in the music." (2000)

Small to medium labels in most cases offer more artistic freedom to the musicians, but this comes at a cost; their distribution and sales are lower than either the major label, or the quasi-independent subsidiaries of the major labels, e.g., Blue Note, or Impulse!, or Verve. Of course these larger labels lean more towards the mainstream jazz musicians than to the avant-garde. These quasi-independent labels when they are on an innovative cycle sign up what they think will be the next musicians to make and impact and

reach attractive sale, who they then promote vigorously, usually young musicians firmly located within the mainstream. Regardless, of an expressed preference for the independent labels, there is some animosity expressed when younger musicians are suddenly signed up in this way, and a questioning of whether the musician has the skill or musical integrity, and why they or one of their were not selected. There is also questioning of the courage of a label to take risks with the more adventurous musicians.

Thus, while most jazz musicians would like the income and the promotion that a large label with financial resources could afford them, they are wary of the consequence, in the long and the short term, especially of the impact it could have on their musical identity, whether it would lead to compromise. They mostly hope for a situation where their recording is free of pressures to compromise, because, for many people the most consistent and repeated connection they will have with their music is through recordings; their opportunities to attend a performance will probably be limited to once a year or less, on average, except for people living in New York, for example. To attain that the most likely strategy is to record for a number of independent labels, and for their own label or CD-Rs. To pursue as many recording projects as possible in a variety of settings and combinations of musicians.

Conclusion

Identity emerged as a key category in sociology as a consequence of trenchant critique and explanatory difficulties. Identity was, however, expressive of these fundamental explanatory problems, problems further highlighted by the telling critique of feminism; that key concepts such as class, status, functionally differentiated social roles, and so on, did not account for women's social experiences. This critique was extended to issues of ethnicity, race, sexuality, age, etc., and the concept of identity was considered the answer to all of these problems. Quite quickly, what was thought a solution to explanatory problems, became a source of severe difficulties. Above, it was shown that attempts were made to weave the new identities into existing conceptual identities and to stress intra-identity, more than inter-identity, differences. All too

soon, these intra-identities were subjected to ever further sub-division, fracturing, with which the recognition and energetic search for difference itself, difference from identities, came to be prescribed as the fundamental theoretical and methodological attitude for all of the human sciences, not just sociology. In consequence, identity was theorised as self-identity (the unique particular), without meaning within the theories it is developed, and from the societies within which it was found; it no longer contributed a reproductive capacity; suggesting that this stream of sociological theory had entered an unproductive cycle. It was shown here that this was consequent upon assuming that elements thrown up as problematic for theories, were real phenomena, independent of the problematic theories, revelatory of true insights, and not indicative of (more) fundamental explanatory problems. By making such an assumption, and working to incorporate these residual categories without restructuring theories, there was an acceptance, rather than a resolution, of explanatory problems. This was most apparent in the empiricist attitude of the post-structuralist and postmodernist theorists who insisted the necessity of seeking out difference from, in every nook and cranny of, social theory, not necessarily in social life, rather than produce resourceful explanations. It has been shown here that detecting and classifying difference and identity to construct meaningful concepts and explanations is a fundamental requirement of scientific procedure, post-positivist included. What is not required is the creation and/or location of difference in contradiction of categories, **without** refinement of those very same categories to account for any such meaningful differences, inconsistencies, that they have uncovered.

The concerns of this paper focused on a particular social group; professional improvising jazz musicians, and a specific social identity. It did so to contend that there is a very real, convicted attempt to pursue a career in accordance with an occupational identity as an improvising jazz musician. It was shown that the identity was socially located in their hard-won skills as musicians, the opportunities to create novel performances, the social worth of playing and listening to music, the social and economic practices which surrounds these internationally, as well as in the contrasting conception of alternative possible income earning

opportunities, for example. It was also shown that the musicians, draw on the history of jazz, as a rapidly, continuously changing, musical practice, which stressed individual voice, and creativity, for example, in their efforts, and that they do this with some ambition of adding to the 'spirit' of that history. That these musicians were working to contribute to reproducing and expanding the values and social practices of the music, most often in the face of immense obstacles. The paper also shed some light on the ways that these musicians attempted to deal with these difficulties. The paper also looked at the manner in which the musicians constructed mutually supportive interactive networks for performing and recording, some are international in scope. The paper's findings do not support any suggestion of either a fragmentation, of a privatisation, of personal and social life.

Footnotes:

¹ See Sutherland, forthcoming, for a discussion of the historical origins and consequence of identity theory.

² See Sutherland (forthcoming 2002, for fuller discussion of the ethnic question and identity theory.)

³ This conception of music and musical practices as somehow being outside of conventional social processes is not unique to Marx, is also found in the Romantic critiques of modernity, and, perhaps more poignantly here, Weber analysis - who placed it alongside sex and charisma as transcending rationalisation - and is also true of many subsequent synthetic sociologists, e.g., Parsons, Habermas, etc., as will become apparent. In fact, the view of music as one way to escape a conventional life, is probably quite widespread, as is one that conceives musicians as being, in some senses, not part of the run-of-the-mill-crowd; a view derived from the Romantic conception of the artist, and modern industrial society (see Taylor 1989, for a detailed, intricate analysis of the connections)

⁴ Small (1987), analysis the contemporary classical musical performance in terms Durkheimian ritual.

⁵ Of course, the Freudian model also informs much of later Marxist explanations of class identity, see, in particular the entical school of theorists (Jay 1996, and the neo-Marxist of the post-1960s period.)

⁶ The shift to culture, produces two layers of explanation, the material and the ideal, reflected in the divisions of lifeworld and social world, or systems and society leading to the question of

how the separate layers connect.

⁷ Later Marxist followed a similar tact, arguing that Marx's original explanation was sensitive to these problems, intra-class differences, social values, the impact of political struggle, and so on. What this does not admit is that sensitivity does not equate with explaining, and that these sorts of modifications can only be accepted at the expense of undermining the whole explanatory strategy.

⁸ For more in depth discussion of these issues, see Sutherland 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2001d.

⁹ Modern social theory tended to assume that issues of race, ethnicity, national cultures would be overtaken by modern cultures and concerns.

¹⁰ A kind of ironic position for those who argued that positivist and empiricist models of science suffered from imposed prescriptions for achieving perfect science.

¹¹ And, it may be added, no resolution without productive category formation.

¹² The introduction of grammatically plural terms, women rather than woman, is itself, an attempt to recognise diversity; doing little more than making the identity a collective one; a collective essence (see the discussion in Fuss 1989, for example).

¹³ This criticism pertains to not only Foucault, but to all of the post-structuralist and postmodern critiques of the very possibility of social knowledge.

¹⁴ The fact that it is not so obvious derives from the explanatory difficulties related above, and also to the post-positivist philosophy of science, whereby the correspondence theory of truth is thrown into doubt and the epistemological status of knowledge is without obvious guarantee (c.f., Popper, Lakatos, Weber, for example).

¹⁵ This is an echo of arguments within Marxism and Weberian theories, that they were over-determining; what in actual fact was the case was that they were under-determining. The problem was that these theories did not explain the social processes that they addressed, citing such things as historical particularity, the double hermeneutic, in the last instance, and so on, as the reason. Had the theories been determining, then they would have been hailed as models of explanatory success, which was the case with instances transiently of occasionally fit expectations.

¹⁶ He looks like he wants to escape the very structure that he has found he has constructed, it is no surprise that in subsequent volumes of the history of sexuality after the first, a self with needs and wants and pleasures begins to reappear, but this figure is

rather nebulous.

¹⁷ Which is a composite of meta-social theory; with elements drawn from critical theory, communicative action theory, risk society theory and, belief in the triumph of, neo-liberalism in postmodernity. Weber's attempt at a less determinate explanations, did not lead to open-ended forecasts; it led to the encapsulation of life by instrumental rationality, even elements of value rational orientation Weber finds to be overtaken by instrumental rationality; e.g., the aesthetic, moral and religious spheres.

¹⁸ Giddens wrote:

"...the concepts that sociological observers invent are 'second order' concepts in so far as they assume certain conceptual capabilities on the part of the actors to whose conduct they refer. But it is in the nature of social science that they can become 'first order' concepts by being incorporated into social life itself."

(1984, p. 284)

Social science concepts are second order because they are derived from first order created by social actors, themselves modelled as amateur social scientists. Parsons speaks of the subjective views of actors, and the objective views of scientist (1935). Althusser presents his three types of generality, from the basic everyday to the scientific conception (1969). Habermas speaks of meanings on the level of the lifeworld, of social actors, and the systems world, of social scientists (1987, pp. 117 - 8, 151). Alexander writes of the particularistic understanding of social actors of everyday life, and the universal understanding of science; that neither position implies the abandonment of the other (1991). Thus, we have a situation of two accounts of the same sets of phenomena and each need not take account of the other. That of the everyday social actors are not to disturb those of the scientist with their divergence from scientific explanations, and scientific explanation should not be taken account of by social actors to improve their performance. Each writer, in their own way, poses the same gap between concept and object, theory and practice; a gap which 'protects' concepts and theory from any need to be reconstituted, and also protects social practices from the findings of social theories.

¹⁹ In a later book, *The Transformation of Intimacy* 1994, Giddens turns to therapeutic and self-help manuals to explain the changing, increasingly reflexive nature of sexuality and intimate relations within late modernity. These have such scientific titles as '*Secrets About Men Every Woman Should Know*' and '*Burning Desires*'; full reference for these texts can be found in Giddens,

1994.

²⁰ Thus:

"The choice of work and work milieu forms a basic element of lifestyle orientations in the extremely complex modern division of labour.

In work, for all groups freed from the hold of traditional contexts of activity, a plurality of lifestyle choices exist. Naturally, as Bourdieu has emphasised, lifestyle variations between groups are also elementary structuring features of stratification, not just the results of class differences in the realm of production."

(Giddens 1991 p, 82")

Which, quite characteristically, shows Giddens's collage of explanatory factors, thankful of their contradictory principles, without producing coherence.

²¹ "I would therefore like to propose (1) that we conceive of societies *simultaneously* as systems and lifeworlds. This concept proves itself in (2) a theory of social evolution that separates the rationalisation of the lifeworld from the growing complexity of social systems so as to make the connection Durkheim envisaged between forms of social integration and stages of system differentiation tangible, that is, susceptible to empirical analysis."

(Habermas 1987, p. 118)

²² Here again the same paradox, contradiction is apparent. As Lockwood long before him (1956), Habermas sets up two realms of understanding, the one of everyday social life, the other of the social scientist. Where, however, we should expect as there is convergence between the life world and the system world, there should be greater correspondence between Habermas's explanations and its object, this is not, in fact, what happens.

²³ Holmwood incisively writes:

"...Alexander promotes a 'neo-functionalist' approach which, he argues, 'is concerned with integration as possibility and with deviance and processes of social control as facts. Equilibrium is taken as a reference point for functionalist systems of analysis, though not for participants in actual social systems as such.' Apparently this is an appropriate form of analysis and one which meets the logical requirements of 'multidimensional' theory. If it does, we would have to conclude that *those requirements allow residual categories.*" (1996, p. 84)

²⁴ Organised capitalism, which dominated till 1945, and after some sort of slow erosion was supplanted by disorganised capitalism what Lash now calls second modernity, which he characterises as now threatened by 'intelligent objects.'

²⁵ Lash concludes the book very apocalyptic: "As we track these

virtual and real object, as we weave them into allegories, we also weave them into webs. Webs reaching back into long ago and far away. Webs that, at work and at play, may link us to other similar subjectivities, s well as tracking and producing objects, in real and parallel space. Webs that may help to constitute communities of subjects and technologies. Webs that my once again open up he possibility for the retrieval of ontology. That may once again open up the possibility of redemption." (1999p.346)

²⁶ Perhaps, rather than first and second order, he should, following Althusser, introduce a third order, Althusser, of course differentiated the Generalities I, II and III.

²⁷ In itself, this is not a novel thesis, it was at the foundation of Weber's critique of Marxism, it was aired again by Dubin, Chinoy, and Goldthorpe et al., (c.f., Sutherland 2000, for more detailed discussion). What is different, however, the incomes work afford were consequential for life chances, such incomes have lost virtually all explanatory value for Bauman, and Giddens.

²⁸ The evidence:

"According to the latest calculation, a young American with a moderate level of education expects to change jobs at least eleven times during his or her working life - and the pace and frequency of change are almost certain to go on growing before the working life of the present generation is over." (2000 p.147)

Which calculation, by whom and what method? What was the situation of those with a moderated education before? If there is a difference, how big is that difference? These are the sorts of issues left unattended, they may be true, but they are undemonstrated. Nevertheless, he concluded from this:

'Flexibility' is the slogan of the day, and when applied to the labour market it augurs an end to the 'job as we know it', announcing instead the advent of work on short-term contracts, rolling contracts or no contracts, positions with no in-built security but whet the 'until further notice clause. Working life is saturated with uncertainty." (ibid.)

²⁹ The other three are, first, symbolic manipulators who work with ideas and making them marketable, next are educators and welfare state employees, and last, those providing personal services.

³⁰ Since the beginning of October, I have cumulated interview data for a further 50 musicians. This awaits collation and analysis; initial reading suggests, that it adds to, enriches, and does not undermine any of the analysis presented here.

³¹ While there is by no means over the meaning of music, and

there is widespread debate over whether music can be differentiated into better or worse, good or bad music, there is agreement that performing and listening music are worthy pursuits, indeed that music can be profoundly moving and meaningful.

³² Since the early 1970s it has become increasingly possible to study the theory and practice of jazz, with established jazz musicians teaching, at music schools and conservatories.

³³ Floyd Jr., 2000, and Youngren 2000, offer two contrasting views of this origin, focusing on the African and European musical inputs into the music. The depth of this question is beyond the scope of this paper, it is sufficient to note that there were elements drawn from the musical cultures of all of the ethnic groups in the U.S. at the turn of the century and that the input of African-Americans was overwhelmingly significant. The variety included spirituals, field songs, ragtime, light classical, light opera, waltzes, polkas, scotches, popular songs, rags, blues, etc., reflecting the heterogeneity of their community.

³⁴ For more detailed discussion on the relationship between individual voice and ensemble, musician integration and stimulation, see Sutherland 2001c.

³⁵ Ansermet conducted the premiere of Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring*, the date, 1919 (reproduced in Gottleib, 1996, pp. 741 - 746), of the article is also significant; the musical establishment and composers in the U.S. showed no enthusiasm, in fact, some were positively, puritanically hostile towards jazz and its growing popularity.

³⁶ It is commonplace to attribute the death of improvisation to the rise of ever refined notation, bringing a dictatorship of the composer.

³⁷ Fords much vaunted high wage level was, of course, \$ 5 dollars a day.

³⁸ Some musicians found themselves to be the personal possession of gangsters, who would prevent them leaving their speakeasy on threat of breaking their fingers, or death; their musicians attracted customers and added a touch of class to their establishments.

³⁹ Lakatos's characterised programmes as degenerative which did not seek to resolve their inconsistencies and expand their resources, in that sense neo-classicism is perhaps degenerative, as it desperately seeks to confine itself to the musical styles of the past, and to characterise jazz with the stamp of the 1920s. In this it ignores two key aesthetic criteria; the requirement to develop a unique voice and the criteria to be creative.

⁴⁰ This requires further research to map the nature of the division

in these countries as clearly as in the case of New York, data for which was collected on three, approximately three-week field trips in the Summers of 1997, 1998 and 2000.

⁴¹ Monday, is usually the venue's big band night.

⁴² This venue focus as much, if not more, on soul singers, cabaret, pop, etc., than it does in jazz of the mainstream, of which it presents mostly the most famous. This is also the most expensive venue in this bracket, with the largest audience capacity, and the least concern for audience satisfaction.

⁴³ Very recently closed, late spring 2001, for refurbishment, name and music orientation change.

⁴⁴ The venue usually has a maximum in both audience capacity and music charge that their audience pool will accept, capping total possible incomes for any artist. Of course, record and other company sponsorships can supplement that, very few of these venues court the latter very vigorously.

⁴⁵ This was the location of Andy Warhol's *The Factory*, with great potential as a venue in terms of performance space.

⁴⁶ See Gilmore (1988) for some discussion of this music.

⁴⁷ Tonic was persuaded to feature avant-garde jazz by John Zorn, when it first opened the curator of the first new music series for the summer of 1988, the current curator, summer 2001, is the multi-reed player Ken Vandermark, and now the Klezmer Brunch series with clarinetist David Krakauer as curator. The curator usually performs in the series, either planned, or unplanned, as they have responsibility to find alternative musicians when the booked artist is forced to cancel.

⁴⁸ A well publicised conflict with some of the now established downtown musicians - who moved on to play in Tonic - featured in the letters pages of the *New York Times* newspaper, and also a financial crisis, from 2000 due to the costs and delay in establishing the Hollywood branch of the Knitting Factory has made it much easier for musicians to obtain bookings here. Having said that, audiences in the Old Office, the venue for free and avant-garde jazz are usually minuscule; 5 - 10 people even for more established performers (Tim Berne audience in Summer of 2000 was all of 12 people, with little turnover between sets and a music charge of \$ 8) and the music charge low \$ 5 - \$12, more often \$ 8 or less.

⁴⁹ The first of these was the attempt to revive Dixieland jazz in the 1940s, in opposition to the success of the swing bands and then bebop; this became known as the conflict of the 'mouldy old figs' - revivalist who claimed that there was only one true style of jazz, Hot, Dixieland, Jazz, the rest was commercialised, diluted

jazz - and the modernist - who argued that their music was as much jazz as Hot Jazz, that the music needed to continue to evolve and change to keep up with the times (c.f., Gendron 1995). The most recent version of this is Wynton Marsalis, based, as part of the cultural elite, at the Lincoln Center in New York, which began as a vision of jazz's identity defined by, first, the 1960s music of Miles and bebop, and now more recently, he is looking further back to the era of the 1920s, epitomised by Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington. (see Marsalis's discussion of this in the *Jazz Times*, March 200, and also his contribution to the Burns TV documentary, *Jazz, 200*, which gives little, mostly disparaging, attention to post-1960 jazz).

⁵⁰ As Faulkner (1973), Gilmore (1988), and Westby (1960), describe classical career, there is a clear hierarchy leading, through the conservatoire, into a symphony orchestra, of which there are three ranks, within which exist a clear hierarchy of positions, e.g., principal, assistant principal, section desks. Gilmore's study of the New York classical world is interesting here, not simply because it is more recent, but because it details division of the classical world into Uptown, Midtown and Downtown scenes, each performing unique sets of repertory and with different routes of access and methods of performance, as well as quite contrasting aesthetic principles. Very similar divisions, equally indicative of varied aesthetics and performance and income opportunities, can also be distinguished in jazz in New York, and can be seen, in slightly modified, in jazz world-wide.

⁵¹ It is important not to see these as distinct causal features, e.g., that incomes are high because status is high, or vice versa, these elements are in combination; occupational rewards come in packages, high status positions have high incomes and conditions, and low status ones low status ones low incomes and poor conditions; there is no evidence of independence of feature and compensatory packages. (c.f., Sutherland 2000).

⁵² There were at least two ways to make this possible; one was where the teacher was sufficiently impressed with the student's abilities that they propose, or agree to, a suggested recording project; the second is where the student pays the teacher's recording fees to make the recording possible..

⁵³ This integration of a unique, stimulating, musical voice, and the mutual expectations of it of musicians in ensemble settings is discussed in detail in Sutherland 2001c.

⁵⁴ Of course, it has to be recognised that this is evidenced by the successful musicians in jazz history, there may be others who

never succeeded to establish themselves, who vanished because their voice was excessively unique and uncompromising. The way to research this, would indeed be a tricky one.

⁵⁵ Examples of these types of club are Smalls Greenwich Village, and the Up-Over-Jazz-Cafe in Brooklyn, New York.

⁵⁶ This is was partly and extension of an earlier tradition, of the 'rent party', where musicians were hired to attract people to play at a house to raise money to pay the rent.

⁵⁷ Becker (1963) speaks of the importance of networks, though he confines his remarks to the sub-culture of musicians. Even there his analysis is limited to the mutual support, securing jobs, which he describes as cliques. This focus is and conclusion is could very well be an artefact of his subjects; dance-band musicians, who are not bandleaders themselves, however, he is rather circumspect about the exact composition of his subjects, the size of the ensembles that they played in, the sorts of venues that they did. Curiously, in a more recent paper, he would seem to contradict his earlier statement of what the .

⁵⁸ Also provides insurance for the occasions when a substitute musician is needed at moment's notice.

⁵⁹ Especially, but not only, those most responsive to featuring their music

⁶⁰ Regardless of have booking agents and managers and long-term record contracts with major companies, there remains this need to cultivate relationships with those influential for the advancement of career in a direction fitting that of the personal musical identity.

⁶¹ This is a crucial point, it is not a willing sacrifice - of course they would rather be earning large amounts of money and be musicians, but that was not the current condition of many.

⁶² The stress in jazz performance, particularly, but not only where there is improvisation, is in part to break with, transcend the strictures of classically trained technique and orchestrated performance of notation; to leave space for the expression of each musician's individual voice, to leave open the possibility for innovation in each performance, the possibility that 'mistake' can be resolved in a novel, creative way, for example. Foucault, of course, would reply that this is simply a new discourse of power, but this sort of reasoning is precisely the fault of his own inability to distinguish between knowledge and ignorance, more or less adequate knowledge, and not a reason to accept his characterisations of knowledge, which itself is claim to knowledge which depends on its own contradiction.

⁶³ Appreciative and responsive audiences impel the musicians,

where the audience is not engaged in the music, the musicians are affected, and thus their music making is affected.

⁶⁴ Avant-garde solo piano, played to an audience from a small town in the far south of Japan, who mostly attended popular classical performances, or listened to pre-20th century European classical music.

⁶⁵ One pianist respondent, for example, among other things, for seven years early in her career worked recording keyboard music for computer games for the JI software company.

⁶⁶ The major labels have quasi-independent subsidiary jazz labels, e.g., Blue Note, Impulse, and Verve. The small, independent labels which focus on mainstream jazz are, for example, Acoustic Music, Arabesque, Challenge, Chesky, Concord, Criss-Cross, Delmark Dragon, Dreyfus, ECM, Edition Collage, EMD (Les Etonnants Messieurs Durand), Enja, Evidence, Fresh Sound New Talent, Koch, Red Record, Soul Note, Steeplechase, Storyville, Telarc, and Timeless. Those which focus is avant-garde are AUM Fidelity, Avant, Black Saint, BVHAASST, Cadence, CIMP, Cuneiform, DIW, Emanem, Eremite, Free Music Production (FMP), Harmonia Mundi, Hat Hut, Intakt, Just-In-Time, Knitting Factory Works, Label Bleu, Leo, Music and Art, Naxos, Okka, Postcard, Songlines, Splasc(h) Records, Silkheart, Tzadik, Victo, Winter and Winter, and YVP. To get some idea of the sales figures of these smaller avant-garde labels, Hat Hut, one of the most prominent, limits each CD issue to 3,000 copies, and these often remain in print for many years. This list is by no means exhaustive, the social-economics of these labels would be a very interesting topic of research in its own right, especially now with some hint that the major labels are going cut back on their production of new jazz recordings.

⁶⁷ One artist reported a print run of 1,000 copies per title for their own label, and that they were unlikely to re-issue these when sold out because they much prefer to produce a new recording. Artists sold their own issues for between \$10 - \$15 dollars, representing a maximum income of between \$10 - \$15,000, less costs of production, which could be quite small unless it was a studio recording, when the cost would depend on how long it took to complete the project and the recording medium, etc. For example, a one day digital two track recording costs about \$3,000, printing of 1000 CDs can cost around \$500, as of 2000. The artist needs to sell at least half to obtain returns on a studio recording, far less if it is a self-produced live recording. Locating distributors for these CDs was a major problem for this musicians, solved after some effort by contracting with some smaller ones

focused on 'independent' music; in Japan, Disk Union, Bomba Record, Rats Pack, Meta Company, Otobasha, and other direct-sales indie-specialists; internationally and in North America Cadence; in New York City Downtown Music Group; in Canada Verge; and in Germany no man's land. This is no mean feat, accounts indicate to be effective in this incurs very substantial work and effort, regardless of many rejections.

⁶⁸ A growing phenomena, witnessed by the review magazine Cadence giving a separate review section to CD-R artist, or micro-label releases, and also distributing these. Some also appear in independent record stores.

⁶⁹ Within a couple of months of signing a contract with RCA records, mid-1999, the trumpeter and composer Dave Douglas, who till then had been limited to appearing in the smaller avant-garde venues, for one night appearances, was given a week long residency at the highly regarded Village Vanguard in New York, February 2000. The Vanguard is usually booked at least 6 months in advance (Gordon 2000).

⁷⁰ Among jazz and improvising musicians spoken to, and others, the major labels have a history of lacking concern for promoting jazz, especially with integrity, and for sustaining short-term enthusiasms dropped when sales failed to meet expectations or board managers' company targets, for example.

⁷¹ The signing of the avant-garde trumpeter, Dave Douglas to the major label, RCA, saw some heated discussion on an email list devoted to avant-garde music, with a publicist for Douglas, who had also been hired by RCA, defending the contract, as much on grounds of what publicity this contract might bring him as in the ability to recording his own, freely determined music projects, and earn income.

⁷² There are also companies who issue illicit recordings from concerts, radio broadcasts for which the artist is paid nothing, this is another issue from the one of a contracted company.

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